GUIDE TO THE MJ4 BEDOUIN FILE

[The Bedouin File is a sub-file of the MJ1 Saudi Arabia File. This means that the complete page order text of most sources from which pages have been marked for the Bedouin File will be found only in Category 116 of the MJ1 Saudi Arabia File, and the full bibliographic citations for these sources will be found only in Category 111 of that file.]

113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721 Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 197-204.]

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162, 166, 101, 619, 643, 622, 361, 438

/For information on the settled tribes of the Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut in 1920, the territory occupied, the paramount rulers and tribal chiefs, brief history, their settlements, means of livelihood, etc., see 30: Great Britain, MJ1 Saudi Arabia, category 116, pp. 509-546./

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4
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XXII

Ali, the "Protector"

B
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619
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619

AND NOW THOSE wonderful days with the Ruala had come to an end. I had to say good-bye for a time, because I meant to visit the Fid'an and other Bedouin tribes then roaming the deserts of Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. Several of their chiefs were inveterate enemies of Amir Fuaz, and at odd moments they also fought among themselves. But I knew some of them from earlier days and for the rest I pinned my faith on the inviolable rules of Bedouin hospitality. On the Euphrates I also hoped to find a suitable *rafiq* (courier) who would be qualified by his knowledge of the country and his friendliness with the tribes to act as both guide and guard to me. To assist me, Amir Fuaz gave me a personal letter to Hajem Pasha, who was then in command of the major part of the Fid'an in the Jesirah between the Tigris and Euphrates, while Ibn Meheyd contented himself with the lordship of the minority west of the Euphrates in Syria. Fuaz was closely related to Hajem Pasha, though these ties did not prevent the two chiefs from indulging in mutual pillage and warfare as opportunity offered.

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Amir Fuaz advised me to go first to Aleppo and there get in touch with Hajem Pasha's *wukil* (representative), who would see to the transmission of his letter and secure a trustworthy travelling companion for me; and I acted on his advice. I had not been in Aleppo since 1916.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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XXIV

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

•101 361 233 LUCK FAVOURED US in eluding the vigilance of the French on our second attempt to reach the grazing grounds of the Tai' Bedouins under their *sheykh,* Muhamed Abd-er-Rachman at-Tai'.

His great camp spread out in a verdant valley, threaded by a long chain of rain pools. The snow-covered mountain ranges of Kurdistan, stretching beyond the Turkish frontier, formed a picturesque background. Camels and great flocks of sheep grazed over the desert, which recent rains had turned into rich pasture. Dotted about in groups were the black tents of the Bedouins. A horseman came to meet us. A foal, so it seemed in the distance, pranced round its mother, but as the rider drew nearer, we saw that the playful creature was a tame gazelle. The Bedouin rode a magnificent mare, that pranced on her feet like a dancer.

574 609 "Where is the abode of our host who will receive us?" I enquired. He pointed to the black outline of the largest tent, which showed from behind a ridge some distance away.

"Ha-wallah—by God—there dwells the Generous One!" He looked us over for a moment, then greeting us curtly, turned his horse and galloped away, the gazelle after him.

To 369 162 439 443 [181]

ladies' lingerie, but he has little use for some of the strange products of the West. For the townsman, who is living in a mixed community of Arabs from many parts of the Persian Gulf, Persians and Indians, it is a different proposition, and his materialism has made Dibai a small British export area, though mostly for the less refined goods that are unable to find buyers on a more discriminating market.

B ●101 186 721 661

The primitive bedouins who live by the foothills of the main mountain range, who owe allegiance to no one, are a constant cause of worry to the sheikhs, from whom they extract levies in return for protection; if the money is not forthcoming they raid the villages and carry off goods, camels and children. On the whole, however, the people of the coast seem to have a peaceful enough existence, making their living by, among other things, pearling, fishing and boat-building.

To 361 396 226

To 312 576

At several points along the coast the wells are some distance inland, and water has to be transported to the villages by camel or donkey. Though brackish and unpalatable, it is expensive; the cost of buying water is a burden on the poor, and they take only sufficient for their minimum needs. Even so, the water-pot is always at hand when a traveller passes by — a simple hospitality that is often very touching. The lot of the dogs, a wretched one at the best of times in the

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P. 191 (B)

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1
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followers. I took with me only a single servant and we bought two inferior riding camels for £15 each from a tribal encampment near Ramadi. My expenses were limited to the purchase of these two camels and a cheap suit of Arab clothing.

The most striking attribute of the bedouin of twenty-five years ago was his bold frankness and democracy. Perhaps because he lived in a great open country, he more often than not spoke in a rather loud voice. He was no respecter of ranks or dignities, and addressed everybody by his first name. If he did not know it, he would accost the stranger in stentorian tones with the greeting, "Peace be upon you, O man!" In 1921, when King Feisal of Iraq paid his first visit to Ramadi, a number of tribesmen introduced to him greeted him without ceremony but with perfect urbanity as "O Feisal!"

This absence of ceremony held nothing of unseemly familiarity or bad taste. It was purely naïve. It had never occurred to the Arab tribesman that classes existed. A barefooted bedouin in a ragged cloak would walk up to a king, shake him by the hand and wish him good morning, completely disregarding the merriment or horror of the whispering courtiers.

Before the days of governments, the tribal chiefs fulfilled some of the tasks of administration. They made war and peace on behalf of their tribes; usually, it is true, preferring war. But to the defenceless traveller they provided protection from the depredations of their followers.

The Syrian desert between the Euphrates and the Wadi as Sirhan in Trans-Jordan is entirely occupied by Aneizah. So numerous is this tribe that it has itself split into several subdivisions under independent chiefs, who in those days were not infrequently at war with one another. Of these subdivisions, the Amarat occupied the eastern half of the desert and owed allegiance to Iraq. But the second half of our journey would take us across the area of the Ruwallah, who were subjects of Syria.

I decided to go first to the tent of Fahad ibn Hadhdhal, the great shaikh of the Amarat division of the Aneizah. So noble was Ibn Hadhdhal by descent that he was sometimes called the father of the Arabs. The great tribes of Aneizah had been in occupation of the Syrian desert for less than 200 years, having

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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A GOOD WATCH-DOG

To make a Badawin dog fierce and a good watch-dog, his ears are 231
cut off when young. A piece is then cooked and given him to eat. This, according to the Arab, turns him into a good watch-dog and especially a good barker by night. (See Chapter IV.)

THE NUMBER ELEVEN

A curious thing about the 'Awazim tribe is that they never will use 801
the word *ahada 'ashar* for *eleven*. They always say *'ashra wa wahad* (ten and one). The rest of the numerals they name as other Arabs do. I have not yet been able to find out the reason for this avoidance of eleven.

Kuwait, October 30, 1933.

HOW AN 'AJMAN WOMAN SAVES HER CHILDREN

Among the 'Ajman, if a woman's children are dying apparently 761
without reason, a piece of the ear above the lobe is cut off from the latest born infant, placed inside a date, and given to the mother to eat. The child is then known as *Al Jida'* (the cut-off one).

Maneira bint 'Iyda al Fa'aran al Hithlain, wife of Hamad al Mishwatt, had had this done. She showed me her ear on 16th August, 1935.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME DHAFIR, THE GREAT DESERT TRIBE SOUTH OF THE EUPHRATES 101 174

The name means a "collection of many oddments", and is derived from the same root as:

Tadhafaru—they were plaited together.
Dhafar—to plait.
Dhafayir—a woman's plait.

Similarly we have Muntafiq from *ittifaq*, a coming together.

NOTE.—This describes exactly how these two great tribes were originally formed. They grew out of a collection or confederation of a number of small desert units in the first instance, and of a number of marsh tribes in the second, under Sa'adun leaders.

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CHAPTER XLV

The Muntafiq Shepherd Tribes

This book would not be complete without a short reference to the great southerly annual migration of the shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq Confederation situate between Samawa and the Hamar Lake. 619 [221] 233

These shepherd tribes, which are known under the generic term of Shawíyah or Shawáwi in Iraq, and that of Hukra in Kuwait and Najd, consist of the sheep-rearing sections of the three great groups of the Muntafiq, namely the Albu Salah, the 'Ajwad and the Bani Malik, as well as the Bani Hachaim tribe which have their habitat south-east of Samawa, adjoining the Muntafiq.

The names of most of these Euphrates shepherd tribes are given below, and each has a definite shaikh or leader, though some of them come under the protection of one or other of the more powerful riverain tribes of the lower Euphrates. 619 [622] 101

(1) Bani Málik Group:

Al Wada'ai. Al Májid.
Al Taugiyah. Al Diwán.
Al Munafida.
(all known under name Al Jumai'an)

(2) Albu Sálah Group:

Al Shamla. Al 'Araithib.
Al Safáfa'a Al 'Abada.

(3) 'Ajwad Group:

Al Juarín. Al Sharaifat.
*Al Budur. Al Ghazzi.

(4) Bani Hachaim Group:

Al Zaiyad. Al Ghazalat.
Bani Salamah.

(5) Shammar (elements claiming descent from main Shammar of Najd):

†Ah 'Aunan. Al Rufai'at.
Al Zauba.

* Budur tribal sections who visit Kuwait are the Al Hamad and the Al Fauwaz (Shaikh Mana). These are at enmity with the rest of the Budur (paramount Shaikh Shirshab al Sahan). Shammar shepherd tribes who in summer reside at Zubair or at Hartha (10 miles north of Basra) and annually visit Kuwait are Al Rufai'at and Al Zauba.

† Al 'Aunan are of Shammar extraction. They reside near Suq al Shuyukh.

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Donkey Riders

619 101 233 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawíyah lying east of Samawa.

492 144 233 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sulubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

795 439 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawál al Dhafir and Tawál al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq-Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba-Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarín, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Aunan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 713 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarín and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

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174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
619 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shuraifat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khusaubah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Jazirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

619 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
● 101 groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

619 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
101 and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore
233 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawíyah type (Shawáwi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of
[342] flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the
[241] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed villages by the rivers to till the fields.

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villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use 619
donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of 101
donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as 233
is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. [492]
By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of con- 619
federacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to 622
define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a titular position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are 619
more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, 101
Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, [241]
by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as [226]
Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al [231]
Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are [235]
not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a [622]
strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

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B 619 101 dismemberment, accompanied by regrouping, is the process which governs all Arab tribal evolution. Within the Bani Malik are two ancient and powerful federations which have from time immemorial been at strife, the Bani Khaiqan and the Mujarrah. There is some doubt as to whether either is of Bani Malik stock, which may account for the secular feud which exists between them.* The Bani Khaiqan are at present gathered under the hold of the Al Mughashghash, a clan of one of their largest sub-tribes, but the Mujarrah are split into a number of inferior groups and have no common head.

B 619 622 101 I 565 The history of the Muntafiq league is inseparably linked with that of the Sa'adun. The very name of Muntafiq, as used in 'Iraq, refers only to the ruling family and to its slaves and dependants who are reckoned to be an integral part of it. No tribesman in 'Iraq would call himself Muntafiq though he might use the word if he were in Mecca or Damascus where his own small tribe would be unknown, while the fame of the Muntafiq would be familiar to every Arabic-speaking community. The position of the Sa'adun, a matter of considerable importance in Southern Mesopotamian politics, has been determined partly by their origins and partly by Turkish official ignorance or intentional misunderstanding of their relation to the tribes. It must be borne in mind that the Sa'adun belong to the social order of the desert and have not succumbed to the local influences which have affected the tribal population of 'Iraq, who are, like themselves, immigrants from Arabia, but usually immigrants of an earlier period, and as settlers on the soil have been brought into more intimate contact with Mesopotamian traditions. The Sa'adun have I 565 preserved the characteristics of Badawin Arabia. They are Sunnis and B [795] Ahl al Baiyir, people of the camel; their *dirahs* are in the Hamad west of the Hai or south of the Euphrates, where they have dug or re-622 opened wells in their accustomed camping grounds. Here they repair after the early rains, and here they assume their natural part as independent chieftains of the desert. The 'Iraq tribes, who have acknowledged them as overlords, differ from them in every particular. They are Shi'ahs, settled or half-settled cultivators and marshmen, whose link with the desert people has long been broken; socially inferior,

* The Bani Khaiqan are said to be originally 'Ajwad and the Mujarrah to be Bani Sa'id.

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APPENDIX I

DIVISIONS OF MUTAIR, 'AJMAN, 'AWAZIM, RASHAIDA, SHAMMAR AND 'ANIZAH TRIBES 101

TOGETHER WITH THEIR SHAIKHS, NUMBER OF TENTS, STRENGTH, AND CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

MUTAIR (Singular MUTAIRI)

The Tribe is divided into three main groups:

(A) AL DUSHAN (Ruling or Shaikhly Clan).
(B) AL 'ILWAH.
(C) AL BURAIH.

Paramount Shaikh—AL DUWISH (from Shaikhly Clan of AL DUSHAN). [622]
Present incumbent (1937)—BANDAR BIN FAISAL BIN SULTAN AL DUWISH. [162]
Fighting strength—May be taken at 6,000, though inner Najd figures are very doubtful.

Habitat—In winter the Dushan Mutair 'Ilwa and Aulad Wasil sections of the Buraih as opposed to Aulad 'Ali and Bani 'Abdilla (who are purely inner Najd sections) range from the Dahana sand belt *in the south* up to Kuwait *in the north*, and more or less keep to the eastern side of the Bátin. They avoid the 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribal country in the coastal region of Hasa province, and claim that the great well areas of Subaihiyah, Tawil and the environs of Kuwait fall within their grazing areas and have done so from time immemorial. In summer above-mentioned groups camp on the well-known wells at Artawiyeh, Qaiya, Hafar al Bátin, Safa, Qara'a, Wabra, Jariya Ilya, Jariya Sifla. 619 221 101

Religion—Sunni MALIKI (late 'Ikhwan). [795]

(A) The DUSHAN or Ruling Clan, has no subdivisions but only certain leading families. 619 101

(B) The 'ILWAH MUTAIR group, subdivided into the—
(1) AL MUWAHA and their subsections.
(2) AL THAWIAUN and their subsections.
(3) AL JIBLAN and their subsections.

(C) The BURAIH MUTAIR group is likewise subdivided into the—
(4) 'AULAD WASIL and their subsections.
(5) 'AULAD 'ALI and their subsections.
(6) BANI 'ABDILLA and their subsections.

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Taking (A), (B) and (C) above we have the following subsections together with the name of their shaikhs and number of tents in each instance.

(A) AL DUSHAN—Shaikh BANDAR bin FAISAL AL DUWISH.

No subsection, but the chief *hamulas* or families are:

AL SULTAN—Bandar al Faisal.
AL SHUQAIR—Trahib al Shuqair.
AL JABA'A—Mutlug al Jaba'a.
AL 'AMASH—Muhammad al 'Amash.
AL WATBAN—Muhammad al Watban.
AL MAJID—'Abdul 'Aziz.
AL MUHAMMAD—Muhammad al Badr.
AL FAHAD—Majid al Asqa.

Total approximately 200 tents.

(B) (1) AL MUWAHA ('ILWAH group)—Paramount Shaikh BANDAR AL DUWISH of the DUSHAN.

The following are the subsections:

AL BARA'ISA—Shaikh AL SUR (Naif) (100 tents).
AL JUBARA—Shaikh ABU RAS (60 tents).
AL JAHTAN—Shaikh AL WASALI (40 tents).
AL JIDAYIN—Shaikh AL JID'AI (100 tents).
AL KHAWATIRAH—Shaikh AL BAIYIR.
AL RUKHMAN—Shaikh IBN JARIBAN (AL JARAIBAT) / ABU SIFRA (AL MUHAMMAD) (180 tents).
AL SA'ANIN—Shaikh IBN MITA'IB (80 tents).

(2) AL THAWIAUN ('ILWAH group)—Paramount Shaikh AL FUQM.

The following are the subsections:

AL MALA'ABAH—Shaikh IBN GHANAIMAN (300 tents).
(Seven principal sub-families).

AL SAHABA—Shaikh AL FUQM (HAIF and JUFFRAN).
(Eight principal sub-families) (300 tents).

Note.—AL MALA'BAH has the following principal sub-families:

AL GHUNAIMAN.
AL SA'ADUN.
AL FITAH.
AL MITHAJIR.
AL AMIRRA.
AL GUTHAILAT.
AL RUWASHIDA.

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AL SAHABA has the following principal sub-families: 619 101

ARFAN.	JAMA'AIN.
DAMANIN.	JARID.
FUGAWA.	JAWAFIYAH.
HIJJI.	HADAIRAT.

(3) AL JIBLAN ('ILWAH group)—Paramount Shaikh IBN LAMI.

The following are the subsections:

AL ARAQIBAH—Shaikh AL MA'ARGAB (50 tents).
AL BURZAN—Shaikh IBN RASHIDAN (200 tents) (Three sub-families).
AL 'INNAH—Shaikh IBN JAGHAITHIM (150 tents) (Two sub-families).
AL LIHAYA (YAHYA)—Shaikh IBN SHIBLAN (FAISAL) (200 tents) (Two sub-families).
AL QA'AIMAT—Shaikh IBN LAMI (The Shaikhly Clan) (100 tents).

Number of tents, 700.

Note.—The BURZAN include following principal sub-families:

AL MAJALDA.	AL QISHA'AN.
AL MARAISA.	

The 'INNAH include following principal sub-families:

AL KHURAIBITAN.	ABU SHA'IBIN.

The LIHAYA (YAHYA) include following principal sub-families:

AL SHAWAIRAH.	AL SHIYABIN.

(C) (4) AULAD WASIL (Braih group)—Paramount Shaikh AL MURAIKHI.

The following are the subsections:

AL 'AFBAH—Shaikh AL FATHI (20 tents).
AL BIRZAN—Shaikh IBN SHUWAIRIBAT, IBN HANAIYA (200 tents).
AL DIYAHIN—Shaikh AL MUTRAQQA ('Ubaid), IBN JARBUH (Kuwait) (200 tents).
AL HAWAMIL—Shaikh IBN DAMAKH (50 tents).
AL MURAIKHAT—Shaikh AL MURAIKHI (60 tents).
AL AWARATH—Shaikh IBN ZUWAIYID (Maziad) (30 tents).
AL ARAIYAH—Shaikh IBN ISHWAN (Dazzah) (70 tents).
AL MAHARISA—Shaikh AL HAFTA (50 tents).
AL WISAMA—Shaikh IBN MUHAILIB (50 tents).

Note.—There are several other sections, notably in inner Najd, of which little is known.

For further information regarding the AL BIRZAN see Chapter XLIV on curious customs among the Badawin.

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(5) AULAD 'ALI (BURAIH group)—Paramount Shaikh IBN MUSAIYIS (MISHARI) (Claims to be of 'ANIZAH stock):

The following are the subsections:

AL SA'ARAN—Shaikh IBN MUSAIYIS (300 tents).
AL ABADIN—Shaikh IBN JAHRIMAN (60 tents).
AL HAMADIN—Shaikh AL HUMAIDANI (150 tents).
AL SA'ADUN—Shaikh AL UMJAHWI (100 tents).
AL SHIALIN—Shaikh AL MAUT (25 tents).
AL SHUTHAILAT—Shaikh AL DIRI (Falah) (990 tents).
DUWIGHANIMI—Shaikh AL MAKNISANI (Nasir) (40 tents).
AL HITHLAN—Shaikh IBN TIRAN (Att'allah) (30 tents).

Number of tents at very rough computation, 1,700.

Note.—Very little is known of the above subsections as regards numbers and leaders, as they mostly roam in Qasim and towards Hijaz, i.e. south of the Dahana and to westward.

(6) BANI 'ABDILLA (BURAIH group)—divided into the following subsections:

AL MAIMUM—Shaikh IBN JIRNAS.
IBN SHARAR.
IBN FIDAGHIN (800 tents).
AL SA'ABA—Shaikh IBN THAMNA (600 tents).
AL THI'AUN—Shaikh IBN ISQAIYAN.
IBN JIBRIN (900 tents).

Note.—Very little is known of the above and many other subsections or their numbers or leaders. The whole tribe has its habitat in inner Najd. They are reported to be numerically very strong and to have 4,000 tents at least.

Corrected up to 20.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

The number of this tribe's tents, fighting men, camels, etc., are variable; quantities and figures given must be taken as approximate only, especially as regards the Buraih sub-groups of the Aulad 'Ali and the Bani 'Abdilla, who roam between Qasim and the Hijaz.

The tribe has a great tradition behind it, and being a "Sharif" one is considered among the great and honoured ones of Arabia.

[622] The Duwish is looked upon as head of the whole of the Dushan, Ilwah and Buraih groups. Actually his control of the distant Bani 'Abdilla division of inner Najd is not very strong. (See Genealogical Tree No. V.)

000 About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Sa'ud in

Appendix I

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Saud in 1929–30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under 721
ibn Musaiyis, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and [713]
German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Bin Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Bin Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929–30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Bin Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the 'Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Bin Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Bin Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Bin Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the 669
latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929–30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(a) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.
(b) The confiscation by Bin Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Shuraf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able 726
to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They 231
own the famous breed of *Krush* horses, and up to the 1929–30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear 291
a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and 562
once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman 619
were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929–30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'Ajman (Singular 'ajmi) 619

Paramount Shaikh—ibn hithlain* (from Shaikhly Clan al ma'idh, 101
subsection majian). 622

* Is also pronounced Hathlain.

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619 *Present incumbent* (1937)—KHALID AL HITHLAIN (Bin Sa'ud's nominee,
101 nicknamed ZIB SAHMAN). RAKAN AL HITHLAIN (tribal nominee).
[622] *Fighting strength*—May be taken at approximately 5,800.
[22] *Habitat*—In winter the tribe ranges whole Province of Hasa from the Kuwait border as far south as Hufuf. In summer they camp along the whole length of the Wadi al Miyah in Hasa where water is plentiful, their headquarter camps being 'Nta, Ghanwa, Mulaija, Sarrar and Awaina in Mid Hasa. The Southern 'Ajman largely camp in summer round Hufuf town. The Al Hajraf section and some of the Al Hadi, who have for many years been vassals of the Shaikhs of Kuwait, roam Kuwait and camp at Jahrah in summer.

The tribe is closely related to the powerful Al Murra in the south, and so are in close alliance. Also they marry with the Bani Yam of Najran, who claim the same ancestry. They profess the Sunni Hanbali creed of Islam, and were lately all 'Ikhwan.

The various sections of the tribe with their shaikhs and number of tents are as follows:

AL ARJAH—under Shaikh IBN RUMAH (210 tents).

Subsections:

ARJAH. RISQ.
MARJAH.

ADH DHÁ'IN—Shaikh IBN JUMA'A (Mana), AD DAMIR ('Abdulla) (150 tents).

Subsections:

'AMIR. HARDHAN.
DHÁ'IN.

AL HÁDI—Shaikh AL MUTALAQQIM ('Ubaid) (130 tents).

Subsections:

AL HÁDI. AL WAIL.

AL HAJJÁN (pronounced HAIYAN)—Shaikh MUHAMMAD AS SUBAH (50 tents).

AL HITLÁN—Shaikh IBN SA'ADA and IBN ZIMAMAN (160 tents).

Subsections:

DHAMISHAH. RASSAN.
JAHIL. SHURAITH.
MATAQ.

AL HABAISH—Shaikh IBN 'ILWAF (100 tents).

AL KHUWAITIR—Shaikh AD DAMMAM IBN 'ADHAN (50 tents).

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AL MAHFUDH—Shaikh IBN MIKRAD (MABKHUTH) (200 tents).

Subsections:

DABASAH. SHAFAH.
MAHFUDH.
AL HAWAILA (Shaikh JUNAIFIR, father of SARAH, wife of FAHAD AL HITHLAIN).

AL MIFLA—Shaikh IBN DIBLAN (Muhammad) (60 tents).

AL MA IDH—Shaikh IBN HITHLAIN (300 tents).

Subsections:

HURAISH. NAJIAH.
KARAH. SILBAH.
MUGHATTI. ZAIZ.
MUAIG.

AL MISRA—Shaikh IBN 'UTHAIN (SALIM) (90 tents).

AL RÍMAH—Shaikh IBN 'AKSHAN (90 tents).

AS SHÁMIR—Shaikh IBN JUNAFIR, IBN KHARSAN (200 tents).

Subsections:

HUSAIN. KHUDHAIR.

AL SHU'AWILAH—Shaikh IBN MIFLAH (100 tents).

AL SIFRÁN—Shaikh IBN MUNAIKHIR (100 tents).

AL SULAIMAN—Shaikh HAIF BIN HAJRAF (in Kuwait).
IBN ISAIDAN } in (Sa'udi Arabia) (230 tents).
IBN MUSAMIH }

Subsections:

BUGHUR. JARAU'AH.
DARWAN. SULAIMAN.
HAMRAH. HAJRAF.
HITHTHAH.

[B 641]

This tribal section, for long under paramount Shaikh Haif, has owned allegiance to Kuwait, so Bin Sa'ud has appointed other two shaikhs to lead the tribe. In tribal eyes Haif is the true leader.

[K 622 641]

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

The number of this tribe's tents, fighting men, camels, etc., is a variable quantity, and therefore figures given must be looked upon as approximate only. The tribe follows the shaikhly house of Al Hithlain, which is paramount always (see family tree of Al Hithlain in Appendix).

Appendix I

be brought under Kuwait. Were authority to collapse in Najd, the 'Ajman would be the first to desert. 641

'Awazim (Singular 'Azmi)

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Paramount Shaikh—Shaikh (Amir) IBN JAMA of the AL KU'AH camel division (senior) of the tribe—section AL HADALIN, which is the Shaikhly Clan. [622]

Present incumbent—AMIR 'AID IBN JAMA.

Strength—Approximately 4,000 fighting men.*

Location.—The tribal range is the north-east corner of Arabia (Kuwait and Hasa), from Kuwait town as far south as Ras Bidiya. In winter Kuwait State is visited west and north-west of Jahrah as far as the Bátin depression. In summer the various sections camp on water in the Kuwait Neutral Zone and in the Suda region to the south of it where water and grazing is plentiful. Ark and Ingair are favourite camps. [221]

Religion.—Sunni MALIKI.

The following comprise the sections of this powerful tribe, including their shaikhs and number of tents:

AL BURAIKAT—Shaikh RAI AL FAHAMA (60 tents).
AL HADALIN—Shaikh IBN JAMA (90 tents).
AL SHAQFAH—Shaikh AL SAFAR (70 tents).
AL ABABIYAT—Shaikh IBN IMLAIHIYAH (60 tents).
AL ALAITHAT—Shaikh IBN IHKAILAN (50 tents).
AL ATHARIMAH—Shaikh IBN IMATRIM (40 tents).
AL FAOU—Shaikh IBN GHIYATHI (40 tents).
AL JAWASIRAH—Shaikh IBN KHAFRAH (90 tents).
AL MATAIBA—Shaikh IBN MANA (150 tents).
AL MUHALIBA—Shaikh ASH SHITLI (90 tents).
AL MUSAHIMAH—Shaikh IBN IHBAINA (120 tents)
AL MUWAIJIHAH—Shaikh IBN DHAB (70 tents).
AL QURRASHAH—Shaikh IBN JANDAL (100 tents).
AL SUWABIR—Shaikh IBN DRAI (160 tents).
AL SUWAWIKH—Shaikh AL SAWAGH (40 tents).
AL TUMA—Shaikh IBN IRMAIH (140 tents).

also

DHUWAIBAT
AGHRUBA
HASANIYAH
JA'AWIRAH
} No recognised shaikh, settled in Kuwait as fisherfolk, etc.

* Excluding those domiciled in Kuwait and environs.

Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

B 231 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 ('Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 619 The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 619 641 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929–30 'Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the 'Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B 563 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MÁNA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAMI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 713 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MUSAILIM.

101 *Present incumbents*—'ASI IBN MUSAILIM (Senior) and MUTLUQ IBN MUSAILIM.

221 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[672] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

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State as far south as the Tawal-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619 101 221

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyeh, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI. [795]

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619 101

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADBAH (30 tents).
AL GHURAIBAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAID, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HIRSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).
MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters. 641 619

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep. [233]

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks, 619

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619 and their men for their knowledge of the country. Hence they make excellent guides and hunters. During the 'Ikhwan movement half of the tribe left Kuwait and threw in its lot with the Mutair. To-day (1937) they have come back to Kuwait territory to their old allegiance. The tribe is 713 well armed with a variety of British and Turkish rifles. A few Martini-Henry carbines also exist among them.

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SHAMMAR (singular Shammari)

Divisions.	*Principal Shaikhs.*
(1) ABDA group	Ibn 'Ali
	Ibn Shuraim
	Ibn Jabrin
	Ibn 'Ajil
(2) ASLAM group	Mishal ibn Twála
(Al Saiyah)	Muhammad al Waja'an
(3) SINJARA group	Ibn Rimál
	Ibn Thunaiyan
(Tumán)	Mishal al Timiát
(Timiát)	Ibn Aiyish
	Mita'ab al Ruba'a

[641] *Note.*—(*a*) The above owe allegiance to Bin Sa'ud, King of Sa'udi Arabia. The large and important group of Shammar Jarba, whose habitat is between Baghdad and Mosul (on the left bank of the Euphrates), owes allegiance to Iraq, and so are not included in the above list.

(*b*) Close inter-connection is always maintained, however, between Shammar Jarba and the Najd group of Shammar mentioned above. This especially applies to marriage.

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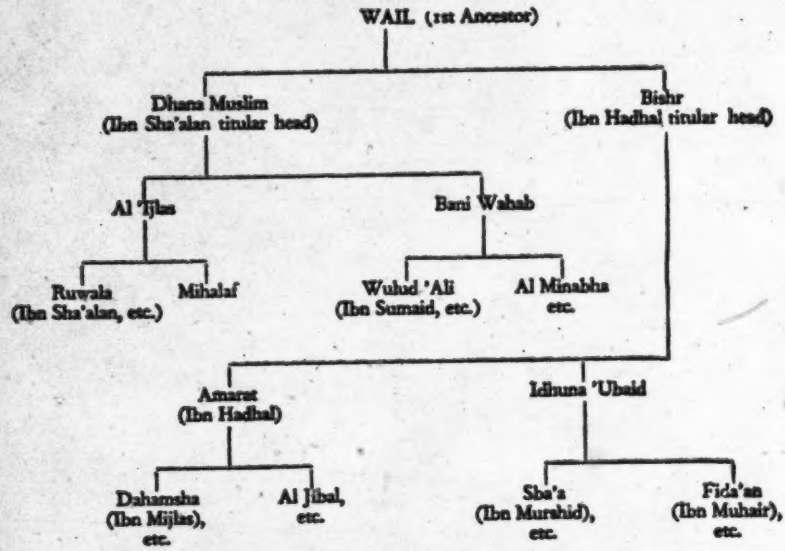
The 'Anizah Tribe

(Origin and main sections)



The Walad Sulaiman tribe claim descent from Wail and so call themselves 'Anizah, but there is some doubt about this.

Notes on the 'Anizah Tribe

1. The parent tribes of the whole of the 'Anizah are said to be the FAQIR (or FAJIR), plural FUQARA, and the 'AIDA.

The former to this day ranges the country between TAIMA and KHAIBAR in North-West Arabia, and the latter the country lying between Madain Salih, Dar al Hamra and Al 'Ula.

2. The various 'Anizah sections as we know them to-day in the Syrian desert first moved up northwards to their present *dirahs* about A.D. 1600 and in successive waves, the whole migration taking some 180 years.

The different sections are said to have carried out the move in the following order:

FIDA'AN.	SBA'A.
H'SINNA.	RUWALA.
AMARAT.	etc.

As the great Northern Shammar tribe was already in possession of the Syrian desert, these had to be driven out by the oncoming 'Anizah. With such success was this done that the Shammar were eventually forced across

Appendix II

619 the Euphrates into the country south-west of Mosul, where they reside
●101 to-day under the name of Shammar Jarba (Shaikh Ajil al Yarwar).*
173 3. The town of KHAIBAR is the earliest-known centre of the 'Anizah tribe, and to this day its two main "quarters" are called Al Bishr and 'Ijlas.

619 4. The 'Anizah tribe is the greatest of all Badawin tribes as regards strength and the numbers of their camels. They have a pretty story that their ancestor Wail chanced on the right moment in the Night of Destiny (Lailat al Qadr) the 27th of Ramadhan (Fast Month), when God will always fulfil the prayers of men. Placing one hand on his she-camel and the other on a certain part of his own person, he prayed that her seed and his own should be fruitful and multiply: God heard his prayer with to-day's wonderful results.

It is said that the 'Anizah to-day number 37,000 males, and their camels approximately one million.

721 5. The 'Anizah between themselves are always at war, but will combine
619 against any foreign aggressor. For example, the Amarat—Sba'a—and Fida'an are at enmity with the Ruwala and will combine against them. Similarly the Dahamsha, though of Amarat origin, do not fight the Ruwala (because of an ancient grievance against the Ibn Hadhal, then the titular overlords).

[628] 6. The great external enemy of the 'Anizah are the Shammar, whether found in the north or in the south. This is a hereditary feud.

7. The Hawaitat tribe, lying south-west of the 'Anizah country between Wejh and the Amman border, are also enemies from old time, but are not strong enough to worry them much, hence there is a sort of perpetual truce between them.

APPENDIX II

000 BADAWIN SHAIKHS WE HAVE KNOWN INTIMATELY

'Anizah	Fahad Beg al Hadhal (dead) Mahruth al Hadhal	Amarat group.
	Nuri as Sha'alan Farhan ibn Mashur (dead) Fawaz ibn Nawaf as Sha'alan	Ruwala group.
Dhafir	Hamud as Suwait (dead).	
	Hantush as Suwait.	
	Jada'an as Suwait.	
	Jali ibn Juraiyid.	

* Now Shaikh Sfug ibn Ajil.

THE BADU OF SOUTHERN ARABIA

By W. P. THESIGER, D.S.O.

114 Lecture given on September 28, 1949, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

The Chairman: To-day Mr. Thesiger is going to talk to us about the countries around the Red Sea, with which he has been acquainted since childhood. He was born in Abyssinia. Before the recent war he was with the Sudan Civil Service. In 1940 he was sent to Abyssinia and volunteered for service there with the Ethiopian Patriot Force, in which he was awarded the D.S.O.

Later he was sent on special duty to Damascus and was able to resume his Arabic studies. Since the war he has carried out several remarkable trips to explore the heart of the area known as the "Empty Quarter," and he is now going to tell us about the most recent of these.

●101 178 184 I AM going to talk about the Badu of Southern Arabia; that is to say, the camel-owning nomads who live in and around the Empty Quarter. I wish to make it clear that I am talking about the Badu, or Baduin, and not about Arabs who cultivate or live in towns, for there is all the difference in the world between them. I do not suppose that a sophisticated young town Arab would be flattered if you referred to him as a Badui, though it is surprising how many of them do proudly claim Badu origin, and I do know that no Badui would like to be called a townsman or cultivator. At first sight the Badu of Southern Arabia appear to be very different from those of the north, but I believe that this difference is largely superficial and due to the clothes which they wear. I do not think that either a Sa'ari from the deserts just north of the Hadhramaut or a Wahibi from South-Eastern Oman would feel himself much out of place in an encampment of the Rualla. On the other hand, I think that a townsman from Aden or Muscat would always be conspicuous in Damascus. I wish also to make it quite clear that I am describing conditions in Southern Arabia and not in Arabia as a whole. In the past Badu life was everywhere much the same, harder in some places and easier in others. The last quarter of a century has, however, seen the most revolutionary changes in the north. There Ibn Saud has imposed his iron will upon the tribes. He has subjected the nomad to the rule of the settled Arab, stamped out raiding, and taxed the Badui as well as the cultivator. The same process has been carried out in Trans-Jordan, in Syria, and in [177] Iraq. It was largely the use of the motor-car which made it possible to bring the Badu under control, for that robbed them of their age-old inaccessibility. Previously they had only to retire into the desert to be safe from pursuit, but now they are at the mercy of a motorized patrol, unable to get away and with nowhere to hide.

178 619 Cars have, however, not yet penetrated into the southern desert, and there the old life still goes on. I do not suppose, except that the Badu are now armed with rifles, that their way of life has greatly changed since the times of Abraham. In the south they are still dominant and even unchallenged. It is true that before they enter the valley of the Hadhramaut

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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THE 'ANAZAH TRIBES*

TOUVIA ASHKENAZI

619 101 TO THE RABI'A GROUP[1] belong the 'Anazah and the closely related 'Asad who live near each other to the north of the Wâdi Rumma.[2] The Pilgrim Road from Baṣra[3] to Medina[4] crosses their territory. The 'Anazah, who are scattered throughout the peninsula of Arabia, Syria and 'Irak, are divided [601] into a Southern and Northern branch. All the tribes, and all the clans of the 'Anazah tribes, in the opinion of the ar-Rwala, have a common father and therefore are they beni al-'amm, their paternal cousins.[5] They are called by many travellers the 'Anazah nation.[6] The 'Anazah of the Syrian desert are the most

128 * Because of limitations of special type available native words are given in the text without diacritical marks. A list showing the proper orthography is given at the end of this article—Editor.

113 1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1938, pp. 176-178; see tribal descent of Arabian Bedouins, Carl Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia* (Boston, 1935), p. 232; cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1933), p. xix, "The Descendants of Rabia"; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (3rd ed., revised, 1946), pp. 93, 280, 502 n. l; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman* (3rd ed., 1929), pp. 95, 101, 106, 131, 177, 439; Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1946), vol. 2, p. 477.

2 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 374; cf. *First List of Names in Arabia (N. W. and S. W.)* (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, Royal Geographical Society, December, 1931, p. 8 (Rima, Wâdi ar: wadi, 160 km south of Hail; Arabic *A* [for Arabic forms see list at end of this article]). See also David George Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: a Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (New York, 1904), Rumma, W. ar –, pp. 164, 184, 190, 208, 233, 239, 273, 277, 285, 288 ff., 296 ff., 306, 316, 326, 340, 341.

3 Basra: pr. Basra (sharp s); Arabic *B*.

4 Medina: 350 km north of Mecca; conv. for Arabic *C* – Al Medina; formerly Arabic *D* – Yathrib.

[104] 5 The word duriyya, "descendants," is replaced among the ar-Rwala by the word dana which designates very distant descendants irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or whether the relationship is due to adoption. This term is employed particularly by the 'Anazah. Dana, "descendants": John Lewis Burckhardt employs this term in 1810 *(Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* [2 vols., London, 1830], vol. 2, pp. 4-6); cf. Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwela Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 47-50; Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins* (Paris, 1930), p. 113; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des etats du Levant placés sous mandat français* (Beyrouth, July, 1930), p. 7.

6 Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), p. 1; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 176; Carl Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins* (Geographical Review, vol. 20, no. 3, 1930), p. 494; *idem*, *Vocabulary of Bedouin Words Concerning Horses* (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 4, no. 2, 1945), p. 97.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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powerful of all the purely nomad confederations from the borders of 'Irak to the eastern frontiers of Syria.[7] 619 101

(1) The Southern 'Anazah, comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab al-Hayl, Eben Sabah, Ebn Sa'ûd, and various clans of the Kahṭan and the Muntifeš (al-Aškar, etc.). (2) The Northern 'Anazah are subdivided into (a) the Dana Muslim, and (b) the Dana Bišr. The Dana Bišr include the Wuld 'Ali[8] and the ar-Rwala,[9] who are also known as the Al-Glâs.[10] 619

THE NORTHERN BRANCH

The Northern Branch of the 'Anazah are subdivided, as we have mentioned, into two branches: (a) Dana Bišr and (b) Dana Muslim. 619 622

According to Gertrude Bell,

The Anizah are divided roughly, into three groups. The Amarat, who claim descent from a legendary ancestor called Bishr, occupy, under Fahad Beg ibn Hadhdhal, the south-east angle of the Syrian desert and spend the summer near the Euphrates. The

7 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia* (India Office, 3rd December 1920: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, London, 1920 [Cmd. 1061]), pp. 39-40; Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins;* Max Fr. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* (Leipzig, 1939), vol. 1: "Die Beduinenstämme in Mesoptamien und Syrien," pp. 62-130; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.,* pp. 15-33; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins,* "Les tribus du desert," pp. 41-45, 113-123; Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia,* pp. 110-112; *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Beyrouth, 1922), p. 6; *The Military Handbook of Palestine and Syria* (Cairo, 1918), pp. 53-55; J. C. Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq* (Journal, Royal Central Asian Society, vol. 22, part 1, 1935), p. 15; E. Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung der Arabischen Beduinenstämme* (Islamica, vol. 6, part 1, Leipzig, 1933), p. 89; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.,* pp. 497-499; *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council with the Study of the Frontier between Syria and Iraq* (League of Nations, Mandates: Official No. C. 578, M. 285, 1932), vi, p. 27. 113

8 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.,* pp. 26-28; Musil, *Arabia Deserta,* p. 84; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.,* p. 499, map, "Tribal Areas of the 'Aneze Tribes."

9 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.; idem, Arabia Deserta,* pp. 14-16; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.,* pp. 19-25; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins,* pp. 113, 123; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen,* vol. 1, pp. 62-130; *The Military Handbook, etc.,* p. 53; Lady Bell, ed., *The Letters of Gertrude Bell* (New York, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 332, 351; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* vol. 1, pp. 234, 271, 358, 376, 388, 565; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert* (New York, 1927), pp. 58-59, 95, 111, 244, 249, 260, 268, 274, 296, 299, 302, 310, 315, 320, 324; *Report, Iraq for the Year 1929* (Colonial no. 55, 1930), pp. 35-36.

10 Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* vol. 1, p. 271. Doughty remarks further "Incorporate of old with the Ruwàlla, are the ancient Annezy Aarab, el-Jellâs; of whom a wady of Kheybar, their former possession long forsaken by them, is yet named" (vol. 1, p. 377). And further he notes: "We came through palm-groves in a valley bottom, W. Jellâs, named after the old division of Annezy, which having long since forsaken Kheybar, are at this day—we have seen—with the Ruwàlla in the north" (vol. 2, p. 92; also pp. 134, 205).

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from the kin of the Ka'ka'a. Sa'lân was the son of worthy parents. Although he had no property of his own, he had charge of the camel herdsmen of the al-Mur'âz kin in the capacity of a fedâwi, free born servant. The herds grazed in the environs of a certain settlement in Negd. The Ka'ka'a once stole flocks of sheep and goats from the settlers and drove their camels into their fields. The settlers rushed out, captured the herds of camels, and hid them in the enclosed palm gardens. The Rwala surrounded the settlement, but they could not break down the defence, and the settlers threatened that the captured camels would die of hunger if the Rwala did not abandon the blockade. Accordingly the head chief of the Rwala made an offer of peace to the elder of the settlers. The elder declared that he would not negotiate except with his acquaintance Sa'lân and that he would not give up the camels except to him. The representatives of the Frege and Ribišân pleaded with the chief to give Sa'lân the seal ring, and this was done. Sa'lân went to the elder and came to terms with him. The settlers returned the captured camels. All praised Sa'lân and said that he was a gentleman. Sa'lân remained in the settlement and did not return the ring to the head chief. The settlers, the Frege, and the Ribišân supported him, and after four years he overthrew the head chief and himself guided the destinies of all the Rwala. A struggle for priority ensued between the head chief Eben Sa'lân with his Rwala and chief aš-Sreyfi of the Kwačbe. The latter belonged to the Kahaṭan division of the 'Anazah. Originally they camped in Negd. Under their chief aš-Sreyfi they advanced to the territory of the Rwala and encamped to the east of al-Gowf.[30] They wished to act and rule in complete independence, but the Rwala declared that they must acknowledge the Rwala supremacy or else withdraw. Thereupon the Kwačbe joined with the Sammâr and Zefir[31] and undertook a great raid upon the tribes obeying Eben Sa'lân. They were led by the seven sons of aš-Sreyfi. The Kwačbe and Sammâr wished to avenge their great

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30 al-Gowf: oasis, northern Negd; Arabic *F* or *G* – Gowf al-'Amir. Gowf al-'Amir, the ancient Dûmat el-Gendel, a great oasis and suburbs in the south of the Syrian Desert and on the border of the Nefûd. Gowf signifies a hollow or low ground. The Sunn'a of Gowf are greatly esteemed in all northwestern Arabia and in the lands beyond the Jordan for their skill in metal- and marble-working (coffee mortars and pestles). There is a salt traffic from the neighborhood of Gowf to the Hawrân, whither there come every year many poor Gowfies to labor for the Druses. Cf. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*: Gowf (North), pp. 18, 36, 116, 157 ff., 162 ff., 170, 173, 247, 250 ff., 256, 266 ff.; Gowf (South), pp. 31, 56, 198, 200, 201, 210, 334. On the occupation of Gowf by Eben Sa'ûd and the abandonment of the oasis by the ar-Rwala consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 19. Gowf is mentioned by T. E. Lawrence in the First World War as Nuri Eben Sa'lân's capital (*Revolt in the Desert*, p. 59).

31 On the tribe of Az-Zefir consult Alois Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 24; *idem*, *Northern Negd*, p. 169; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15.

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221 wards to the Euphrates and even beyond that river.[60] At the beginning of winter they move southwards towards the Sammâr hills where they still find fresh pasture for their camels. And from December onward no 'Anazah are found in the whole district north of the chain of hills which begins to the northeast of Damascus and reaches as far as the Euphrates. Toward March, when the she-camels have dropped their young, the 'Anazah begin to return north, so as to reach their summer quarters again by the middle of April. They do not take their sheep with them to the south, but leave them in the care of the subject tribes.

The Euphrates is, on the whole, the boundary between the 'Anazah and the Sammâr of Mesopotamia.[61] The former, however, frequently cross the river by numerous fords in order to make raids in Mesopotamia, so that there is a permanent state of war between them and the Sammâr who are barely half their number. The 'Anazah are always readily assisted by the Yazidi's.[62] The raids from one side of the river to the other usually begin with the arrival of summer. 'Anazah are found even in the district of Nisibis and Mosul.[63] And east of the Habur[64] there is a fairly considerable sept of the tribe, a sub-tribe of the Haddal,[65] who migrated to that district in consequence of dissensions with their fellow-tribesmen and joined the Sammâr.

CONCLUSION

101 It is of great importance to us to learn the part played by the 'Anazah tribes in the Near and Middle East in generations past, as well as the chances of a brighter future of these "Sons of the Desert," who are still completely nomadic for the greater part. The first requisite for our understanding of the situation is to recognize that the Bedouin must be a nomad who breeds and keeps camels.

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60 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 10, 20, 28, 29-30, 32; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 50-82; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, pp. 13-14; *Report, Iraq for the Year 1929*, pp. 35-36; Rasoun, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, pp. 494-496; *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc.*, pp. 26-27; Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys; A Handbook of Arabia* (Naval Intelligence Division, Great Britain, London, 1920).

61 Consult on the Sammâr and related tribes: *Handbook:* Northern Shammar, p. 78; Musil, *Northern Nejd*, pp. 31-33; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15; Jamali, *The New Iraq, etc.*, pp. 55, 65, 74, 122, 127, 141.

62 *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc.*, pp. 27-29; Th. Menzel, *Yazidi* (in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*); Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar* (Beyrouth, 1938).

63 Mûsul: conv. for Arabic *M* – Al Mûsil.

64 Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 74-76. Cf. Khâbûr, Nahr el: river 40 km east of Deyr az-Zôr; Arabic *N*.

65 *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Beyrouth, May 1922), pp. 19-20, 21-25.

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101 Any non-nomad is automatically ruled out. But there are tens of thousands of nomadic tribesmen in Syria and 'Irak who live in tents and are continually on the move, but who are not Bedouins, for they do not primarily breed camels, but sheep and donkeys.[66] A Bedouin must also be able to trace his descent from certain recognized pure-bred Bedouin tribes. We find, therefore, that a Bedouin, in the strictest sense, is a camel-breeding nomad of certain specified tribes.[67] There are seven or eight principal tribes in northern Arabia. (1) 'Anazah, the most numerous, fill the greater part of the triangle of the Syrian desert; (2) Sammâr, bound 'Anazah on the south, with a branch in northern 'Irak between the Tigris and Euphrates; (3) Mutair and the Az-Zefir lie in the extreme southeast of our area, while Beni-Sahr, the Hwêtat, and Beni Atiyeh occupy the southwest corner. In addition to these, however, there are certain ignoble tribes scattered everywhere among the Bedouins.[68]

178 It is also significant to learn what their social and economic status in Syria, 'Irak, and the Arabian Peninsula was under Turkish rule and before 1914 as well as under British, French, and Saudi-Arabian administration ever since then. Will this completely pure-nomadic stock succeed in preserving their ancient mode of life in the framework of the industrialization of the Near and Middle East? Or, will they be forced to retire to their lairs of old, the Arabian Peninsula, to preserve their traditions? Or, will they be forced by slow process to give up their completely nomadic habits, turn by degrees into semi-nomads and successively to semi-farmers, attached to the soil, until they finally are settled and firmly attached to a permanent abode? And we learn, from the past, that the 'Anazah tribes will not be able to continue for long in their present ancient mode of life, preserving all customs and circumstances of nomad life, because the Near East and Middle East are changing from patriarchal-feudal into progressive, civilized countries with a higher culture and standard of life. This will force a firm and fixed policy with regard to the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes dwelling on the borders and in the deserts to become settled, to make them stop raiding, and give way to a new mode of life. Sovereign states in the Middle East have to initiate a settlement movement to attach them gradually to some fixed abode and to give up their seasonable migrations. The political importance of the Bedouins will therefore become reduced in the future, and the establishment of firm con-

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113 66 Glubb, *The Badouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 13.

67 *Idem*, p. 15.

68 Josef Henninger, *Pariastämme in Arabien* (in *Festschrift St Gabriel zum 50 jährigen Jubiläum*, Wien-Mödling, 1939), pp. 501-539; Glubb, *The Badouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15; Montagne, *Notes sur la vie sociale, etc.*, p. 74.

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/The map following p. 502 should be assembled according to the plan given below:

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c	d

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TRIBAL AREAS AND MIGRATION LINES OF THE NORTH ARABIAN BEDOUINS

Carl R. Raswan

[With separate map, Pl. V, facing p. 502]

114 SINCE 1911 the writer has spent a total of about seven years among the Bedouins. The main purpose of his repeated visits to northern Arabia has been the breeding of Arab horses and study of their history. Incidentally he has been impelled to determine as accurately as possible the *dira* or pasture districts of the various Bedouin tribes.

114 102 The accompanying maps are based largely upon personal observations and inquiries among the 'Aneze, Shammar, Shararat, Huetat, Beni Sakhr, and other tribes, supplemented by data gleaned from Doughty's "Travels in Arabia Deserta" and more especially from Alois Musil's works. While the maps are in no sense final or complete, the writer is confident that their delineation of the tribal areas is more accurate than that shown on any previous maps.

Definite Boundaries

619 131 101 221 The migrations of the Bedouins are not arbitrary, aimless wanderings in the wilderness. Well defined landmarks limit them. Tribes related by blood ties may frequently use the same districts together at certain seasons of the year. One tribe may conclude a treaty with strangers, permitting the latter to use its pastures and watering places for a specified period. Or else a powerful tribe, like the Ruala, may invade an enemy's territory without warning. In this case constant bickering, raiding, and skirmishing is the inevitable result.

A great northward shift of the Shammar and 'Aneze nomads took place during the first part of the seventeenth century, and the existing apportionment of the tribal areas was at that time roughly established. The boundaries which the various tribes now claim as their own and which are marked by water holes, variations in the desert surface (as between lava rock, gravel, red sand, etc.), dry watercourses, solitary hills, mountain ranges, cultivated tracts, and the like, have been definitely fixed since the beginning of the last century. Some of the more important of these landmarks are shown on Plate V, facing p. 502.

As a typical example of a tribal area let us examine the *dira* of the 'Amarat tribe of the 'Aneze "nation" (Fig. 1). The eastern limit

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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of their wanderings approaches close to Baghdad, Kerbela, and An-Nejef. To the south, in seasons of sufficient rain, they pasture their herds on the tract of Al-Hejera; but when rain is scanty they move westward and thence northward around the southern and western edges of Al-Wudiyan. Thence, crossing Wadi al-Ghadaf, Wadi al-Hazimi, and Wadi Hauran (near Ar-Rutba, now a military outpost of 'Iraq) they reach their northern limits at the base of the mountains Abu Rijmen and Jebel Bishri between As-Sukhne and Deyr az-Zor. Within this *dira* lie the boundaries of the pasture districts of other tribes. In the north the Fed'an range as far south as 'Aqlat Shuab (where their great chief Turki ibn Mheyd lies buried), and the Sba'a go south to Wadi al-Ghadaf. The Fed'an and Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amarat, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders. The territory of the Ruala, also related by blood to the 'Amarat, overlaps that of the latter in Al-Wudiyan and Al-Hejera; and on the south Al-Hejera is also occupied by the Shammar (Fig. 2). In addition, the 'Amarat share part of their *dira* with 'Aqeydat, Dleym, and Khaza'el (Fig. 3), tribes of the second rank, despised by the strong Bedouins of noble blood, with whom, however, they are occasionally allowed to migrate.

Relation to Natural Features

Since very early times three great natural features have borne a close relation to the territorial subdivision of the major nomadic nations of northern and central Arabia. The first is a well defined depression that cuts across the entire peninsula from the Red Sea at Al-Wejh to Basra and is marked by the irregular lines of Wadi Humdh to the west and of Wadi Ruma' and its continuation, Al-Baten, to the east. The watershed between these two systems of wadies lies east of Khaybar in Jebel Abyadh. The ancient Bedouin tribes occupying areas north of this depression are now represented also in Syria and Mesopotamia, but those with pastures south of the depression appear to have remained in central Arabia.

The second great natural feature is the Nafud sand desert and its principal outliers, Al-Labbe and Ad-Dhana. The sands of the last reach south across Wadi Ruma' and, extending between Hufhuf and Riyadh, finally connect with the boundless southern sands of the "Empty Quarter." These *nafuds* have always constituted natural limits for the migrating nomads and their herds. During winter and spring they are healthful country: out of the sands, moistened by the rains, springs up a fragrant pasture growth, and the bushes sprout forth life-giving leaves and flowers; but at other seasons all is a desolate waste. On rare occasions the nomad nations whose normal ranges lie far north in Syria return to this cradle of their race. The northern

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102 131 *Figure 2. Shammar and Related Tribes.* Northern Shammar, Handbook, p. 78. Tumaa, N. N., p. 32 (according to Handbook, p. 80, these are listed as a subtribe of the Aslam). Aslam, N. N., p. 33. 'Abde, N. N., pp. 32–33. Sinjara, N. N., pp. 31–32. Zebir, Handbook, pp. 81–85.

Other Major Tribes. 'Umur, P., p. 24. Beni 'Atiyya, N. H., p. 235. Beli, N. H., p. 211. Jeheyna, Handbook, p. 63. Harb, Handbook, pp. 64–67. 'Ateyban, Handbook, pp. 67–69. 'Ajman, Handbook, pp. 85–87. Muteyr, Handbook, pp. 83–84.

Figure 3. Tribes of the Second Rank. Jbur, M. E., p. 83. Hadediyyin, P., p. 151. Sha'lan: 'Afaale subdivision, M. E., p. 186; Welde subdivision, M. E., p. 188. 'Aqeydat, M. E., pp. 73–74. Dheym, M. E., pp. 143–144. Beni Tamim, M. E., p. 139. Zoba', M. E., p. 127. Khaza'el: Beni Selame division, M. E., p. 107. Fua're, P., p. 37. Sheyb: Al'Isa subdivision (the Sheyb are scattered over northern Arabia; some of their subdivisions and areas are indicated in A. D., p. 231). Kuakbe, A. D., p. 16. Beni Sakhr, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 112–119. Shararat, A. D., p. 136. 'Imran, N. H., p. 79. Huetat ibn Jazi, N. H., pp. 6–7; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 51–54. Huetat ibn Jad, N. H., p. 69; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 54–55. Huetat at-Tihama, N. H., p. 129; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 48–49. Humeyda, Handbook, p. 59; A. P., Vol. 3, p. 103. 'Amarin clan, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 58–59.

FIGURE 1, 'AFEZE TRIBES

101 1. The inhabitants of Hama' and Homs entrust their flocks to the 'Ayde and Hame groups of the Weld 'Ali. The sheykh At-Tayyar of the Weld 'Ali owns houses in Homs, Sheykh Hmed, and Al-Buer (see A. D., pp. 390–391).
102 2. North of Al-Barde are good lowland spring pastures of the Sba'a.
162 3. Near 'Aqlat Shuab is buried Turki eben Mbeyd, Fed'an chief (A. D., p. 62).
619 4. Near Al-Baghdadi is a garden belonging to Ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe.
131 5. The lowland of Ar-Rosa "is in cultivation and belongs to the head chief Fahad ibn Dreym ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe. His fortified farm, Al-Qeyr, is at the southeastern edge of the fields, and he maintains a small house at the spring of Al-'Eaale" (A. D., p. 359).
6. The 'Amarat camp between Al-Felluje and Baghdad in August and September; later they go to Kerbela.
7. The family of Ibn Hadhdhal have houses at Kerbela and Rezaza (see A. D., p. 258).
8. Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan are the winter pasture grounds of the Ruala in years of sufficient rain; if the rains do not suffice they go to the eastern borders of the Nafud or to the vicinity of Teyma'.
9. "From the end of June until the end of August the Ruala pasture in An-Nuqra." This summer pasture is called *mogiz*. After September they leave for Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan (A. D., p. 408).
10. The people of Nasib pay tribute to Nuri ibn Sha'lan, head chief of the Ruala, when the Ruala return from Nejd in June (A. D., p. 353).
11. Libben is visited in lean years by the Ruala.
12. Some Muahib of the Qmusa subdivision of the Sba'a tribe camp with the Beni Sakhr; others with the Beli (see Figs. 2 and 3).
13. Route taken by the northern Weld 'Ali to their southern relatives on the Ruala *dira* (pasture districts).
14. The Huetat sometimes camp with the Ruala in this region.
15. In times of peace the Al Dughman clan of the Ruala camp in this vicinity (see N. N., p. 12).
16. The well of Hebeke in the district of Al-Hazl or Al-Hzul once belonged to Ibn Bseyya of the Al Sha'lan family of the Al Mur'az clan of the Ruala (A. D., p. 15; N. N., p. 13).
17. Al-Ma'aniyye belongs to the 'Anaze, not to the Shammar (N. N., p. 32).

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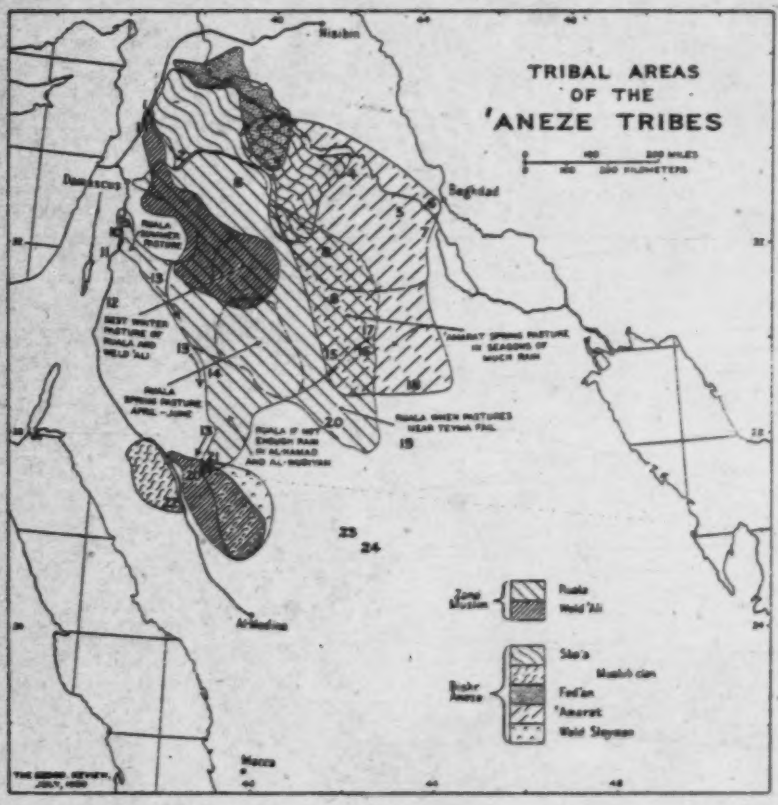

FIG. 1

18. The Hejera is the spring pasture grounds of the 'Amarat, Sinjara Shammar, Zefir, and even of the Muntifeq in seasons of plentiful rain.
19. Teyyiyyet 'Anese at one time belonged to the Dahamshe branch of the 'Amarat (A. D., p. 52; N. N., p. 26).
20. The southern Weld 'Ali and the Âl Mur'az clan of the Ruala join when the pastures southwest of Teyma' fail and go together into Al-Labbe and Al-Hamad (see A. D., p. 180).
21. When there is not enough rain in Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan the Ruala go to the vicinity of Teyma' and the northern Nafud. When they leave, their enemies (for example, Shararat, Weld Sleyman, Hteym, and Beni 'Atiyye) may take their place (A. D., p. 143).
22. "The best valleys upon both sides the Harra, next el-Hejr, are sown all years by some of the Moahib Aarab. Their harvest up, they strike the hamlets of tents, and with their cattle go forth to wander a while as the nomads" (Doughty, Vol. 1, p. 234).
23. Samira was formerly in the *dira* (territory) of the Ruala; the Harb and Beni Salem (Weld Sleyman) were taxed here by Ibn Rashid (Doughty, Vol. 2, p. 302).
24. Ibn Rashid taxed the Weld 'Ali at Al-Fuara (*ibid.*).

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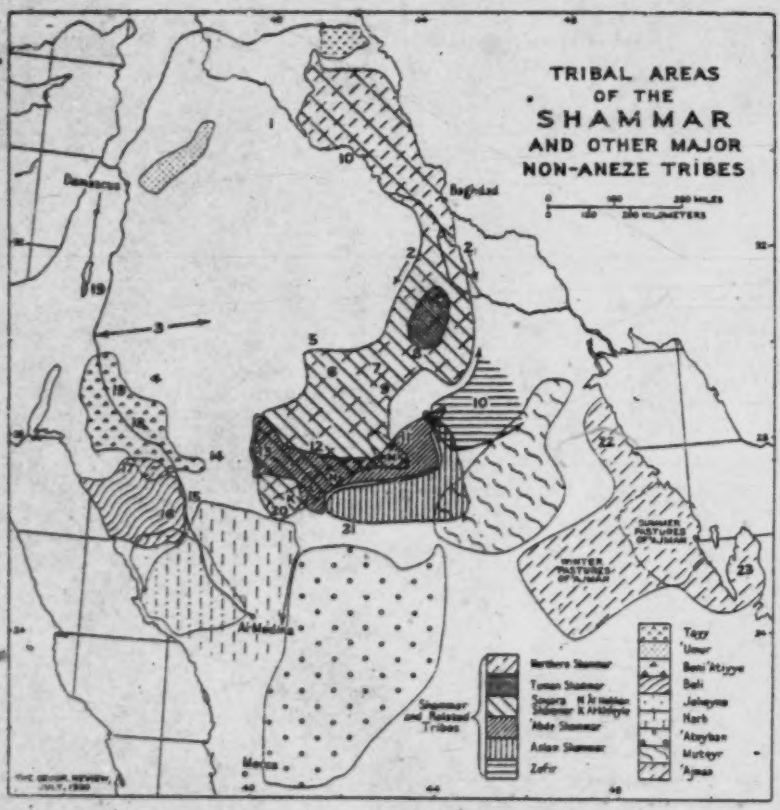

FIG. 2

FIGURE 2, SHAMMAR AND RELATED TRIBES

1. The Northern Shammar trade at Deyr az-Zor and have their agent (*wuqil*) there.
2. In certain years when the winter pastures are good the Northern Shammar migrate to Nejd.
3. The country between Ma'an and Wadi Sirhan after April is war territory between the Huetat and their enemies, the Shararat, Beni Sakhr, and Shammar (see N. H., p. 14).
4. Until the rain pools have dried up (end of April) the Huetat ibn-Jazi encamp near the mountains Al-Hamar and Al-'Afar in territory which belongs to the Shararat (N. H., p. 13).
5. Shammar are sometimes found in the vicinity of Al-Bueytat (see A. D., pp. 214–215).
6. Early summer camping grounds of the Sinjara Shammar.
7. Al-Hazl (Hzul): summer camping place of the Sinjara Shammar.
8. Cairn marking the grave of Bender, a chief of the Zmeyl clan of the Tuman tribe (N. N., p. 193).
9. See Fig. 1, note 18.

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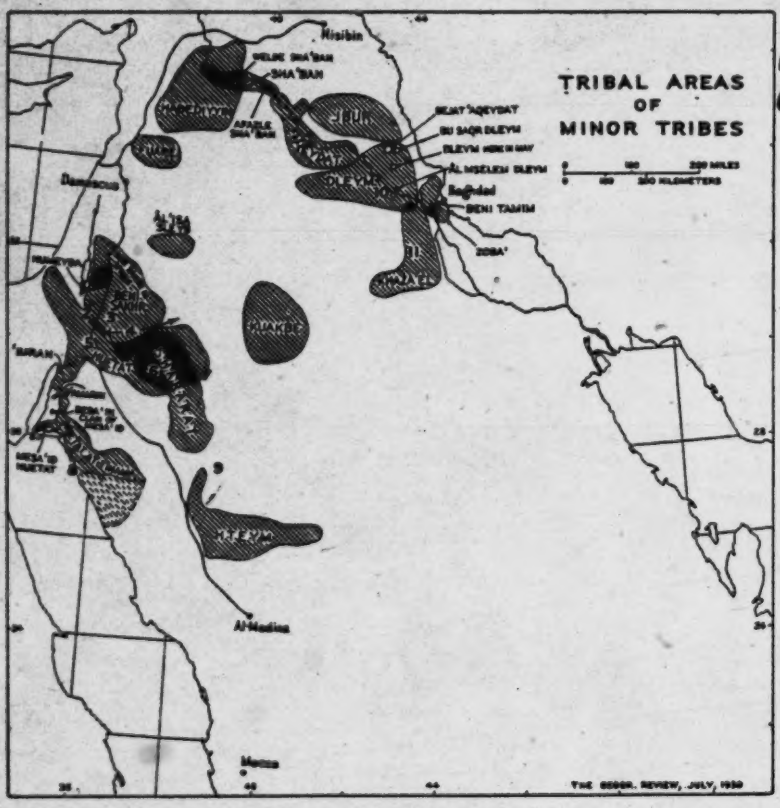

FIG. 3

10. The principal center of the Zefir, kinsmen of the Shammar, is near the Persian Gulf, but they have been known to raid as far north as 'Ana.
11. Al-Khazra: "There are upwards of eighty wells at Al-Khazra, from eight to ten fathoms deep. They belong to clans of the 'Abde tribe [of the Shammar] who pitch their camps by them in the hot summer" (N. N., p. 27).
12. Umm al-Qulban: "The eight huts of this hamlet belonged to [the Shammar emir] Ibn Rashid, who, with Fahhad al-Qfe'i as supervisor, used to rear mares there" (N. N., p. 147).
13. The Shammar claim as their "home" the land east of Misma.
14. See Fig. 1, note 21.
15. See Fig. 1, note 22.
16. See Fig. 1, note 12.
17. Al-Jau forms the best winter encampment of the Beli and their enemies (N. H., p. 214).
18. The Beni 'Atiyye trade in Tebuk; and their head chief, Ibn 'Atiyye, has property there (see N. H., pp. 152, 161).
19. The Beni 'Atiyye send men in July to Kerak, Tafile, or Madaba to sell their camels there and buy barley (N. H., pp. 155–156).
20. The 'Amad clan of the Shammar "number about five hundred tents and usually

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camp on the southwestern border of the 'Eja mountains." They were "at one time subject to the reigning family of Âl Jarba, who have emigrated to Mesopotamia together with their clans. The 'Amud have remained in their original homeland and joined the Sinjara" (N. N., p. 94).

21. See Fig. 1, note 23.
22. *Dira* of the Beni Khaled, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.
23. *Dira* of the Beni Hajr, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.

FIGURE 3, TRIBES OF THE SECOND RANK

1. Humeyda: The "Beni Hameydy," said by Doughty (Vol. 1, p. 26) to be "possessors of the most excellent strains of Arab horses, and in this fresh and plain country there is always plenty of wild pasture."
2. "The Beni Sakhr and the Huetat have no strictly defined frontiers, and when in the territory of the settlers both tribes often lay claim to the same settlements and exact payment from the same settlers. This proceeding generally results in skirmishes" (N. H., pp. 13–14).
3. See Fig. 1, note 12.
4. See Fig. 2, note 3.
5. After the end of April the Huetat ibn Jazi camp in this vicinity.
6. See Fig. 2, note 4.
7. See Fig. 1, note 14.
8. "The head chief Abu Tqeqa [of the Huetat at-Tihama] generally resided in the settlement of Zbe'" (N. H., p. 129).
9. See Fig. 1, note 21.
10. Two-thirds of the 5000 inhabitants of Hit come from the Dleym tribe (M. E., p. 27).
11. Al-Khzera: the property of Zaher, chief of the Moghara clan of the Khaza el tribe (A. D., p. 369).

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJl Saudi Arabia
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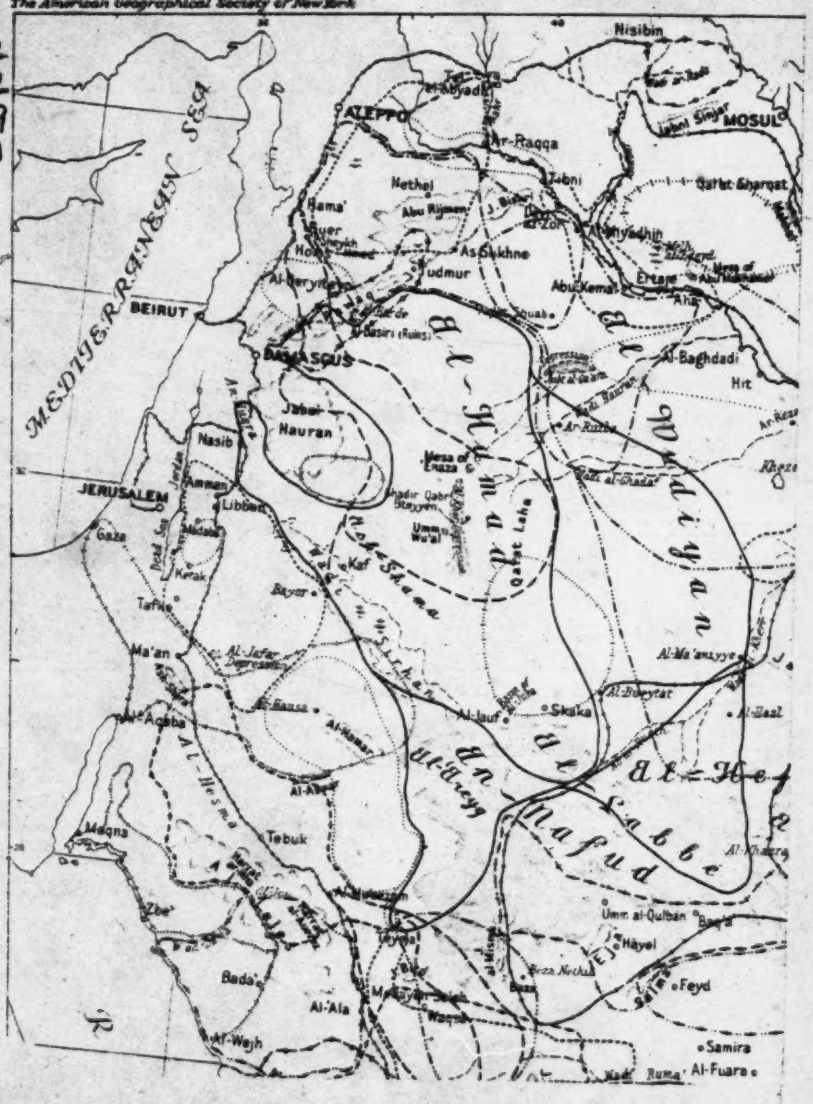

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22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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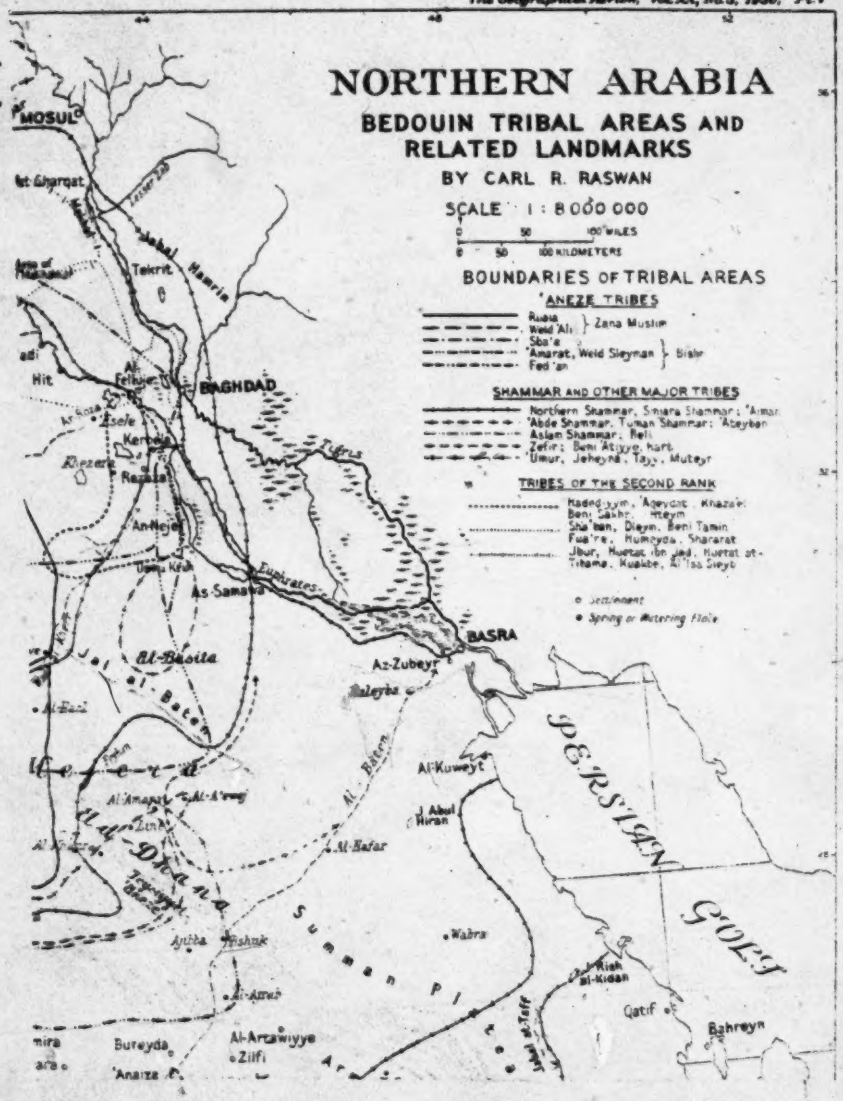

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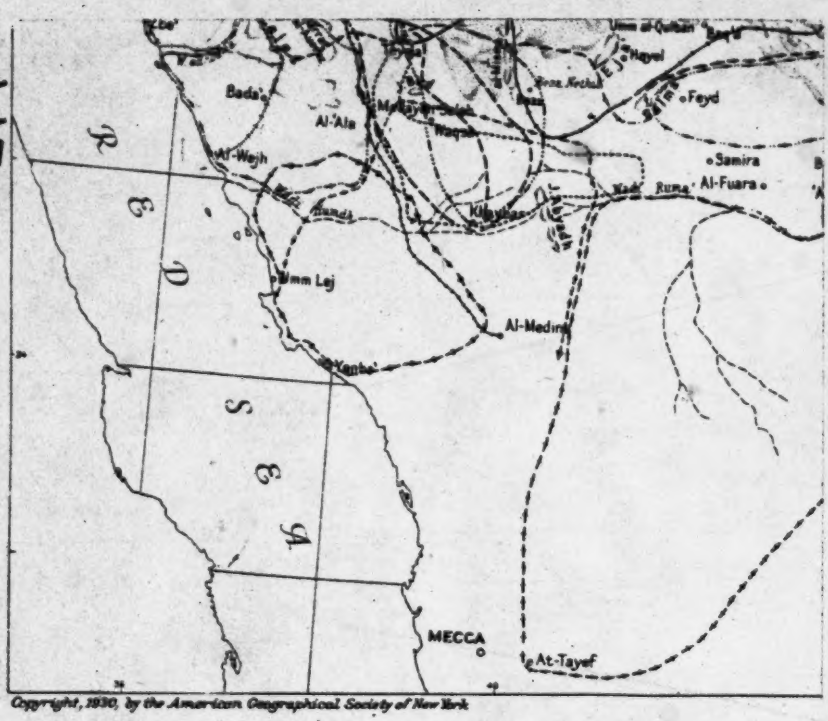

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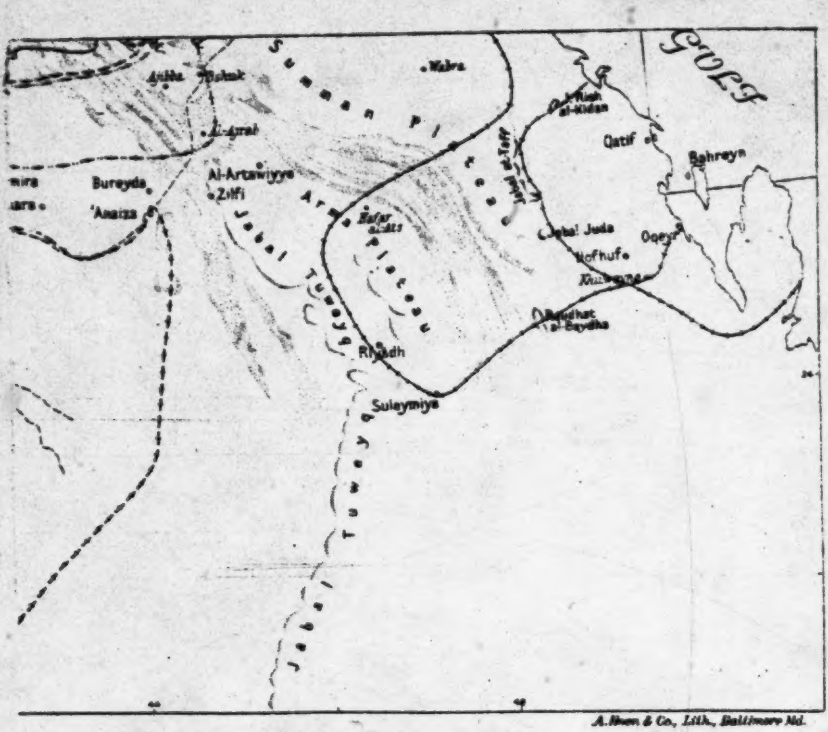

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following p 502 (d)

25: Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

101 619 In December 1947 I arrived at Manwakh, the watering centre for the Sa'ar Tribe. From here I planned to cross the western sands to the Wadi Dawasir. For the past three years I had wandered in the Empty Quarter with the Ruashid, the most nomadic of all the Bedu tribes, and four of them were my comrades on this present venture; but even the far-ranging Ruashid knew nothing of these western wastes. Only from among the Sa'ar could we hope to find the guide whom we required, for they have crossed these 400 waterless miles to harry the Bedu of the north. A large and powerful tribe, they have aptly been described as the wolves of the desert. They have raided eastward as far as the Oman steppes and northward to the Persian Gulf, and are hated and feared by all the South Arabian desert tribes. From the

p 394 (c)

101 Hadhramaut we had crossed the Sa'ar From the plateau
619 to this last well upon the desert's edge, where
622 we had heard that Bin Maiqal and his Bin Ma'aruf section of the Sa'ar were camped. Normally he and his clan lived in the desert around Najran, and of recent years they had acknowledged Ibn Saud as their overlord; but they had been involved in a raid upon the Yam and had fled south to seek refuge among their kinsmen from the animosity of that great tribe and the wrath of Ibn Saud. The desert was full of fear and everywhere the talk was of raids and counter-raids, of deaths and of looted stock.

233 In the sharp cold of the winter's morning we rode down the valley beyond the well, past the milch herds of the Bin Ma'aruf. The herdboys had just driven them forth to graze from their couching-place around the tents, and my companions spoke appreciatively of their condition, calling each other's attention
514 to their finer points. The Sa'ar had news of our approach, for a party of them had ridden

p. 395 (A)

29: Glubb--1 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

THE SULUBBA AND OTHER IGNOBLE TRIBES OF SOUTHWESTERN ASIA

by

J. B. Glubb*

114 * Political Officer in Trans-Jordan. These notes were received at Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, during 1935--H.F.

SULUBBA

101 The origin of these people remains obscure.
144 None of the Arab historians of the early Islamic conquests appear to mention them, which seems to disprove the theory that they are remnants of an old conquered race. The hypothesis suggesting descent from the Crusaders seems to be a modern European fantasia based solely on the resemblance between their tribal name and the Arabic word for a cross.

101 144 173 Musil (1), in his "Arabia Deserta," states

1. Alois Musil, Arabia Deserta, p. 233.

29: Glubb--2 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

101 144 173 that the Sulubba believe that they originated from the Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf, but I have not heard this story. The few Sulubba I have asked usually replied that they came from an old people who were not Moslems. I imagine, however, that this was merely conjectural; I would not attribute these answers to ancient tradition. Two Sulubba once surprised me by saying that they were descended from Crusaders! But on pressing them for the origin of their statement, they admitted that they had been told so by a French officer in Syria!

101 The Sulubba are to be found in an area extending roughly from Damascus to Mosul in the north, down to Jauf, east of the Nefud, Hail, Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, the Tigris above Baghdad, and Mosul.

101 144 They are scarcely ever found in Trans-Jordan west of the Wadi Sirhan; I believe that they do not exist in the Hejaz or in the western half of Arabia. This distribution might reinforce the legend of their origin from Hasa Province on the Persian Gulf, from which they might well have emigrated north to the more fertile lands in Syria or Iraq, but would have been unlikely to have emigrated to the Hejaz, which is less fertile than the Hasa itself.

563 463 721 The Sulubba have long been regarded by the Beduins as a subject race. Many of them work as tinkers for the Beduin tribes and perform other menial duties. They have never taken part in the wars and feuds, which have occupied the greater part of the Beduins' lives for centuries. A Sulubbi, like a woman, was a creature with whom it was too inferior to fight. The Sulubba maintained a strict neutrality in raids, and, for fear of being beaten, told all raiders what they knew of the nature of the country and the movements of their enemies.

29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
721 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
563 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
157 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

837 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
548 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

221 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
70 the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

797 of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. The
563 Beduin manifested his enthusiasm by declaring
721 that all Moslems were equal before God, and hence that the Sulubba were equal to "free men," i.e. Beduins. Ibn Saud, anxious to increase his fighting men, backed this idea (in fact he may have originated it), and raised fighting forces from the Sulubba and gave them war banners. The Sulubba took part in a number of war-like operations, and it was said that, in the massacres which usually followed a Wahhabi victory at this time, the Sulubba were the most cruel and bloodthirsty.

The outbreak of fanaticism, however, died down from 1925 to 1929, and it is believed that these Nejd Sulubba have again fallen back to their original condition.

342 In order to escape unwelcome Beduin guests,
574 the Sulubba live in tiny tents, many of them
563 scarcely larger than a blanket. They show great
609 skill in pitching these tents in the beds of ravines or behind rocks so as to be invisible to passers-by. The more important Beduin sheikhs take pride in pitching a large tent in a prominent place, which conveys not only defiance of enemies but a distant welcome to guests. According to Beduin interpretation the Sulubba reveals his baseness by concealing his camp from both strangers and guests.

Sulailat

101 These consist of a tribal section, who
563 usually camp with the Amarat branch of the Anaiza in the Iraqi desert west of the Euphrates. These people are said to be descended from a man of the Anaiza tribe, who married a Sulubba

101 woman. Their mode of life is very much like
563 that of other Anaiza Beduins (not like Sulubba), but owing to the taint in their blood, no Beduin tribe will intermarry with them.

OTHER BASE-BORN TRIBES

While the Sulubba are the lowest of the ignoble tribes, they are not alone. Arabia is full of base-born tribesmen, with whom the "thoroughbred" Beduin will not intermarry.

Hazim

These people seem to be a tribe of almost
[463] as low standing as the Sulubba. They do not, however, work as tinkers or hunters, but live a pastoral life, like the Beduins. The Hazim live around Jauf or with the Ruwalla.

Sherarat

They live principally around Jauf, where they are collected into a considerable tribe, but members of the Sherarat are found scattered among the Ruwalla, Beni, Sakhr, Huwaitat, and
[463] Shammar. Among these tribes the Sherarat perform the menial tasks of servants and herdsmen.

The origin of the Sherarat is unknown. They are not as debased as the Sulubba, but they are
342 far inferior to the Beduins. Their tents are
515 usually very small and ragged, and their clothing even dirtier and much scantier than that of the ordinary Beduin.

000 or carriers.
563 The Sherarat are thus halfway between the Beduins and the Sulubba. Needless to say no Beduin will intermarry with them.

Awazim

●101 Although scattered widely these people form
563 a large tribe. The principal group of the Awazim (sing. Aazimi) is south of Kuwait, in the northern half of Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf coast. There are others in Nejd and in Trans-Jordan with the Beni Sakhr. In manner and livelihood and other customs, they are similar to the Beduins, and live by breeding camels and sheep. No Beduin will intermarry with them owing to the tradition that they are not of pure descent.

Huteim

This is a large tribe which lives the usual Beduin pastoral life, in the area northeast of
[651] Medina, between that city and Hail. I have heard that some generations ago, the Huteim did not fight but paid tribute to all the Beduins. Of recent years, however, they fight much like any Beduin tribe. No Beduin will marry them, however, as they are known to be of base descent.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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greater Emirs or the Grand Sherif. These tribes are not only 609
controlled to some extent and directed to a common policy, but 577
also have a tradition of self-respect, which ensures the observance 621
of the Bedouin code of hospitality. As Doughty has well said, what stands to a Bedouin for religion is that which men will think of him. Fortunately the fame of a lavish entertainer and a protector of the guest is a condition of nobility among Bedouins; and an appeal against any action inconsistent with this will seldom be disregarded. A properly authorized stranger, whatever his creed, should have little to fear under ordinary circumstances among such tribes as the Shammar, the Ateibah, the Wuld 'Ali, or the Ruweilah.

What, however, does proper authority mean to the ordinary 609
Bedouin? Not the exhibition of any passport or other written docu- 577
ment. Letters from the chief Emirs, the Grand Sherif, or other great 486
sheikhs are very valuable if the traveller is passing from one of them [212]
to another; but in ninety out of a hundred desert camps he will find no one who can read or will respect paper. The one thing needful is a *rafīq*, i. e. a companion derived from the tribe through whose range one must pass, or from some tribe allied with it or authorized to share its range. If possible, he should be a man of importance whose face will be recognized instantly by the desert men—a race which, like other unlettered races, keeps a long memory for faces and a very wide knowledge of personalities. Still better if he has been attached to the traveller by some well-known chief. The *rafīq* must be kept well in evidence and to the fore in case of such a sudden attack as Shakespear experienced at the hands of the Ateibah in Woshm, when a good deal of harm was done before his *rafīq* could make himself known in the night to the raiders. In territories controlled by a central authority, e. g. a sovereign Emir, a well-known man from the centre may suffice throughout; but even then it is better to take a *rafīq* from tribe to tribe. There are one or two [101 •
denominations of Arabs who are franked by all tribes and can them- 463]
selves conduct a traveller anywhere in more or less security; but it is rather less than more. Such are the *'Uqeil* (Ageyl)—recognized carriers—and the *Sulubba* (Solubba)—tinkers, medical magicians, hunters—whom no one molests. But travelling with such folk entails the disadvantage that one must go where they wish to go and at their pace; and in disturbed districts near frontiers their aegis is not to be relied upon.

The efficacy of the *rafīq* system is based on the recognition that a 486
particular range or dīra (*dīrah*) appertains to each tribe, and even to 609
each main section of a tribe. Tribes sometimes hold their dīras in common, as the 'Ajmān and Beni Khālid are said to do at present in

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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CHAPTER III

THE BEDOUIN TRIBES

THIS chapter is designed to give an account of those tribal constituents of present-day Arabian society which are essentially nomadic—those, in short, to which Arabs themselves concede the name Bedu. The Bedouin (*Bedāwi*) type of society is the product of desert and steppe conditions, and cannot survive long under others. A tribe which has left such conditions to settle in an oasis or other permanently arable land does not necessarily cease to be a tribe, but it does cease to be a nomad or Bedouin tribe. Therefore all those tribes of which most members now inhabit continuously fertile lands or tracts of oasis character will be excluded from the following consideration—such, for example, as the tribes of Asir, Yemen and hinterland, the Aden Protectorate, Hadhramaut and the South Littoral, Oman, and the Trucial Coast (see Chapters XIV and XV).

On the other hand, Bedouin constituents of Arabian society which have passed wholly or in part northwards out of the peninsula are included. Not having changed the essential conditions of their life, but still ranging deserts and steppes, they have remained Bedu. It would be unsatisfactory not to take account here of the tribes of the Syrian Hamād and the Mesopotamian Jezīrah. They are regarded by the peninsular Bedouins as forming one great social block with themselves, and some, e. g. certain constituents of the great Anazah group, still pass at regular seasons southward into the peninsula, while others have their own home ranges in the peninsula itself. Moreover, many, like the Ruweilah, Dhafīr, and Huweitāt, move habitually from one side to the other of the border-line, and some, e.g. the Mesopotamian Shammar, though they stay to the north of it, are integral parts of larger tribal units still at home in the south.

For convenience, we adopt a geographical division of Bedouin tribes into Northern, Central (Western and Eastern), and Southern.

At the outset, a tree of tribal descent from the Arch-Patriarch, Abraham, will show what Arabs consider to be the true Bedouin stock. To know this pedigree is of practical value to any one who has to deal with Arab nomads, owing to the value which they themselves attach to genealogy, the social distinctions which they base upon it, and the estimation in which they hold those expert in its intricacies.

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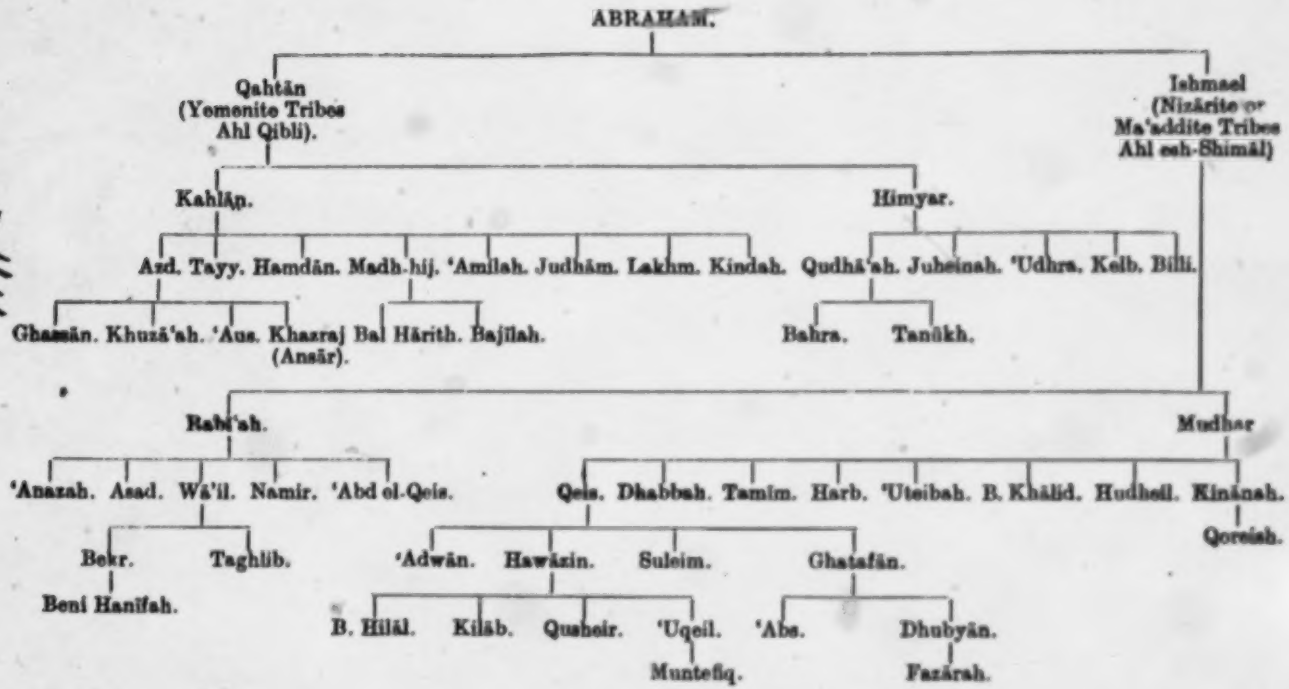

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A. Northern Tribes

1. *The Anazah*

The great group of the **ANAZAH** (*'Anazah*), numerically probably the largest group of nomad Arab tribes, occupies the triangle of the Syrian Desert, the Hamād, which has its base on the Nefūd, about lat. 30°, and its apex near Aleppo, about lat. 36°. On the east bank of the Euphrates the pasture lands N. of Deir ez-Zōr and along the Khābūr are also Anazah country; while a smaller group of kindred tribes is seated round Teima, between the Hejaz Railway and the SW. borders of the Nefūd. Ibn Sa'ūd is said to come of the same stock (Hasanah). 101 619 622

The Anazah belong to the people of the North, Ahl esh-Shimāl. Historians give their descent from 'Anazah, son of Asad, who sprang from Rabī'ah, one of the two great branches of Nizār. The modern Anazah tribesman will always claim descent from Wā'il, who belonged to a younger branch of the Asad group, and relate that it is his son 'Ans or 'Anaz who is the eponymous founder of the tribe. They are not, however, united under one head, but are divided into several large sections which maintain towards one another an attitude generally friendly, though it does not exclude marauding expeditions and private feuds among the smaller Sheikhs. The hereditary foes of the Anazah are the Shammar; indeed the history of nomad Arabia is dominated for the last 150 years by the rivalry between these two.

The original seat of the Shammar seems to have been to the N. of the Wādi er-Rummah, on the pilgrim road from Basra to Medina, or even farther south towards Yemen. One of those mysterious impulses which, from the beginning of historic times, have set the inhabitants of the peninsula migrating northwards—influences which may spring from an almost imperceptible change in climatic conditions coupled with slow increase of population in a land incapable of supporting more than very small numbers—began to disturb the Anazah in the second half of the eighteenth century. They followed on the heels of the Shammar into the Syrian Desert. The Fed'ān and the Hasanah pushed the Shammar before them across the Euphrates, and established themselves in the northern steppes, which are less arid, enjoying a greater rainfall, than the wastes of Central Arabia. The 'Amārāt, Sibā', and Wuld 'Ali seem to have come next, and, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Ruweilah.

Their herds have flourished and increased in a climate more

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101 619 622 beneficent than that which they had left. The most famous stocks of horses are found among the northern Anazah, and the greatest numbers of camels. Bedu of the purest blood and tradition, they have remained entirely beyond the control of the Ottoman Government; and except for a few palm gardens on the Lower Euphrates, a little cultivation on the Khābūr, and a village near Damascus, their Sheikhs have given no pledge to established order by the acquisition of settled lands, nor is any part of the Syrian Desert ploughed or harvested. Their geographical position gives them command over some of the main trade-routes of Turkish Arabia. The Hamād is a bridge rather than a barrier between Syria and Mesopotamia. Until 1911, the camel post from Damascus to Baghdad passed over it once a fortnight, and regularly during the winter and spring the agents of the Damascene sheep merchants cross it, paying dues to the Anazah for safe conduct, while the camel herds of the latter supply the markets both of Syria and of Egypt; indeed, it is not too much to say that the greater part of the camel trade is in their hands. Moreover, the road down the Euphrates from Aleppo to Baghdad is largely at their mercy, as well as the first half of a frequented carriage-road from Deir, *via* the Sinjar, to Mosul. The Anazah are thus the first of the great independent tribes with whom administrators of the settled lands must come into contact, and upon their goodwill depends freedom of intercourse between Syria and Mesopotamia. Last century they played a large part in Syrian politics, and have still a zest for the game. Their own dependence on the Syrian markets must always make it a matter of the first importance to them to maintain friendly terms with those who control the province commercially; but it must be remembered that commercial control of Syria is not, and never has been, in the hands of the Turks.

The western side of the Syrian Desert is occupied by the **Ruweilah** (Ruwalla). With their powerful confederates the Wuld 'Ali and the Muhallaf, who are in the closest relations with them, and also their allies, the Hasanah, they number about 7,000 tents. They wander over the desert from Homs and Hamāh in the north, where the Hasanah have their summer pasturages and are beginning to settle down as cultivators, to Qasr el-Azraq, south of Jebel Durūz (where the Ruweilah dīra touches that of their foes, the Beni Sakhr) and down the Wādi Sirhān to the oasis of Jauf el-'Amr, which the Ruweilah took from Ibn Rashīd some five years ago. In summer they occupy the pasture grounds S. of Damascus and push as far west as the Jaulān. To the east the limits of the Ruweilah do

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not extend far beyond Jebel 'Amūd and the sources of the Wādi Haurān. 619

The loose confederation of tribes of which the **Wuld 'Ali** are composed holds the steppe east and south-east of Damascus and along the first part of the old post-road to Baghdad. Ibn Sumeir owns the village of 'Ain Dhikr at Tell el-Faras, some 12 hours from Damascus, with the cultivation round it. A detached group round Teima, the **Fuqara** and the **B. Wahhāb,** are also to be reckoned among the sub-tribes of the Wuld 'Ali, but they have no political connexion with them, and fall under the authority of Ibn Rashīd whenever he is strong enough to exercise it. The Fuqara are a small, poor tribe, with few camels, which depends for its livelihood partly on the payment it receives from the Ottoman Government for protecting the Hejaz Railway from Dār el-Hamra to Medā'in Sālih, and partly on a little cultivated land which it possesses in the rocky Harrah of Kheibar. The Billi and the Huweitāt, with their close allies the B. 'Atīyah, are their enemies. The **Aida,** who are the sheikhly clan of the southern Wuld 'Ali, have charge of a section of the Hejaz Railway south of Medā'in Sālih.

In summer the Ruweilah draw into the Wādi Sirhān or go with the Wuld 'Ali towards the fertile Matkh plain, watered by the Barada; but the volcanic Harrahs east of Jebel Durūz are inhabited by tribes hostile to the Anazah, the Serdīyah, a branch of the Beni Sakhr, and the Jebelīyah, composed of Ghiyādh, Beni Hasan, Masā'īd and others, all allied with the Druzes. With these and with the Druzes themselves the Anazah have always been at enmity.

The paramount chief of the **Ruweilah** is of the house of Sha'lān and the sub-tribe of Mur'idh. The present representative is Nūri esh-Sha'lān. His own sub-tribe, the Sha'lān, together with the Nuseir, who come directly under him, consists of about 1,000 tents, but over all the Ruweilah he is unquestioned autocrat, and his authority is recognized by the Wuld 'Ali and the Muhallaf. He is probably the most powerful of all purely nomad chiefs, and, since his capture of Jauf, has shown himself a successful rival of the Shammar. His son, Nawwāf, a convinced adherent of the pan-Arab party, is his representative at Jauf. Though more colourless than his father, he is better educated and is considered by the Arab Unionist party in Damascus, among whom he is well known, to be the most advanced political thinker in the desert. He has the inherited interest in the Turkish question which those of his house can scarcely escape, since it touches their own future so closely. Nūri himself bears a bitter grudge against the Ottoman Government by reason of his having been invited to Damascus by

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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101 619 622 Sāmi Pasha in 1911, and there held a prisoner for almost a year. The grievance was aggravated by the fact that he had previously offered his assistance to Sāmi Pasha for the subjugation of the Druzes. He dreads any extension of Turkish authority towards the desert, and strongly opposed a scheme set on foot in 1913 to carry a branch of the Hejaz Railway from Jīzah to Qasr el-Azraq, and thence down the W. Sirhān to Kāf. In 1914 he refused to collect camels for the Ottoman Government, who were in need of transport animals for the Egyptian campaign, thereby greatly enhancing their difficulties. He removed his people into their eastern pasturages, where the Turks had no hold over them, and he is said to have acted similarly a year later and, in 1916, to have joined the Sherif of Mecca.

E. of the Ruweilah and the Wuld 'Ali, the Syrian Desert up to the Euphrates is held by the **'Amārāt** and by the two great subdivisions of the **Bishr,** the **Fed'ān** and the **Sibā'** (Sba), who claim descent from various mythical heroes of whom Wā'il was the progenitor. The 'Amārāt country is the SE. corner of the Syrian Desert bordering on the Euphrates from Kerbela to above Hīt. The tribesmen touch the N. edge of the Nefūd and go down SE. into Shammar territory if pasturage is lacking elsewhere, maintaining a truce with the Sheikhs of that dīra. The early spring finds them in a wide depression, the Qa'rah (Ga'rah), two days' journey W. of Hīt, while in summer they come back to the Euphrates or cluster about the springs in the Hauran valley, round Māt.

The Fed'ān range from Aleppo to Deir on both sides of the Euphrates and up the Khābūr valley almost to the Sinjar. The Sibā', famous breeders of camels, are seated on the middle sections of the Palmyra road. They go up towards Homs and Hamāh on the west, to Resāfah on the east, and north almost to Aleppo. If pasture is lacking on the Syrian side of the desert, they seek it in the Fed'ān country and in winter their Sheikhs come down, with those of the 'Amārāt and the Fed'ān, to Māt and the Wādi Sirhān. The 'Amārāt also cross the Euphrates on occasion, and camp with the Fed'ān along the Khābūr. The Wuld Suleimān, who roam between Teima and the Nefūd, are of Fed'ān lineage and a part of Bishr, but they stand politically outside the confederacy; for, like their allies and neighbours the Fuqara, they pay tribute to Ibn Rashīd. They have not many camels, but own a few patches of palm-growing lands in the Harrah Kheibar, which are cultivated, on their behalf, by the Huteim.

The paramount chief of the **'Amārāt** is of the house of Hadhdhāl, Fahd Bey being the present sheikh. His tents number about 3,000.

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He is wealthy, and owns palm gardens at Ghazāzah near Kerbela, at Baghdādīyah above Hīt, and elsewhere on the Euphrates. Although his wisdom and skill in tribal diplomacy are much vaunted, he is now an old man and not so active as Nūri of the Ruweilah; nor does he concern himself with external politics. He has suffered imprisonment at the hand of the Turks and cordially dislikes them, but his closest link with affairs outside the desert is his landed property on the Euphrates. He fears that if the Hindīyah escape, a part of Sir W. Willcocks's scheme of Mesopotamian irrigation, were to be put into execution, his gardens at Ghazāzah might be partly submerged, and he was inclined to blame the English for their share in that project. He could only with difficulty be reassured on this head, and shown that the better distribution of the water would be of benefit to himself in common with all other landowners. 622 101 619

A more striking personality is Hākim (Hāchim) ibn Muheid, who with Hākim ibn Qeishīsh rules over the **Fed'ān,** some 3,500 tents in all. Ibn Muheid is possibly second only to Nūri esh-Sha'lān in the Anazah federation. He is a man of about 40, vain, money-loving, and strongly pan-Arab. His position on the middle reaches of the Euphrates enables him to close the riverain road to traffic whenever he pleases. Until the Baghdad Railway is completed, this road is the customary, and by far the shortest, means of communication between Aleppo and Baghdad, and is now connected with Constantinople by a railway, broken only by a short interruption on the Taurus. The **Sibā'** are less numerous, some 1,800 tents all told; their ruling families are the Beni Murshid and the Beni Hudeib (Hadeib).

Upon all the Anazah the Ottoman Government levies, so far as it is able, a sheep-tax and a camel-tax. The great sheikhs receive Ottoman subsidies, paid with something less than regularity. The sums are not large. A man like Nūri may be given about £20 a month, paid to his agent in Damascus, who uses the money for the purchase of necessary supplies which he sends out to his chief in the desert. The Ruweilah, who raise no crops, are entirely dependent on Damascus for provisions. 651 433 622

The paramount Anazah sheikhs, Ibn Sha'lān, Ibn Hadhdhāl, Ibn Sumeir, and Ibn Muheid, could each of them put into the field from 1,500 to 2,000 men, armed and mounted on camels, with a small proportion of horses. The Sibā' sheikhs could muster another 1,000. The united Anazah forces would therefore number about 9,000 men, if it were conceivable that they could ever be 622 619 701

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701 gathered together at the same time—an exceedingly improbable
619 contingency in regions where there are no adequate means of
622 communication, and none but a loose tribal organization. Nor are the conditions of pasturage and water-supply prevailing in the Hamād suitable to large concentrations of men and animals. The
[231] total number of camels among the Ruweilah, 'Amārāt, Fed'ān, and Sibā' must be greater than in any other part of Arabia. They cannot, all told, be reckoned at much less than an average of 50 to a tent. The Wuld 'Ali are not so well supplied, but they may own about 20 to a tent. At this estimate the camel-herds of the northern Anazah would touch a very large figure—some 600,000 animals.

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ANAZAH

DHANA MUSLIM

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Ruweilah. 3,500 tents Sh. Nūri esh-Sha'lān	*Mur'idh*, 500 tents Nūri esh-Sha'lān el-Mur'idh	*Nā'if* Nūri's tribe *Zeid* 'Arsān Abu Jizlah *Mijwal* *Meshūr* *Mu'abhil*
	Nuseir, 500 tents Ibn Nuseir	
	Nāsir, 300 tents Munāhi ibn Nāsir	*Radhān*
	Dur'ān, 300 tents Sālim ibn Maslat	
	Furjah, 500 tents 'Asaf el-Fureij	*Khudh'ān Filitta* Ghāzi el-Fuleita
	Dughmān 'Arsān ibn Dughmi	
	Manāyi' Māni' el-Khidhr	
	Ka'ka', 800 tents Hayyān el-Ka'ka' ibn Ghoshm	
	Kawākibah, 400 tents Māni' el-Kuweikib	*Woklān*
	Mshitta, 150 tents Ibn Musheit	
Muhallaf. 1,500 tents Ibn Ma'jil Ibn Majīd Ibn Jandal	*Ashja'*, 450 tents Qasīm ibn Ma'jil	*Mahayub* *Bala'is*
	'Abdillah, 400 tents Mughāthi ibn Majīd	
	Suwalma, 400 tents Fayyādh ibn Jandal	
	Budūr, 2–300 tents Ibn Ma'jil	

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Wuld 'Ali. 1,800 tents Rashid ibn Sumeir has about 1,000 tents Mohammed et-Tayyār Sa'ūd ibn Milhem Shahāb el-Faqīr	*'Ateifāt*, 200 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Mesālikh, 300 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Hammāmīd, 300 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Hajjāj, 300 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Tulūh, 150 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Saqra Ibn Sumeir	
	Mashādiqah, 500 tents Mohammed ibn Sālih et-Tayyār	*Tayyār* *Mureikhāt* *Wuleikah*
	Hasanah, 600 tents[1] Sa'ūd ibn Milhem	
	Fuqara, 200 tents[1] Shahāb el-Faqīr	*Sālih* *Kuleib* *Khamālah* *Hamdān* *Mughassib* *Zuwārah* *Hujr* *'Aināt* *Suqūrah*
	Southern Wuld 'Ali El-Aida[1]	*Aida* *Tuwalla* *Thuweibah* *Jebārah* *Erbeilāt* *Khālid*

DHANA WĀ'IL

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
'Amārāt. 1. Jibāl. 3,000 tents Fahd Bey ibn Hadhdhāl	*Hablān*, 500 tents Fahd ibn Dugheim el-Hadhdhāl (nephew of Fahd Bey)
	Suqūr, 500 tents 'Amish ibn Dhal'ān
2. Dahāmishah. 1,200 tents Mohammed ibn Tūrki ibn Mijlad	*Suweilimāt* Jaza' ibn Mish'ān ibn Bekr
	Zebīnah Jaza' ibn Rakkan ibn Mijlad
	Salātīn Maalat ibn Quneifidh
	'Ali Hais ibn Mijlad

[1] Given by Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 229.

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'Amārāt (*continued*):

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
	Dubei'ān
	Dhāri ibn Dhubyān
	Jumeishāt
	Shilash el-Ureiyidh
	Muheināt
	Mohammed abu Rūs
	'Ayyāsh
	Dhāri
	Jaleid
	Hamīd ibn Quweit
	Fuweizah
	Haza' ibn Muthib
	Surumah
	Burjās
	Juwāsim
	Bedr ibn Jasīm
	Qa'bān
	Mu'aidi ibn Fāhis
	Suleilāt
	Ibdi Huleihil Seyyah

DHANA 'UBEID

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Fed'ān. 3,500 tents	*Wuld*	
(Dhana Kuheil), 2,000 tents	Mohammed and Mud-him ibn Tūrki	
Hākim ibn Muheid ibn Nawwāf	*Rūs*	
Hākim ibn Qeishīsh	Jedu' el-Kira	
	'Ajajra	
	Zeid ibn Hureimis	
	Shumeilāt	
	Ibn Lubeidān	
	Sāri	
	Feihān ibn Qā'id	
	Hanātiyah	
	Qudeim ibn Jubeil	
(Dhana Majīd), 1,500 tents	*Kharasa*	
Hākim ibn Qeishīsh	'Askar abu Sunūn	
	Ghabīn	
	Sālih ibn Ghabīn	
	Jida'	
	'Eibān ibn 'Arnān	
	Amāmarāt	
	Suleimān el-Awāmir	
	Mikathera	
	Haza' ibn Bugheiz	
	'Awwād	
	Rudein ibn 'Ali	
	Wuld Suleimān, 400 tents	*'Awājah*
	Mash'ān el-'Awājah	Mash'ān el-'Awājah
		Ji'āferah Murtā'id
		Seyyāh el-Murtā'id

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SIBĀ'

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
1,800 tents	*Qumussa*, 800 tents Githwān ibn Murshid	*Ressālīn* Hamad ibn Aida *Khumsān* Sagr ibn Museirib *'Anūrah* Shinān ibn Sheteiwi *Rahammah* Mohammed ibn Sa'īd *Musika* Mubārak ibn Qiladān *Muwā'iqah* Fādhil ibn Muweini' *Duwwām* 'Uqeil el-Fīqīqi
	'Ubida, 1,000 tents Burjās ibn Hudeib	

SELQA

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
800 tents Sājir er-Rafadi	*Shimlān* *Madhyān* 'Uqeil ibn Madhyān *Metarafah* Buneyyah ibn Wuteif

2. *The Duleim.*

The **DULEIM** are of mixed blood. According to their own tradition they came out of Nejd into the Syrian Desert. They say that Thāmir, *jidd* of the Duleim, and his brother Jabbār, *jidd* of the Jubūr, guided by a man of the Sulubba, occupied the wells of Muheiwir in the Wādi Haurān.

They wander over the desert on either side of the Euphrates from Fellūjah almost to Ānah, sharing the Eastern Shāmīyah, the Syrian Desert, with the 'Amārāt, with whom they are in close alliance. They have cultivated ground in the Euphrates valley, and rear large flocks of sheep which supply the Damascus market. Every winter the dealers come out across the Hamād, and, staying each with his own Sheikh, purchase the season's lambs, and drive them home across the grassy steppe in the spring. The Duleim are not camel-breeders; their supply is little more than sufficient for their own needs. The Shammar of the Jezīrah are their enemies, and there is constant feud between them and the Shiah tribes of 'Irāq, such as the Beni Hasan, who pasture their sheep in the desert round Kerbela. They are noted thieves, and have always given trouble on the Euphrates high road, where they hold up every unprotected caravan. In 1910 Nāzim Pasha repressed them with a stern hand, and during his brief administration at Baghdad travellers and merchants journeyed in security. 'Ali Suleimān, the paramount Sheikh of the Duleim, was on terms of friendship with Jemāl Pasha, who succeeded Nāzim, and he has continued to court the favour of the Ottoman Government. He owns a house and

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palm gardens at Rumādi, and can, therefore, be coerced into good behaviour. He is not a man of much intelligence, and prefers, to any active share in politics, a quiet life and the peaceful enjoyment of the position left him by his father, Suleimān esh-Sharqi, who was a commanding figure in the 'Irāq. Ibn Qu'ād camps mostly on the east bank of the Euphrates.

DULEIM

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
3,000 tents	'Alī Suleimān esh-Sharqi Ibn Qu'ād	*Mahāmidah* *Abu 'Īsa* *Qureit* *Abu Alwān* *Abu Fahd* *Abu Redmi* *Abu 'Ubeyyah* *Abu Nemis*

3. *The Jebelīyah* (or *Zobeid*).

The **JEBELĪYAH** are a loose confederation of independent tribes acknowledging no common Sheikh, but united by common interests and conditions. They are known either as the Jebelīyah or by the older name of **Zobeid** (Zubeid). They inhabit the volcanic districts to east and south of the Jebel Haurān and the Lejāh between the Haurān hills and Damascus. They own a little cultivated land, mainly in the Ruhbah, and flocks of sheep, but few camels. They are, as a whole, poor and of bad reputation; like all tribes on the frontier of the desert they rob and pillage their neighbours, the settled inhabitants, but they usually escape unpunished; for the Sulṭan's writ fails a few miles out of Damascus, and the stony camping grounds of the Jebelīyah are difficult of approach.

The **Ghiyādh** used to plunder the desert post when it travelled fortnightly across the desert to Baghdad. Since its cessation, in 1912, they have occupied the outlying Turkish station, the *qishlah* east of Dhumeir, which was abandoned by the gendarmerie. The Jebelīyah are close allies of the Druzes, of whom they stand in awe. They pasture the Druze flocks in the low-lying Safa during the winter, and in summer come up into the foot-hills of the Jebel Haurān. They are usually on bad terms with the Anazah, and steal the sheep and camels of the Wuld 'Ali and Hasanah whenever an opportunity offers; and they are always at feud with the Beni Sakhr, who are the foes of the Druzes.

The **Masā'id** are said to be the most numerous of the Jebelīyah tribes; the Ghiyādh are next in importance.

The **'Īsa**, though they range Jebel Durūz and are classed vulgarly as Zobeid, are of Sakhr stock and acknowledge the kinship. The tribes of Jebel Durūz and the Lejāh are only a part of the Zobeid. Another large group is found east of the Tigris and is Shiah. The

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Aqeidāt, Duleim, and Jubūr all claim Zobeid origin. All Zobeid tribes claim a common Qahtān ancestor and therefore are Ahl Qibli.

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JEBELĪYAH (ZOBEID)

Masā'īd
500–600 tents. E. part of J. Durūz Ibn 'Ayyāsh en-Na'air and Ibn Lāfi

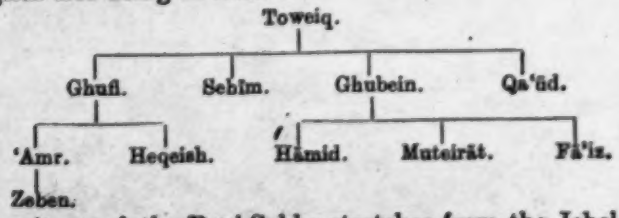
Ghiyādh.
500–600 tents. In the Ruhbah and Safa

Adhamāt. 500 tents. J. Durūz
Sherāfāt. 500 tents. „
Hadīyah. 400 tents. „
Sulūt. 400–500 tents. In the Lejāh
Hasan. 400 tents. Ibn Mutla', Ibn Khudeir. Jebel Durūz
'Isa. 400–500 tents. Rat'ān ibn Mad-hi. Jebel Durūz

4. *Beni Sakhr.*

The **BENI SAKHR**, usually known as Ahl esh-Shimāl, 'People of the North', are of the northern Arabian stock, and reckon their descent from Mudhar, either through 'Abs or through Tamīm. Legend gives varied accounts of their origin, one being that the eponymous founder of the tribe was a certain Sakhr who came from the east; another that their ancestor was a child abandoned in the desert; he was adopted by a Bedouin called Dahāmsh, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and was nicknamed Toweiq (Tuweiq) on account of a small ring which he wore round his neck; for this reason the whole tribe is sometimes known as the Tauqah. It is also occasionally named, after the foster-father of its founder, the Dahāmshah. All traditions agree, however, that the Beni Sakhr spring from a common ancestor whose tomb is venerated at Bir Bā'ir. This cenotaph, built in an ancient caravan-station on the road from Damascus to Teima, which fell into disuse in the early Abbasid period, is covered with small votive offerings, and the great Sheikhs of the tribe, when they move down to summer quarters here, would not venture to enter the Wādi Bā'ir without sacrificing a camel in honour of the *jidd*.

The sub-tribes of the Sukhūr are all descendants of Toweiq, the genealogical tree being as follows:



The territory of the Beni Sakhr stretches from the Jebel Durūz in the north to the depression of Jafar, near Ma'ān, in the south; it is bounded on the east by the Wādi Sirhān, and on the west by the Jordan. It is a rolling country, sparsely covered with grass,

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619 and intersected by deep valleys which are rich in vegetation. In the spring the Sukhūr go down as far south as the Jebel Tubeiq, • 101 when they are on good terms with the Huweitāt; but relations 622 between the two tribes are usually somewhat strained, and more than one pitched battle has been fought in the rocky Tubeiq hills. In the summer the wells of Bā'ir give abundant water, and the deep valley is never bare of pasturage; but the greater part of the tribe withdraws to the country round Mādeba and the northern Belqa, though the gradual extension of cultivation along the line of the Hejaz Railway has restricted their pasture-grounds. Some of the Fā'iz sub-tribe hold cultivated lands round Jīzah, and Fawwāz, eldest son of the paramount Sheikh Telāl ibn Fā'iz, has built himself a house on the ruins of the Roman fortress of Qastal.

The completion of the Hejaz Railway has undoubtedly strengthened the hold of the Ottoman Government upon the independent tribes who range along its northern sections. The Sukhūr, for example, do not enjoy the full measure of their former autonomy; for though they are unassailable when they retire into the desert, retribution falls upon them when the summer droughts force them back into the pastures west of the railway, and their cornfields at Jīzah, Duleilah, Netel, and elsewhere along the line enable the Turks to put a further turn on the screw. Fawwāz has become an Ottoman official, being Kaimmakam of Jīzah; but he is too close to Damascus to have escaped the political movement which has its centre in the capital of Syria, and Arab Unionists speak of him as a firm adherent of the Nationalist party. He is about 35, fairly intelligent, energetic, secretive, and untrustworthy. The Sukhūr are responsible for the Hejaz Railway, as they used to be responsible for the pilgrim road; they guard the line from Jīzah to Kerak, and receive a yearly subsidy in return for their services.

Jaussen[1] reckons the united strength of the tribe at from 700 to 800 tents, including in this estimate the three principal tribal divisions, the **Aghbein**, the **Ghufl** (with the two big sub-tribes, the **Zeben** and the **Heqeish**), and the **Khadhīr**. To these, however, must be added the **Khurshān** and the **Jubūr**, originally constituents of the **Ka'abnah**, a tribe once powerful, but now almost non-existent as a tribal unit. The Khurshān, formerly known as the Hammād, under their Sheikh Hadīthah, are politically inseparable from the Beni Sakhr, though a wholly different tribe-mark bears witness to their different origin. They are a warlike people, breeders of horses and camels; their pasture-grounds are near the Jebel Haurān. The Jubūr are sheep owners, and only half-nomadic.

The **Saleitah**, with a total of about 100 tents, are clients of the Sukhūr and live among them. The **Jahawashah**, though they are

[1] *Coutumes des Arabes au Pays de Moab*, p. 400.

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reckoned as a clan of the Fā'iz, are not of Beni Sakhr stock. They are a fraction of the **Useidah**, who, after a bloody quarrel, abandoned the Belqa, and took refuge with the Fā'iz. They do not intermarry with the Sukhūr, though in all other respects they form part of the tribe. On the other hand, the small but valiant tribe of the **Serdīyah**, an offshoot of the Sukhūr, are politically independent of the latter, and not infrequently at feud with them. They inhabit the eastern edge of the volcanic country to the east of the Jebel Haurān, and owe their position in the desert to the reputation of their late paramount Sheikh, Mit'ab el-Qanj, said to have been the strongest of living men. His son Ghālib, the present Sheikh, is about 30, not so noted a raider as Mit'ab, less ambitious than his father, and of mediocre intelligence. He is in close touch with Damascus, and counted by the younger Nationalist politicians as a friend and ally; but he is not sufficiently powerful to dispense with any protection which he can obtain from the Ottoman Government, and in 1911 he successfully invoked the aid of Sāmi Pasha against his hereditary foes, the Ruweilah.

The Beni Sakhr are almost always at war with the Anazah confederation on their east frontier; with the Huweitāt their relations are doubtful, with a general tendency to hostility, and the same applies to their north-western neighbours, the 'Adwān. The Druzes to the north are their sworn enemies, and the Zobeid confederation (the Jebelīyah), who roam the slopes of the Jebel Haurān, usually throw in their lot with the Druzes against the Sukhūr, though they are on fairly good terms with the Serdīyah. The cultivators from Mādeba and Salt, mainly Christians, who own most of the ploughed lands on the Hejaz Railway, are obliged to maintain friendly relations with the Beni Sakhr, since the Ottoman Government offers them little or no protection. They keep open house for the tribesmen, who profit largely by their hospitality, and hold them in commensurate esteem. Such families as the Ibn Jābir and the Bisharra are much respected, and enjoy a considerable influence in the desert. The cultivated land does not extend far beyond the railway, east of which the soil is too thin and the rainfall too scanty for successful corn-growing.

The latest information is, that after the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey in the winter of 1914, when the attack on the Canal was developing, the Beni Sakhr, fearing that the Ottoman Government would seize their camels for transport purposes, withdrew across the Sirhān. Having been for the past year at peace with the Ruweilah, they took refuge in their country. They were last heard of between 'Amūd and Māt, in the Wadyān district, and had even pushed as far east as the 'Amārāt pastures.

The Sukhūr are not among the great camel-owning tribes, but their herds can scarcely amount to less than some 12,000 to 15,000 head.

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.	Military Value. Horsemen.	Camel-riders.	Armed men.
Beni Sakhr. Telāl ibn Fā'iz. (Not recognized by all the clans as paramount).	*Aghbein*	*Fā'iz* Telāl	90	150	
		Hāmid Ibn Quftān	95	20	
		Jahawashah 'Ajāj	7		180
		Dahāmshah	4		40
		Muteirāt Fanhūr	20		70
700–800 tents	*Ghufl Zeben'* Falāh	*'Athmān* Shaubash *'Abd el-Qādir* Hamd ibn Qam-'ān	110	200	
	Heqeish	*Zeidān* Fahad ez-Zeidān *Beshīr* 'Aqīlah ibn 'Eitān *Sālim* Fahhād ibn Ma-'eishah	80	250	
	Khadhīr Qablān ibn Dakhthāni	*Mōr* Clans and numbers not known			
(Ka'abnah) 120 tents	*Khurshān*, 120 tents Hadīthah el-Khu-reishah		60		300
320 tents	*Jubūr*, 320 tents Sālim ibn Izheir Fureij	*Fureij* *A'qamah* *Dīkah* *Ghayālīn*			
1,140–1,240 tents			466	620	590
	Serdīyah, 150 tents Ghālib ibn Mit-'ab el-Qanj		40		250[1]
Saleitah. 100 tents	*Rusheid* Ghathuyān	*Radhāya* (at Lej-jūn and Umm er-Rusās)			
	Abu er-Rujeilah Jau'id				

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5. *The Humeidah.*

The dīra of the **HUMEIDAH** lies round Dhibān. It is bounded on the south-west by Khirbat Sarfa and the Wādi Beni Hammād; on the west by the Dead Sea; on the north by the Zerqa valley, Mareijimah and Duleilah, and on the east by Umm Shureiī, 'Arā'ir, and the Wādi Mojib. It extends, therefore, from 7 miles north of Kerak to 4 miles south of Mādeba, a distance of about 28 miles, and is about 17 miles from west to east. The tribe, which had an evil reputation for unruliness and violence, has, since the occupation of Kerak by the Ottoman Government some twenty years ago, been reduced to complete submission and almost ruined by exactions. It pays £T 3,000 in taxes. The mudir of Wālah was specially appointed to take charge of the Humeidah. They number about 700 tents, and claim descent from a common ancestor called Fādhil, who came into the Dead Sea region with Sakhr, the *jidd* of the Sukhūr. For this reason they recognize a distant kinship between themselves and the Beni Sakhr. They are sheep-breeders, and grow crops in the fertile Kūrah district. Some of the Beni Tarīf are to be found at Kerak, and there are about 30 houses of Humeidah at Buseirah, east of Tāfilah, under Sheikh Sālim ibn Masyūghah.

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HUMEIDAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Abu Ruheihah. 170 tents	*Suweilim* at Kūrah (Dhibān)	*Wansah* *Su'ādah* *Hawāweshah* *Sarārhah* *Hawātimah*
Beni Tarīf. 300 tents	*Mansūr,* at Zeqeibah, W. of Shihān	*Ruwāhanah* *Dhurab'ah* *Heisah* *Shihānbah* *Falāhāt* *Shuqūr* *Hamādīn*
Abu Bureiz. 230 tents	*Mohammed,* at Mekāwir, NW. of Dhibān	*Diyārnah* *Jawafi'ī* *Qubeilāt* *Faqaha* *Rubūtah* *Hurūt* *Tawālibah* *Qa'aidah* *Muteilah* *Hāshim*

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B. Tribes of the Central West

1. *The Huweitāt*

619 The **HUWEITĀT** are a stout and warlike tribe whose country extends from near Teima in the south to Kerak in the north, and • 101 on the east to the Nefūd and the Wādi Sirhān. On the west it is 622 scattered down the Gulf of Akaba and through Sinai into Egypt. Huweitāt are nomads in the desert north-east of Cairo, and settled as cultivators round Tanta. The Huweitāt of Akaba, Sinai, and Egypt have no political link with the Sheikhs whose head-quarters are at or near Ma'ān; but they recognize certain claims of kinship, and if a Huweiti of the Tawāyah or Beni Jāzi got into difficulties with the Ottoman Government, he would seek refuge, if he could escape, in Sinai or in Egypt. The Huweitāt have, however, an exceptionally bad name for treachery. They are divided among themselves, and do not respect their own blood-ties. One clan will set upon a caravan under the convoy of a *rafīq* of another clan, shoot the *rafīq*, and rob and murder the merchants.

On the Syrian side the leading sub-tribe is the **Beni Jāzi**, and 'Arār ibn Jāzi is nominally the paramount Sheikh; but he is not recognized by the **Abu Tayy**, and the two groups are frequently at feud. The Tayy are an offshoot of the Jāzi, and owe their position to the restless energy of their Sheikhs. The late chief, 'Audah, was one of the most famous raiders of his time, and did not hesitate to carry his expeditions across the Hamād to the Euphrates, where he raided Ibn Hadhdhāl of the 'Amārāt. On one occasion, when he was out against the Sibā', he pushed almost as far north as Aleppo.

The Huweitāt are on close terms of friendship with the Beni 'Atīyah, and are at liberty to camp through all the 'Atīyah country. The Sheikh Ahmed ibn Tuqeiqah occupies the Red Sea coast between Muweilah and Dhaba, with his head-quarters at Dhaba. They are at war with the Shammar, except the clan of the Rammāl, which is connected by marriage with the Tayy; and they are usually on bad terms with the Wuld Suleimān and the Fuqara. With the Sukhūr relations are always delicate, and the two tribes often break into sharp conflict. In 1914 the jealousy between Ibn Jāzi and Abu Tayy led to continuous raids between the sub-tribes. Ibn Jāzi took refuge with the Sukhūr, and the Tayy with the Ruweilah. But the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey filled the tribes with a common fear that their camels might be requisitioned by the Ottoman Government for transport purposes; the Huweitāt made up their differences, and together with the Sukhūr retired east into the Anazah dīra, where the Government could not reach

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them. They are charged with the protection of the Hejaz Railway from Kerak to Ma'ān, and receive a yearly subsidy. Since Sāmi Pasha's expedition into the desert in 1910 they have regarded Ottoman authority with a certain amount of respect. 'Audah's cousin, Mohammed abu Tayy, was imprisoned for several months in Damascus, and upon his release was made responsible for the payment of the sheep- and camel-tax of his tribe—a lucrative position which he would be unwilling to forfeit.

In the spring the Tayy pasture over the north and east of the Jebel Tubeiq; the Jāzi camp to the south and south-west. In the summer the tribe draws in to Ma'ān, where it owns a little cultivation, and to Jafar, a depression east of Ma'ān. Ma'ān is the northern limit of the sandstone desert. Here the grassy downs of the Beni Sakhr country give place to forbidding leagues of rock weathered into fantastic shapes and diversified by sand-hills. Wells are few; nevertheless, in the sandstone bottoms there is a sufficiency of small shrubs and succulent weeds after the scanty rain.

The Huweitāt are not among the great camel-owners; probably the whole of the Syrian branch has not more than 5,000 to 8,000 animals.

The Huweitāt claim to be Ashrāf, i.e., descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fātimah; but it has been conjectured that they have a history which is ethnologically of far greater interest. They may be the descendants of the Nabataeans, who held the caravan road to Yemen—the old spice road—and had their capital at Petra, a few hours west of Ma'ān.

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Sheikh.*
Huweitāt. 400 tents	*Beni Jāzi*, 100 tents	'Arār ibn Jāzi
'Arār ibn Jāzi	*Dhiyābāt*, 15 tents	Sālim ibn Dhi'āb
	Tawāyah, 150 tents	
	Demāni, 40 tents	Sālim ibn 'Aleyān
	Rukeibāt, 80 tents	Sālim abu Rukeib
Huweitāt of Akaba	*'Amrān*	
Hasan ibn Jād	*'Alawīn*	Hasan ibn Jād
Huweitāt of Sinai	*Sareī'īn*	Sa'd abu Nār
1,200 camels	*Ghanamīn*	
	Dubūr	Suweilim abu Dhuhūr

2. *Beni 'Atīyah*

The **BENI 'ATIYAH** are an old tribe closely akin to the Anazah. They claim descent from Ma'z, who is said to have been brother of 'Anz, the ancestor of the Anazah. A part of the tribe in the Hisma plain, east of Akaba, is known as the Ma'zi. Some authorities

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state that the 'Atīyah tribe was the origin of the Huweitāt, the Heiwāt, the Terabīn, Ma'zi, and Tiyāhah. Whether or no this be the true explanation of the relation between the 'Atīyah and the Huweitāt, it is certain that their connexion is exceedingly close. The two tribes camp in each other's country, and aid each other against common enemies.

The 'Atīyah occupy the northern half of the 'Aweiridh Harrah, and are separated from the Mawāhib Harrah by the hollow plain of the Jau, through which there is a road from Wejh to Tebūk. The Jau is reckoned to be the dividing line between the Ahl esh-Shimāl and the Ahl Qibli, the northern and the southern Arabs. The 'Atīyah are held responsible for the Hejaz line from Ma'ān to Dār el-Hamra. The coast from Sheikh 'Antar up to the Gulf of Akaba is in their hands (or those of the Huweitāt, their allies), as well as the high barren hills between the *harrah* and the sea. Their rugged mountain district is unsuitable for camel-breeding. Of the sub-tribes, the **Sidenyīn** and the **Khutheirah** inhabit the 'Aweiridh *harrah*, the Sidenyīn being at the northern end with the **Subūt** to the west of them. The **'Uqeilāt** (Ageylat) used to be carriers of goods between Ma'ān and Tebūk, but the railway must have taken some of their trade.

The 'Atīyah are stout in arms. Their foes are the Shammar and the allies of Shammar, the Fuqara and Wuld Suleimān. With the Fuqara the 'Atīyah maintain an inextinguishable feud. They raid the Harb and the central clans of the Huteim.

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
Beni 'Atīyah	*Rabilāt*
Mohammed ibn 'Atīyah	*'Uqeilāt*
	Sidenyīn
	Khutheirah
	Subūt

3, 4, 5. *The Billi, Mawāhib, and Juheinah*

To the south of the plain of the Jau lie the Mawāhib, who, though they are of Anazah descent, being a tribe of the Sibā', are Billi by adoption. The Billi and their southern neighbours, the Juheinah, are both of the Himyar stock, and therefore rightly described as Ahl Qibli. The **MAWĀHIB** (Moahib) inhabit the southern part of the 'Aweiridh, a rugged mass of volcanic rock upon a platform of sandstone. They are sheep-breeders, and are reduced to small numbers, though they were once powerful enough to drive the Beni Sakhr from the 'Aweiridh. Scattered clans are to be found among their kinsmen, the Sibā', and with the Beni Sakhr in the Belqa. There is besides

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an ancient colony of Mawāhib husbandmen, keepers of cattle, in the Hasa. Their [illegible] marches with the Hejaz Railway line from a little above El-Akhdhar to Medā'in Sālih; in the west they go down to the country of the Sehāmah, a clan of the Billi, and in summer the Sehāmah come up with their flocks into the *harrah*.

The **BILLI** (Bali) and the **JUHEINAH** (Jeheina), both probably settled from very ancient times in the Tihāmah or coast region, extend from Na'mān Island to south of Yambo'. Both are charged with the protection of sections of the Hejaz Railway, and both are part cultivators and part Bedouins. The Billi are rice-carriers to the Arabs for the Wejh merchants and Turkish subjects, as are also the Juheinah, though neither are subject to much control. They are at feud with the Fuqara and the Wuld Suleimān, and the Juheinah are always at enmity with the Harb. The paramount sheikh of the Juheinah, the Sherif 'Ali ibn 'Abdullah, is a relation of the Grand Sherif, and lives at Yambo' en-Nakhl. The Juheinah Yambo' are the **'Arfu'a.**

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	
Billi. 600 tents Suleimān ibn Rafādah, at Wejh	*Hurūf*	
	Sehāmah	
	Quweyyīn	
	Żubala	
	Aradāt	
	Wābisah	
	Sara'btah	(All these sub-tribes very doubtful)
	Qureyyah	
	Hareiri	
	Qrauti	
	Suweimli	
	Fuweihi	
	Jemān	
Mawāhib. 80 fighting men	*Serāhīn*	

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Juheinah. 500 tents Sherif 'Ali ibn 'Abdullah of Yambo' en-Nakhl I. Mūsa	*Ghaneim.* E. and N. of Umlejh	Ghaneim, Hamdāni, Tharfāni, Mattutti, Mehādi
	Mohammed Sālih of Umlejh	
	Hamādi. Gowaq Rāshid Salāmah	Seidāni, Shetheiwān, Arshadi, Hazīmi, Fiheidi
	Elatti. Habl and mountains Kreyem 'Abd el-Karīm	Hamdāni, B. Mad-hi
	Sinānī. Habl and mountains 'Audah 'Abdullah	Bōrān, Ru'ūs el-Bil

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.
	Feidi. Qōra N. of Umlejh Eid Birki	B Marsūq, B. Rubeikah, Mat'ān, Shuweitah, Dhawi Huleyyil, Ladhah
	Samiri. E. of Umlejh 'Abdullah Salāmah	
	Hibeishi. E. of Samiri	
	Alwāni. Nabdh between Umlejh and Yambo' Ibrāhīm Fineighish	
	Hajari. Near Hibeishi	
	Enāmi. Wādi el-'Eis, E. of Umlejh	
	Eneini. Wādi el-'Eis	
	Nazzah. Umlejh	
II. Mālik	*Thobyāni*	
	Refa'i (*'Arfu'a*)	Haswāni, Nashūri, Wahbāni
	Eruwi	Abu Wāmi, Suweilhi, Sheleibhi, Jammāli, Wadyāni, Amiri, Dhaf'āni, Labdāni.

6. *The Harb*

The **HARB** are Ahl esh-Shimāl. They are a powerful and warlike tribe of the Hejaz and of Nejd, occupying the coast of the Red Sea from Yambo' to Qunfudah, the mountain country between Medina and Mecca, and the desert to the north-east up to Jebel Abānāt. Inland, their country extends just across the Wādi er-Rummah. On the south they push down to the Sha'ib el-'Useibiyāt and the Harrat Qishb, i. e. the vicinity of the caravan road from Boreidah to Mecca, if the Ateibah are in their southern pastures; but this country is really the dīra of the latter.

In the days of the Emir Mohammed of Hā'il, the eastern Harb paid tribute to the Rashīd; but they are now independent. The clans in the Hejaz come under the influence of the Sherif, though they pay him tribute only when it suits them. They are responsible for the safety of the southernmost section of the Hejaz Railway, but their connexion with the pilgrim traffic is chiefly of a less respectable kind; for they rob caravans on the Mecca road, kill and plunder stragglers, and extort money at every opportunity. Their **'Auf** and **Lehābah** clans are noted highwaymen, much dreaded by the Pilgrimage. The Harb of the Hejaz (Beni Sālim and Masrūh) are mostly cultivators, fishermen, and carriers. The Beni Sālim are also camel-breeders, and so are the Nejd clans of the Beni 'Amr; but none of the Harb are specially rich in camel herds.

They are divided into three (or two?) big sub-tribes. The **Beni Sālim** live in the Hejaz, though there is a small branch of the **Museināt** in the

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south-east parts of Sinai. The **Subh**, one of their sub-tribes, are almost entirely nomad and have a reputation for bravery and valour. The other sub tribes are half settled, half pastoral, with the exception of the Quwwâd, a tribe of menials, camel-drivers, and negroes, divided between the Beni Sâlim and the Masrûh. The chief Sheikhs of the Subh are Khalîl el-Ahmed, who is 25 years old, and Sherîf ibn Nâmi, a man of 60.

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The **Beni 'Amr** own the date-growing district of Fur' near Medina, but their principal Sheikh, Es-Zuweibi, is generally in Nejd. He is about 18 or 20 years of age, a strong partisan of the Sherif. The sub-tribe of the **Jahm** are Shiahs.

The **Masrûh** have charge of the caravan road and hold Râbugh. A big sub-tribe, the **Zobeid** (Zubeid), are fishermen and sailors along the coast from Jiddah to Yambo'. Mostly settled in villages, they are of a stock despised by purely nomadic Arabs. Their paramount Sheikh, Husein ibn Mubeirik, lives at Râbugh. His territory extends from Mastûrah in the north to Qullyah in the south.

A large group of the Zobeid is established in Mesopotamia, where they are cultivators and herdsmen. The **Beni 'Ali**, at Medina, are a turbulent confederation, bitterly hostile to the Turks. They are at present strongly influenced by the Sherif, and before the recent revolt were used by him to keep the town in a state of unrest and disorder. They are a much rougher people than any of the Beni Sâlim, and are sometimes said not to be of the Harb race.

HARB[1]

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Beni Sâlim. 2,000 tents or more Khalîl ibn Khalîfah el-Ahmadi; Sherîf ibn Nâmi; Muhain ibn 'Abbâs, in Wâdi Safra	*Akemda*, 500 men Khalîl el-Ahmadi, in Jebel Fiqra between Medina and Yambo'. *Subh*, 1,500 men Sherîf ibn Nâmi, in Jebel Subh and Bedr Husein *Rakalah*, 500 men From Bir 'Abbâs to Bir Ibn Hasâni *Hwastiphi* Khalaf ibn Nahal *'Azimât* *Jimâlah* Dhiyâb ibn Mudheyyin *Hawdein*, 200 men or more Wâdi el-Khelf, near Fiqra	

[1] This scheme is not put forward as authoritative, but as subject to considerable revision. Authorities differ much about the organization of the Harb.

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.
Beni Salim (continued):	*Qu'ad* Some belong to the Masrûh *Dhurthûr*, 200 men Safra, near Medina *Ruwâthah*, 50 men Safra, near Medina *Mazinâti* Talab el-Musaini, Eastern Hejaz	
Beni 'Amr. 2,000 tents Dheifallah ez-Zuweihi, in Nejd	*Beldiyah*, 400 men	
	Mu'abbed, 1,000 men Near Mecca *Hunaiin*, 100 men Between Mecca and Jiddah *B. Jâbir*, 500 men Near the Hamrân *Biâr*, 200 men Wâdi Fâtimah *'Iddah* Jebel Thubra *Rubaan* At Fur', near Medina *Manash* West of Madhiq, near Fur' *Jahm* Between Mecca and Medina in the Fur' *B. Mohammad* Khurailah, a day N. of Râbugh *Bridhân* Nahîdh ibn Mijid *Wahâb* 'Aqab ibn Rasâdah *Jerâjirah* *Ghayadin* *Jâbirah*	
3,000 men or more Husein ibn Mubririk, Sh. of Râbugh. Ibn Musiat.	*Beni 'Ali* Mohammed ibn Ruweiti Ibn Musiat, near Medina	*Badaria* Mufadhdhal el-Bedrâni *Khidhrah* Nâfi' el-Khadir *Firidah* Mehsin el-Fird
	Zaheid Hawin ibn Mubeirik Yambo' to Jiddah	*Sahâf*, 500 men In Jebel Gharân *'Urum*, 80 men, at Khulaia *Mughârilah*, 50 men. Between Jiddah and Râbugh *Sa'âpadah*, 50 men. Between Jiddah and Râbugh

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Harb (*continued*):		*Wifyān*
		Jaghāthibah, in Qadeid
		Jid'ān, Thahabān to Jiddah
		Hunūd
		Jerājirah, 80 men Near Khuleis
		'Isarah, 80 men Near Khuleis
		Wildiyah. Near Khuleis
		Jahādha, 100 men In Towal
		'Uslān, 100 men. From Rābugh to Thahabān
	Zobeid in Mesopotamia. Between Muscyyib and 'Alāq, 9 hrs. E. of Hillah	*Abu Sulitān*
		Shamamitah
		Abu Mohammed
		Abu Husein
		Jeish
		Abu 'Abdullah
	Wuld Salīm Madwakh ibn Salīm	
	'Auf	*Suwā'id*
		Sehliyah
		Lehōbah, 80 men Jebel Gharān
		Beni Sifrān, 2,000 men Jiddah
		Haib. In Lebanon
		Kanādirah
	Sa'dīn Above Medina on Darb el-Hajj	
	Quwwād (half are Beni Salīm)	

7. *The Ateibah*

The **ATEIBAH** (*'Uteibah*) are the most powerful tribe in Central Arabia, strong in arms and great camel-breeders. Among all the nomads they are second in importance only to the Anazah. They occupy the eastern side of the Hejaz with the volcanic *harrahs* between the Hajj road and the Central Arabian steppes. Their pastures run east to Qasīm and Woshm, and south to the dīras of the Qahtān, of the Buqūm and Shalāwah, and of the Sebei'. This country abounds in wells; it has a regular if small rainfall in winter, and is not wholly dry in early autumn, when it receives the end of the monsoon rains. It supports large herds of sheep and camels, and in places the grass grows so richly that the Bedouins gather a hay-crop; everywhere there is a low growth of acacias, and game is plentiful.

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619 The clans in the Hejaz, such as the Helissah, Meraukhah, Kurzān,
• 101 Sebbahah, Marāshidah, and Semarrah, are small in numbers and breed sheep only. There is little cultivation in the *harrahs*, no
622 more than palm-groves and small Ateibah villages.

The two great divisions of the tribe are the **Rūqah** and the **Berqah**. The Rūqah are chiefly in the Hejaz, the Berqah in the eastern desert. The paramount Sheikh of the Berqah, Mohammed ibn Hindi, used to be a close friend and ally of Ibn Sa'ūd, rode with him in raiding expeditions and aided him with fighting men. But the relation of the Ateibah to the Sherif and Ibn Sa'ūd respectively has been somewhat modified of late. The tribe used to belong to Ibn Sa'ūd's confederation, only those clans which actually inhabited the Hejaz coming under the Sherif: but at the same time Ateibah sympathies were on the whole with the Sherif, possibly because he was farther away and exercised a less direct control. In 1910 his second son, 'Abdullah, raided Qasīm, nominally on behalf of the Ateibah Sheikhs. He captured Sa'd, the brother of 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd; but the support which he expected from Ibn Rashīd was not forthcoming, and when the Emir 'Abd el-'Azīz appeared in force he made terms with him and retired. Ibn Sa'ūd undertook that the Ateibah should be tax-free, and that the Qasīm should pay the Sherif £4,000 a year. The first part of this arrangement was not observed by Ibn Sa'ūd (and in all probability the second part met with as little respect). No sooner had 'Abdullah gone back to the Hejaz than the Emir raided the Ateibah on the ground that they had harboured the rebellious Aulād Sa'ūd, the grandsons of his uncle, who had tried to raise Kharj and Hariq against him. In 1915 'Abdullah returned to the charge. He carried an expedition as far as the province of Sedeir in Nejd, levied taxes from the eastern Ateibah, and had a successful encounter with the Barrīyah, who are allies of the Muteir and subjects of Ibn Sa'ūd.

The Ateibah are foes of the Harb, than whom they are more powerful; they are generally on good terms with the two small tribes on their southern frontier, the Buqūm and Shalāwah, and at feud with the Qahtān.

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ATEIBAH

Paramount Sheikh	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Tûrki ibn Rubei'ân	*Rûqah*, 2,500 tents Tûrki ibn Rubei'ân	*Dhawi Thubeit* Nâsir ibn Muheyya *Hanâtîsh Dhawi 'Atîyah* Nejm ibn Shulciwikh ibn Zureibah *Dhawi Mazrû' Talhah* Sincitân edh-Dheit *Mezâhimah* Thu'eil el-Kharrâs ibn Huleyyil *Mizham* Ja'ilân *Khufât* *Helissah* *Meraukhah* *Kurzân* *Sebbahah* *Sheyâbîn*
Mohammed ibn Hindi ibn Maslat	*Berqah*, 3,000 tents Mohammed ibn Hindi	*Maqîtah* Meqîtah ibn Hindi *Khawâfir* Shâlih el-Humuqi *Ghazâ'ilah* Shâfi ibn Dâli *Qumizah* Mehâhi ibn Thuweimir *Rawalân* 'Ubeid ibn Jâmi' *Da'jîn* (or *Da'âjil*) Menâhi el-Heidbal *Dhawi Khuyût* Nâsir ibn 'Aqeyyil *Sheyâbîn* Hadbdhâl ibn Fahîd esh-Shibâni *Dhawi 'Abdillah* Menâhi ibn Museifir *Dhawi Khalîfah* Beyyin el-Jalâwi *Nafa' Dhawi Zîyâd* Mohammed abu Ruquba *Dhawi Mufarrij* Shebîb ibn Hajjena *Filîtah* Es-Sultân *Deghâlîbah* Mohammed el-Mihari *'Aswmah* Abu el-'Ala *Hiddaf* Aleitha el-'Ameidi *Marâshidah* *Semarrah*

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8. *Minor Tribes of Southern Hejaz.*

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(*a*) The **Hudheil** (Hatheil) are divided into two main sections, a northerly and a southerly. The first ranges east and south of Mecca, and especially along the road between that city and Tā'if, the second beyond Tā'if. No. I is said to have seven clans: Mutārafah (Wādi Fātimah), Mas'ūd (Rī' es-Seil), Sowahar (Rī' es-Seil), B. 'Amr, Met'ān (from Mecca to Jiddah), Lahiyān (east of Mecca), Janābir (El-Kōr). No. II has eight clans: Garhīyah, Marzūqīyah, Sarwāni, Kabkabi, B. Fahm, Nadwīyah, Dadīyah, and 'Abdīyah.

(*b*) **Beni Faham**, a small tribe living in Wādi Waghar, to the east of the Juhadlah and between them and the Beni Thaqīf. They are entirely nomadic and are noted for their skill in tracking. They are friendly with the Beni Thaqīf and Juhadlah, and are still faithful to Sherif 'Ali, the deposed Sherif of Mecca. The Chief Sheikh is Ismā'īl ibn Dahyān. They number about 1,000 men. Related to the Qoreish.

(*c*) The **Juhadlah** are an entirely nomad tribe with no defined limits, but such boundaries as they have may be said to start just south of Serūm (Serom), the southern limit of the Harb, and run thence almost to Lith, covering all the coast and taking a wide sweep inland to the east of Jebel Abu Shauk and Jebel Sa'dīyah. Their neighbours on the south are the Āl Mahdi and Dhawi Barakāt and, to the north-east of Lith, the Beni Faham.

They also mingle with the Dhawi Surur and Shenabrah to the south of Mecca, and are generally to be found along the road from Mecca to Jebel 'Arafāt and east to Shaddād and Jebel Mohram. From Serūm to Lith, however, is their original district, the chief centre being round Sa'dīyah. They number about 4,000 men and, although good fighters, are not quarrelsome. Their country is a poor one, and affords scanty pasturage to their herds of camels, in which they are fairly rich. In times of drought they go south to Wādi Dōkhah in the Dhawi Barakāt country. They do not cultivate, but buy all their grain from Tā'if or Lith, in return for the *semn* which they sell. They all carry spears and knives, and, those who can afford them, rifles.

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For purposes of internal administration the tribe is divided into two parts, the one under Mohammed ibn Sa'ïd, the other under Mohammed ibn Hanesh. The former is faithful to the Sherif of Mecca. Sheikh Mohammed ibn Hanash, who rules over the Āl Munīf or Munīfīyah, dislikes the Sherif, owing to his habit of commandeering camels whenever his followers go to Mecca, and therefore keeps chiefly to Sa'dīyah and the coast. He has made overtures to Idrīsi, but is too far off and too weak to do more than sympathize with him. He was neutral during the Turco-Sherifian expedition in 1910, and removed his tribe into the inaccessible mountains.

The two chief Sheikhs are on good terms with each other and the sub-tribes freely intermingle. They are friendly towards the Dhawi Hasan and Beni Faham, but inimical to the Harb. The Ateibah, though distant, raid them when they stray too far east. The Hudheil and they are of one origin and are on terms of the closest friendship.

The Juhadlah are hospitable to strangers, but they have little religion and seldom go on the Pilgrimage. In person they are taller than most Arabs, wear their hair short, and are dressed in a red 'tob' (*thūb*) which reaches from the waist to the knee, the end being thrown over the left shoulder.

(i) Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Sa'ïd.

Sub-tribes: 'Alyānīyah, Sheinīyah, Hershīyah, Jamshīyah, Tha'bānīyah, Hasnānīyah, Jirshīyah.

(ii) Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Hanash.

(1) Āl Munīf, of which the chief subdivisions are:

Āl es-Sihim.	Mohammed es-Sultān.
Āl Madāthir.	Husein ibn Huneish.
Beni Bur.	Mas'ūd ibn Mohammed.
Āl Yām.	Mohammed ibn Muhsin
Āl Zabein.	Mizhar ibn Sihmān.

(2) Hijrīyah, of which the chief subdivision is:

Āl Faham.	Haidar ibn Huneish.

(*d*) The **Āl Mahdi** are a small semi-nomad tribe near Lith, who make their living chiefly as fishermen. They are a poor and down-trodden people, thoroughly awed by their powerful neighbours the Dhawi Hasan. They do not number more than 200 souls.

Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Qasim.

Chief Clans:

El-Mujeishah.	Ahmed ibn Mas'ūdah.
Āl Hasan.	Ibn Ahmed er-Rideini.

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619 (e) The **Beni Mālik** of the Hejaz are a small tribe numbering not more than 2,000 men, who live in the mountains inland of Līth. • 101 The adjoining tribes are the Beni Sa'd on the north, the Shalāwah nomads on the east, the Zahrān on the south, and the Juhadlah on 622 the west. The Beni Mālik are not a fighting tribe, but they are hospitable and industrious, and cultivate figs and grapes in the wādis, as well as wheat, barley, and *dhura*. During the Pilgrimage season most of them go to Mecca and Jiddah and act as porters. They thus come more into contact with the outside world than most tribes and are more civilized. They are devoted to the Sherif and pay him taxes.

Nāsir ibn Rawwāf is their chief Sheikh.

They live at peace with their neighbours, except the Shalāwah, who occasionally raid them. Most of their villages are clustered in Wādi Lūz and Wādi Rummān.

(f) The **Shenabrah** are a small nomad tribe to the south of Mecca, numbering not more than 150 men. They are one of the 21 Ashrāf clans (see pp. 406 ff.), and, being nearly related to the 'Abādilah, support the Sherif of Mecca. Sherif Judallah is their head. The Shenabrah are brave and lawless, and are generally at loggerheads with the Dhawi Surur.

(g) The **Dhawi Surur** number about 200 men and wander over the country to the south of Mecca, being entirely nomadic. They are one of the 21 Ashrāf clans, and are connected with the Dhawi Zeid. They are opposed to the Shenabrah. Sherif Dukhān is their chief Sheikh. Clans are Aulād El-Hasan and Āl 'Azīz. They all obey the Sherif.

(h) The **Beni Thaqīf**, a tribe descended from Himyar in the highlands to the south of Tā'if. They are bounded on the north by the northern section of Juhadlah, on the south by the Beni Nasri, east by the Shalāwah, and west by the Beni Faham. They are almost entirely settled and agricultural, and grow cereals, grapes, and other fruits for the Tā'if market. For water they depend partly on the summer rains, but chiefly on well water. Nāsir ibn Ghuzeil is their chief Sheikh, a firm adherent of the Sherif of Mecca. He commands about 2,000 fighting men. In times of crisis they combine with the Beni Mālik, Beni Sa'd, and Beni Nasri. They are always at feud with the Beni Faham and are not cordial to the Juhadlah. They possess very few camels. A certain proportion of the tribe lives permanently in Tā'if. The chief sub-tribes are Sufyān, Mu'adhdher, and Rabī'ah.

(i) The **Beni Sa'd**, a tribe which traces its descent to Himyar.

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It is bounded on the north by the Nasri, on the south by the Beni Mālik, east by the Shalāwah, and west by the Beni Faham and southern Juhadlah. Their country is more fertile than that of their northern neighbours, wells being plentiful, and they raise cereals and fruits. There are no nomads amongst them. They favour the Emir of Mecca and can provide him with about 1,000 men.

Hamsa ibn Mohammed is their chief Sheikh.

There is enmity between them and the Shalāwah, and with the Juhadlah they are by no means friendly. They combine with the Beni Thaqīf, Beni Mālik, and Nasri in times of danger.

9. *Tribes of the NE. Asir Borderland.*

Certain tribes which inhabit the region between Northern Asir and Southern Nejd (so far as this is not occupied by the Ateibah) must be mentioned, although it is very doubtful if any of them can be regarded as predominantly nomadic. It is certain, in any case, that a large proportion of their members are partly settled, either in the upper valleys of the inland Asiri wādis or in the Nejd oases; and it is probable that enough of them are now permanent cultivators to deprive the tribes of the Bedouin character they once had. Comparatively little, however, is known about them.

The most numerous and important tribe is the **SEBEI'**, whose home-land is the ill-known region of Wādi Sebei', which lies between N. Asir and Woshm and appears to include the lower basins of two of the great Asiri wādis, Turabah and Ranyah. Not only, however, are settled Sebei' found also in towns and villages of almost all the Nejd districts, but nomad members wander even east of these into Summān, and over many parts of Eastern Toweiq. The nomad element of the tribe numbers at least 1,000 tents, and is divided in allegiance, the Sebei' of Wādi Turabah being tributary to the Sherif, while the rest (the larger part) acknowledge Ibn Sa'ūd. The whole tribe is either Wahabite or Hanbali Sunnite.

The names of some seventeen sub-tribes are known, but almost all in connexion with settled Sebei'.

Connected with the Sebei' and possibly constituting a sub-tribe only are the **SAHUL** (or Shaul), of which nomad members range S. Nejd and into Hasa. If identical with the **SHALĀWAH**, their home-land is Wādi Sebei'. But it is practically certain that they are now more settled than nomadic and have become only less a permanent element of the Nejd population than the Fadhūl. They

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619 have probably not above 300 tents, and in religious colour and political allegiance follow the Sebei'.

101 The **BUQŪM** are intimately connected with the two foregoing
622 tribes, but are both more predominantly nomadic and less scattered abroad. They are found in the basins of all the inland Asiri wādis, including Wādi Bīshah, and appear to be accepted equally by the Ateibah on the north and the Qahtān on the south, and to divide their allegiance in the same manner as the Sebei'. They are said to have about 500 tents.

C. Tribes of the Central South

1. *The Qahtān*

The **QAHTĀN** are almost the only very ancient Arabian people which still maintains its importance as a tribal unit. They are, according to Arab tradition, the mother-stock of the Ahl Qibli, and it is not improbable that for a very long period of time they may have occupied their present district near the southern limits of the habitable desert. No travellers have penetrated into their country and little is known about them. Strange, and seemingly quite baseless, accounts of their customs are repeated among the northern tribes; for, like all distant and unknown peoples, they are a peg on which to hang marvels. Their country lies to the west of Hautah and is divided into three districts, Hasāt, Areiji, and Tathlīth, the last being near Asir. The Shahrān and the Sebei' lie to the west, the Dawāsir to the south and south-west, the Buqūm and Shalāwah to the north. Somewhere north of Bīshah is the Bilād Qahtān, with a group of villages known as the Qahtānīyah (Tarīd, 'Azīm, and Kir'ān are among their number), and the Beni Wahhāb villages inhabited by a small tribe of that name.

The Qahtān acknowledge the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd and join him in his raiding expeditions. So far as they are Moslems at all, they are Hanbali Sunnites or Wahabites. They come up to Shaqrah in the Woshm for dates, and when they are camping in the southern parts of their country they buy dates from the Dawāsir villagers, but they themselves have no lands in the valley and are not cultivators. They are very rich in camels, which are sold to the Qasīm buyers when the herds come north, towards Nejd. The settled section of the Qahtān, which includes six autonomous tribes and owns the paramount authority of Mohammed ibn Dhuleim, is dealt with later (pp. 132, 441 ff.).

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2. *The Dawāsir.*

The nomadic **DAWĀSIR** are Wahabite and more or less under Ibn Sa'ūd. Half-settled, they have villages in the Wādi Dawāsir, which they inhabit during the summer. They breed camels, though not in such large quantities as the Qahtān. The Qasīm dealers do not come as far south as the Dawāsir, but the latter bring their camels into the Hasa and dispose of them there to the Qusmān. 619 101 622

The Dawāsir have overflowed into the easterly provinces of Southern Nejd, and now form a considerable settled element in Aflāj, where they are the chief owners of land, worked by men of the *fellāh* tribe of Beni Khadhīr. To a less extent they are found also in Harīq and 'Āridh, where they contribute a proportion of the village and even the town population. Small parties of their nomads wander between Nejd and Hasa and trouble the routes. A considerable body is settled in Bahrein. Indeed, so small a proportion of the Dawāsir is in any sense Bedouin, that the tribe hardly comes within our purview here; for the settled clans see Chap. XVI, pp. 604 ff.

D. Tribes of the Central East

1. *The Shammar*

The **SHAMMAR** are northern Arabs. They do not spring from a single ancestor, but account for themselves by saying that they are a mixture of Taghlib, 'Abs, and Hawāzin, the first a constituent of Rabī'ah, the two last of Mudhar. The Ja'far, to which the ruling family of the Rashīd belongs, is a sub-tribe of 'Abdah, and the 'Abdah claim descent from the 'Abidah, a part of the settled Qahtān: they could, therefore, be Yemenites. Beyond these vague traditions, the Shammar are ignorant of their own history before they established themselves in Jebel Shammar, 'the two mountains of Tayy' frequently mentioned in pre-Mohammedan literature, where they displaced (and probably partly incorporated) the ancient Tayy nation, a branch of the Qahtān. About the middle of the seventeenth century they began to stretch their frontiers into the Syrian Desert, where they encountered, and, after a brief struggle, defeated, the

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Mawāli, then the most powerful tribe in the northern steppe, driving them into the north-east borders of Syria.

Early in the nineteenth century the Anazah forced the Shammar northwards across the Euphrates, and split the tribe into two parts, interposing themselves between these two in the Syrian Desert. Thus the Shammar of Jebel Shammar and those of the Jezīrah (Mesopotamia) came to be geographically and politically distinct. The southern group follows Ibn Rashīd, the northern Ibn Jerba. But ethnologically they are one; the same sub-tribes are found in either group, and though they do not offer united resistance to their common enemy, the Anazah, they are always on terms of friendship with one another. Any small sheikh of the Jezīrah may bring down his tents and flocks to Jebel Shammar for a year's pasturage, if he be so minded.

The **SOUTHERN SHAMMAR** must be considered, not only as a powerful nomad tribe, but also as the masters of the oases in J. Shammar. The settled population of the latter is mostly of the Beni Tamīm, an ancient branch of Mudhar which once inhabited all North-East Arabia, but now has relinquished the nomadic life (see p. 81). The Shammar, for their part, are nomads, though they come down to the oases during the summer drought. The Emir of J. Shammar plays a double part. He is Paramount Chief of his own tribal confederation; but also he is ruler of a settled country, of which Hā'il is the capital, a prince with a fixed habitation, exercising authority over other Bedouins whose connexion with him is not tribal but political. The Shammar tribal frontiers remain more or less unchanged, but the sphere of the Emir's influence varies with the vicissitudes of his dynastic fortunes.

The Shammar tribe ranges the south-east Nefūd and the country to the north almost up to Nejef. To the east its limits have been somewhat restricted by the Dhafīr, who are always at feud with it and encroach upon its dīra. Since the old eastern pilgrim road, the Darb Zobeidah, is seldom safe from Dhafīr raids, it has been abandoned by the Emir's caravans in favour of a more wes'erly track past the fortified wells of Hayyāniyah; but the proper Shammar pasture-grounds extend up to it and across it. To the north, the loss of Jauf el-'Amr has shut the Shammar into the Nefūd. They do not wander far beyond J. 'Irnān on the west, nor southwards beyond Mustajiddah; while the summer camping-ground of Beidha Nethīl is occupied sometimes by Shammar, but mostly by the Anazah of the Teima district.

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The political influence of Hā'il has decreased notably since the death of the Emir Mohammed, in 1897. At the height of his power he ruled over Riyādh and the Qasīm, and levied tribute from the Northern Harb, the Huteim, Fuqara, Wuld Suleimān, and Beni Wahhāb. The Southern Shammar tribes, great breeders of sheep and camels, number something under 4,000 tents. The villages of J. Shammar contain probably not much over 20,000 souls. Both tribesmen and villagers are devotedly loyal to the Emir. The subject tribes from whom he might be able, on occasion, to raise fighting men number at most 1,200 tents. Teima, which is subject to him, must have a population of from 1,500 to 2,000. 619 101 622

At a rough estimate Ibn Rashīd could probably raise from 500 to 800 fighting men from the villages, and 2,000 from the Shammar tribes. He might obtain another 500 or 600 from the tribes between Jebel Shammar and Teima, though their support would always be doubtful. The tribesmen would bring their own camels, but they would depend on the Emir for food and ammunition. The villagers he would have to mount and arm as well as feed. His own camel herds, seriously reduced in numbers since the days of the Emir Mohammed, may now amount to about 1,000 camels, including those which are not yet fit for service. The Shammar tribes are not as rich in camels as the Anazah, but they must average some 20-30 camels to a tent, which would bring the numbers up to 80,000 or rather more, including breeding camels and calves. 619 101 622 701

The relations between the Shammar and the Muteir are usually hostile. With the Dhafir the Shammar are always at feud, but the Muntefiq were recently on good terms with Ibn Rashīd. The Huteim are out of hand and raid Shammar territories when the Emir is occupied with distant expeditions against the Ruweilah or the Dhafir. On the western borders, the Huweitāt are the foes of all Shammar, except the sub-tribe of Rammāl, with whom one of their Paramount Sheikhs is connected by marriage. The B. 'Atīyah are hereditary enemies, and the Juheinah and Billi raid both the Wuld Suleimān and the Shammar.

Arab tribal federations or states, however, are held together only by an autocratic ruler, and their strength increases or diminishes in exact ratio to his weight and capacity. The Southern Shammar had their day under the Emir Mohammed. Since his death they have been handicapped by the violence and folly of their leaders. But, nevertheless, their numbers, their great tradition, and the support of the Ottoman Government make them still one of the chief factors in Central Arabian politics.

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The **NORTHERN SHAMMAR** of the Jezīrah are variously estimated. Probably a total of 2,000 tents is not far from the true figure; but they have been put as high as 10,000 tents. Their pasture-grounds are between the Tigris and the Euphrates, though occasionally they cross the Tigris in the region of the Lesser Zāb. They come down to Baghdad and even south of Baghdad as far as Zobār. To the west they extend to Deir ez-Zōr, which is a headquarters of the tribe; thence north up the Khābūr and to near Nisībīn they wander over the fertile desert which is watered by the Jaghjagh and its affluents. They are at feud with their Anazah neighbours, both Fed'ān and 'Amārāt, and usually on bad terms with the Kurdish tribes to the north and north-east. Traditional rebels against Ottoman authority, they slip between the fingers of the Mutesarrif of Deir and the Vali of Mosul, paying taxes to neither. They exact dues from the caravans on the Tigris road and not infrequently hold up the traffic along this important link between Asia Minor and Baghdad, forcing travellers, and sometimes even the Government post, to take the longer route by Irbil and Kerkūk. The *keleks* on the river are subject to their exactions also. In 1911, the cup of their iniquities having overflowed, Nāzim Pasha, then Vali of the 'Irāq, sent an expedition against them under his chief of staff, Hasan Riza Bey (murdered during the siege of Scutari in the following year). He conducted matters very skilfully. The Shammar came in without resistance, camel- and sheep-dues, many years in arrear, were collected at a great camp formed at Hatrah, and the rights of the tribe over the Mosul road were defined. But the fall of Nāzim immediately afterwards, and the resignation of Hasan Riza, took the heart out of this agreement.

The Shammar of the Jezīrah are all under the sheikhly family of the Jerbān, who sprang into political importance about 1830 with Sheikh Sufūq ibn Jerba, a bitter enemy of the Turks. His eldest son, Ferhān, was a lover of peace and kept on good terms with the Government; but the contest was continued by Ferhān's brothers, of whom the youngest, Fāris, took refuge in J. Shammar with Ibn Rashīd. He returned to the Jezīrah in the seventies, and from that time shared the position of Paramount Sheikh with Ferhān. He took the camping-grounds on the Khābūr, while Ferhān held those round Mosul, with his head-quarters at Hatrah, and on the brackish springs of the Wādi Tharthar. In 1911 'Āsi, the eldest of Ferhān's sixteen sons, was appointed by Hasan Riza Bey Paramount Sheikh and made responsible to the Government for all Mesopotamian Shammar. He is a man advanced in years, peaceable and upright.

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He keeps to the Mosul district, while two of his cousins, 'Abd el-Muhsin and Mohammed, sons of 'Abd el-Kerīm, roam the Khābūr country. The sons of Fāris are young and not of much account. The eldest now living, Mish'al, is nephew, through his mother, of Noweidis et-Timyāt of the **Tūmān** (Shammar of the Jebel). Some of the many sons of Ferhān own cultivated land on the southern reaches of the Tigris, and one, Humeidi, has almost dropped nomad habits and passes much of his time in a house which he has built in Baghdad.

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Between 'Amārah and Baghdad there is a group of small tribes, the **Tauqah** (Toga), who call themselves Shammar, though they are of mixed blood. They are half-nomadic, going out into the desert west of the Euphrates in spring with their sheep and donkeys, and coming back into their Jezīrah villages in the summer. The chief of these tribes are the **Mas'ūd** (Mes'ūd), between Museyyib and Kerbela, the **Zagārit**, round Kerbela, and the **Zauba'** (Zoba), five hours west of Baghdad. They are Shiah, and, like all settled Arabs, fairly numerous.

SHAMMAR OF NEJD

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
'Abdah. 1,500 tents	*Mufadhdhal*	*Bureik*
Ibn Jebrīn	Mitni ibn Jebrīn	Ibn Bureik
Ibn 'Ajil	*Fadhl*	
Ibn 'Ali	'Aqab ibn 'Ajil (maternal uncle of Emir 'Abd el-'Azīz)	
	Ja'far	
	Wādi ibn 'Ali	
	Weibār	
	Ibn Shureim	
	Jeniddah	
	Hāmid el-Hihi	
	'Amūd	
	Slash ibn Feisāl	
	Deghairāt (small)	
Aslam. 1,200 tents	*Juheish*	
Dhāri et-Tawālah	*Mas'ūd* (*Mes'ūd*)	
	'Adhib ibn El-Gheisim	
	Firidah (*Fruddah*)	
	'Amash el-Ferīd	
	Wureik	
	'Aqab ibn Wureik	

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Aslam (*continued*):	*Rumāh*	
	Mutlaq er-Rumāhi	
	Tūmān	*Hadbah* (*Hidbah*)
	Noweidis et-Timyāt	Mutlaq ibn 'Aish
	Munāhi ibn 'Ayyāsh	*Wudhāh* (*Widhāh*)
	Wahab	
	Toweirib ibn Munabbih	
	Raba' (or *Ruba'ah*)	
	Samad er-Raba'i	
	Husein	
	Qwei (small)	
	Dhawīyah (small)	
Sinjārah. 1,000 tents	*Zumeil*	
	Qasīm ibn Rakhīs	
	Salmān	
	Fallāj ibn 'Ardān	
	Ghufeilah	
	'Ayāda ibn Zuweimil	
	Ghi'ithah (or *Ghithah*)	
	Suweid	
	Ibn Duweihi	
	Rammāl	*Namsān* (*Nimsān*)
	Ghadhbān ibn Rammāl (daughter married to 'Audah Abu Tayy of the Huweitat, with whom he is friends)	*Jirdhān*
	Shilqān	
	Ibn Duheilān	

SHAMMAR OF JEZĪRAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Shammar. 2,000 tents	*Khārisah* (*Khrussah*)	
'Āsi ibn Ferhān	'Āsi ibn Ferhān	
'Abd el-Muhsin ibn 'Abd el-Kerīm		
Mohammed ibn 'Abd el-Kerīm	*'Abdah*	*Bureik*
	Menāwir ibn Suqi	
	Sinjārah	
	'Abd el-Muhsin Mohammed	
	(Sinjārah) *Thābit*	
	Bit'ab el-Hadab el-Qu'eit	
	('Abdah) *'Amūd*	
	(Tūmān) *Sā'ih*	
	Jed'ān ibn Hasan	
	Ferhān es-Sodeid	
	('Abdah) *Fedāghah*	*'Aleyyān*
	Bandar ibn 'Ayādah	

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SHAMMAR OF 'IRĀQ

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Tauqah.	*Mas'ūd (Mes'ūd)*	
	Zagārit	
	Zauba'	
	Dhāhi Mohammed	

2. *Beni Tamīm*

The **BENI TAMĪM** are a famous stock of the northern people, who played an important part in Arabian history before the age of the Prophet, when they extended from the Syrian Desert to Yemāmah. They maintain their ancient seat, for they still form a large proportion of the settled population of Nejd and Jebel Shammar; the oases of the Qasīm are almost exclusively inhabited by them and by the B. Khālid. But they are no longer an independent tribe; they acknowledge the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd or of Ibn Rashīd. At a very early date, probably before the Mohammedan invasion, they began to come up into Mesopotamia, where they are still to be found near Tārmīyah (some 1,500 families). All these are shepherds, and while the Tamīm of Nejd are strict Wahabites, their kinsmen of Mesopotamia are Shiahs.

3. *The Dhafīr (or Dhufīr)*

The **DHAFĪR** form an important tribe whose district extends south of the Shatt el-'Arab and Euphrates from near Zobeir to Samāwah. From Samāwah a line drawn almost due south to the vicinity of Hafar in the Bātin would mark their frontier, and the depression of the Bātin forms the SE. side of the triangle which encloses their territory. Their neighbours are the Muntefiq confederation to the NE., the Shammar to the W., the Muteir and 'Ajmān to the E., while to the south they are in touch with the Sebei', one of the tribes which acknowledges the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd. The Samīd section, and more particularly the Juwāsim (or Jawāsim, orig. Qawāsim), are accustomed to cross the Euphrates in the summer and pasture their flocks in the 'Irāq.

The Dhafīr are foes of the Muteir and are almost always on bad terms with the Shammar, whom they raid when they are in their spring pasturages east of the Nefūd. They harry the Darb Zobeidah and hold up the Emir's caravans from Hā'il to Nejef; indeed the Darb Zobeidah has become so unsafe that the western pilgrimage road is now almost always chosen by caravans in preference to it.

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619 For the past year, however, the paramount Sheikh, Hamūd ibn Suweit, has been at peace with Ibn Rashīd, though he is said to
• 101 have rejected the latter's proposal that he should join him in aiding 'Ajeimi ibn Sa'dūn and the Turks against the British. The
622 Shammar sub-tribe of the 'Ajil are still hostile to the Dhafīr. With the Anazah they are always at feud, and though the Anazah sheikhs seldom approach within four or five days' journey of their country, the Dhafīr carry their raids as far north as Shifāthah, and west into the Anazah pastures. They are on good terms with some of the Muntefiq group, of whom the Budūr camp habitually under their protection in the spring, when the latter go out with their sheep into the desert. But with the Sa'dūn themselves their relations have been anything but cordial, and since 1915 Hamūd has definitely sided against 'Ajeimi; but he has not succeeded in carrying his whole tribe with him, and the Husein and Dhar'ān sections, as well as other smaller sheikhs of the Samīd, have followed 'Ajeimi's lead against us.

The Dhafīr are composed of two main sub-tribes, the Butūn and the Samīd, of which the Butūn is the more numerous. It is not a homogeneous tribal unit, but has been formed from sections of other tribes which have been welded together. The various constituents have preserved the memory of their origin; the Suweit and the Beni Husein are Ashrāf of the Hejaz; the Sa'īd, 'Areif, and Beni Khālid, with the Kathīr who are an offshoot of the Beni Khālid, are Qahtān; the 'Adwān are Ahl esh-Shimāl, descended from Rabī'ah or Mudhar; the Misāmīr and the small Tulūh clans are Anazah; the Rasimi are Shammar, the Mu'āleim are Beni Tamīm, and the Juwāsim are from the neighbouring Sebei'. The important Dhar'ān section are 'Abīd, that is to say, they spring from the slaves of some nomad group.

The Dhafīr are wholly nomadic and do not engage in any trade. Their country is sufficiently supplied with wells, and they own large flocks of sheep, besides being breeders of camels. In religion they are Sunnis of the Maliki sect. They are well armed with modern rifles and may number some 3,000 fighting men. They maintain good relations with the Sultan of Koweit and come into Koweit for needful provisions and utensils. Sections of the tribe near the Koweit territory have occasionally paid the Sultan tribute; while in the days of Mohammed er-Rashīd the western sections of the Dhafīr yielded tribute to the Shammar. The paramount Sheikh, Hamūd ibn Suweit, is a man of about 45, intelligent, and reckoned a fairly good politician and tribal administrator. His son, Barghash, is a boy of 17.

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DHAFĪR

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*		
Butūn. Hamūd ibn Suweit.	*Suweit.*	Hamūd ibn Suweit.	2,000 tents.
	Sultān.	Hamūd ibn Suweit.	
	Miz'ar.		
	Haulah.		
	Battah.		
	Ma'ālib.		
	Tulūh.		
	'Afnān.	Haza' ibn Aqrab.	
	Dhuweihi.	'Ali edh-Dhuweihi.	
	Rasimi.	Shuwei.	
	Sa'īd.	Mutni ibn Khallāf.	
	Husein.	Khallāf ibn Jā'id.	
	Beni Khālid.	Zeil ibn Mandīl.	
	'Adwān.	Mandīl ibn Kāmil.	
	'Awāzim.	Ibn Hadbah.	
	Kathīr.	Jali ibn Jureid.	
Samīd. Lizām abu Dharā'. 1,500 tents.	*Dhar'ān.*	Lizām abu Dharā'.	
	Mu'āleim.	Tumeish el-Boreisi.	
	Misāmīr.	'Ajīl ibn Huzein.	
	'Areif.	Fad'us el-Aslib.	
	'Askar.	Munawwakh ibn Quheisān.	
	Juwāsim (Jawāsim).	Haleis ibn 'Ufeisān.	

4. *The Muteir and the Barrīyah*

The **MUTEIR,** closely akin to their western neighbours, the Harb and the Ateibah, are people of the north, claiming descent through Mudhar from Ma'add. Their territory touches the Persian Gulf round Koweit, and runs down the Bātin till it reaches Ibn Sa'ūd's district near Zilfi. The Beni Khālid and the 'Ajmān lie to the south. A turbulent tribe, some 1,500 tents strong, the Muteir stand in close relations with the Sultan of Koweit; but with Ibn Rashīd they are perpetually at feud, and no year passes without raiding expeditions from one dīra to the other. It was a Muteiri who in 1908 killed the Emir 'Abd el-'Azīz, father of the present Emir of Hā'il, at Raudhat el-Mahanna, near Boreidah. The Muteir harry the outlying settlements of Qasīm, and not infrequently interrupt the caravan traffic to the Gulf. Their principal Sheikh, Feisāl ed-Derwīsh, pastures in the Koweit area, and is lord over some 800 tents. All the Muteir belong to the confederation of Ibn Sa'ūd, and contribute fighting men to his raiding expeditions. They are camel-breeders and essentially nomadic; for their reported settlements in Nejd and Hasa see Chap. XVI, p. 609.

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619 The **BARRĪYAH** are an independent tribe, but so closely allied with the Muteir that they are often held to be of the same stock. In all • 101 political relations they are at one with the Muteir, and, like them, they come under the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd. Their pasturages are 622 in Qasīm. The last report concerning them is that they opposed 'Abdullah, the second son of the Sherif, when he raided Sedeir at the end of 1914 in order to collect overdue taxes from the eastern Ateibah, and that after some fighting they were defeated.

MUTEIR AND BARRĪYAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
Muteir. 1,500 tents. Feisāl ibn Sultān ed-Derwīsh. Ghaza ibn Shuqeir.	*'Alwi.* Feisāl ibn Sultān. *Jiblān.* Sahūd ibn Lāmi. *Rakhmān.* Muhsin ibn Zureibān. *Sahabah.* Ghaneim ibn Shiblān. *Malā'ibah.* Khilf el-Fighm.
Barrīyah. 1,200 tents. Nā'if ibn Masīs.	*'Abayāt.* Munāhi ibn 'Ashwān. *Deyāhīn.* Shabab el-Qureifah. *Barzān.* 'Aqab abu Shuweibāt. *Tha'lah.* Jermān el-Humeidān. *'Abdillah.* Ibn Saqīyān. *Wāeil.* Ibn Thamnah.

5. *Beni Khālid*

The **BENI KHĀLID** are an ancient tribe of irreproachable lineage, greatly fallen in estate. Stranded witnesses to its former wide range are to be found in a Khālid element of the settled population of Qasīm (especially at Aneizah), of Zilfi in Sedeir, of Malham in 'Āridh, and elsewhere in Nejd. The main remnant, however, is the Bedouin tribe of the name which ranges north of the 'Ajmān on the Gulf shore between the Wādi Maqta' on the north and the middle of the Bayādh district on the south. Inland they wander into the Summān plateau. Scattered communities have settled in various outside localities, e.g. Oman, Musallamīyah Island, Qatīf, the Hasa Oasis, Bahrein, and Koweit, where the tribesmen have become pearl-fishers, &c. The nomads own considerable date-groves.

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Up to 1830 the Beni Khālid ruled the Hasa; but they had long been at war with the Wahabites, to whom, being themselves Maliki Sunnites, they are unsympathetic, and they finally succumbed to the Emir Tūrki of Riyādh. Latterly, after recognizing Turkish suzerainty, more or less, for forty odd years, they have come again under Riyādh. They are great breeders of horses and cattle, and cultivate more than most Bedouins. Their tents are noted for their great size; and in dress (they wear the fine Hasa abbas), deportment, physiognomy, and coloration, these nomads are more like oasis-dwellers than Bedouins. They number about 14,000 souls, and claim to send out 4,000 fighting men.

They are in alliance with the 'Ajmān and share dīras with that tribe, but maintain feuds with the Muteir and the Ahl Murrah. A small, isolated section ranges north of Koweit with the Dhafir. The tribe is well armed and more trustworthy than the 'Ajmān. Its Paramount Chief is the Sheikh of a settled clan, Āl Khālid, of the 'Amā'ir sub-tribe, who lives on the island of Musallamīyah. For the settled Beni Khālid see below, pp. 572, 608.

BENI KHĀLID

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*	
'Amā'ir.	*Dawādah*	'Amā'ir has other settled clans.
	Āl Hasan	
Āl Subeih	*Āl Hayyah*	Subeih has other settled clans.
	Makhāsim	
	Āl Zoban	
Beni Nahad		Mainly nomad.
Āl Miqlām		Mainly nomad.
Muhāshir		Mainly nomad.
Āl Jabār		Half-settled.
Āl Humeid		Small and decayed.

6. *The 'Ajmān*

The **'AJMĀN**, who range south of the Beni Khālid, trace their descent to Qahtān through Nafura of Nejrān; but this pedigree is not accepted by Arab genealogists in general.

They are, however, an important Bedouin tribe, which is the strongest nomad unit on the Gulf Coast, although its claim to turn out 10,000 fighting men is excessive. It is singularly at one within itself, its different sub-tribes and clans not having distinct dīras, or falling into sectional groups. 'Ajmi tribesmen of all sections may be found in any camp in any part of the range of the tribe. It also appears to have unusual instinct for federation with its weaker neighbours, thus securing more elbow-room. Under ordinary conditions both the Beni Khālid and the Beni Hajar are its allies,

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619 and the 'Ajmān have free range in their dīras. The whole tribe is well provided with breech-loading firearms, and being Sunnite of
• 101 the Hanbali school, it is sympathetic to Wahabism and has some
624 of its dour spirit.

Its proper summer range is the Gulf lowlands from Taff down to 'Oqair, enveloping the Hasa oasis on north and east. Inland it ranges back over the Summān plateau, where its herdsmen wander in winter as far west as the confines of Sedeir; and at the same season 'Ajmān push even into Kharj. On the littoral they straggle sometimes into El-Qatar, and habitually wander north up to Koweit, relying on their agreement with the Beni Khālid, whose proper dīra they thus invade. They are to be found, therefore, at one season or another, over an area of not less than 20,000 square miles.

Very few 'Ajmi tribesmen have ever adopted settled life, though they own some date-groves in Hasa. Their wealth lies in horses, camels, and the smaller cattle. In particular they are horse-breeders. They may total between 4,000 and 5,000 tents.

During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatif the 'Ajmān were consistently recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their sheikhs and the screw which could be put upon the tribe when, according to its custom, it camped near Hofūf, and wished to dispose of live stock, &c., in the local markets. They maintained the while relations of old standing with the Emirs of Riyādh, and welcomed 'Abd el-'Aziz es-Sa'ūd when he invaded Hasa in 1913. But when his became the established government the 'Ajmān liked him and his taxes little better than the Turks, and he had to organize drastic punishment of their raiding in the summer of 1915, finally driving great part of them north into Shammar country. Their traditional foe is the Ahl Murrah tribe, and of late they have added Ibn Rashid and the Shammar. With the Sultan of Koweit and the Paramount Sheikh of El-Qatar they have generally, though not invariably, kept on terms.

The Paramount Chieftainship is in the Ibn Hithlein family of the **Ma'īdh** sub-tribe (Nāja' clan). On the murder of Mohammed ibn Hazm ibn Hithlein in 1910, the chieftainship was put in commission; Sheikh Fahd, the elder brother of the late chief, had most support for the sole succession, but he appears to have given way later to Sheikh Theidān, who submitted to Riyādh at the end of 1915. The Nāja' clan is said to be in close alliance with the **Sifrān** sub-tribe, which, though not numerous, contains the most formidable of all the 'Ajmi fighting-men. According to Lorimer (*Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*) the Jiblān section of the Muteir (q.v.) joined forces with the 'Ajmān before 1908.

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'AJMÂN

Sub-Tribe.	Fighting Strength.
Ma'ûlâh	2,700
Sulaimân	1,270
Mahfûdh	1,200
Hilâlân	1,150
'Arjah	650
Shâmir	600
Hâdi	500
Dhâ'in	400
Sifrân	300
Hamâd ibn Rashîd	300
Rashîd	200
Mîrû'	200
Mîfah	100
Salaiji	100
Salâm	100
Sarsik	100
Hairuf	100
Nayyân	100
Shawâbah	80
Khawâlir	50
Total	10,200

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7. *Beni Hajar*

The **BENI HAJAR** (or Hâjir, often pronounced by Bedouins Hâyir) are nomads of bad reputation, ranging Hasa and part of El-Qatar, south of the 'Ajmân, with whom they have an agreement allowing them to use the 'Ajmi dira, if provided with authorized *rafiqs*. They were always troublesome to the Turks, and are so now to both Ibn Sa'ûd and the Sheikhs of El-Qatar.

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They are pastoral and breeders, but are said also to make excursions into piracy. They allow their women great liberty. Their extreme range is from 'Odeid to the 'Ajmân limit in Hasa; but by consent they wander as far north as Koweit. They have no one Paramount Chief. Their total strength is about 6,000 souls, and they claim to have 1,500 fighting men; the two sub-tribes are at feud. For their small settlements in Nejd see Chap. XVI, p. 606.

BENI HAJAR

Sub-Tribe.	Clan.
Mukhalkhah (mainly in El-Qatar).	Dilîmah.
	Fakrid.
	Hawrah.
	Nayyân.
	Jarbîah.
	Khayyârin.
	Mahîfrah.

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Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*	
Makhadhabah (continued):	*Mâna'.*	
	Marâhimah.	
	Qumzah.	
	Sa'ayyid.	
	Shabâ'ît.	(Sheikh is chief of whole sub-tribe.)
	Shahwân.	
	Shara'ân.	
	Sharâhîn.	
	Sultân.	
	Tawwa.	
	Zabar.	
	Zakhânîn.	
Ahl Mohammed (mainly in Hasa).	*'Amirah.*	
	Filahah.	
	Kidâdît.	
	Kilabah.	
	Mishrir.	
	Qarâf.	
	Sha'âmil.	(Sheikh is chief of whole sub-tribe.)
	Simâhîn.	
	Tâya'.	

8. *The Ahl Murrah*

The **AHL MURRAH** (Ahl Morra), a savage and ill-known tribe, wholly nomadic, range to the south of Hasa, into the Jâfûrah Desert, and down to the wild oasis of Jabrîn which lies beyond on the confines of the great South Desert. On the north they come up to near 'Oqair, while inland they lie south of the Hofûf–Riyâdh routes (which they harry) as far as the borders of Kharj. In most of this inhospitable tract they wander alone, and neither the Turks nor the Ibn Sa'ûds (whose feudatories they nominally are) have ever been able to follow them far enough to subdue them. In 1915–16 they gave the Emir of Riyâdh a great deal of trouble. Their savagery and treachery are due mainly to the wild character of their dîra, but perhaps their evil reputation is due also in some degree to the small knowledge of them possessed by the outside world.

They have, however, physical and linguistic peculiarities, which make it possible that they are survivors of the pre-Arab population of the peninsula, like the inhabitants of Ras Musandam and the Southern Mahrah. They are virtually pagans, but profess, on occasion, Islam of the Hanbali school, which is akin to Wahabism. They are as ill armed as they are ill provided with any domestic apparatus or clothing in advance of the Stone Age; but they are brave fighters, who have twice in recent years made short work of Turkish punitive detachments. They own many camels.

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They are said to number about 7,000 souls, and to turn out 2,000 fighting men. Their Paramount Chief is the Sheikh of the Fuheidah clan of the **Shabib** (or Bishr) sub-tribe, which is notorious for outrages committed on travellers, fishermen, and Turks. The whole tribe is unashamedly predatory, recognizing no code but its own. It maintains perpetual feud with the 'Ajmân and the Beni Khâlid.

AHL MURRAH

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*
Shabib (or Bishr).	*'Adhbah.*
	Baheih.
	Bureid.
	Dîwi.
	Fuheidah.
	Ghafrân.
	Hâdi.
	Hamm.
	Juheish.
	Shabîb.
	Zuheiwah.
	Zibdân.
'Ali ibn Murrah.	*Ghiyâthîn.*
	Jarîba'ah.
	Nûbit.
Jâbir.	*Ghadhbân.*
	Ahl Ibn-Na'âm.

9. *The Manâsir*

The **MANÂSIR** are a small independent tribe in the ill-known Dhafrah district, bordering on the domain of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, to whom, if to any one, they owe a vague allegiance, having for a generation or so been free of tribute to Ibn Sa'ûd. They are the last predominantly nomadic tribe towards the south, the Great Desert and the Jâfûrah Desert enclosing their dira S. and W., and the mainly settled and friendly Beni Yâs of the Trucial Coast lying E. North lies the dira of the Ahl Murrah, with whom the Manâsir seem to be on better terms than any one else is. In winter the whole tribe moves into or near El-Qatar. In summer part of it may be found as far south as the Bireimi oasis in NW. Oman. Mainly pastoral, the Manâsir possess arable land and summer settlements in Dhafrah (Liwah district), and are much in advance of the Ahl Murrah in civilization.

Both in religious tenets and political connexions they pertain to Oman. There seems to be no Paramount Manâsîri Chief. The tribe does not number above 1,500 souls.

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MANĀŠIR

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*
Mundhir.	*Ka'ābarah.*
	Mūnī'.
	Murāshid.
	Mettwa'ah.
	Mādhimah.
Rahamah.	*Khail.*
	Tawāf (or *Janāb*).
	Tarbīfah.
	Wabrān.
Sha'ar.	*Ghawārinah.*
	Rashayyid.
	Thawābil.

SUPPLEMENT

Non-Bedouin Nomads

1. *The Sherārāt*

The **SHERĀRĀT** are not reckoned among the Arabs as Bedu, that is to say, they do not spring from either of the great nomad families, Qahtān or Nizār. They are said to be of one stock with the Huteim who, like the Sherārāt, are not *asīl*, of known race, and the true Bedouins will not intermarry with them.[1] Nor is there any definite area over which they exercise acknowledged rights of possession; they have not their own dīra, but camp with other tribes. Their tents are scattered from Jebel Durūz in the north to Teima in the south, and east from Kerak to Jebel Shammar. They are to be found among the Sukhūr, the Huweitāt, the Ruweilah, and the Shammar, either in the encampments of the big Sheikhs, or by preference *khalāwi*, i.e. solitary, in the wilderness. In summer small numbers of Sherārāt gather round the fast-drying water-holes and the permanent wells, when the big tribes have moved off with their herds towards the Hejaz Railway and the Jordan valley, or out into the depths of the Hamād. At Hauza in the Jebel Tubeiq, and at Imleih and 'Obeid on the edges of the Nefūd, they find enough water for their slender needs, and the hard surface of the desert is covered with the circular marks of their threshing floors where in August they harvest the wild *semā*.

The Sherārāt honour an ancestor called Suleim, who is buried in the Wādi Mūjib, but they seldom visit his tomb. They have a cult for 'Āqil Weled 'Azzām, whose tomb is in the Jebel Tubeiq. They

[1] They are sometimes reckoned, however, as descendants of the Beni Hilāl.

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regard the Jebel Tubeiq as their own special dîra, while the Sukhûr and the Huweitât are intruders.

In Ibn Rashid's country the Sherârât will pay tribute to him; in Moab they pay tribute to the Ottoman Government. Wherever they may be, they must buy the goodwill of the Paramount Sheikh of that region. They are skilled hunters, and their camels are said to be the best in Western Arabia, especially as freight-carriers. Although their small tents are almost destitute of furniture and their coffee-hearths are bare, many of the Sherârât are well-to-do. A man clothed in rags may be the owner of 20 camels, and a Sherâri sheikh is a rich man in the desert. But a hunter wandering solitary for a year or more, with his tiny tent, his wife, his single camel and little flock of goats, living mainly on such animals as he can trap, content with black cakes of *sesah* seed in place of bread, and chewing the green weeds of early spring like one of his own goats, has brought the amenities of existence to the irreducible minimum. The men take service with the cultivators of the Jizah district, and often settle down among them; but their former trade of supplying the Hajj camels with grass from the Nefûd has vanished with the opening of the railway.

2. *The Huteim*

Closely related to the Sherârât are the **HUTEIM** (Heteym), and they are even more widely scattered. They are to be found on the Persian Gulf, in Yemen, on the Red Sea, and in Egypt; but their main range is in Central Arabia, from near Medina, north-east to Jebel Shammar. The name Huteim is used roughly by the Arabs as a synonym for any base-born, half-settled tribe. They are rich and numerous; those of the Kheibar and Medina districts pay taxes to the Government, while those of Jebel Shammar used to be taxed by Ibn Rashid, but are now out of hand and raid his villages when he is away with his fighting men. The Huteim breed excellent riding-camels, and own large flocks of sheep and goats. Their women are renowned for beauty, but would not be taken in marriage by any Bedouin of good stock. The men are reputed to be timid and of no value as fighters.

3. *The Sulubba*

The **SULUBBA** (Solubba) are an interesting tribe about whose origin nothing certain is known. Probably they are the dispersed remnants of some old stock; but legend has been busy with their ancestry, and has given them as forbears the Indian dancers of Hârûn

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er-Rashid's court at Baghdad. They are sprinkled over the whole of nomad Arabia, but the various groups under their separate sheikhs keep to their own regions, where they ply their trades as smiths, tinkers, carpenters, and cattle-surgeons among the Bedouins and the oasis-dwellers. Their skill in hunting has passed into fable with the Arabs; and in fact they are so expert that they live well, even in the most barren wilderness, from the fruits of the chase. They are well-to-do, earning an ample livelihood by their craftsmanship, and they travel without fear throughout all the desert, where no thief would rob them and no raider harry them. Their knowledge of the country is unsurpassed. They hav[illegible] camels; their beasts of burden are donkeys, the best br[illegible] a large white ass almost as powerful as a mule. They [illegible] f sheep and goats in the Hamád, and their tents are we[illegible] ith every kind of nomad gear. A northern Sulubbi will [illegible] inter a warm robe of gazelle-skins. The Bedouins accuse them of eating carrion and beasts that have died of themselves, as well as vermin; and there would seem to be truth in the first charge as far as the Suleib (Soleyb) and Ghaneimi are concerned, and in the second if it is limited to locusts and hedgehogs (the locust, however, is a delicacy much prized not only by the Sulubba, but by all nomads). It is impossible to estimate the numbers of the tribe, since they never assemble in any one place.

4. *The Sunná'*

The **SUNNÁ'** are the smiths' caste, sometimes settled in the villages and sometimes wandering with the tribes (*Sunná'* is plural of *Sáni'* = artisan, smith). They are braziers, farriers, tinners, blacksmiths, and workers in wood and stone among the tribes and in the oases. Thus they are both villagers and nomads. They may marry with the Hutcim but with no Bedouins. They are probably a different race from the Arabs, and are distinguished from them by their features.

5. *The Nawar*

The **NAWÁR** are gipsies, found in Arabia as in other parts of the universe, but not in great numbers. Their habits and activities are the same there as elsewhere.

6. *The Hawázin*

The **HAWÁZIN** (**HAWÁZIM** or **'AWÁZIM**) are a nomad tribe which is not admitted to marriage and fellowship by true Arabs. As a considerable tribal unit it is found only in and about the principality of Koweit, ranging from the outskirts of the town

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Itaeli (where some 250 Hawāzin families are settled), down the coast nearly to Musallamīyah, and for some distance inland. They must be the 'Koweit nomads' who, Raunkiaer says, graze their herds south of the town in winter and resort in summer northwards to the districts round Zobeir, and also control the wells of Tawīl. There are also, however, Hawāzin elsewhere, who have the same sort of status, but are members of Huteim or Harb (e.g. in Jauf el-'Amr, Teima, Sedeir, &c.); and there is a distinct Harb clan of the name at Wādi el-Kheif near J. Fiqra (see **Harb**). The Koweit Hawāzin are partly pastoral, partly follow marine occupations—pearl-diving and fishing. They are great breeders of camels, often taking service (e.g. at Qatīf) under alien masters for stud-labour. They are subjects of Koweit, and form the bulk of the Sultan's fighting forces: it is due also to their activities that he is able to claim Būbiyān Island, to which some of their horsemen resort. They are allied with the 'Ajmān, and number some 4,000 souls. It appears that they are comparatively newcomers into Koweit territory, and their tradition is that they were formerly with the Harb in East Hejaz. The one thing certain is that they are regarded by Bedouins as of the same standing as Huteim or Sulubba, and credited with secret non-Islamic beliefs. In fact, however, they are Maliki Sunnites.

NON-BEDOUIN NOMADS

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Shakrāt. 800 tents	*Fuleihān*	
Ibn Hāwi	Ibn Hāwi	
Ibn Wardah	*Huleisah*	
	Ibn Duweiji	
	'Azūm	
	Ibn Wardah	
	Dhubein	
	Ibn Shushān	
	Khayyāli	
	Suweifi	
Huteim	*Beni Rashīd.* 1,000 tents	*Nuwāmisah*
	Duleim ibn Barak	*Ibn Nuwis*
	Sālim ibn Simra	*Ibn Barak*
	Nr. Hā'il	*Ibn Jelladān*
		Ibn Dawwāk
		Ibn Simri or *Thiyabbah*
		Mothāborah
		Feradiesa
		Heisān
		Khiyārāt
		Qabīd
		Suweidir

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.
619 **Huteim** (*continued*):	*Beni Rashîd* (*continued*):	*Fehjât*
		Bedaunah
•101	*Jerâbis.* Nr. Wejh	
622 **Sulubba**	*Seidân.* In Nejd	
	Ghoneimi. In Nejd	
	Suleib	
	Ibn Mâlik. In 'Irâq and the Hamâd	
Hawâzin		
No Paramount Sheikh of their own tribe, that authority having passed to the Sultan of Koweit	*Kâ'ah*	
		Hadhâlîn
		Bureibât
		Shaqufah
	Ghiyâdh	
		Malâ'ibah
		Musâhimah
		Mushâ'idah
		Adhyeibât
		Jawâsirah
		Mukhâlibah
		Muweijiyah
		Aghrubah
		Karâshah
		Sawâbir
Sunnâ'. Smiths		
Nawâr. Gipsies		

7. *The 'Uqeil*

485 575 The **'UQEIL** (Ageyl) are the guides and conductors of caravans in Arabia. They are not a tribe but an organization partaking of the nature of a club or society or a masonic lodge. They have no connexion with the ancient 'Uqeil tribe of the Ahl esh-Shimâl, from whom the Muntefiq claim descent; this seems to have disappeared and left no trace. The modern 'Uqeil are all Nejd Arabs, townsfolk or nomads of any tribe from Hasa, 'Âridh, Qasîm or Jebel Shammar; but men of Sedeir and the Wâdi Dawâsir are not admitted; nor are members admitted from any of the big tribes, such as the Harb and Ateibah, who are engaged in interminable blood feuds, the object being to keep the 'Uqeil society neutral. Settled Beni Tamîm and Beni Khâlid of Nejd and Qasîm are most suitable for its purposes. The head-quarters of the society are at Baghdad, and its president, who is always a native of Boreidah, lives at Baghdad and there enrols the members.

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CHAPTER XIII

SETTLED TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST

BELQA

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THE Belqa is a district east of Jordan and the Dead Sea, which extends roughly from Zerqa, north-east of 'Ammān (Ammon), to the Wādi Zerqa, south of the ancient Christian village of Mādeba, and eastward nearly to Qasr el-Azraq. The Jebel Haurān and the Jebel 'Ajlūn bound it on the north. The Beni Sakhr are the predominant tribe in its southern reaches, the Ruweilah penetrate into the eastern pasturages near Azraq, the 'Adwān are paramount over the Jordan valley (the Ghōr), the Beq'a (i.e. the hills between the Ghōr and the Heshbān), and the lands round Heshbān. The smaller tribes of the Belqa acknowledge the authority of the principal 'Adwān Sheikh, Sultān ibn 'Ali Dhi'āb, whose head-quarters are at Heshbān; and it will therefore be convenient to treat the whole of the Belqawīyah, including the 'Adwān, under one head.

They are a half-settled people, scattered pretty thickly over a comparatively small area; for though the Belqa is not in extent considerable, it is a country rich in pasturage, with plentiful rains in winter, and supports a much larger population than any corresponding area of the Hamād. At a moderate reckoning there must be at least 4,500 tents within its confines, in addition to the big villages of Salt, 'Ammān, and Mādeba, which hold permanently settled inhabitants.[1] It contains much cultivated land and still more which would repay husbandry. The valleys leading down to Jordan are full of timber, oak, terebinth, and smaller trees, and even the uplands might be well wooded, but for the depredations of the goats and charcoal-burners. Round Salt the hill-sides are terraced for vineyards, and the gardens of the sturdy Christian and Moslem population are planted with fruit-trees. The pasture grounds of Heshbān are famous, and Mādeba, which is still largely Christian, is set in cornfields. At 'Ammān an industrious Circassian

[1] The villagers themselves are grouped into tribal confederations.

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colony has filled the valley with gardens and poplar groves, constructed roads along which they can drive their two-wheeled carts, and covered the slopes of the hills with corn. Innumerable ruin-fields, remains of villages of the Christian period before the Mohammedan invasion, testify to the fertility of the soil, and its capacity for carrying a larger population. In the winter the warm Jordan valley is favourable for early crops, and forms an ideal refuge for flocks and herds.

Unhappily the edges of the desert suffer notoriously from the shortcomings of the Turkish administration. Since 1895 the Ottoman Government has occupied Kerak and Ma'ān, placing a mutesarrif at the former and a kaimmakam at the latter; there are mudirs at Wālah, Tafīlah, and Shōbak, a kaimmakam at Salt, and mudirs at Mādeba and 'Ammān. With the opening of the railway to Ma'ān in 1905 communications have been facilitated and small military posts are established along the line. The results have been disappointing. The Belqawīyah, like all the border tribes, have lost touch with the desert law, though they have not acquired any other code in its place. They maintain a tribal organization and a vast network of tribal feuds in which the Ottoman Government seldom interferes, even on behalf of settlers, Circassian, Christian, or Moslem. The whole country is turbulent, crime abounds, and justice is almost non-existent. The villagers protect themselves as best they can, partly by force of arms, but mostly by paying tribute to the Arab Sheikhs in the form of unstinted hospitality and liberal propitiation by gifts in kind. The Circassians, a race detested by the Arabs, incur more hostility from the tribes than other townsfolk, but are also better able to hold their own, being born fighters and well armed. Though the disputes often lead to bloodshed, they are usually small affairs, petty robberies taking the place of raids among the border tribes. But in the summer, when great numbers of the Beni Sakhr come up to the northern pasturages, and the Anazah draw in from the east, the Belqa is the scene of continuous disturbance, ranging from pitched battles to the satisfaction of individual blood-feuds, and no established authority intervenes.

Yet it is just in such frontier lands as these that any strong administration would seize its chance, and herein lies the political importance of tribes like the Belqawīyah. They are cultivators, after the inefficient manner of the Arabs, and like all the half-settled people their numbers are surprisingly large in comparison with those of purely nomadic tribes. They have few camels, and those which they possess are bought from the Bedouins, not bred

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by themselves; but they rear large flocks of sheep and goats, and live richly on their milk during the spring. The fact that they own cultivated ground should give the Government a firm hold over them; they are immobilized thereby, nor do their pastoral conditions give them the means of rapid transport. Their numbers would make them a solid barrier between their wandering kinsmen, who can slip through the fingers of the law at any moment leaving no pledge behind, and the permanently settled lands. Moreover, their geographical position makes them the first problem to be dealt with, a problem on which the security of wide and fertile regions, now lying to a great extent derelict, must depend.

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A group of the 'Adwān, some 700 tents, is seated in Mesopotamia at Qorinahār, west of the Khābūr. Numerically the largest of the Belqa tribes are the Beni Hasan, who are sometimes counted among the Jebelīyah since they are an offshoot from one of that group, the Ghiyādh. They go up into the slopes of the Druze hills, and sometimes wander into the volcanic country to the east. The Shawābkah, as their name indicates, come from Shōbak and are a new tribe; but the 'Adwān are an old confederation tracing their descent through Qeis to Mudhar, a respectable lineage. The 'Ajārmah venerate an ancestor, Sobah, who, they relate, came from lands farther east. His son, 'Ajram, is the eponymous founder of the tribe.

No doubt all the Belqawīyah are, like the 'Adwān, Ahl esh-Shimāl, and though their own stories of their parentage are mere legend and usually devoid of any historic basis, it is reasonable to conjecture that they must have taken part in the gradual sweep northwards of the Hejaz tribes after the Mohammedan conquest. They displaced and even wholly obliterated the powerful Yemenite nation of the Beni Ghassān, which held the marches for the Roman *Empire along the Haurān harrahs and in the Belqa, just as the* Ghassānids had stepped into the place of the Nabataeans and tribes of the Safa, whose Aramaic dialects, attested by countless graffiti, link them with the civilization of Eastern Arabia and the frontiers of Mesopotamia. It is conceivable that the legendary origin of the 'Ajārmah from an Eastern ancestor may have some real foundation in history, and that they may be connected with strata of culture long since submerged by later migrations, which go back to the last centuries before the Christian era.

The Sirhān, now a small tribe scattered over the Belqa, the Jordan valley, and the Southern Haurān hills, are reckoned to be of the best Northern Arab blood, though they have fallen to low estate. They owned the whole of the Wādi Sirhān, which is

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named after them, and were ejected from it by the Anazah. They are now sheep-breeders, like the rest of the Ghawāmah, and reduced to small numbers.

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BELQAWĪYAH

Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.
'Awwin. 400 tents Sultān ibn 'Ali Dhi'ib, Heshbān	*Sālih*, 140 tents Sultān ibn 'Ali Dhi'ib, at Heshbān	
	Nimr, 60 tents Fahd ibn Qablān, nephew of Sultān ibn 'Ali at Zabūd near Heshbān	
	'Asāf, 70 tents Qablān, east of Salt	
	Ka'id, 90 tents Fā'iz ibn Abu 'Arabi, in the Beq'a	
	Thaubbiyah, 40 tents Rumeilah, in the Ghōr	
	Jukrān el-'Abid Suleimān Hamdān at Mazāh Cultivators, vassals of Sultān ibn 'Ali, paying him tribute and giving military service	
'Azzān, 600 tents Nahār el-Bukheit Wādi Sīr	*Mashēir* Nahār el-Bukheit, near 'Arāqil Amir	
	Ifqaha, 70 tents Falāh esh-Shaddād at Jerf'ah	
	Nu'eimāt, 200 tents Sālim, NW. of Salt	
	Duweikāt, 120 tents Duweik, at Bahāth, W. of Wādi Sīr	
'Ajlūnah. 300 tents Nā'if ibn Shahwān, near Heshbān and down to the Ghōr	*Mutairi'in*, 70 tents 'Aqil el-'Aqil, at Suwānīyah and Mushaqqar	
	Jaifah, 40 tents Sā'il esh-Shahawān, at El-'Āl, near Heshbān	
	Saud'ir, 30 tents Fanash, at Sāmek	*Halāhalah*
	'Ifeishāt, 25–30 tents 'Abd el-Aziz, at Nā'ūr, near Heshbān	
	Hardāfa, 30 tents Ihria, plain of Mahālah	*Murā'ikah*
	Shemaipifa, 20 tents Rashid El-Hasan, at Heshbān	
	Sakurdu, 60 tents Ibn Mustafa	
Beni Hasan, 800 tents 'Awwād ibn Kallāb, *Zerqa*	*Itāwi*, 50 tents 'Awwād esh-Shahhādah, at Rummānah and Kamen, S. of Zerqa	
	Khawālidah, 150 tents 'Ali, at 'Aluq	

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BELQAWÎYAH (*continued*)

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
BENI HASAN (*continued*)	*Khalî'îlah*, 40 tents 'Ali Suleimân, S. of Zerqa	
	Ghazîyîlah, 120 tents Falâh ibn Rusheid, at Sarrût, S. of Zerqa	
	Beni 'Aleim, 100 tents Hammâd el-Hârhashi, at Qafqafa, N. of Zerqa	
	'Amûsah, 300 tents 'Awwâd ibn Kallâb	
	Rusheidât, 100 tents Ahmed abu Rusheidah, at Mutawwi	
GHAWÎMAH (Arabs of the Ghôr, independent tribes)	*Mashâlîkha*, 60 tents 'Ali Sa'd, at 'Abu 'Ubeidah in the Ghôr	
	Baltawnah, 40–60 tents 'Ali Sa'ûd, at Rajeb, N. of Zerqa	
	Ghazawîyah, 100 tents Mohammed el-Mijwal, at Sheikh Abîl	
	Sukkôr el-Ghôr, 90–100 tents Rajah abu el-Leben, at Zâr el-Bâsha	
	Rashîdeah, 150 tents Hasan, at Majama'	
	Sagr, 250–300 tents 'Urân ibn Mulâk, at Beisân	
	Dulaikah, 350 tents Fadhîl el-'Isa, at Zubeir el-Qiddis	
	Mast'îd, 80 tents Dhâmin el-Mas'îdah, Wâdi Fîrah, W. of Jordan	
	Rîshîmah, 100 tents Fahd, at Jericho	
	Beni Khâlid, 200 tents 'Othmân el-Qâdhi, at Zawîyah, W. of Sheikh Sa'd	
	Sirhân, 200 tents Sâlim abu el-Râfi', from the Ghôr to the Jebel Haurân	
SHAWÎRKAH 'Abdullah el-Mota'îlah, W. of Hesbbân	*Mota'îlah*, 100 tents 'Abdullah	
	Wuta'îlah	
	Dhuaîli	
	Hara'îd	
	Hawâmin, 700 tents 'Ali abu Wandi, at Ma'in	
	Nijâdah 'Ali abu Wandi	
	Nawaimîr 'Ali abu Wandi	

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BELQAWĪYAH (*continued*)

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
SHAWĪKRAH, 50–60 tents Bāshir el-Farūj, at Kufeir abu Ghina	*Shakhātrah* *Khalālāt* *'Abīd* At Kufeir abu Sarbūt	
YALĀ'IDA. 70 tents Bāshir el-Turmān, at Judeid. Allies of Ghanamāt	*Sharāqiyīn* Bāshir el-Turmān *Qureiniyīn* Mohammed el-Khawātra	
GHANAMĀT. 90 tents Sālim abu el-Mankwir el-Husein, at Mount Nebo	*Masīadah*, 3 tents *Harbūri*, 4 tents *Sha'ra*, 2 tents *Wakhydn*, 40 tents *'Atoutn*, 2 tents And other small clans.	
MARĪSHDAH Sa'd Raqād, 16 tents at Kufeir near Mādeba. Some of the tribe are near 'Ammān	*Butaīn* *Siyūf* *Dukhān* servants of Siyūf *Ghalālāt* *'Abīd* *Shakhatrah*, 5 tents 'Eid	
ARAB OF 'AMMĀN Independent tribes	*Dhiyāb*, 65 tents Shebāka, N. of 'Ammān *Sawārbah* *Jawāwsis*, 60 tents Muheimir, at Markah, NE. of 'Ammān *Du'ja*, 100 tents Muheimir, at Markah *Aqhawāt*, 30 tents Suleimān el-Quwir, at Umm Quwir *Ahālīla* Rashīd, at Abu 'Alinda *Ibn Hadīd*, 30 tents Ishtiwi ibn Hadīd, at Umm el-Hetrīn *Dahīlah*, 20 tents Marj Dahīlah, at Itbuqa	
ARAB OF MĀDEBA. Independent tribes	*'Asāsīt*, 47 tents Ya'qūb *Ma'āyah*, 34 tents 'Udetallah *Karādshah*, 37 tents Salīmah ibn 'Atārah	

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KERAK AND SHŌBAK

The Arabs of the Kerak–Shōbak district were long the bane of all travellers and entirely beyond official control. They are noted robbers, cruel, faithless, and intractable. Since the establishment of a Turkish Mutesarrif at Kerak and a Kaimmakam at Shōbak, they have been reduced to some sort of order; but in the autumn of 1910 the Majāliyah of Kerak revolted, tore up the Hejaz Railway in several places, killed the employés, held up the trains, and stripped the passengers. They were severely repressed by Sāmi Pasha, who called all the Bedouins as far as Ma'ān to account, including the Huweitāt. His energetic action has not yet faded entirely from memory.

All the tribes of this group are cultivators and sheep-breeders. Those who have houses in Kerak or Shōbak send out their flocks into the desert in spring. The Shōbak Arabs exact tribute from the Kerak people. The list here given is taken from Jaussen, who explains that the word *house*, used as a unit in his computation, implies the patriarchal family, including the married sons with their wives and families.

TRIBES OF KERAK AND SHŌBAK

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
ARABS OF KERAK. Sālih el-Mujalli	*Majāliyah*, 140 houses Sālih	*'Ashīrah Yūsuf* Sālih
		'Ashīrah Suleimān Khalīl
		'Ashīrah Ghabān Khalīl ibn Dā'ūd
		'Ashīrah Dā'ūd 'Awwād
	Ma'ā'ilah, 260 houses Yūsuf Sabar	*'Ashīrah Bashā'ilah* Sābir
		'Ashīrah Sagā'ilah Yūsuf
		'Ashīrah Sagā'ilah Ja'far
		'Ashīrah Jalāmdah
		'Ashīrah Laghamāt
	Sarā'irah, 180 houses Yahya	*'Ashīrah 'Alī* Yahya
		'Ashīrah Agā'ilah Sālim ibn 'Īsa
		'Ashīrah Dā'ūd Salīm ibn 'Ayyād

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TRIBES OF KERAK AND SHŌBAK (*continued*)

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
ARABS OF KERAK (*continued*)	*Turburinah*, 200 houses Husein ibn Mohammed	*'Ashîrah Turburinah* Husein ibn Mohammed *'Ashîrah Qutt'unei* Yûsuf *'Ashîrah Nuwâ'isah* Mushawwah
	Dhumûr, 160 houses Mahmûd ibn Tâha	*'Ashîrah Dhumûr* Mahmûd ibn Tâha *'Ashîrah 'Uqêl* Ahmed *'Ashîrah Sa'êb* Hattâb *'Ashîrah Mubrîdhîn* Yûsuf ibn Fâlih *'Ashîrah Suhrîwât* Suleimân
	Qulba, 40 houses Mughil ibn 'Îsa	
	Bashâ'ishah, 20 houses Husein	
	Hubâ'ishah, 130 houses Darwîsh	*'Ashîrah Hubâishah* Darwîsh *'Ashîrat Arîd* Bunîbas *'Ashîrah Bukâ'ûsah* 'Abd el-Ma'ti *'Ashîrah 'Ashqîsah* Hammâd *'Ashîrah Bunshâlîn* Mohammed *'Ashîrah Zunnîbât* Fâris *'Ashîrah Kafîsîn* Hamîd
	'Amr, 50 houses Ghâfil ibn Tubeiti	
	'Arab el-Bedûn, 50 houses in Wâdî Khanzîrah Musallim el-Mâjidî	
	'Arab el-'Irâq 3 hours from Kerak Mohammed ibn Hasan	
	'Arab el-Bitrâki, 200 houses At Kafr Rabba, S. of Kerak	
	Hadîdî, 120 houses, E. of Dhât Ras Salîm	

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TRIBES OF KERAK AND SHÔBAK (*continued*)

Tribe.		*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
CHRISTIAN TRIBES.	200 houses	*Halaas*	
		'Isa el-Qaus	
		Zereiqât	
		Mousa Jirjis	
		Mudîbât	
		Suleimân ibn 'Isa	
		Hejâzin	
		Yûsuf	
		Bogâ'in	
		Suleimân	
		'Akasha	
		Salmân en-Nawâwin	
		Mara'âya or Sawaa	
		Butrus	
		Haddâdîn	
		Khalîl ibn Ibrâhîm	
MOSLEMS OUTSIDE KERAK		*Mahamîdîyin*, 100 tents	
		Khalîl ibn Sa'îd	
		In the Rawsh; they go up to Kerak	
		Mowâ'in. N. of Shôbak and E. of the Jebâl	*'Ajâ'i*, 100 tents
			'Ali
			Rudîri, 60 tents
			Sâlim
		Sa'âdîyin, 60 tents	
		Between Shôbak and the Jebâl	
ARABS OF SHÔBAK		*Rashâ'idah*	
		Za'l ibn Saqr	
		SSW. of Shôbak	
		Ghâwâlîah, 40–50 tents	
		Sulaimân ibn Shawwa, chief	
		Rab-Shawa', S of Petra	
		'Amarîn	
		Sâlim	
ARABS OF TAFILAH		*'Amarîn*, 600 houses	
		Dhi'âb	

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CHAPTER XIV

SETTLED TRIBES OF THE WEST

A. Ashrāf

•101 619 622 The **Ashrāf** (Sherifial clansmen) in general are the descendants of Hasan, who was son of 'Ali and Fātimah, and, through the latter, grandson of the Prophet. There are said to be twenty-one clans of this descent scattered over Arabia, of which fifteen live wholly or in part in Hejaz or North-West Asir, and chiefly in and near Mecca. For the most part numerically small, they derive importance from the consideration which their individual members enjoy throughout Arabia. Theoretically, the Emirs (Grand Sherifs) of Mecca might be chosen from any clan of the Ashrāf: but, in fact, they have belonged to one or another branch of the descendants of Abu Numej (who was of the Qatadah stock) for so many centuries that nowadays succession to this office is, in practice, as much confined by prescription to two or three clans only as the Sultanate of Turkey is to the house of 'Othmān.

The mutual affinities, the interconnexion, and the present condition of the Ashrāf clans are not well known; and many of them are mere names.

(*a*) *'Abādilah.* The ruling clan at present, being that to which the Emir (Grand Sherif) and his house belong. It is descended from Sherif 'Abdullah, grandson of Mohammed Abu Numej (1631). It was raised to power by Mohammed 'Ali of Egypt in 1827 during his occupation of Hejaz, in place of the Dhawi Zeid who had held the throne since the latter part of the eighteenth century and also at an earlier epoch. In the earlier eighteenth century the Emirate had been with the Dhawi Barakāt. The 'Abādilah clan of Hejaz is entirely settled, the bulk of it living outside Mecca south of the Jiddah road. Many of its members hold office under the Emir. There is another branch in Asir (see p. 407) and scattered families are found in other parts of Arabia.

(*b*) *Dhawi Zeid.* The Dhawi Zeid clan, which descends from Zeid, great-great-grandson of Mohammed Abu Numej, is settled in

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Mecca. The houses of 'Abd el-Mutallib and Ghālib are of the Dhawi Zeid clan, and there is rivalry and bad feeling between it and the 'Abādilah.

The only members of the clan who live at Mecca are Sherif Zeid, son of Feisāl, a young man of about twenty, and the Sherifah Azza, daughter (?) of Sherif 'Aun er-Rafiq. The latter appears to be a woman of considerable character with a keen interest in politics and some power over the Harb. She is unmarried and about sixty years old. The Dhawi Zeid own a large amount of property in Mecca and Jiddah and possess many slaves.

(c) *Shenabrah.* The Shenabrah descend from an eponymous Sherif, Shanbar, not of a ruling house. They are nomadic, and are dealt with on p. 72.

(d) *Dhawi Surur.* The Dhawi Surur are descendants of Sherif Surur, who ruled as Emir in the latter part of the eighteenth century. They are nomadic, and are treated on p. 72.

(e) *Dhawi Barakāt.* The Dhawi Barakāt, descendants of Barakāt, third son of Mohammed Abu Numej, are no longer in Hejaz proper, where they held the supreme power up to the latter part of the eighteenth century and, at a slightly later period, were robbers in Wādi Fātimah. They are said by Burckhardt to have been exhausted by family wars of succession. They are now found in North-Western Asir organized as a tribe.

(f) *Dhawi Hasan.* Descendants of Hasan, second son of Mohammed Abu Numej, are also no longer in Hejaz, but in North-Western Asir organized as a tribe (see p. 426).

Other Ashrāf clans of Hejaz, e. g. *Hirāz, Dhawi 'Abd el-Kerim, Hurith, Menema, Dhawi Jizān, Dhawi Judallah, Manādil, Dhawi Ibrāhim,* and *Dhawi 'Amr,* are, apparently, not of actual political importance. For the Ja'āfirah of Asir see p. 429.

Ashrāf are numerous and powerful in Yemen, in the districts of Māreb and Harib, and in Wadyān Dawāsir; but, as is natural, they are most conspicuous and best known in Hejaz.

B. Asir

1. *'Abādilah*

One of the twenty-one clans of Ashrāf.

1. By far the more important section is that settled in Mecca, on which see previous section.

2. There is a small colony of them which has been settled for

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101 many generations in the Beni Qutâbah country of the Rijâl el-M'a. Their influence is local and unimportant. Sherif 'Abd ibn 'Abdullah is their leading representative.
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622 3. Another small colony has lived for many years with the Dhawi Barakât, about four hours east of Shakkat el-Yemenlyah. They are allied with the Dhawi Barakât and friendly with the Zobeid. Their chief Sheikh is Sherif Tâlib ibn Qasim.

2. *Beni 'Abs*

The Beni 'Abs inhabit the country between Wâdi Habi on the north and Wâdis 'Ain and Wârith on the south. Their territory extends from the sea to the first foot-hills some 25 miles inland, and is bounded on the north by the Beni Hasan, on the east by Beni Aslam, and on the south by the Wa'zât. They are from the people of the north and trace their descent from 'Adnân through 'Abs the son of Ghatafân, the son of Qeis, the son of Mudhar. They say that they originally came from the Hejaz, and after moving south at some unknown period to Beit el-Faqih, they again passed north about 500 years ago till they came to their present territory. There is still a small remnant of the tribe, whose present Sheikh is Sheikh Bekhat, near Beit el-Faqih, immediately to the north of the powerful tribe of Zaranik. The northern 'Abs can put into the field about 3,000 good fighting men well armed with Mausers and Martinis, and are enthusiastic adherents of Idrisi. In 1915 Yahya 'Ali ibn Thawâb, their paramount Sheikh, was joint commander of Idrisi's second army opposed to the Turkish forces near Lobeia. With Ahmed ibn El-Heij, the chief of the Wa'zât and the main local supporter of the Turks, the 'Abs have a long-standing feud. Between them and the Beni Aslam there is an enmity which leads to frequent fighting when the rest of the world is at peace, but which is laid aside when the interests of their common lord, Idrisi, demand. With the Beni Zeid, who are the allies of the Beni Aslam, their relations are the same. They stand to the Beni Hasan as protectors and friends and range freely over their country up to Wâdi Heirân. They are partly nomad and partly settled and trading, and though less in number than the Wa'zât, they are richer. They sow enough grain for their needs and trade with the tribesmen from the hills, taking from them skins and coffee, and selling to them articles of clothing and the like which in times of peace they bring from Lobeia and Hodeidah. Their two chief villages are Sûq el-Himâri and Sûq 'Abs, where every Friday and Sunday respectively are held markets

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to which the neighbouring tribesmen come. Sheikh Yahya ibn 'Ali Thawāb is responsible that peace is kept at Sūq el-Himāri. The Sheikhs of the Qu'tābah and Bitariyah see to the security of Sūq 'Aba.

Chief Sheikhs: Yahya 'Ali ibn Ahmed Hādi Thawāb, and Hasan 'Ali Thawwāb his brother.

3,000 fighting men.

Sub-Tribes.	*Sheikh.*	*Place.*
Metwala	'Ali Hasan Qowah Hādi Ahmed	W. of Sūq Himāri.
Mahsin Gowzina	Gelān Dawiyah	N. of Sūq Himāri.
Qatna	'Ureig Ahmed	E. of Sūq Himāri.
Nasr	Suwaid 'Ali	S. of Sūq Himāri.
Shafar	'Ali Seghair	Between Sūq Himāri and Sūq 'Aba.
Khabaran	Harib Ayya	To the E. in the hills up to W. Ghadir the Beni Aslam boundary.
Qutāban	Ahmed 'Ali	Sūq 'Aba and W. to the sea.
Bitariyah	'Isa	With the Qutābah.
Mudanti	Hādi Ahmed ibn 'Abdu	Isolated colony in the mountains near Kufk'ah, 4 hours E. of Sūq 'Aba.

3. *'Alqam el-Hāl (Hawl)*

The 'Alqam el-Hāl occupy a narrow strip of country beginning about 2 miles north of Ibha and running out to the west for about 20 miles. The Rabi'ah wa Rufeidah adjoin them on the north, the Beni Mālik on the east, the Beni Mugheid on the south, and the Rijāl el-M'a on the west.

They are divided into two sections, 'Alqam es-Sahil near Ibha and 'Alqam el-'Alein to the west. Each of these numbers about 2,000 men. The chief Sheikh of the 'Alqam es-Sahil is Ahmed ibn Hamid, a prosperous man of about 45, who is a member of the 'Mejlis Beledi' at Ibha. The Āl Yūsuf are noted for the beauty of their women, many of whom are married to Turks. The 'Alqam el-'Alein are not on good terms with the 'Alqam es-Sahil, and their Sheikh, Abu Matir, a man of 65, is said to have pro-Idrisi tendencies. The tribe is, however, thoroughly under the control of the Turks and pays its taxes regularly. It is generally on bad terms with the Beni Mālik and Beni Mugheid, although there can be no actual fighting, and is friendly with the Rabi'ah wa Rufeidah, the Beni Qois, and the Beni Zeidin section of the Rijāl el-M'a. It has a good reputation for bravery. It traces its descent to Qahtān.

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*101 (a) *'Alqam es-Sahil.* Settled. 2,000 men.
619 Paramount Chief: Ahmed ibn Hamid.
Chief Muftis: 'Abdullah ibn Hujahri and ibn 'Abbās.
622 Chief villages:—

'Ain Ibn Musāfi	Murei Abu Zu.
Hamārah	Mushabbab ibn Ta'yin.
Umm Makmar	Nāsir ibn Mushabbab.
Umm Shatt 'Ā'idh	'Ā'idh ibn Mushabbab.
Āl Umm Ghaidah	'Ali ibn Mushabbab.
Wādi el-Beih	'Ali ibn Jurāwi.
Āl Yūsuf	Hinbis.
Qarādah	'Abdullah ibn 'Uqrān.
Dein Sunum	Sa'id Shaghlah.
Mahsān	Mohammed Abu Hanash.
Āl Wādi Mutah	Yahya Tāhir es-Stambūli.

(b) *'Alqam el-'Aleia.* 2,000 men.
Beni Ma'āzin.
Chief Sheikh: Abu Matir.

Chief villages:—

Jau Umm Nejeim	Mohammed ibn Muhsin.
Jebel Kotheiri	Mufarrih ibn 'Ā'idh.
Juhān	Ibn Duseiri.
Ghaina	Sha'bān.
Umm Mujādhah	Ahmed ibn Fa'ai.
Sūda Āl Thawwābi	Mohammed ibn Zeid.
Āl 'Umm Ghaeir	Ibn Dumaik.

4. *Beni 'Amr*

The Beni 'Amr are a small settled tribe in the highland country through which the Ibha–Tā'if road passes. Their northern boundary adjoins the Bulqarn and on all other sides they are surrounded by the Beni Shihir, the nomadic Neid being to their east and the settled Ka'b to their south and west. Their country is well watered and productive, wooded except where the ground has been cleared for cultivation. The chief Sheikh is Sa'id ibn 'Othmān, who lives at Shij, and is said to be a good tribal chief. The Beni 'Amr number about 2,000 men and are hospitable and a fine

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fighting tribe. They have always been violently anti-Turk and about ten years ago, under Sa'īd ibn 'Othmān, defeated a strong Turkish column led by Mohammed Amin Pasha which was sent to subdue them. They pay allegiance to Idrisi, but not to the extent of allowing him to levy taxes. They are allied with the Bulqarn and have an old feud with the Ka'b, Beni Kerim, and Neid sections of the Beni Shihir. 101 619 622

The tribe traces its descent to the Rijāl el-Hajar.

Paramount Sheikh: Sa'īd ibn 'Othmān esh-Shij. 2,000 men.

Clans:—

Āl Suleimān	Mukhāsir ibn Mohammed.
Udheidāt	'Abd ibn Talhah.
Beni Rāfi'	Dhuleim ibn Bukheikh.
Āl esh-Sheikh	Sa'īd ibn Rahmah.
Ahl Jebel el-Mutla	Dalīr ibn Mohammed.

5. *Bahr Ibn Sekeinah*

The Bahr Ibn Sekeinah live along the Muhā'il–Birk road from about 9 miles south-west of Muhā'il to within 18 miles of Birk, a distance of approximately 29 miles. They are bounded on the north by the Āl Mūsa, on the east first by the Beni Thuwwah and then by the Rijāl el-M'a, on the south by the Rijāl el-M'a, and on the west by the Beni Hilāl.

They number 1,000 men, of whom 600 are settled and the rest, the Latīm and the Makhlūtah, nomad. They share with the Beni Hilāl the reputation of being one of the most unregenerate and irresponsible tribes of Asir, and the nomads are still Moslems merely in name, though the influence of Idrisi during the past few years has done something to reform them. They have never acknowledged the sway of the Turk nor have the latter been able to subdue them. Their country in the highlands of Asir is thickly forested, abounding in running streams, but only a little has been cleared for cultivation.

Their paramount Sheikh is Seyyid Mustafa, a man of 35 years of age, and one of the most prominent figures in Asir. He belongs to a family of Seyyids and not to the tribe itself. In 1912 Idrisi placed him in supreme command of the forces opposing the Turks and the Sherif of Mecca. When the fighting was over, the Rijāl el-M'a, who will suffer no outsider, complained to Idrisi against his being put over them and even went so far as to try to murder him. He has his own tribesmen thoroughly under control and is

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looked up to as a stern but just ruler. He is responsible for collecting tribute for Idrisi and, reserving for himself a quarter of all he receives, has grown rich and lives in some state in Jannah.

The most serious engagement in the war of 1912 took place at 'Ayādi in his country, resulting in a check for Idrisi.

The Bahr Ibn Sekeinah claim kinship with the Rijāl el-M'a and are usually on good terms with them. They reckon the Beni Thuwwah amongst their friends, but are always at feud with the Beni Hilāl and Āl Mūsa.

Chief Sheikh: Seyyid Mustafa.

Villages: 600 men.

El-Bahr	Mohammed esh-Shar.
Jannah	Mohammed ibn Ahmed.
Mayādi	Ibn Kheir.
Khamis el-Bahr	Mohammed ibn 'Abdullah.

Nomads: 400 men.

Latim	Abu Zos.
Makhlūtah	Mohammed Abu Hanash
Aulād Islām	

9. *Balahmar*

The Balahmar live in the rich highland country to the north of Ibba, their southern boundary coming to within 10 miles of that town. The tribes which adjoin them are on the north the Balasmar, on the east the Shahrān, on the south the Beni Mālik, and on the west the Rabi'ah wa Rufeidah. The tribe is a strong one and numbers about 7,000 men, of whom 4,000 are settled, the rest nomad. Their country is well watered and produces fruits as well as cereals. The paramount Sheikh of the settled portion is 'Abdullah ibn Milhem, a young man of 25, who is liked by the tribe both for his justice and the open house which he keeps. He is a warm supporter of Idrisi and collects taxes for him.

'Ali ibn 'Abahān, or 'Ali Ghālib Bey as the Turks call him, is the nominal head of all the nomads, but for the last few years he has only had the Āl 'Asla under his control. In his younger days he went to Constantinople and received a military training for five years. On his return to Asir with the rank of Bimbashi he was appointed by the Turks chief tax-collector for the whole district. When Idrisi revolted he stood by the Government, but was not supported by the Balahmar who, with the exception of the Āl 'Asla,

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all went over to Idrisi. For the last few years he has lived entirely at Ibha, fearing to go back to his country. He had a house in the village of Melâhah in the Beni Mâlik district, which was razed to the ground a few years ago by Sheikh Seyyid Mustafa of the Bahr Ibn Sakeinah, the chief general of Idrisi in Asir. His son 'Ali was one of the first to be chosen to sit in the Ottoman Parliament, but on his return from Constantinople was captured between Qunfudah and Ibha by the Idrisi's men and died in captivity at Sabia about six years ago. 'Ali ibn 'Abehan himself is now about 55 years of age and is said to be brave and capable.

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The Balahmar say that they are descended from the Rijâl el-Hajar; but they are probably from some other stock, since they are fairer than other Arabs and most of them have red hair, which they wear short, and light eyelashes. The villagers have a reputation for cowardice, but the nomads are stout fighters. The whole tribe, however, has an evil name for treachery and theft and are known amongst other tribes as 'Kilâb en-Na'al', intimating that as a dog in the night they will steal the shoes from their sleeping guests.

The Balahmar are friends with the Balasmar, Rabi'ah wa Rufeidah, and Beni Mâlik, but are enemies of the Shahrân.

(a) Settled. 4,000 men. Paramount Sheikh: 'Abdullah ibn Milhem.

Chief villages :—

Beihân	Mushabbab ibn Yûsuf.
Âl A'mer	Mohammed ibn Musheit.
Sabah	Sheikh Himri.
Shijr	Hamûd ibn Mohammed.
Mowein	Sheikh Abu Hanki.
Âl Husein	Sheikh Abu Sha'rah.
Âl Meshad	'Othmân ibn Rifâ'ah.
Âl Mohammed es-Sahil	'Amr ibn 'Ali.
Âl Qasim	Sa'ûd ibn Sa'd.
Wâdi Ibl	Mahmûd ibn Mohammed.
Âl Umm Sha'ir	Sultân ibn Ahmed.
Misfarah	Sheikh Abu Hakam.

(b) Nomads. 3,000 men. Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali ibn 'Abehân.

Chief divisions :—

Âl 'Asla	Himri.
Bahâshah	'Abdullah Ferthân.
Beni Tha'labah	Safar ibn Dôh.

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7. *Bal'aryán*

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The Bal'aryán or 'Sons of nakedness' have received their name from the poor and savage conditions under which they live. They appear to be mostly of African extraction and, save for a few miserable villages, they are nomads. Their exact boundaries have not been ascertained, but it is known that they have the Ghámid on the north, the Bulqarn et-Tihámah on their east, the Beni Shihir on their south, and the Zobeid on their west.

They are divided into four sections, the Bal'aryán, Beni 'Ísa, Beni Suleim, and Beni Suheim, and are said to number 6,000 men. In normal times they quarrel amongst themselves, but unite when danger from outside threatens.

They reckon all their neighbours as foes, but have been known to help the Shamrán against the Ghámid. The Beni 'Ísa pay a nominal allegiance to Idrísi, which means that they help him in war if there is a prospect of loot, and in peace refuse to pay him taxes. The other sub-tribes are completely independent and refuse to recognize the authority of any one. There are many of these tribesmen scattered all over the country as far as Muhá'il and Birk, plying the trade of butchers. Although respected for their bravery, they are despised by all true Arabs for their mixed blood and their lack of religion, which almost amounts to paganism.

Sub-tribes :—

Bal'aryán, 2,500 men, mostly nomad.
Beni 'Ísa, 1,200 men, mostly settled.
Beni Suleim, 2,000 men, mostly nomad.
Beni Suheim, 600 men, mostly nomad.

8. *Balasmar*

The Balasmar are a strong tribe, reported to number some 9,000 men, and situated due east of Muhá'il, from which they are divided by the Reish. The adjoining tribes are the Beni Shihir on the north, the Shahrán on the east, the Balahmar on the south, and the Reish on the west. They are said to be descended from the Rijál el-Hajar, and are of the same stock as the Beni Shihir. They dwell on the fertile slopes of the hills and up to the long ascent known as the 'Aqabah Sajein to the top of the main ridge of Asir, and are known accordingly as people of the mountains or people of the Tihámah. Much coffee is grown on the hill terraces, and wheat and other cereals round the villages.

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Jebel Hadhah is the chief centre of the tribe and the most productive. The Ibha–Ta'if road runs through their territory for about seven miles between Madfa'ah and Tanûmah. 101 619 622

The paramount Sheikh of the whole tribe is 'Ali ibn Mohammed, a man of 50, tall and powerful, with a scar over the right eyebrow. He lives at Madfa'ah and is a firm adherent of Idrisi, as are the rest of the tribe. Idrisi takes taxes from them. In former days Turkish influence reached them, but since Idrisi's rise to power they have been left alone.

The Balasmar are friendly with the Balahmar and the Beni Shihir; with the Reish and Shahrân they are at enmity. Their reputation for hospitality and prowess in war is good.

'Ali ibn Ra'ih is the mufti of the tribe, a dark-skinned man of about 55 with a long flowing beard. He is said to have Turkish leanings, and is on bad terms with 'Ali ibn Mohammed, but he is sound in his judgments and generous, and is liked by the tribe.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Mohammed of Madfa'ah. 9,000 men.

(a) *Ahl el-Jibil.* 4,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Sadwân	'Ali ibn Hasan.
Hudhwah	Yahya ibn 'Alikmah.
Al Ikhwân	Mohammed ibn Sâdiq.
Madfa'ah	'Ali ibn Mohammed.
La'bân	'Ali ibn Sa'îd.

(b) *Ahl el-Tihâmah.* 5,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Ahl Jebel Hadhah	'Abd er-Rahmân.
Umm Zerîbah	Mohammed ibn Salim.
Khamis Mukhâdah	Zebân Abu Sudr.
Umm Hajja	Ghurmallah.
Ahl Sûq el-Ithnein	'Ali ibn Shehâb.
Hadar	Barakât ibn Husein.

9. *Âl Barak*

The four tribes of Humeidah, Âl Mûsa ibn 'Ali, Âl Isha'i, and Âl Jebâli are known collectively in Asir as the Ahl Barak, and it will therefore be convenient to class them together, although they

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do not form a confederation or trace their descent to the same ancestors.

The district of Barak begins about 15 miles north of Muhā'il, and covers an area of about 20 miles from north to south and 30 miles from east to west. It is a fertile country with plentiful rains and is largely cultivated, simsim being the principal crop. It is bounded on the north and east by the Beni Shihir, on the south by the Reish, Āl Dureib, and Rabī'at et-Tahāhin, and on the west by the Rabī'ah Mujātirah. The most important tribe is the Humeidah, numbering 7,000 men, of whom 4,000 are nomads. They occupy the western part of the district, and the Muhā'il–Qunfudah road from Dhahab to Ghār el-Hindi is in their territory. They quarrel with the Āl Isba'i and are divided amongst themselves, the villagers favouring the Turks, the nomads Idrīsi. Mohammed ibn Hayāzah is their Sheikh, and the paramount Sheikh of the whole district by the nomination of Idrīsi. He is a man of about 45, and has the reputation of using his position with wisdom and moderation.

The Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali occupy the south-eastern portion of the district along the first stages of the Barak–Tanūmah road, and number about 3,000 men. They are entirely sedentary and agricultural, and disagree with the Āl Jebāli. They are friendly with the Reish and the pro-Idrīsi section of the Āl Mūsa.

The Āl Isba'i are between the Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali and the Humeidah and north of the Āl Jebāli.

Both the Āl Isba'i and Āl Jebāli are entirely settled in villages.

Taken as a whole the tribes support Idrīsi, with the exception of the settled Humeidah, and pay him taxes. They are peaceful and pleasure-loving, and by no means fond of war. At the same time they are not above harrying small Turkish convoys. The road from Muhā'il to Qunfudah, however, is so beset with unfriendly tribes that the Turks seldom pass over it except in numbers sufficiently large to repel any ordinary attack.

Humeidah. Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Hayāzah. 7,000 men.

Chief villages, 3,000 men.

A'jamah	Zāhir Akhu Talah.
Rabu' el-A'jamah	Mohammed ibn Zāhir.
Jidhreimah	Ahmed ibn Hayāzah.
Basham	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Khabt Āl Hajri	Abu Dōsah.

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Nomads, Chief Sheikh: Fa'i ibn Hasan. 4,000 men.

Umm Mahshakah	Fa'i ibn Hasan.
Mishghalah.	
Marābah.	
Āl Jemil.	
Āl Sa'īdah.	
Āl 'Ablah.	
Āl Mohammed.	

Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali. Chief Sheikh: Mohammed Abu Tarash. 3,000 men.

Chief villages:—

Jureihah	Abu Dōsah.
Bashamah.	

Āl Isba'i. Chief Sheikh: Hayāzah ibn Hasan. 1,500 men.

Chief villages:—

Sahil	Zabān.
Khamis Sahil	Milbis.
Umm Ma'āsh	Ibn Umm 'Arfyah.
Sa'dah	Sa'īd Mohammed ibn Nebīyah (well-known merchant).

Āl Sebdli. Chief Sheikh: Hawāsh. 800 men.

Chief villages:—

Mifah.
Uthrub.

10. *Dhawi Barakāt*

The Dhawi Barakāt are one of the tribes of Ashrāf related to the Qoreish. They occupy a barren stretch of the sea-coast from Shakkat esh-Shāmiyah and about 25 miles south, and extend inland for about 14 miles. The Wādi Dōkhah runs through their country and provides water for their annual crop of *dukhn* and *dhura*. They number only 400 men, but make up for their paucity of numbers by their reckless daring.

Coastal dhows give their shores a wide berth, for they live chiefly on what they can make by piracy, and in their swift vessels take toll of all who come their way. Their chief is Sherif Hasan Abu Mandil, a man about 45 years old, who recognises the authority of neither the Sherif, the Turks, nor the Idrisi. His right-hand

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*101 man and the one most noted in raiding is Sherif Mohammed ibn Sa'idah.

619 They maintain a perpetual feud with their piratical rivals the Dhawi Hasan, but are on friendly terms with the Zahrân, their

622 eastern neighbours, and with the Zobeid to their south. There is a small colony of 'Abâdilah Ashrâf in their country, which is allied to them.

An offshoot of the tribe lives at Manâdil in the Belâ'ir country.

Paramount Sheikh: Sherif Hasan Abu Mandil. 400 men.

Clans:—

Manâdil	Sherif Zein ibn Qasim.
Hawâtimah	Sherif Hâshim ibn 'Ubeid.
Ruwâjihah	Sherif Dahshân ibn Khudherr.

Section of Manâdil in Belâ'ir country. 300 men.

Chief Sheikh: Abu Tâlib.

'Abîd el-Manâdil	Sheikh Jâmûs.

11. *Belâ'ir*

The Belâ'ir are a strong and truculent tribe inhabiting the country roughly from between Khabt el-'Umr and Jum'at Rabi'ah to Habil and Jôz Belâ'ir, on the Qunfudah–Barak road. They are bounded on the north and north-east by the Zobeid, east by the Rabi'ah Mujâtirah, south-east by the Rabi'at et-Tahâhin, south by the Aulâd el-'Alaunah, and west by the Marâhibah section of the Beni Zeid.

They are divided into main divisions, the Nawâshirah, 3,000 men, and the 'Umr, 4,000, the former partly settled, the latter entirely nomad, and ranging the country to the south of their borders. Their situation astride the two main roads from Qunfudah to Muhâ'il is an excellent one for raiding, and they take full advantage of it. They hate the Turks, who can only pass through their country in force. The chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Medini, a man of 50, who was formerly paramount Sheikh of the whole tribe. He was bought over by the Sherif of Mecca in 1912, and his desertion of the Idrisi lost him the support of all the 'Umr and of the Nawâshirah with the exception of the Firshah and Sa'dah clans and the inhabitants of the village of Jôz Belâ'ir. The tribe is still split in two, and Sheikh Ibn Kheirah of the Nawâshirah has gathered most of the power into his hands, and is reckoned amongst the Idrisi adherents.

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Their country includes both plain and hills, and is rich enough to give pasture for large herds of camels, goats, and cattle, and to grow cereals in the rainy season. They are allied with the Zobeid, but are generally at loggerheads with their other neighbours. The most extreme section and the one most feared by travellers is a colony of about 300 of the Dhawi Barakât, called the Ashrâf Manâdil, living at Manâdil, just to the west of Jôz Belâ'ir, on the main road to Qunfudah. They have lived there for many years and have severed all connexion with their parent tribe, but they have retained the tribal reputation for lawlessness. Their chief is Sherif Abu Tâlib, who pays allegiance to 'Ali ibn Medini. The colony, however, keeps to itself and does not intermarry with the Belâ'ir, nor does it adopt the local custom of allowing its women to go unveiled. The Belâ'ir Arabs are lax in their marriage customs, but they do not marry outside their own tribe. Although truculent and quarrelsome, they have a reputation for clean fighting, and are hospitable to those with whom they are not at feud.

Paramount Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Medini of Jôz Belâ'ir.

(a) *Naudahirah.* 3,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Ibn Kheirah.

Clans :—

Shawâridah	Abu Tommah.
Firshah	Sa'd.
Mujâ'adah	'Ali ibn Ma'addi.
Heil el-Mujâ'adah	Mohammed Munjar.
Habil	Mohammed ibn Hâdi.
Sa'dah	Mohammed ibn 'Abdu.

(b) *'Umr.* 4,000 men.

Mohammed ibn Ahmed.

Clan :—

She'i el-'Umr	Mohammed ibn Musâfir.

12. *Bulqarn*

The Bulqarn are divided into the Bulqarn esh-Shâm or es-Serrah and the Bulqarn el-Yemen or et-Tihâmah, and stretch in a south-westerly direction from near Bishah across the tangled mass of mountains which form the backbone of the Asir range, and down towards the seaward slopes. They are bounded on the north by the Shamrân and Khath'am, on the east by the Shahrân and

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*101 nomads of Beni Shihir, on the south by the Beni 'Amr and Beni Shihir, and on the west by the Bel'aryân and Ghâmid.

619 The Bulqarn es-Serrah are two-thirds settled and one-third nomad, the Sheikh over all being Mash'ad ibn Bahrân, who
622 lives at 'Alâyah, a large village about eight hours west of Qal'ah Bishah. He is a rich landowner and also possesses date-groves in Bishah. The country appears to be fertile and well wooded, and supports large herds of camels, goats, and cattle. The nomads draw in to the cultivation during its season, and when it has been harvested take flour to Bishah, which they exchange for dates. There is a general truce with the Shahrân amongst all the tribes during the date season at Bishah, which lasts about four months. At other times the Bulqarn are at feud with the Shahrân, Beni Shihir, Ghâmid, and Shamrân. They are friendly to the Khath'am and Beni 'Amr.

The Bulqarn el-Yemen occupy the lowland district of 'Urdiyah and are wholly given up to farming. Their chief Sheikh is Mujarri ibn Sa'îd.

The two sections of the tribe are friendly and help each other in war. They are not remarkable for their courage, but can render a good account of themselves. In politics they all favour the Idrîsi and pay him taxes. They are hospitable in character, and passage through their country is generally safe.

A. *Bulqarn esh-Shâm or es-Serrah.* 6,000 men.

Chief Sheikh: Mash'ad ibn Bahrân of 'Alâyah.

1. Settled. 4,000 men. Villages:—

Al Shîl	'Abdullah ibn Nâsir.
Al Barqîq	Hanash ibn Jarîwish.
Sahwah	'Abdullah ibn 'Abd.
Nakhlah	Merrîq ibn Mohammed.
Wajrân	'Abdullah ibn Salim.

2. Nomad. 2,000 men.

Al 'Iffâfah	Ibrâhîm ibn Masud
Al Hirîr	Mûsa ibn Ya'qûb.
Al Dahahân	Mohammed ibn Hasan

B. *Bulqarn el-Yemen or el-Tihâmah.* 1,000 men

'Urdiyah	Mujarri ibn Sa'îd.
Al Mabnah	Ma'addî ibn Suwgih.
Al Dhirwah	Safar ibn Mohammed.
Al Atîm	'Abd el-'Azîz ibn Khair
Beni Suheim	Mohammed ibn Nâsir.

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Clans :—

Āl esh-Sha'eir.
Āl Shahbah.
Beni Tala'.
Āl el-Mudeifir.
Āl Mizhim.

13. *Āl ed-Dureib*

The Āl ed-Dureib are a small tribe numbering some 800 men, to the north-west of Muhā'il. They occupy about ten miles of the Sikkat el-Helāwīyah from Muhā'il to Qunfudah between the villages of Turqush and Ma'mal Āl Ikhleif, and stretch up along the Barak road for about five miles north of Musabbah, which is in their territory. They are bounded on the north by the Āl Mūsa, west by the Reish, south-east by the Āl Mūsa, south by the Beni Hilāl, and west by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhin. They are a good fighting race, but are not naturally quarrelsome or bellicose. The Idrisi, however, frequently incites them to cut Turkish communications. Their country is fertile and they possess many flocks and herds. The Āl Mūsa and Rabī'at et-Tahāhin are friendly to them, the Āl Jebāli, Reish, and Beni Hilāl as a rule inimical. They have the reputation of being hospitable beyond the ordinary, and travellers can journey without fear in their country.

There is a small offshoot of their nomad subsection, the Āl Ikhleif, situated in the Rabī'ah Mujātirah country near Ghār el-Hindi, who have cut themselves adrift from the main tribe.

Mohammed ibn 'Amr Akhu 'Abdīyah, a man of 35, is the chief Sheikh. He has been to Mecca several times, and frequently goes to Sabia. During his absence the tribe is governed by his sister 'Abdīyah, who married a Turkish officer, now dead, named 'Ali Bey Rida.

Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn 'Amr Akhu 'Abdīyah. 800 men.

Villages :—

Turqush	Mohammed ibn el-'Allāmah.
Musabbah	Mohammed ibn Hedayyah.
Juaia	Rājih.
Wādi Musabbah	Mushātir.
Wādi el-Ushir	Ma'addi.
Rāhah	Mohammed ibn Bārūd.
'Ain ed-Dureib	Mohammed ibn Kheir.

Nomad :—

Āl Ikhleif.

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14. *Ghâmid*

101 619 622 The Ghâmid own a wide stretch of territory in the highlands of Southern Hejaz and Northern Asir, roughly from latitude 19° 30′ to 20° 15′ and longitude 41° 30′ to 42°. The tribes which adjoin them are, on the north the Shalâwah, east Shamrân, south Bulqarn and Bel'aryân, and west Zobeid and Zahrân. It is difficult to estimate their numbers, reports varying from Burckhardt's estimate of 5,000 to 10,000 fighting men, to a native estimate of 60,000 men. The first is probably as wrong as the last, but there seems no doubt that they are considerably more numerous than any of their neighbours.

The inland road from Ibha to Tâ'if runs through the midst of their country, which is well watered and fertile. The tribe is divided into two portions, the nomad and settled, who are always at odds with one another. The nomads are Âl Seyah, a tall race of fine fighters who live to the north of the settled portion and roam far afield to the Shalâwah country round Turabah, to Ranyah, Ta'hlîth, and Wâdi Dawâsir. They are rich in horses, camels, and goats, and recognize no authority. Their chief is Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân, a man of about 45, and a noted warrior. He is entirely independent of outside influences.

The chief of the settled Arabs is 'Aziz ibn Musheit, a young man of 25 years of age, who follows the Sherif of Mecca and frequently visits him. He is at enmity with Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân. A large number of his men go yearly to Mecca, Jiddah, and Tâ'if and act as porters during the pilgrim season. They remain there for about four months, and return with supplies for the rest of the year. Many invest their savings in rifles, which they buy at one of the two chief markets. Ru'eis near Jiddah or Nuzûlah Beni Mâlik. They also buy rifles from the Rijâl el-M'a. Although not noted for their fighting skill they yet are frequently at war, their chief foes being the Zahrân, and after them the Bel'aryân, Bulqarn, Shamrân, and Shahrân. The Âl Seyah, who are the better fighters, combine with them when trouble with the Zahrân arises. Their friends are the Zobeid and Beni Mâlik of Hejaz.

Their women occupy a much more important position than in most tribes, and take an equal share in all harder forms of manual labour, and even have a say in the tribal councils. The tribe is still nicknamed the Khâdimin ed-Derwishah, after a woman who died about fifty years ago, having ruled them for nearly 40 years. The women also weave camel's-hair garments and blankets. Owing

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to the annual migration to the Hajj, the tribe is more civilised than most and has a good reputation for hospitality. 101

In May 1915 some of their Sheikhs, whose names are not known, wrote to the Idrisi proposing to join him. The Idrisi advised them to keep quiet until a more favourable moment arrived, but sent a Qâdhi to collect money from them. At the beginning of 1916 he was still in communication with them. 619 622

A man of importance in the tribe is Sâlih ibn 'Ajalah. He is the richest merchant and controls most of the trade between Mecca and the Ghâmid. The export of tobacco, of which a considerable amount is grown, is entirely in his hands.

Another man of influence is Mohammed ibn 'Ali of the Beni Kebîr. He was chosen as one of the representatives of Asir in the Ottoman Parliament ten years ago, and went to Constantinople for one session. Not liking the life, he resigned his seat, but still keeps up his Turkish connexions.

Paramount Chief: 'Aziz ibn Musheit.

(a) Settled:

Beni Dhubyân	Mohammed ibn Ati.
Beni Kebîr	Ismâ'îl ibn Mohammed.
Beni Kebîr	Mohammed ibn Ibrâhim.
Bal Jurashi	Hizâm ibn Ismâ'îl.
Humrân	Sa'îd ibn Mohammed.
Âl edh-Dhafîr	Sâlih ibn Yâsîn.
Âl Ramâdah	Sa'îd ibn Habîb.
Âl Za'lah	Dhiyâb ibn Nâsir.
Beni Sandal	'Abd er-Rahmân el-Merzûq.
Âl Bahdân	Mubârak ibn Muwalla.
Âl Bâh	Dhâfir ibn Sa'îd.
Ahl Wâdi Shibriqah	Salîm ibn Mohammed.
Âl Ferza'ah	Hizâm ibn Husein.
Beni Munabahah	Fâ'iz ibn Mohammed.
Beni 'Omar	Mubârak ibn Muwalla (different from above).
Ahl Wâdi Batat	Mohammed ibn Mukhâsir.
Beni Lâm	Sa'îd ibn 'Abdullah.
Âl Lahdah	Mohammed ibn Dhubyân
Beni Muntasar	Hanaish ibn 'Abîah.
Beni Talaq	Mohammed ibn Sa'îd.
Beni Khutheim	
Beni Jâbûs	'Atiyat Allah

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Beni 'Abdillah	Mohammed ibn Ferhat.
Beni Mintisher	'Ali Jamah.
Beni Balsham	
Beni Nâshir	
Bal Hirsh	Mohammed ibn 'Atîyah.

(b) Nomad.

Al Seyah	Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân.

15. *Ahl Hali*

The Ahl Hali consist of four tribes, which may conveniently be considered together, since, although of different origin, they are politically one, sharing the same country, uniting against common enemies, and being ruled over by one chief. Their country embraces the coastal village of Hali and the district round of the same name. The boundary starts from the coast about five miles north of Hali, runs north-east along the Beni Ya'lah territory, and thence follows a line parallel to the Hali-Jum'ah Rabi'ah road and about four miles to the west, up to Kidwah, which is 18 miles NNE. from Hali and close to the boundary of the 'Umr section of the Belâ'ir. Thence it goes south-east for about ten miles along the Rabi'at et-Tahâhin and Beni Dhi'b territory to Kiyâh, which is 21 miles NE. of Hali. Here it reaches the Beni Hilâl and follows their line towards the coast, which it touches about 12 miles south of Hali.

The four tribes are the 'Abîd el-Emîr, Ghawânimah, Aulâd el-'Alaunah, and Kinânah, who are all settled with the exception of the Salâlimah clan of the 'Abîd el-Emîr and the Fellâhah clan of the Aulâd 'Alaunah, both small and unimportant units.

The largest tribe is the Aulâd el-'Alaunah, who number 2,000 men and are strung out along the Jum'ah Rabi'ah road from Kidwah to Minjîyah.

Next in importance are the Ghawânimah (1,500) from Radha to Khâ'i along the Mphâ'il road, then Kinânah from the Beni Hilâl to Minjîyah, and finally the 'Abîd el-Emîr (600 men) on the Beni Dhi'b frontier.

The paramount Sheikh over all is Ibn 'Aji, a man of about 55, who in the past was a friend of the Turks, but seceded to the Idrîsi when the latter began to grow powerful. The Turks used to occupy Hali, but they were driven out sixteen years ago, and have been unable to regain a footing. The confederation is a rich one, having

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sufficient water for its agricultural needs and possessing large herds of cattle.

They are noted warriors and maintain feuds with all their neighbours. The Bijâl el-M'a are the only tribe whom they regard with friendly eyes. Their relations towards each other are at times strained, but they unite for common defence and when the Idrisi calls them out.

The 'Abîd el-Emîr were originally slaves of Sudanese stock, but have long since gained their emancipation and now rank on an equality with the Arabs. A number of them go every year on the Pilgrimage to Mecca, where they have an evil reputation for robbery and theft.

The Kinânah are an ancient and famous tribe, who probably came into being about A. D. 100, and are descended from the Mudhar branch of Nizâr. The Qoreish are a branch of them. They were at first settled near Mecca, and took a prominent part against Mohammed the Prophet, by whom they were subdued. When Africa was invaded part of the tribe went to the Sudan, where they are still found in Kordofan, while others went to Egypt and from there pushed as far west as Morocco. The Arabian remnant had meantime taken up their residence near Hali, where they were reported to be by Ibn Battûtah in 1353.

Some severe fighting took place in the Hali country during the campaign of the Sherif of Mecca and the Turks, in 1910, in which the Ahl Hali, who were fighting for the Idrisi, gave a good account of themselves.

Paramount Sheikh: Ibn 'Aji of Aulâd el-'Alawnah.

(a) *'Abîd el-Emîr*. 600 men. Ibn Saghir.

Villages:—

Kiyâd	Ibn Zemîm.
Sabt el-Kiyâd	Hasan ibn Ahmed.

Bedouin:—

Salâlimah.

(b) *Ghawâzimah*. 1,500 men. Khalil el-Ghâzim.

Villages:—

Khâ'i	Ibn Shalîb.
Kidwat el-Ghawâzimah	Hasan Ghebaish.
Radha	Mohammed ibn 'Ajil.

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(c) *Awlād el-'Alewsah.* 3,000 men. Hasan Shijeifi.

Villages :—

Minjiyah	'Ali Shumeih.
Ben'ahi	Ghabeish.
Ferig	Hasan Sûh.
Fiqkhah	Medîni.
Mashā'ikh	'Ali Sheikh.
Salkmah	'Ali Serûwi.
'Ajam Je'eirah	Ahmari.

Bedouin :—

Felikhah.

(d) *Kindeah.* Subdivided into :—

1. Shawirah. 1,000 men. Mohammed ibn 'Abd.

Villages :—

Kirwat el-'Âbid	Meryôq.
Beideia	Abu 'Alam.
Sheikh 'Ali	Mubârak ibn Hasan.
Makhabbah	Shâmi ibn 'Abbâs.
Sûq el-Ith.sein Makhabbah	Ahmed ibn 'Abbâs.
Qadah	Ibn Zaghlûl.

2. Beni Yahya. 400 men. Sheikh : Abu Radiyah.

Villages :—

Suib	Mohammed ibn Hâdi.
Ma'ekiyah	'Ali Dellâq.
Ali Khirshân	Sa'îd 'Abdullah ibn Khirshah.
Melhah.	

16. *Dhawi Hasan*

The Dhawi Hasan occupy the coast-line from just north of Lith down to Shakkat esh-Shâmiyah, a distance of about 45 miles, and inland to the beginning of the mountains, which are here only a few miles from the sea. They are of Shenifal stock and connected with the Qoreish, but they do not reflect credit on the tribe, for they pay small attention to religion and concentrate all their energies on piracy, being the most notorious band of freebooters and sea-robbers along the whole coast. The Turks have a garrison about two hours inland from their main town of Lith, and exercise a certain restraint

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over them; but the Dhawi Hasan hate both the Turks and the Sherif, and what little deference they show to any one is paid to the Idrisi, who is sufficiently far away to be attractive. Sherif Mustur represents the Sherif at Lith, and collects a certain amount of taxes. 101 619 622

The chief of the tribe is Sherif Mohammed ibn Hasan ibn el-'Aud, whose name is known with dread by every sailor along the coast. Almost equally feared are his followers, Sherif Ismâ'il Abu Khurfân, Sherif Râjib ibn Dajhid, and Murzut ibn Bekhit, a Sudanese slave who won his freedom by his skill in raiding. They are friendly with the Zahrân and Juhadlah, their eastern and northern neighbours, but have a long-standing feud with the Dhawi Barakât, who lie to their south.

The Dhawi Hasan possess many slaves, and the cruelty with which they are treated is notorious in the Hejaz. Blacks captured at sea are invariably enslaved and hamstrung to minimise their chance of escape.

Chief Sheikh: Sherif Mohammed ibn Hasan ibn el-'Aud. 3,000 men.

Âl Âsaf	Sherif Hasan ibn Husein.
Khumjân	Sherif Mahjûb ibn Barakât.
Âl Hasan ibn Ahmed	Sherif Haza' ibn Furân.
Âl Jiaka	Sherif Burwik ibn Ahmed.

17. *Beni Hasan*

The Beni Hasan inhabit the country between Wâdis Heirân and Habl from the sea to about 20 miles inland and are bounded on the north by the Beni Marwân, on the south by the Beni 'Abs, and on the east by the Beni Zeid. They are firm friends of the Beni 'Abs, who protect them and range over their country, and they keep on good terms both with the Beni Zeid, whom they fear, and with the Beni Marwân. In number about 2,000 souls, they can put 500 fighting men into the field. Manjûr is their chief village, about 20 miles ESE. of Midi; Hasan es-Sa'id and Mûsa Hasan their chief Sheikhs

18. *Beni Hilâl*

The Beni Hilâl occupy a broad expanse of country stretching from the Sikkat esh-Sherâf between Hali and Muhâ'il to Birk on the sea-shore.

Their exact boundary starts at Sabt es-Sawâlah, about 23 miles from Hali, and runs just north of the Sikkat esh-Sherâf and Wâdi

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Dofa' up to within 4 miles of Muhā'il, a total distance of about 34 miles. On the north they are bounded by the Rabi'at et-Tahāhin and Āl ed-Dureib. From Sirr the boundary goes south-west to Birk, marching first with the Āl Mūsa, and finally near the coast with the Munjahah. The coast is theirs for about 18 miles north of Birk, and then the boundary goes inland and so up to Sabt es-Sawālah along the Hali border. The country is densely wooded and provides pasturage for large herds of camels and goats. The tribe is divided into the Ahl Birk, the Āl Ikhtarsh, who live in the direction of Muhā'il, and are subdivided into the Āl Miejar and Āl Umm Jam'ah, and the Arabs of the western parts whose subdivisions have not been ascertained. The Āl Ikhtarsh are said to number 5,000 men, and the remainder, including the Ahl Birk, 7,000.

The Ahl Birk and the Arabs inhabiting the villages along the seacoast, such as Nakhl el-Birk, Nahūd, and Sobākhah, form the only respectable portion of the tribe. They cultivate a little, grow date-trees in some of the villages, and supplement this by collecting salt near Birk, which they sell to their neighbouring tribes. Mohammed ibn 'Abdu is the chief Sheikh, a man of 35 years of age and a staunch adherent of the Idrisi. He is nominal chief over the whole tribe, and does in fact have considerable influence over them. But to keep them entirely in check is almost an impossibility, for they have the well-earned reputation of being one of the wildest and most intractable tribes of the Asir.

Almost pagan, they lead an entirely nomadic life, subsisting on meat and milk and buying what little they need from outside. They have closed the Sikkat esh-Sherāf to the Turks, who are obliged to travel by the more northern roads, the Sikkat el-Helāwiyah or the Barak road, and even ordinary travellers do not dare to pass through their country except in large armed parties. As far as they may be said to have any politics, they are pro-Idrisi, but they are far too out of hand to be of value as allies. They are at daggers-drawn with all the neighbouring tribes with the exception of the Rijāl el-M'a, whose hand they fear.

'Ali ibn 'Abdu, the Sheikh of Birk, was recently reported to be in the pay of the Turks, and to be smuggling mails up to Ibha, but the well-known attitude of the tribe renders this improbable. In 1910 the Sherif tried to suborn him with the offer of £3,000. 'Ali ibn 'Abdu's only reply was to send him a Mauser cartridge.

Mohammed ibn Hasan, chief of the Āl Ikhtarsh, is a notorious highwayman, and has a most unsavoury reputation for treachery and cunning.

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1. *Ali Birk.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn 'Abdu, of Birk. 101*
Other prominent Sheikhs :—
'Ali ibn 'Abdu (Sheikh of Birk). 619
'Ali ibn Muqdi (merchant).
Sha'bán. 622
Mohammed ibn Fayy.

2. *Western Arabs.*

3. *Ali Ishterah.* Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Ali Miajar.
Ali Umm Jam'ah.

19. *Ja'dah*

A small Sunni tribe between the Beni Marwán and Maakrihah, just south of Wádi Ta'ashar, about 10 miles north of Midi. Their chief Sheikhs are Mohammed Ahmed and Sheikh Maqbúl, both of whom have been fighting for the Idrisi.

20. *Ja'áfirah*

One of the 20 tribes of Ashrát. They are settled in and round Jáz el-Ja'áfirah to the north of Jeizán. Sherif Mohammed 'Ali is their chief Sheikh. He is said to be secretly disaffected to the Idrisi, but openly is on good terms with him. The tribe numbers about 600 men.

21. *Khamisin*

A tribe, rather smaller than the Beni 'Ais, inhabiting the hills east of Haradh. They are allies of their western neighbours, the Beni Malwán, and adherents of the Idrisi. Their chief village is Súq el-Mughátil, where a market is held every Sunday.

22. *Khath'am*

The Khath'am are a small settled tribe on the Ibha-Ta'if road, with the Shamrán to their north and west and the Bulqarn to their east and south. They do not muster more than 1,500 men and are partly nomadic. The chief village of the settled portion is Lodar, where lives their chief Sheikh, Juheish ibn 'Aqad, an old man of 60. The nomads are camel-owners, and are almost all engaged in the carrying trade to Bishah and Namas. They excel in fighting, and are allied with the Bulqarn and Shamrán.

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Their chief menace comes from the Ghâmid, and the Khath'am, Balqarn, Beni 'Amr, and Shamrân all unite against that powerful tribe when it threatens any one of them. In politics they favour the Idrisi. The tribe traces its descent back to the Rijâl el-Hajar.

Paramount Sheikh: Juheish ibn 'Aqed of Lozfar.

(a) Settled sections:—

Âl Murrah	Thawwâb ibn Nâsir.
Âl Sevlân	Mohammed ibn 'Alam.

(b) Nomad sections:—

Mazâriqah	Juheish ibn 'Aqed.
Âl Selmân	Shawwib ibn Mohammed.

23. *Beni Mâlik*

The Beni Mâlik live to the north of Ibba, their southern boundary being only 2 miles away. The adjoining tribes are: on the north the Balahmar, east the Shahrân, south the Beni Mughaid, and west the 'Abqam el-Hôl and Rabî'ah wa Rufeidah.

They are of Qahtân stock, and with the Beni Mughaid, Rufeidat el-Yemen, and 'Abqam el-Hôl form what is, strictly speaking, Asir. The tribe numbers about 3,000 men, of whom 2,000 are nomads.

The villagers are under Sheikh 'Ali ibn Ma'ahli, and are divided into the three chief clans of Âl el-Mujemmil, Beni Rizâm, and Beni Rabî'ah. They are Turkish in sympathy with the exception of the Beni Rizâm, whose Sheikh Tâhir Abu Hashar, was imprisoned for a year at Ibba for attempting a revolt. They all pay taxes, and are peaceful and unwarlike people, looked down on by all the neighbouring tribes, who have named them in derision 'Jaabu' or donkeys.

The nomads are good fighters, and pay only a nominal allegiance to the Turks. They come into the villages during the harvest, and for the rest of the year wander to the east round Jinfur, an isolated village of theirs in the Shahrân country, or go down to the 'Abqam el-Hôl or Rabî'ah wa Rufeidah. They are at enmity with the Beni Tha'labah section of the Balahmar.

The country is fertile, and largely supplies Ibba with fruits.

'Ali ibn Ma'ahli, the chief Sheikh, is an old man of 60, and is a member of the Ibba town council. He is reported to be mean and avaricious.

Sa'd ibn Dîyah, the chief of the nomads, is a brave old warrior of over 70, and is anti-Turk. He is supported by his seven sons.

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(c) Settled. 3,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Ma'addi.

His sons { Ahmed Ibn 'Ali.
Manaûr ibn Ma'addi.

Chief religious Sheikh : Mufti ibn Khudra.

1. *Āl el-Mujemmil.*	Mūsa ibn Mushāfi.
Chief villages :—	
Āl Atama	Sheikh Humeidi.
Serūr	Sheikh Malaf.
Shāb	Abu Shamil ibn Ghatlyah
Āl Umm Ruwi	Mohammed Abu Qahas.
2. *Beni Binlen.*	Tāhir Abu Hashar.
Chief village :—	
Āl Umm Ruweidi	Abu Aftān.
3. *Beni Bali'ah.*	
Chief villages :—	
Āl Ya'lah	Walad Abu Dhibah.
Mahālah 'Allyah	Mohammed ibn Shuweil.
Mahālah Sifla	Ahmed 'Ali Dhibah.
'Alj	Yahya ibn 'Audah.
Wādi 'Atf	Mohammed ibn Jerān.
Āl Tabib	'Abdullah ibn Na'sah.
Nejlah	Mohammed ibn Na'sah, his brother.
Āl Ghalbih	Walad Ibn Dufrān.
Āl La'sān	Mohammed ibn Ahmed.
Āl Felāt	Nāsir ibn Muzallifah.
Āl Jerja	Sheikh Qadan.
Āl Lashrān	Yahya ibn Lashrān.
Dārah	Ahmed ibn Muftih.
4. *Other villages.*	
Muslit	Ibn eth-Thibeit.
Meina'a	'Ali ibn Sādān.
Feyah	'Ali ibn Shahr.
Melāhah	Misfar ibn Humrah.
Seyyad	'Ali Gharaifah.

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(b) Nomads. 2,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Sa'd ibn Dhuh.

Clans :—

Āl Habashi	Sa'd ibn Dhuh.
Āl Rumei'ān	Sheikh Sofar.
Beni Minbah	Sheikh Sālikhah.
	Sheikh Mujerri of Junfar.

24. *Beni Maruda*

A Sunni tribe numbering about 1,000 fighting men and inhabiting the country from Wādi Heirān on the south almost to Wādi Ta'asbar on the north. They are bounded on the north by the Masārihah, on the east by the Ahl Haradh and Khamisin, and on the south by the Beni Hasan. The port of Midi is in their country, and their chief village is Sūq el-Keirān. Formerly they were partisans of the Idrisi, but they rebelled against him when he accepted help from the Italians. They are evidently still disloyal, for the Idrisi is reported to have sent a punitive expedition against Ibn Bakri, their chief Sheikh, in November 1915. Sheikh Tāhir 'Ali is the Sh ikh of Midi.

25. *Masārihah*

A Sunni tribe supporting the Idrisi, who occupy the country from Wādi Ta'asbar almost up to Abu 'Arish and Jeizān on the north and east to the first foot-hills. They are bounded on the north by the Reish, on the south by the Ja'dah and Beni Marwān, and on the east by the Beni Mohammed. Their chief village is Samtah, and they are said to muster 1,000 fighting men. The chief Sheikhs are Ahmed Masāwah, 'Othmān Siwādi, Abu Halim, and Yahya Mihah.

26. *Beni Mohammed*

A tribe east of the Masārihah in the hills south-east of Jeizān. They support the Idrisi.

27. *Beni Mugheid*

The Beni Mugheid are a fine fighting tribe dwelling in the steep hill country which leads up to Ibha from the south and in and around Ibha itself. The adjoining tribes are: on the north the 'Alqam el-Hūl and Beni Mālik, on the east the Shahrān, on the

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south the Sha'af Rashah and Āl Yinfa'ah sections of the Shahrān and the Rabi'at el-Yemen, and on the west the Rijāl el-M'a.

Their southern limit is the Wādi Shahlah, which flows into the Wādi Dhilah (or Dhil'a) at Heidat et-Tihāmiyah. The tribe numbers about 7,000 men, of whom more than 5,000 are firm adherents of the Turks, and as their fortresses are practically impregnable in Arab warfare, they are a valuable asset to the Ottoman Government.

The tribe is divided into seven divisions, the Āl Yazīd, Āl Nājih, Āl el-Wāzi, Āl Umm Sherāf, Āl Umm Jerei'at, Āl Umm Wādi Malah, and Āl Weimān. Their country is fertile, with running streams, and produces coffee and fruits.

The Āl Yazīd are the ruling clan and are subdivided into the families of Ibn Mufarrih, Āl Abu Sārah, and Aulād el-Emir Mohammed ibn 'Ā'idh, who ruled supreme over all Asir before the days of the Turks and the Idrisi.

The Idrisi's rise to power has split up many a tribe in Asir which was formerly united, and the Āl Yazīd have not escaped the general feeling of discord. The head of the Aulād el-Emir Mohammed ibn 'Aidh is Hasan ibn 'Ali, a young man of 26, who has already distinguished himself in battle. He was at one time with the Idrisi, but in 1910 was bribed by the Sherif of Mecca and seceded to the Turks, who made him Vali of Asir, which strictly speaking only includes the tribes of Beni Mālik, 'Alqam, Rufeidat el-Yemen, and Beni Mugheid, who are all descended from Qahtān, but is used loosely to include all the tribes from Wada'ah to Zahrān. In practice he only rules those tribes who recognize Turkish authority. The Turks, as is their custom with local chiefs whom they wish to keep in good humour, have made him a Bey. His own house is divided against him, for while his cousins Nāsir and Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān support him and occupy positions under the Turks, the rest of his family, including his brother 'Ali, a young man of 20, have Idrisi sympathies and refuse to countenance the Government. The family lives at Reidah and Harmalah, about 15 miles to the south-west of Ibha, Hasan ibn 'Ali himself occupying the strong fortress of Qasr 'Ali ibn Mohammed.

The Aulād ibn Mufarrih live at Sijah, three miles north of Reidah, and are descendants of Sheikh Mufarrih, who ruled over Asir until he was ousted by the house of Ā'idh. On this account there has always been ill-feeling between the two families, which has developed into open hatred in the present generation owing to the murder of Ahmed ibn Mufarrih, father of 'Abdullah ibn Mufarrih, by the father of Hasan ibn 'Ali some years ago.

The Aulād ibn Mufarrih rebelled against the Turks when the

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Idrisi arose, and under 'Abdullah ibn Mughethil defeated a force sent against them. 'Abdullah ibn Mufarrih is their chief, a man of 45, who holds the title of Bey from the Turks, and on account of his large estate and his landed property in Ibha is outwardly on good terms with them, but secretly in communication with the Idrisi.

Of the Āl Abu Sārah, whose head quarters are at Dhohyah, just to the north of Sijah, 'Ali ibn Lāhiq and his son Hussein were formerly with the Turks, but have seceded and allied themselves with the Aulād ibn Mufarrih. Mohammed Abu Dīsah has long been a noted opponent of the Turks.

The Āl Nājih are just to the west of Ibha and are divided in their sympathy. Their Sheikh, Yahya ibn Salim, was taken captive and imprisoned by the Idrisi five years ago for refusing to pay taxes to him.

The Āl el-Wāzi live near the 'Alqam el-Hāl boundary, and are especially noted for their bravery, which has earned their nickname of Türk el-'Arab. They are all pro-Turk.

The Āl Umm Sherif are all settled along the Āl Sirhān (Shahrān) boundary and are entirely out of hand, being at open enmity with the Turks and all their neighbours, as well as their own tribe. Their country is the focus of all the thieves and highwaymen of the district, and they continually hold up the roads and rob innocent travellers. They also go up to the Wādi Tayyah in the Rabi'ah wa Rufeidah district, and help the Āl Hārith in their war against society. The most notorious amongst them are 'Abdullah ibn Mifdhil, Nāsir and Mūsa ibn Sherein, and Gharām ibn Rābih.

The Āl Umm Jerei'āt and Āl Umm Wādi Malah are both settled in and round Ibha, and are with the Government.

The Āl Weimān, a small section of 400 men who live near the Rabi'ah border to the south, are under the influence of the Idrisi.

The Beni Mugheid are not a quarrelsome race and live at peace with all their neighbours, except the Rijāl el-M'a, with whom they have a hereditary feud. They take a considerable part in the local government, occupying many of the smaller posts, such as clerkships and the like, and a few have been chosen to represent Asir in the Ottoman Parliament. Amongst these are Ahmed ibn Umm Shibah of the Āl Umm Mufarrih, a man of 50, fat, dark, and of average height. He is an eloquent speaker, a keen politician, and very pro-Turk with a strong hatred of the Sa'dah. When at Ibha he sits on the 'Majlis Beledi'. He is a rich landowner, but is unpopular on account of his meanness.

'Ali ibn Khanfur is another deputy, and belongs to the Āl Umm Wādi Malah. He belongs to a middle-class family, his people being

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traders in hides in a small way. He used to be Bashkâtib of accounts in Ibha, having worked his way up from a small clerkship. He is a small man of about 40; his face is pitted with small-pox. He is very intelligent, and used to be religious, but has latterly taken to drink. He is not liked by the tribe. 101 619 622

Mohammed ibn 'Aziz, of the Âl Umm Mandhir, is another man of importance. He married a sister of Husein Eff. weled Musiqah Julas, a deputy for Asir and the Finance Minister (Sandiq Amini), and is accustomed to act for the latter during his absence abroad. He is also responsible for assessing the taxes in all the Turkish districts. A man of 25 years of age, small and dark, he is clever and has a good reputation. His brother, Manstr ibn 'Aziz, was sent to Constantinople three years ago to represent certain grievances of the people of Ibha, and succeeded in securing the dismissal of several Turkish officials.

Mohammed ibn Musallat, who is Sheikh of the Âl Umm Wâdi Malah, is also president of the town council, or Mejlis Beledi, at Ibha. A man of 30 years of age; he is not liked by the tribe, but is capable and has a fine fighting record. He is also a rich landowner.

(c) *Âl Yarid.* (Mugheid el-Khotah). 300 men.

1. Aulâd el-Emir Mohammed ibn 'Â'idh.
   Hasan ibn 'Ali, paramount chief.
   'Abdullah ibn 'Ali, his brother.
   Nâsir ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh } brothers.
   Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh }
   'Â'idh ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh } are cousins
   'Abdullah ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh } of the above.
   Sa'd ibn Nâsir.

2. Aulâd ibn Mufarrih.
   'Abdullah ibn Mufarrih.
   Sa'd ibn Mufarrih.
   'Abd er-Rahmân ibn Mufarrih.
   'Abdullah ibn Mujethil.

3. Âl Abu Sârah.
   'Ali ibn Lâhiq.
   Husein ibn 'Ali, his son.
   Lâhiq ibn Hisn.
   Husein ibn Merzim.
   Mohammed Abu Dûsah.
   'Abd er-Rahmân ibn el-Qâdhi Mufti.
   Ahmed ibn El-Qâdhi.

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(b) *Ál Nájih.* 1,500 men.

Chief Sheikh : Yahya ibn Salim

Chief villages :—

'Ithrabán	Mohammed ibn Salim
'Alíyah	Ahmed ibn Mirsi.
'Arbah	'Á'idh el-Felwalli.
Ál Jerr el-Wádi	Mohammed Dalih.
Jín	Ahmed ibn 'Ali.
Imsiqah	Mohammed ibn Delbáh.
Ál Umm Hamak	Mohammed ibn Sa'íd.
Ál Umm Shi'bah	Umm Saghair.
Umm Miarth	Mishar ibn 'Ali.
Ál Tamám	Mohammed et-Tamám.
Ál Sakrán	Mohammed ibn 'Á'idh.
Ál el-Jabel'i	Mohammed ibn Sultán.

(c) *Ál el-Wári.* 1,800 men.

Paramount Sheikh : Mohammed ibn 'Awad.

Chief villages :—

Badíah	Mohammed ibn 'Abdullah.
Umm Shahrah	Ahmed ibn 'Ali.
Shebárijah	Ahmed edh-Dhi'b.
Ál Zeidí	'Ali Hejári.
Ál Umm Zenwah	Mushán ibn Sa'íd.

Bedouin :—

Umm Naghálah	'Ali ibn Salámah.

(d) *Ál Umm Sherif.* 600 men.

Chief Sheikh : Ahmed ibn Shiblán.

Chief villages :—

El-Husn el-Á'la	'Abdullah ibn Názih.
El-Husn el-Asfal	Mohammed ibn Názih.
Ál Bel Fellah	Sa'd ibn Mufarrih.
'Umárát	'Abdullah Abu Lahbah.
Ál Umm Nesim	'Abdullah ibn 'Ali esh-Sh'á'ir.
Beni Jura'i	'Ali ibn Jurfileish.
Khadbah Beni Jura'i	Ahmed el-Juthradi.
Mugheid el-Wata	'Abdullah ibn Nimshah.

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(e) *Āl Umm Jerei'āt.* 1,000 men.

Chief Sheikh: 'Abdullah ibn Nimshah.

Chief villages :—

Rodāf	Mohammed ibn Mūsa.
Busrah	Sebeih.
Musheyy	Nāsir ibn 'Areidān.
Merjat	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Heilah	Mohammed el-'Asmi.
'Arin	Sa'id ibn 'Abdullah Humrān.
Ja'ad	Mohammed ibn 'Abūt.
Jitāt Ferhan	Ibn Serūr.

(f) *Āl Umm Wādi Malah of Ibba.* 1,500 men

Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Musallat.

Chief villages :—

Miftāhah	'Ā'idh ibn Darāsh.
Qara	Mubārak Mirwa.
Manādhir	Mohammed ibn Feza'.
Na'mān ('Ābid el-'Ā'idh)	Sa'id ibn Faraj.
Rabu'	'Ali Dibah.
Makhlūtah	Merzūq ibn Delmakh.
Khūshi	Nāsir ibn Meri.
Umm Nusāb	Humeid ibn Nimshah.
Muqābil	Shai Abu Na'mah.

(g) *Āl Weimān.* 400 men.

Mohammed ibn Musā'idi.

Chief villages :—

Dafan	Abu Shenlah.
Wādi Kheishah	Abu Hanash.

Nomads :—

Āl Weilah	Mohammed ibn Mushāri.

Āl Yazīd esh-Sha'af. 150 men living in Shahrān country.
Yahya ibn Hādir.

Clans :—

Āl M'alaf	Sa'd ibn Tāli.
Āl Hamām	Mohammed Abu Hamāmah.
Āl Ba'wal	Sheikh Sūdān.

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28. *Munjahah*

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The Munjahah occupy the sea-coast and a few miles inland from just south of Birk almost to Shuqaiq, and are bounded on the north by the Beni Hilāl, east by the Rijāl el-M'a and south by the tribes of Mikhlāf el-Yemen. They muster about 6,000 men, of whom five-sixths are nomads. The villagers live in the small ports of Wasm, Wahlah, and Khasa'ah. They have a little cultivation, a few date-trees, and eke out their existence by acting as porters in their own villages and at Birk. These places, though small, are important as being the chief inlets for arms and ammunition, a trade which is chiefly in the hands of the Rijāl el-M'a. The Idrīsi stations his port officers at them, but the Rijāl el-M'a, who treat with him as equals rather than subjects, refuse to recognize his right to tax them, and he does not press the point. The Munjahah, however, all pay him taxes, Sheikh Hasan Fasīkh being deputed to collect them.

The nomads are fairly well off in sheep and camels. They are fishermen and sell dried fish in the interior. They also export *dōm* nuts to Musawwa'.

Their reputation is very evil and even their guests sleep with their rifles by their sides. Their solemn oath has no meaning for them and they are notorious for their treachery. Before the Idrīsi reduced them to order they were slave-dealers and kidnappers, highwaymen and sea-pirates, and used to raid right up to Muhā'il and Barak.

They do not dare now to commit more than an occasional robbery or murder, for the Idrīsi's police are always stationed in their country and punish severely any attempt to return to the old way of living.

They are disliked by all the surrounding tribes, but in ordinary times they wander out of their country to the Bahr ibn Sekeinah and Beni Hilāl. They do not go south of Shuqaiq at all, having no wish to come into closer contact with the Idrīsi than is necessary.

Their chief Sheikh, 'Ali ibn Fayy, is a man of 45 years of age, and helps the Idrīsi to maintain law and order. His house is in Wasm, where he owns considerable property. He has seen much fighting and always leads his tribe in battle.

Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Fayy. 6,000 men.

(*a*) Settled. 1,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Qahmah.	'Ā'idh ibn 'Īsa.
Wasīn	Mohammed ibn Fayy.

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Rehana'ah	Mohammed ibn Tâli'.	101*
Raqabah	'Omar ibn Mohammed.	
Wahlah	Mohammed ibn Gharâmah.	619

(b) Nomad: *Mohammed ibn Zeid.* 5,000 men. 622

Chief clans:—

Âl Umm Kharsis	Mohammed ibn Zeid.
Âl 'Abdîyah.	
Âl Zeid.	
Âl Umm Hadish.	
Âl Sarîyah.	
Âl esh-Shihbi.	
Walad Islâm.	

29. *Âl Mûsa*

The Âl Mûsa own the town of Muhâ'il and the country round within a radius of from 5 to 10 miles. They are mostly settled, but the clans of Umm Jirbân and Beni Yazîd are nomad. The tribe is a mixed one, the nomads and a few of the townsmen being of pure Arab blood, the rest being blacks, originally of some African strain. No doubt they were at one time slaves, but they have long since earned their emancipation by their courage, and are now on an equality with the Arab portion of the tribe, although no intermarriage takes place. The tribe is fairly rich in flocks and herds, and although their country, which stands comparatively low, cannot rival the fertility of the highlands, it nevertheless produces good crops in the rainy seasons.

The enmity between the Turks and Idrisi has disorganized the tribe, and divided it into two opposing factions Sheikh Suleimân ibn 'Ali, who is by right of inheritance the paramount chief, has thrown in his lot with the Turks, and has behind him the Umm Jirbân and about half the villagers.

The remainder have broken loose under the leadership of Dhakîr ibn Sha'r, and many of them have retired to live at Jannah in the Bahr ibn Sekeinah country, refusing to live at Muhâ'il so long as there is a Turkish post there. From Jannah they carry on a guerrilla warfare, closing the roads and cutting off Turkish convoys whenever they can.

The tribe is bounded on the north by the Âl ed-Dureib and Reish, on the east by the Reish and Beni Thuwwah, on the south by the Beni Thuwwah and Bahr ibn Sekeinah, and on the west by the Beni Hilâl. Against the Beni Hilâl and Beni Thuwwah the whole tribe has had a feud for many generations. Their other neighbours,

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who are all pro-Idrisi, look askance at those who sympathize with the enemy, but maintain friendly relations with Dhakîr ibn Sha'r and his followers.

There are two nomad Arab offshoots of the tribe, called Beni Shi'b (or Dhi'b) and Sawâlihah, who occupy a small portion of the Sikkat el-Helâwiyah near Kiyâd, about 20 miles from Hali. They are of no political importance, and being separated from the rest of the tribe by the wild Beni Hilâl country, do not maintain very close relations with it.

Chief Sheikh: Suleimân ibn 'Ali.

(a) *Clans of Mukâ'il.* 2,500 men.

Umm Shehâri	Suleimân ibn 'Ali
Âl 'Ajîl	Dhakîr ibn Sha'r.
Âl Amir	Ibrâhîm ibn Jâbir.
Âl Sha'r	Mohammed ibn Fars.
Âl Z'ebah	Mohammed abu Zoa.
Âl Sherîfah	'Ali Saghîr.
Qurûn	Zein.
Âl Umm Khâlid	Suleimân ibn 'Ali.

(b) *Quarters of Mukâ'il.*

Rabu'	Ahmed Jatân.
Sabt Âl Makhluta	Abu Rasein.
Sabt Âl Mûsa	Mohammed abu Râdi.
Jebel Shasa'.	

(c) *Settled clans round Mukâ'il.* 400 men.

Umm Hamâlah	'Abdullah abu 'Alâmah.
Umm Hajaf	El-Qâdimi.
Umm 'Allamah	Ibn Wuda'ah.
Umm Ma'âsh	Mohammed ibn Zeqa.
Umm Dhira'	Mohammed abu Thommah.
Âl Fahimah	Mohammed ibn Hâdi.
Aulâd el-Mashâyikh	Sa'îd Benân.

(d) *Nomads round Mukâ'il.* 400 men.

Chief Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Sha'r.

Umm Jirbân	Mohammed ibn Ma'addi.
Beni Yazîd	Ahmed ibn Sha'r.

(e) *Nomads near Hâli.* 500 men.

Beni Shi'b (or Dhi'b).
Sawâlihah.

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30. *Naj'u*

The Naj'u are an entirely nomadic tribe, numbering about 6,000 souls, inhabiting the portion of the district of Mikhlaf el-Yemen between Sabia and Darb. They possess small herds of camels and goats, but, although numerous, are of little political importance, since they are poor fighters and there is little cohesion amongst their clans. They earn their living chiefly by selling milk and ghee in Sabia. Sheikh Mohammed ibn Musa'i is their chief. The tribe pays taxes regularly to the Idrisi. 101 619 622

Chief subdivisions are the Beni Mohammed (not connected with the Beni Mohammed farther south), the Hajawi or Haju, and Beni Mufarrih.

31. *Beni Nashar*

A small tribe in the mountains east of the Wa'zât and to the south of the Beni Aslam. Their chief village is Sâq Beni Nashar, where a market is held every Wednesday. They do not number more than 1,000 souls, but afford what help they can to the Beni 'Abs and Idrisi against the Wa'zât. Sheikh Yahya Saghir is the principal Sheikh, others being 'Ali el-Qahm (who was originally with Ibn el-Heij of the Wa'zât, but submitted to the Idrisi two years ago), and Ahmed Janâh.

32. *Qahtân*

The Qahtân of Asir are the Rufeidat el-Yemen, Beni Bishr, Senbân el-Hibâb, 'Abidah, Wadâ'ah, and Shereif. They are known in Asir generically as the Qahtân, and Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim of the Shereif is Emir over them all by appointment of the Idrisi, as was his father by appointment of the Turks, but they are in fact six separate tribes, each living within its own boundaries, having its own particular ambitions, its special likes and dislikes, its peculiar customs, and forming by itself a completely independent unit. Part of the Rufeidat el-Yemen are under Turkish influence.

It is only in times of great crisis, as when the Shahrân rose in a body against them about a hundred years ago, that they answer to the call of their common blood, or nowadays when the Idrisi calls on them to rally to his standard under their tribal leader. In normal times some are at enmity with others, and although Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim may be called in to settle tribal disputes and is responsible to the Idrisi for their good order, he has nothing to do with their tribal administration. They are in fact a loose confederation, who will only combine for defence in face of a danger

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*101 which threatens to extinguish all, and for offence at the bidding of the Idrisi.

619 On this account they are dealt with one by one, but are grouped together under the heading of Qahtān for convenience of reference.

622 They are far too removed from the northern Qahtān to keep in touch with them, and never go near their country. Sometimes in times of drought a few of the former come down south and are always well received, but the connexion ends at that.

The southern Qahtān tribes are for the most part, and with the exception of certain nomad sub-tribes, well conducted and prosperous, and interested in trade or agriculture. The different sections vary considerably in military skill and few of them appear to have inherited the characteristics which have earned for their northern relations such an unsavoury reputation.

33. *'Abidah*

The 'Abidah appear to be the bravest as well as the most prosperous and enterprising section of the Qahtān. Their boundary in the south, where they have their villages, is well defined, but to the north their nomads wander over a vast stretch of country, and for almost 150 miles their western boundary adjoins that of the Shahrān. To the east lies Tathlīth and the Yām tribes, to the south the Beni Bishr, and to the south-west the Rufeidat el-Yemen.

The 'Abidah will follow Mohammed ibn Dhuleim in battle, but they do not like the Shereif in normal times, and look to their own chief Sheikh, Sa'd ibn Suleim, in tribal matters. The latter is a man of about 40, and lives at Khamis 'Abidah, the principal village and market-place of the tribe. He is a rich man, and owns a large estate, and is much liked by his tribesmen, both for his justice and fairness and because he always is in the forefront of every fight. His sister married one of the sons of 'Abd el-Azīz Musheit, chief of the Shahrān, about 20 years ago, and a truce was made between the two tribes. Shortly afterwards he had the misfortune to kill another of 'Abd el-'Azīz's sons in a petty tribal dispute, and war again broke out and continued until the Idrisi pacified the country. There is still a bitter hatred between the two, which shows itself in periodical outbreaks. So deep is the enmity that in the case of a murder of an 'Abidah by a Shahrān no question of blood money is entertained, and the murdered man's relations do not rest until they have killed a Shahrān in return. Sheikh Sa'd ibn Suleim was formerly with the Turks, but he joined the Idrisi in his first revolt and has been one of his most faithful

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followers ever since. The Idrisi has a representative at Khamis 101
'Abidah, who collects taxes from all the tribe.

The 'Abidah engage largely in trading, and buy up much of the 619
coffee which comes from the district round Jebel Razah through 622
Wada', subsequently selling it throughout Asir. Some of them live permanently in Rijāl, Ibha, and Namas, and others are engaged in the Jiddah trade. They are a very industrious race, always on the look-out for making money, and their villages are numerous and well built. They also specialize as masons and ply their trade throughout Asir. They do not agree with the Shereif or Beni Bishr in peace time, but are friendly with the Rufeidat el-Yemen and Senhān el-Hibāb.

Unlike a great many tribes, the 'Abidah are entirely united and the nomads are guided in their policy by the villagers. They are rich in dark-haired camels and black sheep, and take great pride in their pedigree horses. They will sell their poorer animals in the market, but they take great care of their finer beasts, feeding them on milk and only parting with them on special occasions, such as when they make a present to the Idrisi. The Āl Hamdān and Hurjān, who number about 3,000 men and 2,000 men respectively, are the two largest sections of the nomads. They come down to Khamis 'Abidah for the harvest and afterwards go up to Bīshah with the other nomads for the date season. They also wander out to Tathlīth, where they meet other Qahtān Arabs and those of the Yām tribes, and where are to be found succulent grasses on which to fatten their herds. Their country abounds in gum, which they collect and sell in Khamis 'Abidah.

In war they fight on camel- or horse-back, and carry rifles, lances, and long curved *jenābih*. For a long time the Āl Rusheid and Āl Ghamar of the Shahrān used to pay them money in order to escape being raided, but Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Musheit refused to countenance this.

They are always at odds with the northern nomads of the Shahrān, and sometimes cut across and raid the Bīshah–Ibha road round Bir Umm Sarar.

The 'Abidah do not seem to have inherited the bad qualities of the northern Qahtān. The whole tribe has a reputation for hospitality, and the nomads, though wild and rough, are not reckoned treacherous.

Paramount Sheikh : Sa'd ibn Sulcim.

(*a*) Settled. 6,000 men. Clans :—

Āl Ejreish	Nāsir ibn Qidim.
Āl Bassam	Sha'eil.

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Āl es-Sadr (Saqr ?)	'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Jalāl.
Āl Umm 'Ammir	Sa'īd ibn el-Ghamas.
Āl ez-Zubeir	Mohammed Abu Lughud.
Beni Talaq	Sa'd Abu Hadīyah
Wahabah	Abu Raqabah.
Āl Ferdān	Mohammed ibn Sihmān.
Āl 'Abīs	'Ā'idh ibn Khamzah.
Turib	Mubārak ibn Mohammed.
'Arīn	Mohammed ibn Rashīd.

(b) Nomads. 7,000 men. Clans :—

Āl Hamdān	Ibn Mujīt.
Hurjān	Sa'īd ibn Dhi'b.
Fahar	El-Wuteid.
Āl Kera'an	Mubārak Silīh.
Jerābih	Sa'd Abu Hakam.
Jahatein	Mohammed ibn Khazmah.
Sifālah	Mohammed Abu Hakam.

34. *Beni Bishr*

The Beni Bishr stretch from the down country of the central plateau to the mountainous slopes leading down to the district of Mikhlāf el-Yemen, their nearest point to Sabia being about 30 miles away. Their country is barren in the east, but productive and well forested near the sea. The adjoining tribes are the 'Abidah on the north, Yām, Shereif, and Senhān el-Hibāb on the east, Beni Jum'ah on the south, and the Naj'u and Rufeidat el-Yemen on the west. The tribe numbers about 1,000 settled men and 3,000 nomads. 'Abd el-Hādi is the chief Sheikh, but his influence over the nomads is only nominal. He deserted the Turks some years ago, and all the tribes pay taxes to the Idrīsi now. The settled portion is hospitable and prosperous; the nomads wild and intractable, almost without religion and with no marriage laws. They roam chiefly about the Tihāmah and are rich in a breed of large black sheep. The tribe is friendly with the 'Abidah and Rufeidat el-Yemen, and generally at odds with the Naj'u, Senhān, and Yām.

Chief Sheikh : 'Abd el-Hādi. 4,000 men.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Usrān	Mohammed ibn 'Abd.
Shaqb	Meidh.
'Abīdīyah	Selmān.

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Âl Umm 'Â'idh	Shai ibn Mohammed.
Mufarrij	Mohammed ibn Hâdi.
Âl Ferhat	Sa'd ibn Hasan.

(b) Nomads. 3,000 men. Âl 'Urfân is the chief division, clans being :—

Âl Heyal.
Tihmân.
Âl Umm Mohammed
Âl Ferhân.
Âl Ar'ab.

35. *Rufeidat el-Yemen*

The Rufeidat el-Yemen is a large tribe, numbering some 15,000 men, to the south-east of Ibha, extending up the main mountain ridge and on to the plateau to beyond the source of the Wâdi Shahrân.

The tribe is divided into four main divisions, the Âl el-Jihâl, Bishat Ibn Salîm, Beni Qeis, and Sha'af Yarimah wa Khutab.

The chief Sheikh over all the tribe is Husein ibn Heif, a man of 40, who lives at Mudhiq, where he is a large and prosperous landowner. His father was a mudir under the Turks, and died in the Ghâmid country fighting for them, but Husein ibn Heif joined the Idrisi when he first revolted, and fought for him in 1910. His tribe shares his dislike of the Turks and respects and obeys him.

The Âl el-Jihâl have for generations been separated from the rest of the tribe, and live a few miles to the west with the Sha'af Rashhah and Âl Sirhân sections of the Shahrân. They have not, however, intermarried with the latter, and are obedient to Husein ibn Heif, although they do not join in any of the quarrels which constantly occur between their own tribe and their hereditary enemies the Shahrân. They are strongly in favour of the Idrisi and have fought for him on several occasions.

The chief of the Bishat ibn Salîm is Mohammed ibn 'Ali Weled 'Ali ibn Murâ'i, a shifty and cowardly man of about 45, who supports the Turks and is paid by them. This section pays taxes to the Government.

The Beni Qeis lie to the east of the Bishat Ibn Salîm, and also pay taxes to the Turks. Their Sheikh, Abu Salâm, is now an old man of 75 and deaf. He has always had the reputation of siding with the strongest party.

The nomad portion of this section, the Â Shuwat, are independent of him and the Turks.

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The Sha'af Yarfmah wa Khutab who live to the south are likewise free, and the allegiance which they pay to the Idrisi is only nominal. They are a wild and suspicious people, and though they have no objection to entertaining guests, they will not suffer them to sleep in their tents.

The country of the Rufeidat el-Yemen is for the most part fertile and densely wooded on the slopes of the hills, and the tribe is a prosperous one. They are not noted for their martial ardour, though the Āl el-Jihāl and the nomads can fight well. They are nicknamed by the other tribes the 'Muhaniyatein el-Murrah', owing to their habit of staining their women with henna.

All that portion of the tribe which is against the Turks recognize the overlordship of Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim of the Shereif. The sister of Husein ibn Heif is married to Sheikh Mohammed, and the two chiefs are close friends.

Paramount Sheikh: Husein ibn Heif. 15,000 men.

(a) *Āl el-Jihāl.* 4,000 men. Mohammed ibn Shuwell.

All settled. Chief clan:—

Beni Jabrah.	Mohammed ibn Umm Bishr.

Chief villages:—

Dhibat Āl el-Jihāl	Sa'd ibn Shuwell.
Mahjar	Mohammed ibn 'Aun.
Qelt	Efeir.
Jārr	Muhfar.
Umm Rahwah	Mohammed Hibābah.
Jarra	Ibn Dheifah.
Mahshūsh	Abu Ghazwān.
Āl Ramadhān	Mohammed ibn 'Ā'idh.

(b) *Bishat Ibn Salim.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn 'Ali weled 'Ali ibn Murā'i. Settled. 5,000 men.

Chief clans:—

Beni Thābit	Muri ibn Dehsān.
Beni Wahhāb	Mohammed ibn 'Aun.

Chief villages:—

Dha'i	Sa'id ibn 'Ali.
Bōthah	Manafir ibn 'Ali.
Āl Hideilah	Husein ibn Dirri.
Āl Umm Hayyah	Abu Zirbān.

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Āl Hetrush	Mohammed ibn Doeri.
Āl Hayyah	Mohammed ibn Shelti.
Waqashah	Mohammed ibn Rashīd.
Āl Mushabbah	Mohammed ibn Safar.
Shi'b	'Alī ibn Dhubbi.

(c) *Beni Qeis.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed Abu Salim. 3,000 men.

1. *Settled.* 2,400 men. Chief clan:—

Beni Tamim	Hussein ibn 'Abīd.

Chief villages:—

Āl Mudhiq	Mohammed ibn Heif.
Āl Abu Midrih	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Āl Mudīr	'Abdullah ibn Shahil.
Fara'ain	'Ā'idh ibn Mishil.
Āl Jafei	Harfash.
Āl Farawān	'Abd ibn Sa'īd.
Jarthah	'Abīd Harrish.
Āl Lāt	Hussein ibn 'Omar.
Āl Meisarah	Safar ibn Mohammed.

2. *Bedouins.* Āl Shuwāt. Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Hashkah. 600 men.

(d) *Sha'af Yarimah wa Khatab.* Chief Sheikh: Jeleid.

1. *Settled.* 1,000 men. Beni Burrah.
2. *Āl Jelkhah Nomads.* 1,000 men.

Beni Meleik.
Āl Hilami.

36. *Senhān el-Hibāb*

The Senhān el-Hibāb inhabit the Asiri plateau, and are bounded on the north by the Shereif and Yām, east by the Wadā'ah, and west by the Beni Bishr.

The tribe numbers about 4,000 men, of whom three-quarters are nomads. The villagers have a good reputation with the travellers but the nomads are wild and savage, frequently cutting the roads and sparing neither man, woman, nor child when on the raid. The nomads do not cultivate, but they are rich in a dark breed of camels and collect gum which they sell chiefly in Khamis 'Abidah. They wear long black garments.

They are a warlike tribe and are well led by Sheikh Ferdān ibn

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Dhuleim, a man of about 25, who lives in Rāhat Senhān. The villagers pay taxes to the Idrīsi, but the nomads will not do more than help him in war. Their friends are the 'Abidah and Beni Bishr; their foes the Shereif, Wadā'ah, and Yām. When the Idrīsi calls on them to fight they unite under Mohammed ibn Dhuleim of the Shereif, but in normal times they pay him only a nominal allegiance.

Chief Sheikh: Ferlān ibn Dhuleim. 4,000 men.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages:—

Rāhah Senhān.
Hadhb.
Khadd.
Al Ferwān.
'Irq.

(b) Nomads. 3,000 men. Chief Sheikh: Jilōd. Chief divisions:—

Al Zerbah.
Al Ghāzi.
Al esh-Sherif.
Al Selmān.
Al Shōqān.

37. *Shereif*

The Shereif inhabit the down country to the west of the Yām tribes, and are bounded on the north by the Beni Bishr and Yām, on the east by the Yām, on the south by the Senhān el-Hibāb, and on the west by the Beni Bishr.

Their country is flat and treeless, and most of their cultivation is from well water. They are traders rather than agriculturists, and are well conducted and unwarlike. Their number does not exceed 800 men, of whom a quarter are nomads. They are chiefly known on account of their leader, Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim. His father, Dhuleim ibn Sha'r, who died about 16 years ago, was a famous man in Asir, and for many years was the Mudir of all Qahtān tribes. His head-quarters were at Harajah, in Shereif, where there was also a Turkish garrison. Mohammed ibn Dhuleim succeeded him at a monthly salary of £25, but seceded to the Idrīsi when the latter raised his standard of revolt. The Turks thereupon sent an expedition against him and burnt his fortress in Harajah, but were ultimately forced to retire and have not penetrated to his country since. The Idrīsi made him one of his Muqdamis or generals, and he was in command of the Qahtān tribes in the fighting

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against the Turks and the Sherif of Mecca in 1910. Afterwards he and Seyyid 'Arār ibn Nāsir led the Idrisi's army against the Imam's forces under Mohammed Abu Nuweibah, in the Sahar country, about three years ago. He is still a young man about 35 years of age, rich according to the standards of the country, and with an excellent reputation both as a leader in war and a tribal administrator.

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Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Dhuleim. 800 men.

(a) Settled. 600 men.

Chief villages:—

Āl Dhuleim	Nāsir ibn Dhuleim.
Āl 'Ajlah	Mohammed ibn Jabbān.
Harajah	'Awad ibn Mihmas.
Hamra	Sa'īd ibn Benāyah.
Beidha	Mas'ūd.

(b) Nomads. 200 men.

Āl Seri	Dhuleim ibn Shayy.

38. Wadā'ah

The Wadā'ah are a small mercantile tribe numbering about 600 men, living in the district of the same name near the Yām tribes of Nejrān. They are bounded on the north and east by the Yām and on the west by the Senhān el-Hibāb. Their country is not naturally productive, but they have a large number of wells and grow grapes which they convert into raisins and sell as far as Ibha and Rijāl. They also import coffee from Jebel Razah and Khaulān esh-Shām, and sell it in Asir or to the merchants of the Rufeidat el-Yemen. They are generally on bad terms with the Yām tribes, but are not a quarrelsome or pugnacious tribe. The Idrisi has his police and tax-gatherers amongst them, as he has amongst the other Qahtān tribes.

'Ali ibn Rukwān, their chief Sheikh, goes on pilgrimage nearly every year, and acts as Emir el-Hajj for all the southern Qahtān tribes.

Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Rukwān. 600 men. Chief villages:—

Dhahrān.
Safwān.
Beida.
'Irj Wadā'ah.

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39. *Rabī'ah Mujātirah*

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The Rabī'ah Mujātirah are a wild nomad tribe numbering about 5,000 men. The Barak–Qunfudah road runs through the middle of their territory for about 20 miles between the villages of Ghār el-Hindi and Jumā'ah Rabī'ah. They are bounded on the north by the Beni Shihir, on the east by the Humeidah, on the south by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn, and on the west by the Belā'ir. They are said to be fairer of face than most Arabs, with blue eyes, and to wear their hair well down over the shoulders. They are almost pagan, and at odds with all the world except the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn, who are as savage as themselves. The Idrīsi sometimes succeeds in levying taxes on them, but his influence is only nominal. Passage through their country is dangerous both to the Turks and ordinary wayfarers. They are rich in camels and cattle.

A small clan of the Āl Ikhleif section of the Āl ed-Dureib lives in the north-east corner of their territory with their consent.

40. *Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn*

The Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn hold the country on either side of the Sikkat el-Helāwīyah (Muhā'il–Qunfudah road) between the villages of Ma'mal Āl Ikhleif and Markh, a distance of about 30 miles.

They are bounded on the west by the Belā'ir, on the north by the Belā'ir, Rabī'ah Mujātirah, and Humeidah, on the east by the Āl Jebāli and Āl ed-Dureib, and on the south by the Beni Hilāl and the Hali tribes. Their country is mountainous and well wooded, and they are rich in camels, goats, and cattle. About 2,000 in number of fighting men, they are entirely nomad, despise all forms of husbandry, and are a terror to travellers on the road. They are allied with the Rabī'ah Mujātirah and Āl ed-Dureib, and generally on fair terms with the Hali tribes. With the Beni Hilāl, Belā'ir, Humeidah, and Āl Jebāli they keep up incessant feuds. The Turks have never been able to do anything with them, but the Idrīsi is able to tax them to a certain extent, and what outside sympathies they have are for him.

41. *Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah*

The Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah stretch from a few miles NNW. of Ibha to within about 15 miles of Muhā'il, their country being about 35 miles from north to south, and 20 miles from east to west on the average, though it tapers to a point in the north. The tribes

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which adjoin them are: on the north the Reish, on the east the Balahmar and Beni Mālik, on the south the 'Alqam el-Hūl, and on the west the Rijāl el-M'a and Beni Thuwwah. The tribe is divided into four main divisions, the Rabī'at esh-Shām, Āl 'Asimah, Rufeidat esh-Shām, and Āl Hārith. The Rabī'at esh-Shām and Rufeidat esh-Shām have no relationship or connexion with the Rabī'at el-Yemen and Rufeidat el-Yemen, as might be supposed.

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The Rabī'at esh-Shām occupy the southern portion of the territory, being entirely settled in villages along the Ibha–Athālif road.

They have no Chief Sheikh, having expelled 'Ā'idh ibn Hasan, their former Sheikh, on account of his desertion to the Turks.

The Āl 'Asimah are partly settled and partly nomad, chiefly along the Beni Thuwwah boundary.

Their Chief Sheikh, 'Ali ibn Hamūd, fought for the Idrīsi in 1910, was captured by the Turks, and after a year's imprisonment was released and reinstated.

The Āl Hārith, who are both settled and nomad, live in the Wādi Tayyah, along which is the main road from Ibha to Muhā'il, and for years have given a great deal of trouble to the Government. The Wādi Tayyah is the head-quarters of all the bad characters in the neighbouring country, and a caravan has to be very strong to pass through without paying toll. The Āl Hārith are notoriously treacherous, and their hand is against the whole world, including their own tribe. They engage in the camel-carrying trade to a certain extent between Muhā'il and the Rijāl el-M'a, but they seldom venture near Ibha, nor can the Turks levy taxes from them, as they sometimes do from the rest of the tribe. Their Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Shāhir, has a very bad reputation.

The tribe as a whole favours the Idrīsi, chiefly because it is discontented with the Government. It is, however, notoriously fickle and unreliable, and goes with the side which pays it best. It maintains a hereditary feud with the Rijāl el-M'a. It is descended from Qahtān.

(*a*) *Rabī'at esh-Shām.* Settled, 1,500 men.

Chief clan is Beni Ghanmi. Sheikh: El-Fejīh.

Chief villages:—

Teihān	'Amir ibn 'Abdullah.
Umm Sherāf	'Abdullah ibn 'Abdillah.

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Umm Sauli	Ahmed ibn Ghanmi.
Wādi Zebnah	Mohammed ibn 'Abdu.
Bahah Rabī'ah	Mohammed ibn Sultān.
Umm Mesjawi	'Abdullah ibn Misfir.
Rahbān	'Abdullah ibn Fejīh.

Sheikh Misfir ibn Ma'sir is Mufti.

(*b*) *Āl 'Asimah.* 2,000 men.

Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Hamūd.

(i) Settled, 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Umm Rahwah	Ibn Māni'.
Jau ibn Sheibān	Ibn Haza'.

(ii) Nomad, 1,000 men. Chief clans :—

Āl Umm Haneish Tihāmah	Māni' ibn Hanash.
Āl Jeheishah	Abu Karāthah.
Āl 'Aqabah	Musaffir.
Sahar Āl 'Āsim	Jābir.

(*c*) *Rufeidat esh-Shām.*

Chief Sheikh : 'Abdullah ibn Muzerqah, 600 men.

Chief villages :—

Wādi Tabab	Sa'īd ibn Sultān.
Āl Umm Jeish	Sha'r ibn Muzerqah.
Āl Bāsha	Zuheir.
Āl Mahmūd	Sa'īd ibn Mohammed.
Āl Jemāl	Mahshi.
Āl Umm Hadan	Ibn Suleim.
Āl Bayād	Ibn 'Abūt.
Āl Shadād	Yahya ibn Sultān.
Sharāmah	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Āl Umm Jalūli	Yahya ibn 'Audah.
Āl Bundar	Simm ibn Sā'il.
Āl Umm Ghāl	Ahmed ibn Sā'il.
Talhah	Mohammed ibn 'Awad.

(*d*) *Āl Hārith.* 1,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn Shāhir.

(i) Settled. Chief villages :—

Umm Jīzah	'Amr ibn Jelfa'ah.
Umm Zahra'ah	'Ali ibn Shāhir.

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Umm Muqza'ah	Lāhiq ez-Zeidāni.
A'farah.	
Lasāfah.	

(ii) Nomad. Chief clans :—

Āl Dhi'b	Ahmed ibn Dhāfir.
Āl Nahyah	Hidha'ah.
Āl 'Aqabah	Mughra'ah.

42. *Rabī'at el-Yemen*

The Rabī'at el-Yemen are a nomadic tribe keeping chiefly to Wādi Dhil'a (Dhulah) and Wādi Shahlah, and sometimes going down to Shuqaiq or up to the Beni Mugheid country. The adjoining tribes are the Beni Mugheid on the north and north-east, the Shahrān on the south-east, the Beni Shi'bah and other nomads of Mikhlāf el-Yemen on the south, and the Rijāl el-M'a on the west. They are rich in camels, donkeys, and flocks, and make a good living by selling *semn* in Ibha. They are well armed with the type of French rifle which they call 'Abu Bukrah', and carry shields, as well as long curved knives (*jenābih*). They are noted for their bravery and deem it a disgrace to die in their beds.

Though wild and rough and with such a contempt for marriage that as a rule they have to be known by the names of their mothers, they are nevertheless hospitable, and clean in their fighting, and have the reputation of never going back on their word once given. In person they are very tall and fairer than most Arabs, with blue eyes. They say they are descended from the Ashrāf el-Huseinīyah, but their enemies name the Sulubba, or wandering gipsy tinkers, as their forefathers. They pay but little attention to religion, and on the first day of Ramadan choose thirty young men, whom they dress in white and compel to fast for one day at some appointed place, on behalf of the whole tribe. Having done this they have a feast, and taunt the neighbouring nomads for their inability to rise to such heights of self-sacrifice

They are a united and conservative tribe, condemning those who smoke, and in their contempt for foreign luxuries eating only milk and meat. They live in straw-plaited tents.

Their friends are the Beni Mugheid: their enemies, the Rijāl el-M'a, Shahrān, Beni Shi'bah, and Naj'u. The Turks have never been able to keep them in order, and their attitude to the Idrīsi depends entirely on his power to make them obey. 'Ali ibn Jabbār is their chief Sheikh, a man of 45 and a noted warrior. He is said

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to have the tribe well in hand: he pays a nominal allegiance to the Idrīsi, but will not allow him to collect taxes.

(*Aulād Āl Umm Husein*).

Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Jabbār.

All nomads. 5,000 men. Clans:—

Āl Bawāh	Mohammed ibn Sa'd Buqjān.
Umm Farahnah	Mufarrih ibn Museibakh.
'Ali Fellāh	Mufarrih Mashāf.
Āl Shūkah	Mufarrih ibn Gharāmah.
Āl Museibakh	Mūsa ibn Ghazāmah.
Darājīn	Mohammed ibn Jarawash.
Mugheidīyīn	Mufarrih ibn Mohammed.
Umm Sherīfīyīn	Hasan Abu Zahrah.
Āl Mughīdhah	Sa'd ibn Mīhi.
Āl Mas'ūd	Yahya Abu Hayyah.
Āl Mushni	Mohammed ibn Juwei'id.
Āl 'Arafīn	Sa'd ibn 'Abdullah.
Āl Sālim	Hasan ibn Mas'ūd.

43. *Reish*

The Reish are to the north and north-east of Muhā'il, and are bounded on the north by the Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali and the Shahari section of the Beni Shihir, on the east by the Balasmar, on the south by the Beni Thuwwah and Āl Mūsa, and on the west by the Āl ed-Dureib. Their southern boundary comes to within 5 miles of Muhā'il.

They are divided into two sections of Reish and Āl Meshwal, and number about 2,500 men. But although fairly numerous, they are cowardly and unwarlike, and are classed in contempt with the Beni Mālik by the fighting tribes round. They all favour the Idrīsi and pay him taxes. They tried to make a stand in 1912 against the Sherif of Mecca, but were badly worsted and their country laid waste. They are entirely sedentary and engaged in farming. The country is fairly level, thickly wooded and productive, with running streams in places. Their enemies are Balasmar, Beni Shihir, and Balahmar; their allies, the Barak tribes, the Āl Mūsa, Beni Thuwwah, and the Beni Qutābah and Beni Dhālim of the Rijāl el-M'a. An isolated colony own the village of Mandar in the Balasmar country and hold aloof from any hostilities which take place between the two tribes. Their Sheikh,

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Mohammed ibn Muzhar, has no cause to love the Turks, who killed his son in 1910. 101 619 622

Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Muzhar. 1,500 men.

Chief villages :—

Mandar	Ibn Dhiheib.
Qurn el-M'a	Rājih.
Umm Quddūs	Sa'īd Abu 'Allāmah.
Muneidhir	'Amr ibn Hādim.
Hadhān	Mohammed ibn Tāli'.
Āl Umm Sha'tha'	

Āl Meshwal. 1,000 men. Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Tāli'.

Chief villages :—

Umm Hajju	Mohammed Abu 'Allāmah.
Madba'	Sahfān.
Sakkan er-Reish	Ibn Salāmah.

44. *Rijāl el-M'a*

The Rijāl el-M'a, though not so numerous as some of the Asir tribes—it can at most put 17,000 men in the field—is nevertheless one of the most renowned for its courage and dash in war, its internal unity, and its pride of independence. Its country lies between Ibha and the sea, and is roughly a stretch of 50 miles from NW. to SE., and 25 miles from NE. to SW. Its neighbours are the Bahr ibn Sekeinah and Beni Thuwwah on the north, Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, 'Alqam, Beni Mugheid and Rabī'at el-Yemen on the east, Beni Shi'bah on the south, and Munjahah and Beni Hilāl on the west.

The tribe is divided into seven subdivisions : the Beni Qutābah, Beni Dhālim, Beni Jūnah, Jeis ibn Mas'ūdi, Beni Zeidīn, Shahāb, and Umm Bina.

The chief Sheikh of the whole tribe is Ibrāhīm ibn Muta'āli of Julla, a man much respected for his prowess in war and his wisdom in tribal matters. He is now over 70 years of age, and for some time most of the administration has devolved on his son, Ahmed ibn Muta'āli. The latter is a tall man of about 30, with a fair skin, who first made his name as a fighter when the Rijāl el-M'a overran Mikhlāf el-Yemen just before the rise of the Idrīsi. He fought the Sherif in 1910 at Muhā'il and in the Balahmar country, but withdrew his forces at a critical moment owing to the appointment of Seyyid Mustafa, of the Bahr ibn Sekeinah, as general of the whole Asir army. So greatly did the Rijāl el-M'a resent having an

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outsider placed over them, that soon after one of their minor Sheikhs, Seyyid Yahya walad Esh-Sheiri, with the full approval of the tribe, attempted to murder him. The Idrīsi gave way on the matter, but the mischief had been done, and the Rijāl el-M'a took no further part in the campaign.

Of the sub-tribes, the Beni Qutābah live in the fertile valley of Wādi 'Ūs, which rises near Suda, and joining the Wādi Ahābesh near Athālif, eventually flows into the Wādi Dhofa' by Muhā'il. The Beni Qutābah stretch from near its source to beyond Athālif in a succession of villages surrounded by cultivation. The slopes of the hills and the valleys, except where cleared, are here, as elsewhere in the Rijāl el-M'a country, deeply forested. The Beni Qutābah, though dwelling in villages, are of a wandering temperament, and are the chief camel carriers on all the trade routes of Asir, going to Sabia, Qunfudah, Birk, and sometimes as far as Bīshah and Mecca. There is a small colony of 'Abādilah Ashrāf who live with them and wield a certain amount of influence.

The Sheikh of Athālif, Ibrāhīm el-Hufdhi, is a man of some notoriety. His father was made a Kaimmakam by the Turks and granted a pension of £15 a month, which was paid to his family until the tribe revolted. Ibrāhīm el-Hufdhi went to Constantinople in 1914 to assert his loyalty to the Turks and ask that the pension should continue to be paid to him. His influence in the tribe is not great.

The Beni Dhālim lie to the south of the Wādi 'Ūs and are entirely settled. They are the largest section, numbering 4,000 men, and also by far the richest. They have most of the trade of Asir in their hands and bring petroleum, sugar, tea, clothing, &c., from Aden and Musawwa', which they sell chiefly in the large village of Rijāl. They have been the foremost pioneers in the importation of fire-arms from Jibuti, which has increased so largely during the last few years and which the Turks have found it impossible to check. Rijāl is the focus of all local products and skins; gum and *semn* are brought from as far as the Shahrān country, bought by the Beni Dhālim merchants, and exported to Aden. The village next in importance is Sha'bein, the chief rifle market.

The Rijāl el-M'a never marry outside their own country, but as they have grown rich they have bought much land in the neighbouring districts of 'Alqam el-Hūl and Rabī'at el-Yemen. Amongst the most wealthy of them is a family of Seyyids, known as the Sa'dat en-Na'āmīyah, who have lived amongst them for many generations, and whose head, Seyyid Husein en-Na'āmi, is the most important leader in war after Ahmed el-Muta'āli and Ahmed el-Hayyāni.

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The Beni Jūnah are partly settled in villages and partly nomad, and inhabit the country towards the Munjahah. They, too, engage in trade to a certain extent, and one of their Sheikhs, Ayuh, was the first man to start the gun-running venture. The village of Jabūt was the chief centre, and received its name from Jibuti. They are also occupied with home industries, and both men and women are employed in making straw-woven articles, such as matting, baskets, and hats, which they call *toffush*, and which are largely worn by the women of Asir.

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The most important man of the Beni Dhālim and one of the best known in Asir is Zein el-'Ābidīn, chief Mufti of Asir, and greatly trusted by the Idrīsi. Educated at Zebīd, he had already become a force in Asir before the rise of the Idrīsi, by reason of his learning and the justice of his decisions. He has now powers of life and death, and is the chief judge of appeals from the judgements of the tribal Qādhis and Muftis wherever the power of the Idrīsi runs. He is also frequently called in to arbitrate in the more important tribal disputes, and as the Rijāl el-M'a have implicit confidence in him and are willing to back it by force of arms, his influence is very great. He is now a man of about 40 years of age, and has houses in Sabia and Rijāl.

The Jeis ibn Mas'ūdi live near the 'Alqam el-Hūl border and are the aristocrats of the tribe. The paramount family belongs to them, and they consider it beneath their dignity to engage in trade of any sort. They live for fighting alone, and have as high a reputation for courage as any tribe in the country. Their integrity, too, is unchallenged, and in most of the tribal disputes in neighbouring friendly tribes they are called in to arbitrate.

In the south are the Beni Zeidīn along the Beni Mugheid and Beni Shi'bah boundaries. They, too, are noted fighters. They grow much coffee on the slopes of the hills and their nomad clans are rich in flocks. Their chief Sheikh is Ahmed el-Hayyāni, who lives at Hiswah. He is a man of about 45 and, after Ahmed ibn Muta'āli, he is the most important man in the tribe. An enemy of the Turks since childhood, he eagerly supported the Idrīsi, and is said to have almost as much influence with him as Mohammed Yahya Ba Sāhi. He is a great friend of Seyyid Mustafa, and keeps on good, though at times jealous, terms with Ahmed ibn Muta'āli.

The Shahāb and Umm Bina share the country in the Wādi Ahābesh to the north.

They are entirely agricultural and pastoral, and seldom leave their borders except to fight.

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The Rijāl el-M'a are foes with the Beni Hilāl, Beni Mugheid, Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, Āl Mūsa, and Munjahah. With the Beni Thuwwah, 'Alqam, and Beni Shi'bah they are allies. They were once good friends of the Bahr Ibn Sekeinah, but relations have been strained since the Seyyid Mustafa episode. Before the Idrīsi arose they were under the domination of the Turks, but since his revolt they have entirely thrown off their yoke. During the last few years the road to Muhā'il from Ibha, *via* Athālif, has been closed to the Turks, and frequent dashes are made to the main Muhā'il–Ibha road when news is received that a Turkish convoy is passing through.

They support the Idrīsi as equals, rather than as subjects, and will neither consent to pay him taxes nor suffer his officers to rule them.

They have a code of justice amongst themselves which is fairly rough and ready, but is rigidly enforced. Murder is severely punished, sometimes by death, sometimes by the payment of blood-money; theft, after two warnings and when proved by witnesses on oath, by the loss of a hand. There is a fixed dowry, both for rich and poor, of ₱ 120, and plurality of wives is the exception. There is a strong feeling against divorce without adequate reason. A man is considered justified in taking a second wife if the first fails to bear him children, but such a failure is not a sufficient excuse for a divorce.

Paramount Sheikh: Ibrāhīm ibn Muta'āli and his son, Ahmed ibn Muta'āli. 17,000 men.

1: *Beni Qutābah*. Chief Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Mufraj. 2,500 men in Wādi 'Ūs.

Chief villages:—

Beit Shāji'	Mohammed ibn Shāji'.
Āl Umm Shābi	Mohammed ibn Musallat.
Āl Umm Mas'am	'Ali ibn 'Amr.
Āl 'Amr	'Amr ibn 'Ali.
Ghanmah	Ahmed ibn 'Amr.
Umm Jizā'	Mohammed Abu Rubāh.
Umm Dhaharah	Mohammed el-'Askari.
Beni 'Ābidīn	Ibrāhīm Abu Rubāh.
Sha'bein	Sherīf 'Abdillah.
Athālif	Ibrāhīm el-Hufdhi.
Ashrāf	Sherīf 'Abd ibn 'Abdullah.

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2. *Beni Dhālim el-Hāshir.* 4,000 men.

In Rijāl. Mohammed ibn Ahmed el-Jahwashi.

Chief villages :—

Umm Qadahah	Ibrāhīm ibn Fa'i.
Āl 'Othmān	Fa'i ibn Ibrāhīm.
Umm Nusūb	Fa'i Judeimi.
Manādhir	Mohammed ibn Sālim.
Umm Barāyah	Ibn Zuleil.
'Asalah	Seyyid Husein en-Ni'mi.
Sa'dat en-Na'āmīyah	Seyyid Hasan en-Ni'mi.
Ghamārah	Ibrāhīm Rijni.
Āl Ja'eidah	Qasīm Ja'eidi.
Āl Umm Selāmi	Mohammed ibn Zeid.
'Amja	'Abd er-Rahmān ibn Ghala.
Umm Shurafa	Walad Abu 'Ā'idh.
Shasa'	Abu Merjūk.
Umm Jerf	Mohammed ibn Sultān Abu Hāmid.
Na'jah	Ahmed el-Hufdhi.
Āl Mahūb	Zeid ibn Gharāmah.

3. *Beni Jūnah.* Chief Sheikh : 'Ali Midkom. 2,000 men.

(*a*) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Betīlah	Ayyūb.
Kisān	Mohammed ibn Nasīlah.
Khamīs Kisān	Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abdullah.
Jabūt	Ya'qūb.
Āl Umm Ruweyyi	Ibn Jabrān.

(*b*) Nomads. 1,000 men. Clans :—

Āl Mahlīyah	Gharām ibn Heif.
Sawājah	Mohammed Abu Hanash.
Naj'u	Abu Ghabeish.

4. *Jeis ibn Mas'ūdi.* 1,500 men. Mohammed ibn Muta'āli.

(*a*) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Umm Jallah	Hasan ibn Muta'āli.
Āl Umm Mukhīli	Mohammed ibn Māni'.
Wādi el-Mirār	Ahmed Makbūt.
Wasānib	Murā'i ibn Mukhāli.
Jebel Jeis	Mohammed ibn Mukhāli.

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(*b*) Nomads. 500 men. Clans :—

Umm Jarawīyah	'Amr ibn Mohammed.
Umm Muqlabah	Hādi Abu Hadīyah.
Āl Hanash	Abu Sultān.
Beni Shibli	Abu Mashūf.

5. *Beni Zeidīn.* 3,000 men. Chief Sheikh : Ahmed el-Hayyāni.

(*a*) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Salab	Hanash ibn Mas'adi.
Hiswah	Thawābi.
Āl Zahwān	Ibn Khatmah.
Wādi Hiswah	Abu Zenādah.
Maqtal es-Sa'īd	Mohammed ibn Musāfir.
Wādi Hamāmah	'Izz ed-Dīn.
Umm Raddah	Mohammed Tamrān.

(*b*) Nomads. 2,000 men. Clans :—

Āl Dākir	Ahmed ibn Gharāmah.
Āl Wājih	'Ali ibn Heidhah.
Āl Umm Haddi	Ahmed ibn Mohammed.
Āl Umm Zāri	Mohammed ibn Sultān.

6. *Shahāb.* 1,500 men. Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn Mūsa.

(*a*) Settled. 5,000 men. Chief villages :—

Natan	'Abdullah Abu Miskah.
Wādi Nimr	Mohammed ibn Qasīm.
Wādi Natrān	Mohammed edh-Dhi'b.
Sheri	El-Khilāf.

(*b*) Nomads. 1,000 men. Clans :—

Āl 'Ashar	Abu Hādi.
Āl Abu Sha'rah	Mohammed ibn Ma'addi.
Umm Nujū'ah	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Āl Ifdheilah	Talhān.

7. *Umm Bina.* Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn Hanash. 2,500 men.

(*a*) Settled. Chief villages :—

Sahar Umm Bina	Mohammed ibn Māni'.
Sherī'ah	Abu 'Alāmah.

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Jebel Jadrān	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Ja'ja	Abu Sahmān.
(*b*) Nomads. Clans :—	
Āl Beheijān	Musaffir.
Beni Isarah	Abu Ramzah.
Āl Umm Fādhil	Mohammed Abu Husein.

45. *Ahl Sabia*

The term Ahl Sabia is vaguely used in Asir to include the people of Sabia itself and the villages round within a considerable radius. They are in no sense a tribe, and should therefore properly be excluded from this handbook, but as mention of them is sometimes made in reports, and they are closely connected with the Idrīsi, whose head-quarters are at Sabia, a brief description is included. Before the Idrīsi's rise to power these villages were a succession of small independent units, each a law to itself and generally at odds with its neighbour. The Turks never attempted a proper administration of the country, and violence was rife to such a degree that only large armed parties could travel with safety. Only when the hillmen descended on them was there any degree of cohesion, and in the last attack of the Rijāl el-M'a, which took place about thirteen years ago, the villagers all combined to save their homes.

The first task of the Idrīsi was to conciliate the different warring elements and to promote peace, and to-day the district is thoroughly under control and law abiding.

The largest element of the population is of Sudanese blood, partly unemancipated slaves, but chiefly those who have gained their freedom. With these are the Muwallads, Sudanese with an Arab strain, and over them the Arabs of pure blood and the Sa'dah and Ashrāf. Sabia itself, of course, contains merchants from other Mohammedan countries, the strongest element coming from the Hadhramaut. Mohammed Yahya Ba Sāhi, the chief adviser of the Idrīsi, and the Emir of all Mikhlāf el-Yemen, which of course includes Sabia, is from that country.

The Idrīsi's standing army of about 500 men is entirely recruited from amongst the Sudanese round Sabia, and they can muster about 10,000 men when the general rally is sounded.

The following is a list of the chief villages and their approximate number of fighting men.

Sabia. Chief sections :—

Ashrāf el-Khawāji	Sherif Idam	300
Sa'dah	Seyyid el-Hasan	400

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•101 Āl 'Arār	Seyyid 'Abd er-Rahmān ibn 'Arār	400
619 Huseinīyah	Sheikh 'Othmān	300
Ma'āsir	Ahmed 'Ali	400
622 Villages round Sabia :—		
Adeyyah	Mohammed ibn Nāsir	200
Muhalla	Husein Abu Shu'ūbi	1,500
Dahna	Seyyid el-Husein	600
Melhah	Seyyid Husein el-Mekki	800
Qadab		200
Shahādah		100
Wādi Musliyah		600
Wādi 'Iseirah		200
Wādi Beish		400
Ta'shar		50
Jebel Feifa		500
Umm el-Khashab		400
Salāmah		1,000
Dhamād		600
Khulab		100
Hammah		120
Jebel el-Milh		50
Wādi Beidh		200
Jebel en-Nadhir		300
Madhāyah		200

46. *Shahrān*

The Shahrān cover a greater stretch of country than any other tribe in Asir, and are the largest numerically. The country round Bīshah is theirs and they follow the Wādi Shahrān to its source and thence to within 20 miles of Sabia, a distance from north to south of more than 200 miles. Their boundary from east to west of the Wādi Shahrān is undefined and constantly changing, as one or the other of the neighbouring nomad tribes gains the upper hand. Farther south it is fixed and varies from 5 to 50 miles in breadth. Their neighbours on the north are the wandering Shalāwah and Sebei', on the east the 'Abidah and Rufeidat el-Yemen, on the south the Naj'u, and on the west starting near the sea and working north, the Beni Shi'bah, Beni Mugheid, where they come to within four miles of Ibha, Beni Mālik, Balahmar, Balasmar, Beni Shihir, Bulqarn, and Shamrān. The Shahrān, like the Beni Shihir,

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Shamrān, and other tribes of Asir, trace their descent to the Rijāl el-Hajar. The tribe is divided into nine main divisions, the Āl Musheit, Āl Rusheid, Āl Ghamar, Nahās, Qa'ūd, Beni Bijad, Beni Wahhāb, Sha'af Rashhah, and Āl Yinfa'ah. 101 619 622

The Āl Musheit are numerically the smallest, but politically the most important sub-tribe, since they contain the ruling tribal family. In former days its influence over the whole tribe was unquestioned, but since the Idrīsi's rise to fame some sections have joined him, while others have remained faithful to the Turks, and discord has crept in and weakened its power. It is still, however, very powerful, and in purely tribal matters has the ultimate word over the majority. The paramount chief is 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Musheit, now an old man of 60, who lives in considerable state at Dhahbān, and also owns a house in Khamīs Musheit, the largest and most important trading centre in Asir. Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz is a rich man, since he levies his own taxes in this town, taking a piastre for every donkey sold, 2 piastres for each camel, and 5 piastres for a skin of *semn*, &c. The Turks do not interfere with him in this, but content themselves with taking *'ushūr* from the local cultivators. He is, however, expected to entertain freely members of the outlying sub-tribes who visit him, and always keeps an open house. In his old age he has taken to drink, and leaves all the active management of the tribe to his son, Sa'īd ibn 'Abd. The latter, like his father, supported the Turks, but he is also said to be in correspondence with the Idrīsi. He is now about 32 years old, and is popular with the tribe and, as a leader, famous in war. The only other man of importance in the family is Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz's nephew, Sa'd ibn Husein, who has been won over by the Idrīsi with the promise of the chief Sheikhship if he can oust his uncle and cousin. His appointment, however, would not be popular with the tribe, for he is reputed to be mean and overbearing. His two brothers, 'Abd ibn Ibrāhīm and Husein ibn 'Abd, are with him, but have not much influence.

The Āl Rusheid live round Khamīs Musheit and towards Ibha and number about 4,000 men. 'Ali ibn 'Iteij is their chief Sheikh, a fighter of repute.

They all support the Turks, but they refuse to pay them taxes, nor do they join the local gendarmerie. They are a prosperous community and their nomads are rich in a breed of large white sheep. They also own many horses. They have not a good reputation in war.

The Āl Ghamar are braver than the Āl Rusheid and quarrel with them. They live along the Beni Mālik boundary, and muster about

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1,000 men, of whom 600 are nomads. Mohammed ibn 'Urūr, their chief Sheikh, dislikes Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz and supports the Idrīsi. His followers, however, keep very much to their own country and do not meddle in politics.

The Nahās are a purely nomad section and are rich in horses and sheep. They live out to the east along the 'Abidah boundary, and are of all the Shahrān the most famous in war. They do all their fighting on horseback, principally against the 'Abidah. The Qa'ūd and the Āl Rusheid pay them 'khāwah', at the rate of 12 piastres for every well, as a bribe against being plundered. They have no cultivation and live by selling *semn* and their animals in Khamīs Musheit. Their young men are not permitted to wear rings until they have killed a man, and once blooded they cut a notch on the stock of their rifles for each of their victims. Utterly out of hand, they never approach Ibha, and recognize neither the Turks nor the Idrīsi nor their own paramount Sheikh. 'Ā'idh ibn Jabbār is their chief, a man of 50, who has led them into battle for years.

The Qa'ūd are entirely settled in Wādi Tindāhah, which flows into the Wādi Shahrān, and is the most fertile of all the Shahrān country. They are peaceable and unwarlike, and obedient to Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz.

The Beni Bijad are a large sub-tribe numbering 10,000 men, of whom 7,000 are nomads. The settled portion lives along the Ibha–Bīshah road between Āl Batāt and Shafān, and is entirely agricultural. The nomads are warlike and fight both on horseback and on foot. Their cavalry carry lances as well as rifles. They are on bad terms with the Beni Wahhāb and fight the 'Abidah, Balahmar, and Balasmar. Like most nomads they go up to Bīshah for the date season. Sa'īd ibn Hashbal is chief over all the sub-tribe. He was formerly with the Turks, but now sides with the Idrīsi, and only pays a nominal allegiance to Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz. He collects tithes from his followers, with whom he is popular, and is a rich man.

The Beni Wahhāb are the largest sub-tribe, numbering 15,000 men, of whom 13,000 are nomads. They live in the Wādi Shahrān up to Bīshah. Of all Arabs they have the most evil reputation. They are robbers and highwaymen, treacherous, even to their guests, have little religion and no marriage laws, and kill women and children in their raids, a custom which is execrated by all other fighting tribes. They are also unclean in their feeding and eat rats and jerboas. The man with the strongest hand rules them, and the present Sheikh, Nāsir ibn Heif, and Heif ibn Nāsir, his son, won

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their position by forcibly ejecting the former Sheikh, Ibn Hashāl, who has now degenerated into a petty and uninfluential highwayman.

They are against every tribe and every government, and are paid by other weaker tribes to refrain from raiding. The villagers of Bīshah and the clans who live near, such as the Rimāthān, Uqlub, and Beni Sulūl, are, however, slightly more civilized. Only during the date season at Bīshah, which lasts about four months, there is a general truce, and Arabs from all over the country foregather. Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz owns large and valuable date-groves, and both the Sherif of Mecca and the Idrīsi have agents there. These two agents belong to the Beni Wahhāb, Sheikh Yahya ibn Fā'iz acting for the Sherif, and Nāsir ibn Kurkmān for the Idrīsi, for the purpose of collecting *Zakāt*. The former is the more influential. The Beni Wahhāb go out to Tathlīth at certain seasons of the year, where there is excellent grazing for their many flocks and herds.

The Sha'af Rashhah and Āl Yinfa'ah occupy the Tihāmah to the south of Ibha, from which they are separated by the Beni Mugheid. The Sha'af Rashhah, who are to the north of the Āl Yinfa'ah, are entirely settled and peaceful. The Āl Yinfa'ah live in the district of Temnīyah (Thimnīyah), which is the most fertile of all Asir, and approach to within 20 miles of Sabia. They are numerous and wealthy, and have a good reputation for hospitality and courage. 'Abdullah ibn Hamad is the chief Sheikh of both sections, a tall man of about 55, with a long white beard. He was formerly on the side of the Turks, but broke with them and with Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz about 8 years ago, when his son was murdered by the Beni Wahhāb, while a guest of Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz. Since then he has joined the Idrīsi, and, being a man of great influence, has brought his tribe with him. The Idrīsi now collects taxes from them and keeps about 100 police at Temnīyah. The enemies of these two sub-tribes are the Rufeidat el-Yemen and Rabī'ah; their friends, the Arabs of Mikhlāf el-Yemen. The nomads of Āl Yinfa'ah are horse-owners and sell their stock in the Sabia market.

(*a*) *Āl Musheit.*

'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Musheit, paramount Sheikh: Sa'īd ibn 'Abd, his son.

Sa'd ibn Husein
'Abd ibn Ibrāhīm
Husein ibn 'Abd
} three brothers who are nephews of 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Musheit.

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(*b*) *Āl Rusheid.* Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn 'Iteij.

1. Settled. 4,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Hirīr	'Ali ibn Sa'īd.
Waqabah	'Abdullah ibn Sihmān.
Na'mān	Hasan ibn Zubein.
Dhahbān	Sherif Abu Nūrah.
Sofq	Mohammed ibn Mubārak es-Sofār.
Rōnah	Ibn 'Ukah.
Āl Jassāb	Ibn Nimshah.
Darb	Sa'īd ibn Benāyah.
Khamīs Musheit	Behir.
Jambar	Abu Mikha'.
Soma'dah	Salīm ibn Zumei'.
'Itwid	Sa'īd abu Milhah.

2. Nomad. 500 men. Chief clans :—

Āl Shubeil	Nāsir ibn Shubeil.
Āl Ghanum	Mohammed ibn Hāzim.
Āl Tazzah	Sa'īd ibn Ghuzeil.

(*c*) *Āl Ghamar.* Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn 'Urūr.

1. Settled. 400 men.

Tayyib el-Ism	Sa'īd ibn 'Urūr.

2. Nomad. 600 men. Chief clans :—

Aulād Muhur	Ibn Shatf.
Āl Shahra	Ibn Rabu'i.
Āl Tayyār	Ibn Ghudheif.
Āl Sa'dūn	Ibn Tūrki.
Beni Zerābah	Jeheish.

(*d*) *Nahās.* All Bedouin. 1,000 men. Chief Sheikh : 'Ā'idh ibn Jabbār.

Clans :—

Āl Khazqa	'Uweir ibn Hizām.
Āl Hazra	Dhi'b Ladqam.
Āl Heiza'ah	Dhi'b ibn Jidhei'.
Āl 'Alīyah	Samghān.

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(*e*) *Qa'ūd*. Settled. 3,000 men. Chief Sheikh : 'Abdullah ibn Sana. 101• 619 622

Chief villages :—

Tindāhah	Mohammed ibn Sana.
Āl Dhi'b	Ibn Rafī'ah.
Āl 'Ujeir	'Abdullah el-Wuteid.
Gheithān	Mi'tiq ibn Mohammed.
Āl Zalāl	Mohammed ibn Sana.
Āl Mustanīr	Mohammed ibn Durei'.
Sadr	Dhi'b ibn Jer'ān.
Āl Zayān	Wad'ān.
Hauta	'Ali ibn Dakhīl.

(*f*) *Beni Bijad*. Chief Sheikh : Sa'īd ibn Hashbal.

1. Settled. 3,000 men. Chief villages :—

Rashda'	Mohammed ibn Es-Sa'ān.
Āl Batāt	Hereish.
Āl Bithor	Ibn Hanash.
Āl Umm Zeitil	Nejeir.
Ghireirah	Safeir.
Shajrah	Abu Milhi.
Madhah	Ibn Fudghram.
Shafān	Mohammed ibn Sa'īd.

2. Nomads. 7,000 men.

Beni Munebbih el-Hakam.
Sheikh Sa'īd ibn Hakam.

(*g*) *Beni Wahhāb*. 15,000 men.

Chief Sheikhs : Nāsir ibn Heif and Heif ibn Nāsir.

1. Settled. 2,000 men. Chief villages :—

Khadhra	Ibn Huweilah.
Museiriq	Zuweiki.

(Bīshat en-Nakhl), Chief Sheikhs : Yahya ibn Fā'iz and Nāsir ibn Kurkmān.

Raushīn (Roshīn)	Nāsir ibn Kurkmān.
Nimrān	Ibn Barrāsh.
Āl Bashūk	Abu Jerīdah.
Zereib	Abu Khazmah.
Āl Khālit	Heif.
Wādi Leimūn	Zereik ibn Mustūr.
Āl Shukbān	Yahya ibn Lazar.

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2. Nomads. 13,000 men. Chief clans :—

Āl Buljārib.
Āl Mustur.
Sifālah.

Mo'āwiyah	Husein ibn Zāhir
Rimāthān, Uqlub. Sh. Madāf ibn 'Atīyān	Nomads of Bīshah.
Beni Sulūl, Jerādīn	Nomads. Sh. Amīr ibn Es-Seyyiri of Bīshah.
Mahlaf	Yahya ibn Fā'iz.

(*h*) *Sha'af Rashhah.* 4,000 men. Settled. 'Abdullah ibn Hamūdh.

Chief villages :—

Idādā	'Ali ibn Murai'i.
Āl Umm Teir	'Awad el-Mujaddad.
Āl Ferza'	'Abdullah abu Hamām.
Āl Sirhān	'Ali ibn Thābit.
Dhibat Āl Sirhān	Ahmed ibn 'Uksha.
Musji (or Masgi?)	'Ali ibn 'Awad.
Āl Umm Jizā'	Walad Ez-Zihri.

(*i*) *Āl Yinfa'ah.* Settled. 6,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : 'Abdullah ibn Hamūdh of Tammah.

1. Chief villages :—

Āl 'Othmān	Zeidāni.
Āl 'Ali	Mohammed ibn Tāli'.
Umm Jariyah	Abu Sihim.
Āl Ba'wal	Shuweil el-A'raj.

2 *Āl Yinfa'ah of Tihāmah.* Nomad. 8,000 men. Chief clans :—

Jahārah	Mashāf.
Āl Ihlāmi	Baqjān.
Reith	Abu Dūsah.
Beni Majūr	Ibn Ghālah.
Āl A'rābi	Mufarrih.

3. *Āl Yinfa'ah of Jahar*
4. *Āl Yinfa'ah of Hajawi* } Nomads in Mikhlāf el-Yemen.

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47. *Beni Shi'bah*

The Beni Shi'bah live chiefly round 'Itwad ('Itwid) and up the Wādi Dhilah to the Rabī'at el-Yemen boundary, but their nomads have no fixed boundaries and wander all over Mikhlāf el-Yemen, north of Sabia. Their Sheikhs and chief families are Arabs and trace their descent to Qahtān, but the majority of the tribe are Sudanese, who have been emancipated for many generations. They are excellent fighters, amenable to discipline, and are generally known as 'Asākir or soldiers. 101 619 622

They all support the Idrīsi and pay him taxes.

The Beni Shi'bah do not engage in trade, the villagers being agriculturists and the nomads possessing large herds of camels, cattle, and sheep. They also own horses and nearly always fight as cavalry. They are friendly with the Munjahah, Rijāl el-M'a, and the Mikhlāf tribes, but are hereditary enemies of the Rabī'at el-Yemen and generally on bad terms with the Beni Mugheid, whose country they avoid.

Chief Sheikh: Ibrāhīm Abu Mohammed. 3,500 men.

Chief villages. 1,000 men.

Darb Beni Shi'bah	Ismā'īl Abu Mohammed.
Qasabah	Mohammed Abu Dōshah.
'Askar	Deilabi.
'Abīd	Balāl ibn Hasan.
Āl Abu Dōshah	El-Hufdhi.

Nomads. 2,500 men.

Āl Hadra	Mohammed ibn Mushrā'i.
Āl Hassān.	

48. *Beni Shihir*

The Beni Shihir are one of the most populous tribes of Asir. They are a tall and well-made race and their women are noted for their beauty. They inhabit the country from the Tihāmah 25 miles east of Qunfudah up the main mountain range and across the watershed almost to Wādi Shahrān.

The tribes which adjoin them are, on the north, starting from the Tihāmah, the Bal'aryān, Bulqarn, and Beni 'Amr, on the east the Shahrān, on the south the Balasmar, the Reish, the Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali, the Humeidah, and the Rabī'ah Mujātirah. On the west, where their boundary has narrowed to about 15 miles, are the

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101 Zobeid. Their territory is funnel-shaped, widening out as it goes inland, till it reaches the Shahrān in the east, with whose boundary
619 it marches for over 60 miles.

The settled portion of the tribe have shown little sympathy with
622 the Idrīsi. They are divided into three main sections, the north, south, and Tihāmah, ruled over by different Sheikhs, who are usually on bad terms with each other, but unite against common enemies.

The largest section and the most important politically is the Beni Shihir esh-Shām, who live chiefly along the Ibha–Tā'if road, between 'Asābili and 'Uqrum. The leading family, and one of the noblest of Asir, is that of Ibn Qurūm, closely connected with Mecca, both by sympathy and relationship, Sherif Mohammed ibn 'Abd el-Mu'īn ibn 'Aun, the grandfather of the present Sherif, having married into the family.

The present head of the family is Sa'īd ibn Fā'iz, an old man now, with two sons, both born of a Circassian mother, Faraj Bey ibn Sa'īd, who has been one of the Hejaz representatives in the Ottoman Parliament, and Fā'iz ibn Sa'īd. They all visit Constantinople and Mecca regularly, have a house in Ibha, and have furnished their house at 'Asābili in semi-European style, and, having also adopted the western habit of smoking and drinking, are looked at with dislike and suspicion by other tribes. They are, however, large landowners and rich men.

Faraj Bey ibn Sa'īd is a tall man of about 38, with a fair skin, which he gets from his mother. He was formerly Kaimmakam of Qunfudah, Muhā'il, and Hali district, where his cruelty when in his cups made him greatly feared. He speaks Turkish and French and has a Circassian wife in Constantinople. He is a notorious libertine and drunkard, but is a force to be reckoned with.

His brother, Fā'iz ibn Sa'īd, a young man of 25, is much more steady and takes greater interest in tribal matters.

About a third of the Beni Shihir esh-Shām are nomads, whose main subdivision is that of the Neid. They have little to do with the settled parts, and do not acknowledge Sa'īd ibn Fā'iz, the Sherif, or the Turks. Most of their life is spent in bickering with the Shahrān, but what political leanings they have are in favour of the Idrīsi.

The Beni Shihir el-Yemen occupy the rich district of Namas and are under 'Ali Bey ibn Dhāfir, who, like the Qurūm family, is strongly pro-Turk. He is, however, a man of much stricter morals, and is respected by the tribes. His mother is a Circassian. This

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section is entirely settled in permanent villages, and provided a large proportion of the local Turkish gendarmerie. There are said to be a few Idrīsi sympathizers among them.

The Beni Shihir of the Tihāmah are neither as numerous nor as powerful as those of the uplands, but their country is fertile and they are more prosperous than most of their neighbours. Their Chief Sheikh is Abu Mismār, who is said to favour the Idrīsi secretly.

The nomads under Sheikh Khādan ibn Mohammed, are all on the Idrīsi side. They live chiefly in 'Aqabah Sajein and 'Aqabah Sihān, between the Namas district and the Tihāmah, but go down to lower ground for the harvest.

The Beni Shihir are a good fighting tribe, and on account of their political tendencies are almost hemmed in by foes, the Balasmar being the only tribe with whom they have a pact. The Zobeid and they have a feud of many years' standing.

They are well armed, having received rifles from the Turks at Ibha. They are descended from the Rijāl el-Hajar.

(*a*) *Beni Shihir esh-Shām.* 20,000 men.

Sa'īd ibn Fā'iz weled Fā'iz ibn Qurūm of 'Asābili and his sons Faraj Bey ibn Sa'īd (member of Ottoman Parliament) and Fā'iz Bey ibn Sa'īd.

1. Settled. 13,000 men. Chief sections :—

Ka'b	'Abdullah ibn Sārah.
Beni Kerīm	Nāji ibn Sa'īd.
Āl Abu Jubeis	Fādhil ibn Jubeis.

Chief villages :—

Idwah	Sa'īd ibn Mubārak.
Rabu' es-Sarw	Hāzimah ibn Mohammed.
Halabah	Hizmi.
Sadr	Mohammed ibn Safar.
Kafāf	Rushwān ibn Mohammed.
Akhādhirah	'Abd el-Khāliq.
Kalāthimah	'Abd el-Khalīj.

2. Nomads. 7,000 men.

Neid.

(*b*) *Beni Shihir el-Yemen.* Settled. 15,000 men.

'Ali Bey ibn Dhāfir Walad Dhāfir ibn Jāri of Namas.

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101 Chief sections :—

Beni Bukr	Sa'īd ibn Jāri.
619 Beni Mashhūr	Dhāfir ibn Mohammed.
Āl Shi'b	Mahbūb ibn Merzūq.

622 Chief villages :—

Dhāhārah	Sa'īd ibn Qurūm.
'Aqabah Lambūsh	Lāfi ibn Mohammed.
Wādi Laghr	Shibeili ibn Mohammed.
Tanūmah	Mohammed ibn El-'Arīf.
Sabt Ibn El-'Arīf	Dhāfir ibn El-'Arīf.

(c) *Beni Shihir et-Tihāmah.*

1. Settled. 8,000 men. Chief Sheikh : Abu Mismār.

Chief sections :—

Āl Limāsh	Haidar ibn Er-Rawwāf.
Āl Khāt	Ruhūmah.
Majāridah	Mohammed abu 'l-Qasīm.
Beni Teim Tihāmah	Mohammed ibn Tummah.
Āl Dūshah	Abu Mismār.
Āl Thureibān	Ibn Ma'ariyah.
Āl Thirbān	Abu Muhsin.
Umm Shahari	Mohammed ibn Dheheil.

Chief villages :—

Sadr	Mohammed abu 'l-Qāsim.
Jebel Yithrib	Abu Saja'.

2. Nomads. 5,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Khādan ibn Mohammed.

Āl 'Omar	Khādan ibn Mohammed.
Beni Ethla	'Abdullah Dhaffār.
Āl Husein	Nāsir ibn Sa'īd.
Ahl 'Aqabat Sajein	Qurūm ibn Dhāfir.
Āl Umm Jeheini	Mohammed ibn Shātir.
'Umārah	Sheikh Shubeili.

49. *Ahl esh-Shuqaiq*

The Ahl Shuqaiq are a small community inhabiting the small port of Shuqaiq in Mikhlāf el-Yemen. They are chiefly merchants in the hide and 'semn' trade with Musawwa', which they often visit. 'Ali ibn Mubhi is the chief Sheikh, a nominee of the Idrīsi. The most important man, however, is Ibn 'Abbās, who was formerly Sheikh, but was imprisoned by the Idrīsi for three years for conspiracy.

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He is now out on guarantee, and, being the biggest merchant and richest landowner in Shuqaiq, is to be reckoned with. 101

The Ahl esh-Shuqaiq, like all the inhabitants of Mikhlāf el-Yemen with the exception of the 'Abs, are descended from the Qahtān. 619 622

Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Mubhi. 1,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Khasām	Ahmed 'Ali.
Ramlah	'Ali ibn Hawi.
Khabātiyah	Mohammed ibn Husein.
Hesu	Sherif Hamūd.

50. *Shamrān*

The Shamrān occupy a part of the high upland country through which runs the Ibha–Tā'if road and extend down the slopes of the hills to the Tihāmah.

They are bounded on the west and north by the Ghāmid, on the east by the Shahrān, and on the south by the Khath'am and Bulqarn. They are divided into the Shamrān esh-Shām, Shamrān et-Tihāmah, and the nomads, each section numbering about 2,000 men. The northern Shamrān and the nomads are under the Sheikhship of Hasan ibn Matar, a young man of 30, who has a good reputation for wisdom in tribal matters, and has made a name for himself in war. Their chief centre is Balūs, the largest of a number of villages near the Khath'am border, set in a rich and well-wooded valley.

The nomads, the Suhāb and Āl Mubārak, wander down into the Tihāmah in the winter, or stay round Balus, and in the summer go up with the Bulqarn and other nomads to the Shahrān country round Bīshah for the date season.

They own many sheep and goats, but few camels.

The most important section of the Shamrān et-Tihāmah is the 'Ubus, under Sheikh Is-hāq ibn Muzellaf, whose chief village is Marwa'. They have permanent villages in which they live during winter, but in summer most of them lead a nomadic life, living in straw-woven tents. The whole tribe unites in war, their chief enemies being the Ghāmid. They are also usually at odds with their weaker neighbour the Khath'am. Their reputation as a fighting race is good, and they share with the Bulqarn the custom of purifying themselves and wearing their finest clothes before going into battle. In normal times they are a hospitable and light-hearted race, ever ready to find an excuse for relaxation. Marriage

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101 festivals are celebrated on a much larger scale than is usual in Asir. Their outside political leanings are strongly in favour of the Idrīsi, 619 as against the Sherif of Mecca and the Turks.

The tribe is descended from the Rijāl el-Hajar.

6221 (*a*) *Shamrān esh-Shām.* Settled round Balūs. 2,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Hasan ibn Matar.

Āl Mahshakah	Mashari ibn 'Ali.
Beni Matar	Mushabbab ibn Sa'īd.

(*b*) *Bedouins.* 2,000 men, also under Hasan ibn Matar.

Suhāb	Nāsir ibn Fuzān.
Āl Mubārak	Sa'ūd ibn Mishrik.

(*c*) *Shamrān et-Tihāmah.* 2,000 settled.

'Ubus	Is-hāq ibn Muzellaf.

51. *Beni Thuwwah*

The Beni Thuwwah lie to the south of Muhā'il and are astride the main Ibha–Muhā'il road between Butūh and the Wādi Sha'b el-'Asla, a distance of 10 miles, and the Ibha–Athālif–Muhā'il road between Jebel Hawīlah and Hu'ūs Beni Thuwwah, a distance of 15 miles. The territory between these roads is theirs, and their boundary on the north approaches within 5 miles of Muhā'il.

Their neighbours on the north are the Āl Mūsa and Reish, on the east the Balasmar, on the south the Āl Nahyah and Āl Hārith of the Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, and on the west the Bahr ibn Sekeinah.

The tribe numbers some 2,000 men, of whom two-thirds are settled, the remainder nomad.

They are a bold and fearless tribe who live chiefly by raiding, and unprotected parties, either of the Turks or ordinary travellers, are never safe while in their country. They have never submitted to Ottoman authority, and, since the rise of the Idrīsi, have quite got out of hand. Their chief Sheikh, Sheikh Sarwi, is one of the most noted highwaymen of Asir, and has given endless trouble to the Government. They are generally at feud with the Āl Mūsa, Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, and Balasmar, and are still allied with the Rijāl el-M'a and Balahmar. Their relations with the Bahr Ibn Sekeinah are neutral.

Chief Sheikh : Sarwi. 2,000 men.

(*a*) Chief villages. 1,300 men.

Idą	Shuflut.
Umm Butūh	'Ali ibn Yahya.

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Bedlah	Ibrāhīm ibn Musa'ad.
Qarein	Mushātir.
Āl Umm Ba'eirah	Mohammed ibn Tāli'.
Wādi el-Hāfir	Ibn Hadhīyah.
Āl Ghanīyah	Sha'bān.

(*b*) Nomads. 700 men.

Bodu Āl Ghanīyah	Abu Jahīlah.
Āl Qabeis	Ahmed ibn 'Adwān.
Āl Fidheilah	Ahmed abu Hanash.

52. *Beni Ya'lah*

The Beni Ya'lah are a small settled tribe, numbering 500 men, situated along the coast a few miles north of Hali. They are bounded on the north by the Marāhibah section of the Beni Zeid, on the east by the Aulād el-'Alaunah section of the Ahl Hali, and on the south by the Shawārah section of the Ahl Hali.

They are divided amongst themselves, Sheikh Bahrān of Shija'fah favouring the Idrīsi, and the remainder, under Sheikh Beit-'ali Abu 'Atanah, paying allegiance to the Turks.

The Belā'ir and Hali both raid them, and they depend chiefly on the Turks for their existence as a tribal unit, since they are as unwarlike as their only allies, the Beni Zeid.

Chief Sheikh : Beit-'ali Abu 'Atanah. 500 men.

Villages :—

Ya'bah	Mohammed ibn Sālim.
Sabt Beni Ya'lah	A'ji.
Arja'	Mohammed ibn 'Abdu.
Shija'fah	Bahrān.
Kidwah	Er-Ridwīli.
Melāhah	Musaffir.
Nikhl	Abu Radīyah.

53. *Zahrān*

The Zahrān is one of the largest tribes of Asīr and is bounded on the north by the Beni Mālik and Shalāwah, on the east by the Ghāmid, on the south and south-west by the Zobeid, and on the west by the Dhawi Barakāt for a few miles and then the Dhāwi Hasan. Their western boundary approaches in places to within

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15 miles of the coast, and inland they go up the main mountain range and beyond the Ibha–Tā'if road.

Their country is a fertile one and is thickly populated, the whole tribe being said to number 30,000 men.

It is divided into two main divisions, the settled and the nomad, each of equal size.

Rāshid ibn Jum'ān is paramount sheikh of the villagers and belongs to the main sub-tribe, the Beni Sadr; Sa'īd ibn Aseidān rules over the nomads. The former got his title by inheritance, the latter by his prowess in war; but they are both good men, and have their tribesmen well in hand. When he was a young man, Rāshid ibn Jum'ān sided with the Turks and was made a Bey, but twelve years ago he raised a successful revolt and has barred the country to the Turks ever since. The nomads were always against them and against the villagers for the same reason, but since the revolt the two chief sheikhs have been good friends. Rashīd ibn Jum'ān is now a large fat man of 55. He lives at Jebel Dūs and is married to Nafalah of the Aulād el-Emīr Mohammed ibn 'Ā'idh family of the Beni Mugheid.

The Zahrān are purely a fighting race, and never leave their country except to raid. They cultivate and become rich thereby, but they despise all other forms of manual labour.

The Ghāmid are their great and hereditary enemies. They declared for the Idrīsi when he first raised his standard in Asir, and fought for him in 1912 against the Turks and Sherif of Mecca. In May 1915 they wrote to the Idrīsi, proposing to join him, but the Idrīsi, doubtless realizing that they could do little good while hedged in between the Turks at Ibha and the Sherif, advised them to adopt a passive attitude for the present. He, however, sent a Qādhi to them to obtain monetary help, and early in 1916 reported that he was still in friendly communication with them.

The Zahrān, like several other tribes of Asir, trace their descent to Rijāl el-Hajar.

(*a*) Settled :—

Paramount Sheikh : Rāshid ibn Jum'ān. 15,000 men.

Dūs	Mohammed abu Sandalah.
Āl Bassām	Nāsir ibn 'Aqīl.
Āl Dashwān	Bekr ibn Tūrki.
Āl Forza	Munīr ibn Hassān.
Al Mustanīr	Mohammed ibn Sa'dah.
Beni Sadr	Munīr ibn Mohammed.

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(*b*) Bedouin :— 101 619 622

Paramount Sheikh : Sa'īd ibn Aseidān. 15,000 men.

Āl Wādi el-Ahmar.
Beni Su'eif.
Bel Khasmar.
Beni 'Omar.
Kinānah.
Shubeikah.
Beni Hasan.
Beni Sālim.

54. *Beni Zeid* (*Northern*)

The northern Beni Zeid focus round Qunfudah and are entirely under Turkish influence.

To the north they inhabit the villages along the Qunfudah–Līth road for some 14 miles, till they reach the boundary of the Āl Difra section of the Zobeid. To the east they stretch along the Barak road for 12 miles, almost to 'Umr of the Nawāshirah section of Belā'ir, and then, keeping always about 10 miles from the coast, their boundary runs south for 20 miles, marching first with the confines of the Mujā'adah section of the Belā'ir and then with the 'Umr Bedawi till it reaches the Beni Ya'lah, when it turns due west to the coast.

They are partly settled and partly nomad, the former numbering about 4,000 men, the latter 3,000.

The villagers are by no means wealthy, but there is a sufficiency of rain to enable them to cultivate in the summer, and their wells provide water to grow vegetables in the dry season. The two nomad sections are the Rabī'ah Weinah and the Marāhibah, the former strung out along the Qunfudah–Barak road, the latter roaming the country to the south of Qunfudah, along the coast and inland. They are rich in camels, and are the chief carriers to Hāli, Muhā'il, and Barak. Most of them carry antiquated rifles, swords, and a curved knife about 3 ft. long, called a *Janbiyān*. They also supply Qunfudah with milk, and are looked down on by the more independent tribes, both for this practice and for their lack of prowess in war.

Hasan ibn Khidhr is the principal Sheikh of the whole tribe, a man of about 30, who has proved a faithful servant of the Turks. He held firm when the Idrīsi threatened Qunfudah in 1912, and was given 2,000 rifles by the Turks for defence. The Beni Zeid doubtless owe a great deal to the Turks, for they are on terms of

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enmity with their neighbours the Belā'ir and 'Umr, and are raided by such distant tribes as the Beni 'Īsa, Dhawi Barakāt, and Dhawi Hasan, who slip through the Zobeid country and back again before they can be brought to book. The Zobeid themselves regard them with tolerance, and the Beni Ya'lah are their allies.

Chief Sheikh : Hasan ibn Khidhr.

(*a*) Settled. 4,000.

Chief villages :—

Jā'	Hasan ibn Khidhr.
Zayālah	Midhish.
Ahl Dār el-Wādi	Medīni.
Sa'dah	Jemāl el-Leil.
'Abīd es-Sa'dah	Jauhar.
Mashā'ikh	Mohammed ibn Misfir.
Rahmān	Abu 'Ajīl.

(*b*) Nomads.

Rabī'ah Weinah	Mohammed Khenein.	1,000.
Marāhibah	Mohammed Abu Jabbār.	2,000.

55. *Beni Zeid* (*Southern*)

A small tribe, numbering about 1,500 souls, inhabiting the mountains immediately to the east of the Beni Hasan. The paramount Sheikh of the tribe and of one of its subsections, the Beni 'Aqal, is Mohammed 'Ali Sebāk. They are on friendly terms with the Beni Hasan, who stand in fear of them, and close allies with the Beni Aslam. They are old enemies of the Beni 'Abs, but sink their differences when fighting for Idrīsi, as they are doing now.

56. *Zobeid*

The Zobeid are a detached section of the Harb, and indeed are locally called Harb as often as by their real name. When on the Pilgrimage, they generally visit their northern brethren, and are received with honour, and similarly extend a warm welcome to any Harbi who may be in their country. They are hospitable and well conducted, and appear to possess the bravery of their race without its traditional lawlessness.

Their boundary starts about 7 miles north of Qunfudah and, after running along the coast for rather more than 20 miles, turns inland and follows the Dhawi Barakāt boundary till it reaches the Zahrān.

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From there it runs parallel to the coast and about 30 miles inland along the confines of the Zahrān, Ghāmid, Bal'aryān, and Beni Shihir till it reaches a point due east of Qunfudah and then follows the boundaries of the Belā'ir and Beni Zeid to the sea.

The Zobeid are settled in permanent villages and are rich in cattle. Their land near the sea is barren, except in the wadis, but increases in richness and fertility as soon as the mountains are reached.

They are said to number 15,000 men, and their paramount Sheikh is Mu'ādi ibn Khair. The whole tribe is strongly in favour of the Idrīsi, and pay him taxes. They are equally strong in their feelings against the Turks, who in spite of their proximity have not ventured to interfere with them for years. Their chief enemies are the Beni Shihir, but they dislike and despise the Beni Zeid. With the Dhawi Barakāt, the Ghāmid, and Zahrān they are friends. The Zobeid go in for gun-running to a certain extent, buying their rifles from Ru'eis near Jiddah, or from Birk, and selling them chiefly to the Zahrān.

Paramount Sheikh : Mu'ādi ibn Khair. 15,000 men.

Clans :—

Āl Khair	Hasan ibn Mohammed.
Beni Zibdah	'Ali ibn Halīm.
Āl Sa'īdah	Mubārak ibn Bekhīt.
Āl Imlāhi	Mīhi ibn Mohammed.
Beni Etma	Yahya ibn Sālim.
Āl Sula'bah	Ahmed el-Hayyāni.
Āl Difra	Hanash ibn Qarāwish.
Āl Mashāf	Museibikh ibn Mufarrih.
Āl Jamīl	Hādi ibn Er-Rabh.
Jadreimah	Mizhar ibn Sihmān.
'Ajelein	Ahmed el-Humrāni.

C. Tribes of Yemen

1. *Āl 'Absi* (*'Absīyah*)

The Āl 'Absi extend from the coast S. of Hodeidah to the fort of J. Bura', about 30 miles from W. to E. and 15 miles N. to S. The E. half of their country is fertilized by W. Sihām, and the southern part by W. Ghadīr. Their numbers are estimated at 5,000 to 6,000 men, divided into the following sections : Rabasah (round Hodeidah), Munāfirah (E. of these), Hawwah (round Mandar, on the coast, 10 miles S. of Hodeidah), B. Sālih (under J. Bura'), Ahl el-Khalīfah,

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Ahl esh-Sha'rah (E. of Marwah), Dār ed-Dōm and Ahl Assabt el-Haradah (near J. Bura').

The principal sheikh is Suleimān Hasan of Mahad. There are important settlements of Seyyids at Marwah and at Mansūrīyah.

Principal villages :—

'Asal (Sheikh Yahya Harisah).	Mandar ('Ali Wahhābān).
Mahad (Suleimān Hasan).	Khalīfah (Moh. 'Atīyah).
Mukeiminīyah (Yūsuf 'Ali).	Shar'a (Moh. Suleimān).

2. *Amarīyīn*

A small Zeidi tribe, living round Jebel Qara, on the boundaries of the Hāshid country, about 20 miles NW. of Shehārah. They own 15 or 20 small villages, of which the largest is Beit Jashīsh. Their chief Sheikh is Sheikh Daghshar, a man of about 55, who has considerable influence in the country round. He is a great friend of the Imam and has frequently tried to make peace between him and the Idrīsi.

3. *Aflāh*

A small and unimportant tribe allied to the Khairān, to the east of the Beni Aslam in Hajūr. Half Zeidi.

4. *Beni Ahlās*

A small tribe, numbering about 2,400 souls, of the Dā'ūdīyah sect, settled to the east of the Beni Murrah and Beni Muqātil, with whom they are allied. They are good fighters and support the Turks, chiefly by reason of their hatred of the Imam and his Zeidi followers. Coffee and *kat* are grown in their country. Their chief Sheikh is Nāsir Husein el-Ahlāsi, an old man of about 65, who visited Constantinople just before the deposition of Sultan Abd el-Hamīd.

Chief villages : Seihān, Marābah, Rabitah, and Masna'ah.

5. *Ahl 'Ammar*

A large and peaceful Zeidi tribe about 20 miles NE. of Qa'tabah, living round Shekāb 'Ammar, and cultivating cereals and *kat* in Wādi Bana. They are descended from Ma'az ibn Jebel Qurishi, who originally lived at Medina, and being sent by the Prophet to the Yemen as governor, settled in Wādi Bana, where his descendants still are.

Paramount Sheikh : Tāhir Husein el-Farah, of the clan Beit el-Farah.

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They come under the Kaimmakam of Qa'tabah, and are allied with the 'Ūd and the Ahl Shā'ir. 101

The chief clans are Beit el-Farah (Sheikh Tāhir Husein) and Beit et-Tayyib (Sheikh Hizām es-Sāwi). 619 622

6. *Āl 'Ammar*

A large Zeidi tribe descended from Beni Tamīm, owning land round Sa'dah, and leading a nomadic life in the mountains to the E. In the south they go down the W. Amashīyah to the country of the Hāshid, with whom they are on good terms. They are excellent fighters and firm adherents of the Imam, whose representative at Sa'dah is Seyyid Mohammed abu Nuweibah, and generally at feud with the Āl Damaj.

Chief Sheikhs: Seyyid 'Abdullah el-Ma'an, Hādi abu Shihah, and 'Ā'idh ibn 'Ali.

Settled. Chief clans: Beni Merj (Hasan Kumalli), B. Surūr (Sālih 'Atīf), 'Abādilah ('Abdullah el-'Abdāli), B. 'Abdān ('Ali 'Abdān).

Nomads. Chief clan: B. Ruham.

7. *'Anazah*

Two sections. Sunni; agricultural.

(*a*) Between the Wa'zāt and the Najrah, in the mountains. Chief Sheikhs are Ibn Mas'ūd and Husein ibn 'Ali. Neutral towards the Wa'zāt. Favour the Imam.

(*b*) S. of J. Reima and W. of the Anīs, with whom they are not friendly. They hate the Imam and also the Turks, by whom they have been greatly persecuted. Their chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Yahya, a man of 45, who has made overtures to the Idrīsi.

8. *Anīs*

The boundaries of the Anīs stretch from a short distance west of Dhamār due north nearly to Wa'lān, keeping always a short distance to the west of the Dhamār–San'ā road. To the west they extend along the B. Matar confines almost to Mefhaq and then, skirting Menākhah, and cutting the W. Siham, go down a few miles south of Jebel Reima, and then across almost to Dhamār.

The paramount Sheikh is 'Ali Miqdād, who lives at Jebel esh-Sharq. He is a man of about 50, and used to be a firm adherent of the Imam. He fought for him in 1911 and captured the Turkish Kaimmakam of Dhur'ān, Zakari Bey. In August 1916, however,

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he was reported to have quarrelled with the Imam and closed the road against him. The Imam accused him of collecting revenues for himself; and dispatched the Dhamār Arabs against him, with what result is not known. The tribe numbers from 8,000 to 10,000 men, but not more than 3,000 can take the field owing to lack of rifles. Their country is fertile, wheat, oats, barley, and *dhura* being the principal crops. They are on good terms with their northern neighbours the Beni Matar. They dislike the Arabs of Jebel Reima, and also the Khaulān, whom they fought 12 years ago. With the Beni Muqātil, who are of the Dā'ūdīyah sect and opposed to the Imam, they have a long-standing feud. There is a well-known Seyyid at Dhur'ān, their chief town, by name Seyyid 'Ali ibn Ismā'īl. He was exiled to Rhodes by Ahmed Pasha Feizi, but was pardoned and is now the Imam's representative with the Anīs.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali el-Miqdād.

Representative of the Imam: Seyyid 'Ali ibn Ismā'īl.

Other Sheikhs are:

Mohammed el-Hadrāni	of Hadrān.
Mohammed es-Siblāni	of Jebel esh-Sharq.
Sālih Heidra	of Sihām.
Fiki 'Ali el-Ani	of Hudra.
Mohammed Shaqdam	of Jebel Burhān.
Sa'īd el-Bā'i'	of Qā' el-Haqal.
Ahmed Sālih Shaqdam	of Wādi Qūma.
Sālih el-Barashi	of 'Udhein.
Mohammed 'Abdullah	of Nuweid.
'Ali Hātim	of Beni Hātim.
'Ali Sālih	of Beni Jaradah.
'Abd er-Rābih es-Senhāmi	of Mikhlāf ibn Hātim and half Fersh.
'Omar 'Ātif	of half Fersh.
Sa'īd esh-Shubai	of Shubai.

9. *Beni Aslam*

A large Shafei tribe with some 3,000 good fighting men, inhabiting the mountains to the east of the Beni 'Abs, with whom they have a feud which is only relaxed when the Idrīsi calls on the services of both. N. are the Khamāsīn; S. the Beni Nashar; E. the allied Zeidi tribes of Beni Ghill, Beni Zāfir, and Beni 'Azīz. They are separated from the Beni 'Abs by Wādi Ghadīr.

Chief village: Sūq Harīqah.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali Bedāwi of Sūq Harīqah.

Other Sheikhs: Husein Burt and his brother 'El-Effendi' of Gadr, and Ahmed Sultān of Sūq Harīqah.

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10. *Beni 'Awwam*

A small Zeidi tribe south-west of the Beni Husein and Wādi La'ah, and about 50 miles due east of Loheia in the mountains. Their chief Sheikhs are 'Ali Da'ām and Husein ibn Hasan. They come under the suzerainty of the Turks, but are said to be discontented with them and with the Imam.

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11. *Beni 'Azīz*

A small Zeidi tribe of Hajar el-Yemen, living at Hubūr Meili just to the south of the Beni Zāfir and Beni Ghill with whom they are allies. Formerly under the Turkish Markaz of Qufl, but came under the Imam by the treaty of 1911. Good fighters. Noted for their fruits, coffee, and *kat*.

12. *Bekīl*

See *Hāshid wa Bekīl*.

13. *Bura'*

Zeidi tribe living in Jebel Bura', SSW. of 'Ubāl. Chief Sheikh is Husein ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān el-Bura', who is on unfriendly terms with the Imam, and hates the Turks, under whose immediate jurisdiction he is. He is a friend of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt of the Hāshid. The tribe is allied to the Hufāsh, Sāri, and Mahweit. They are a peace-loving people, numbering about 2,000 men. Yahya 'Abad is the Sheikh appointed by the Turks over Jebel Bura', Hajeilah, and 'Ubāl. He is about 65 years of age and lives at Hajeilah, which, with 'Ubāl, can muster about 400 men. The chief villages are Manwab, Kamah, Fayish, and Rukab.

14. *Āl Damaj*

A small tribe to the E. of the Āl 'Ammar, with whom it is generally at feud. Little is known of it except that it is Zeidi and under the Imam. The chief Sheikh is Sa'd ibn Sa'd. The chief Seyyids are 'Ali ed-Damaji and Husein Merza'. The chief clans are Āl el-Wādi (Sheikh 'Abdullah), Āl 'Utuf, and Āl 'Awadah (Sheikh Qahtān Damaji).

15. *Garābih*

A small tribe of about 1,000 men settled in Wādi Sardūd, whose chief village is Dhāhi (Sheikh, Yahya 'Izzān). They number 400 fighting men, and their chief Sheikh is Hasan Ahmed es-Sulh.

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They are under the jurisdiction of the Kaimmakam of Bājil. Their fighting reputation is good : they are hostile to the Beni Suleil and the Quhrah, their northern and southern neighbours.

16. *Beni Ghill*

A small Zeidi tribe of Hajūr el-Yemen living in Mikhlāf el-Yemen, between the tribes of Beni Zāfir on the north and Beni 'Azīz on the south, with whom they are allied. Formerly under the Turkish Markaz of Qufl, but since the treaty of 1911 under the Imam : good fighters. Noted for their fruits, coffee, and *kat*.

17. *Hajjah*

Small Zeidi tribe in and round the town of Hajjah (Hadda). There is a Kaimmakam in Hajjah, so they come under the direct jurisdiction of the Turks, whom they dislike, and against whom they fought in 1911. Since the Imam made peace with the Turks their relations with him have been strained. Paramount Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Hizām. The tribe is descended from Beni Tamīm.

18. *Hamdān*

There are two sections of the Hamdān, both claiming descent from Qahtān.

(*a*) Hamdān esh-Shām, a very large Zeidi tribe, almost entirely Bedouin, and roaming over the country a day and a half to the north-east of Sa'dah. They are bounded on the north by the Yām tribes of Nejrān, east by the Bekīl, west by Bedouin tribes, and south by Bekīl nomads. At present they are on bad terms with the Imam. They are quite independent, and will fight for any one who pays them. Chief Sheikh is Sherif Sālih ibn 'Ali. They are of the same stock as the Hamdān el-Yemen, but too far off to be in touch.

(*b*) Hamdān el-Yemen.

Living to the W. and N. of San'ā, chiefly in Wādi Dhahir. They are of the same origin as the Hamdān esh-Shām. Owing to close proximity to San'ā, they do not show their real feelings, but are said to dislike the Turks and the Imam, and to have a secret understanding with Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt of the Hāshid. Their chief Sheikh, 'Ali Shawi', is in the pay of the Turks with the rank of mudir.

Chief clans : B. Dhurhān (Sherif 'Ali Hamūd), B. Beshir (Sheikh 'Alāwi), B. 'Afar, B. Dhayyān, B. Hārith, B. Meimūn (Sālih ibn Meimūn), B. Jabrān.

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Chief villages: Mehājir ('Ali Matlaq), Luqmah ('Ali Yahya el-Hamdāni), Tubar ('Ali et-Tubri), Qebīl (Ahmed Salāmah).

19. *Hashābirah*

A small Sunni tribe living a few miles south of the Turkish post of Zeidīyah, east of the Kamarān Islands, and coming under the jurisdiction of 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni. To their south is the Quhrah tribe. They number between 250 and 300 fighting men, and their chief Sheikhs are Ismā'īl 'Ali and 'Abdullah Mashhur. Their chief villages are Qaryah, Dār el-Bahri, and Mahāl.

20. *Beni Hasheish*

A Zeidi tribe immediately to the north-east of San'ā, living in Wādi Sīrr, Wādi Sawān, and down to Jebel Nuqūm. They cultivate grapes extensively and also engage in trading. They muster some 1,500 men, but, living so near San'ā, possess few rifles. In sympathy they are pro-Imam. Their chief Sheikh is Muhsin el-Jamrah.

21. *Hāshid wa Bekīl*

It is not clearly established whether the Hāshid wa Bekīl are all of the same descent and therefore one tribe, or a confederation of two tribes of differing origin. The available evidence seems to show that the Hāshid trace their descent back to Himyar and the Bekīl to Qahtān. Whatever the truth, there is no doubt that their names are commonly linked together by natives in Yemen, that they are on terms of close friendship and have been so for many generations, and that together they form one of the most powerful tribal bodies in Southern Arabia. The home country of the Bekīl is to the east in Marashi and Barat, but, as will be seen from the description given below, there are also tribal units living in the midst of the Hāshid country and even so far south and west as Hajjah, Wādi Shīrs, and Mahweit. The Hāshid occupy the country from a few miles north of 'Amrān almost to Sa'dah, and to the west they extend almost to Hajūr. To the east they are settled in Bilād el-Kharf and round Dhibin, but their nomads wander far afield to the north and towards Barat and Jauf.

For many generations the fortunes of the Hāshid wa Bekīl have been intimately connected with those of the Imams of Yemen; and this must always be so, both on account of their common creed and because some of the chief strongholds of the Imam, such as Shehārah, Qāfilat 'Udhr, and Madān, are set in the midst of the

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Hāshid country. The Imams have drawn largely on the confederation for their fighting material, and in return have rewarded its chief men by governorships in different parts of the country. Thus, before the Ottoman conquest, the chief family of the Himrān tribe of Hāshid ruled all the country from Najrah to Wādi La' and Kaukebān, and the head of the Wada' governed Mikhādir just south of Jiblah. The leading Bekīl Sheikhs were equally powerful; and the family of Ausat held the overlordship of Ibb, Suhul, 'Udein, Nadrah, and Ta'izz, while the family of Shā'if were Emirs of Hajjah and Zufeir.

The conquest of the Yemen by Mukhtār Pasha in 1872 and the consequent restriction of the power of these Sheikhs left them with a strong hatred of the Turks and a lasting desire to regain their lost territories; and the many Yemenite revolts against Ottoman authority during the last forty years have always seen them taking a leading part. They bitterly resented the declaration of peace in 1911, and the Imam's treachery towards Idrīsi; and his proposition that they should pay taxes to the Turks caused Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt, the chief of the Himrān and paramount Sheikh of the Hāshid, to withdraw his tribes and enter into relations with the Idrīsi. A truce was arranged in the following year; but there is still bad feeling between the two which is not likely to cease until the Imam declares definitely against the Turks. The defection of so powerful a body of supporters has of course reacted in favour of Idrīsi, who during the last few years has been steadily working to make the feeling permanent. He has, however, to contend against a sentiment of loyalty to the Imam, which has been handed down for many generations, and his lack of ready cash has prevented him from doing more than keep relations between the latter and the confederation strained. He has been in constant touch with its chief Sheikhs for the last few years, and has said that money is the only thing required to bring them on his side.

The outstanding figure of the Hāshid wa Bekīl confederation is Sheikh Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt. This Sheikh, a man of forcible and ruthless character, has gained almost complete ascendancy over the Hāshid tribesmen and largely influences the Bekīl chiefs. He is cruel and unscrupulous, and will join whichever side pays him most. His power is such that, given adequate material help, he can in all probability force the Imam to what terms he likes.

No attempt has been made to estimate numbers in the account which follows, but the confederation is said to have put over 50,000 men in the field against the Turks in 1911.

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A. HĀSHID

The boundaries of the Hāshid have already been described. The tribe is largely an agricultural and pastoral one, but certain sections, especially the Himrān, are engaged in trade. 101 619

The most important sub-tribes are the Himrān, Dhu 'Udhrah, and Dhu Fari', and most of the tribal policy seems to be guided by Sheikhs Sālih ibn Muslih, Sālih Ma'id, Mas'ūd el-Barak, and Dirhem ibn Yahya, under the direction of Sheikh Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt. The only sections which have stood out against them and solidly supported the Imam are the Ahnum, Āl Ahim, Zuleimah, and the southernmost tribes, the Beni Surih and Arhab. 622

The country of the Hāshid is by no means uniformly fertile, and, in consequence, there are many nomad sections. Theoretically taxes are payable to the Imam, but of late years they have mostly found their way into the coffers of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt. The Seyyids are very powerful in the Hāshid country, Hūth being their most important centre in the Yemen after San'ā and Sa'dah. They stand with the Imam, or against him, according to the favours they receive from him. His meanness and parsimony seem to have sent the majority into Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt's camp.

The tribes which follow are placed in the order of what is believed to be their numerical and political importance, irrespective of their geographical position.

i. HIMRĀN

Chief Sheikhs :—

Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Tall, powerfully built, fair skinned with a small white beard. About sixty. Ambitious and unscrupulous. Rules chiefly by fear. Is rich through taxes levied on his people. His two chief sons are Hamūd (age about 35) and Nāsir (age about 25). His chief strongholds are at Hamri, Habūr, and Dhōfir.

Sālih ibn Muslih.

Nephew of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt and his most important lieutenant. Age about 40. Is rich and generous, and well liked by the people. Lives at Hamri.

Range :—

(*a*) The majority live in villages between Khamir and Hūth.

(*b*) There are several small sections in Wādi La'ah and Hajjah.

The Himrān traders travel over most of the Yemen. There are many of them in San'ā and Hodeidah.

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Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled between Khamir and Hūth :—
Dhu 'Ali, Dhu Mufarrih, Dhu Quteish, Beni Ma'mar, Dhu 'Ainash, Beni Shatir, 'Useimāt, Beni 'Amr, Dhu Hibah, Beni Jadā'an.
(*b*) Nomads, extending chiefly to the west :—
Beni Qeis, Dhu Mana', Beni Shāwiyah.
(*c*) Settled in Wadi La'ah and Hajjah :—
Beni Sirah, Deyaba', Āl 'Amr.

ii. Dhu 'Udhrah

Chief Sheikhs :—

Sālih ibn Ma'id el-Moghrabi.
Living in Khartūm. A firm friend of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt and a well-known warrior. Age about forty.
Mas'ūd el-Barak.
A rich man of about sixty. Is anti-Imam, but reported to be a coward.
'Ali ibn Sālih.
Supporter of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

(*a*) Due north of Hūth to Qāfilat 'Udhr, and to the east and west of the latter place.
Chief villages : Qāfilat 'Udhr, Butanah, Khartūm, Sadān, Haddad.
(*b*) A small section in Sherāf near Hajūr.
The Dhu 'Udhrah are traders, farmers, and shepherds. Their country is fertile and gives good crops. Those in Sherāf favour the Imam ; the rest are discontented with him, with the exception of the Beni Jukhdim.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled in the neighbourhood of Qāfilat 'Udhr :—
Beni Jukhdim, Beni Shosah, Beni Barak, Dhu Hatum, Beni Hilāl, Dhu Sukeibāt, Dhu Tamīm, Beni 'Arif, Beni Hadayān, Beni 'Anzah.
(*b*) Nomads round Qāfilat 'Udhr :—
Beni Hizein, Beni Jarad, Āl el-Wādi, Dhu Hātim, Beni Miqdad, Beni Bukr, Beni 'Aishan, Beni Sa'd, Hawāzim, Āl Mahsūr.
(*c*) Settled in Sherāf :—
Beni Hafaj, Beni Shammam, Beni 'Akm.

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iii. Dhu'l Fari'

Chief Sheikhs :—

Dirhem ibn Yahya Fari'.

One of the chief Sheikhs of Hāshid, and a friend of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Ahmed ibn Yahya Fari'.

Brother of above. Was subsidized by the Turks in 1911, and refused to rebel with his brother against the Imam. The latter attacked him and drove him out. He now lives chiefly in San'ā. Is in the confidence of the Imam and was chosen by him to take letters to the Sherif of Mecca in the autumn of 1915. He has little influence in the tribe.

'Ali ibn Yahya Fari'.

Brother of the above. Sides with Dirhem.

Hizām ibn Qasīm.

An important Sheikh in the tribe.

Range :—

From Wādi 'Amashīyah through Qā' el-Harf to Dhibin. Chief villages are Madhakah, El-Moghrabi, Khaiwān, 'Unqān.

The majority of the tribe are nomadic and rich in camels, cattle, and sheep.

Sub-Tribes :—

Suweidah, Āl Kethīrān, Beni Ibrāhīm, Beit en-Nefeish.

iv. Sufyān

*Chief Sheikhs :—*Munāsar el-'Useimi.
'Ali ibn Seilah.
'Abdullah el-Gharbi.

The above support Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

From Wādi 'Amashīyah to Qāfilat 'Udhr and west to Wādi Ahnum. Chief villages are Hajeirah and Mahāsir.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled :—

Beni Hilāl, Dhu 'Akam, 'Useimāt, Beni Ghanim, Damaj, Beni Nūf, Dhu 'Ibri, Beni Jurmān, Beni Khazan, Beni Turab.

(*b*) Nomads :—

'Awāmir, Beni Dhobyān, Āl Thawābah, Beni Fuwāz, Beni Shuheid, 'Ateibāt.

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v. Ahnum

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Chief Sheikhs :—

Qasim Shebib.
Supporter of the Imam and opposed to Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.
Seyyid Ahmed el-Madani.
Representative of the Imam.

Range :—

Wādi Ahnum and Bilād el-Hajar. Chief villages are Madān, Sūq el-Hajar, Jashish, Jelilah, and Sameikah.

The Ahnum are a rich trading and agricultural community, and less quarrelsome than most of the other tribes of the confederation.

Sub-Tribes :—

(a) Settled :—
Beni Dubb, Dhu Sukeibāt, Beni Kindah, Āl Hāyim, Āl Mesh-hadi.
(b) Nomads :—
Beni Mohammed, Beni Harrāsh, Beni Sālih, Dhu Shahi, Beni Murdān, Beni Qureitah, Beni Sa'd, Beni Weil, Beni Hatum, Āl Khubeishah.

vi. Beni 'Arjalah

Chief Sheikhs :—

Ahmed el-Na'māni.
Sālih 'Arjalah.
Qasim 'Arjalah.
The above are allied with Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

West of Shehārah. The country is fertile, and they are chiefly settled.

Sub-Tribes :—

(a) Settled :—
Beni Hamzah, 'Aneizah, Beni Saqaf, Beni Dinar, Āl Manāsir, Beni Ahmed, Beni Khureimah, Qawāsim, Sherāfah.
(b) Nomads :—
Beni Shuqarah and Beni Sha'lān

vii. Suleimah.

Chief Sheikh and representative of the Imam :—

Seyyid Lutf Sari.

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Range :—

Between Khamir and Habūr. Entirely settled and agricultural. Supporters of the Imam.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Tamīm, 'Ajeilah, Āl Shadad.

viii. Āl Ahim

Chief Sheikhs :—

Abu Nā'ib.
Seyyid Ahmed Dabwān.
'Ali Sahil.
All firm adherents of the Imam.

Range :—

West of Ahnum and north of Hajūr. Mostly settled.

ix. Khiyar

Chief Sheikhs :—

'Ali ibn 'Ā'idh Shuweit.
An important man. Follower of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.
Sālih ibn 'Ali.

Range :—

Round Sūq el-Ghill, their chief market-place, due south of Khamir.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Qeis, Wad'ah.

x. Jaraf

Chief Sheikhs :—

Seyyid 'Ali and Husein 'Asheish.
Hereditary Sheikhs living at Sinnatein. Rich men. Partisans of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

Khamir to Ghail, inhabiting the same country as the Khiyar. Cultivators and traders.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Surein, Beni 'Aishah, Beni Mālik, Beni Ghathimah, Beni Muhsin, Dhu Zeid, Beni Sinān.

xi. Ahl el-Wādi

Chief Sheikh :—

Dabwān ibn 'Anz.

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101 A well-known warrior. Age about 35. Supports Nāṣir ibn Mabkhūt. Lives at Debbah.

619 *Range :—*

622 Khish Khash and Jebel Ghurbān to Khamir.
Chief villages are Debbah, Rahābah, and Qa'dah.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled :—
Beni el-Faqīh, Dhu Husein, Beni Harrāsh, Beni Nāji'.
(*b*) Nomads :—
Beni Madhkūr.

xii. Kharif

Chief Sheikh :—

Qā'id ibn 'Ali.
Partisan of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

South of Khamir. All settled.

Sub-Tribe :—

Āl 'Amrān.

xiii. Beni Sub'

Chief Sheikhs :—

Sakhr ibn Khālid.
Ahmed Wahhās.
Supporters of the Imam.

Range :—

East and north-east of 'Amrān in the district of Qā' el-Būn.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni 'Atīf, Beni Zuheir, Beni 'Ajlān, Beni Deheish, Beni Hujrah, Beni Suleimān, Beni Mukram, Āl 'Ardan, Beni Harbah, Sharakwah.

xiv. Arhab

Chief Sheikhs :—

Muhsin el-Qaramāni.
Thābit ibn Yahya Dugheish.
Seyyid 'Ali el-Arhabi. } Representatives of the Imam.
Seyyid 'Ali ibn el-Mutawakkil }

Range :—

All settled in the district of Qā' el-Būn. Pro-Imam.
Chief villages are Hijrah, 'Uri, Mahak, Duneidān, Sa'i.

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Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Bu'sān, Beni Adham, Beni 'Afar, Beni Mezwād, Beni Laqamah, Beni Jalīd, Beni Dugheish, Beni Dhofār, Beni Hideyah, Beni Harash, Beni Qafan.

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B. BEKĪL

The Bekīl are mainly settled in the oases of Barat, Ruhub, and Khabb, which lie some days to the NE. of the Hāshid territory, and they are engaged chiefly in the raising of horses and sheep. The most powerful tribe both in numbers and in military prowess is that of the Dhu Mohammed, whose Sheikhs have nearly all followed the fortunes of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt. The Bekīl tribesmen do not find their home-country sufficient for all their needs, and many have emigrated to Jauf and different parts of the Hāshid country. Thus whole tribes are found in the latter, such as the Beni Mālik near Shehārah and the Beni Jabr round Sūdah, while there are still in Hajjah, Wādi Shīrs, and Mahweit survivors from the old days when the Bekīl Sheikhs were all-powerful in those districts. The Bekīl and Hāshid Sheikhs are on terms of close friendship with the Dhu Husein of Jauf, so much so that the latter are sometimes spoken of as a part of the Bekīl. But there is no doubt that the Dhu Husein are descended from the Ashrāf (Sherifs), and they are therefore dealt with separately. The chief Sheikhs of the Bekīl are 'Abdullah ibn Ghazeilān, Yahya ibn Yahya esh-Shā'if, Nāji' ibn Yahya and Abu Harbah. No personal details are known about them except that they rose with Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt in 1911 against the Imam and have followed his fortunes ever since. The influence of the Seyyids of Hūth is almost as strong amongst the Bekīl as amongst the Hāshid. The Emir Seyyid Ibrāhīm Muhsin er-Rusās of Hūth is their chief Hākim Sherā'i, and he has agents all over their country collecting tithes.

The chief Bekīl tribes are as follows :—

i. Dhu Mohammed

Chief Sheikhs :—

'Abdullah ibn Ghazeilān, of Dhu Ghazeilān.
Yahya ibn Yahya esh-Shā'if, of Shā'if.
Nāji' ibn Yahya, of Āl Ausat.
Abu Harbah.

Range :—

(a) The majority in Barat. Chief villages: Sūq el-'Anan and Rajuzah.

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•101 (*b*) Small sections in Wādi Shīrs, Mahweit, and Hajjah.
Traders, shepherds, and horse-breeders.

619 *Sub-Tribes* :—

622 (*a*) Settled in Barat :—
Dhu Ghazeilān, Shā'if, Āl Ausat, Āl 'Anan, Āl Abu Ras, Dhu Nafeishān, Āl Na'mān, Āl 'Arif, Dhu Hadeyān, Beni Hejlān.
(*b*) Nomads in Barat :—
Sheradrah, Beni Hātim.
(*c*) Settled in Hajjah :—
Dhu Ghazeilān.
(*d*) Settled in Wādi Shīrs :—
Āl Tufeyān. (Muhsin and 'Ali Tufeyān.)
(*e*) Settled in Mahweit :—
Beni Hebeish. (Naqīb Ahmed ibn Hebeish.)

ii. Āl Qa'aiti

Chief Sheikh :—
Yahya el-Qa'aiti.

Range :—
Khabb.

Sub-Tribes :—
Nomads : Ghufārah and Rimanah.

iii. Nihim

Chief Sheikhs :—
Mohammed ibn Misān.
Sālih el-'Awaj.

Range :—
Round Jebel Lōz in Barat.

iv. Beni Jabr.

Chief Sheikhs :—
Sa'd ibn Ahmed et-Tarāf.
'Abdullah et-Tarāf.

Range :—
Mostly settled near Sūdah in the Hāshid country.

Sub-Tribes :—
Beit en-Nini, Beni Nini.

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v. Beni Mālik

Chief Sheikhs :—

Ibn 'Ajmān.
Mohammed el-Kamarāni.

Range :—

Settled south of Beni 'Arjalah in Hāshid country. Chief villages are Rahābah, Harfah, Sayat, Heifah.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled :—
Beni Sinān, Beit el-Haddi, Dā'ūdah, Beni 'Askār, Beni Iswid, Beni Thaqāfah, Beni Kenānah.
(*b*) Nomads :—
Beni Dā'ūd, Beni Fadl, Beni Misbah.

22. *Beni Hubeish*

A Zeidi tribe about 40 miles west of San'ā. Revolted with the Kam'ālah and other Zeidi tribes under Emīr esh-Shibi against the Turks in 1914.

23. *Beni Hibah*

A small Zeidi tribe under the Imam to the east of the Beni Aslam in Hajūr.

24. *Hufāsh*

A tribe between Jebel Melhān and Bājil. They are Zeidis and belong to the Imam, though they come immediately under the authority of the Turks, whom they hate. They are allies of their northern neighbours the Sāri and Mahweit, and also with the Bura' of Jebel Bura'. Chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Yahya.

25. *Beni Husein*

A small Zeidi tribe just to the NW. of Hisn Jemīmah and west of the Beni 'Udhāqah and Jebel Meswar. Pro-Imam. Sheikh, Ahmed Husein. Formerly under Seyyid Ahmed ibn Mohammed el-Kaukebāni, Emir of Kaukebān and the surrounding country. Seyyid Ahmed was defeated by Mukhtār Pasha and died in captivity at San'ā. His family, Beit Sherāf ed-Dīn, fled to Hūth. There is a small Turkish garrison at Hisn Jemīmah.

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26. *Dhu Husein*

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The Dhu Husein are a powerful tribe of Sherifial descent inhabiting the fertile oasis of Jauf. Although somewhat isolated by reason of the distance which separates them from the main centres, they have always kept in close political and commercial touch and have played an important part in the history of the Yemen. Their relations have always been intimate with the Hāshid wa Bekīl, so much so that they are sometimes spoken of as forming an integral part of that confederation. The troubles between the latter and the Imam have had their effect on the Dhu Husein and drawn them into two opposing camps, of which the larger seems to have remained faithful to its old allegiance.

There are several Sheikhs who appear to rank equally in importance. Of these, Sherif Ahmed ibn Husein has always supported the Imam and gave him valuable help against the Turks in 1911. Sherif Muhsin ibn 'Abdullah is also a trusted friend and was sent by the Imam to Aden on a political mission in August 1914. Previously he had commanded an army against the Idrīsi.

The chief opponent of the Imam and a close friend of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt is Husein ibn Thawābah.

The tribe is noted for its fighting qualities, and its Sheikhs are better educated than is commonly the case in Yemen, their capital, Matamah, being a well-known centre of learning. The Dhu Husein go in largely for horse-breeding, and own perhaps the best pedigree stock in Southern Arabia.

The chief sub-tribes are:

Āl Thawābah (Sheikh Husein ibn Thawābah); Beni Furyān (Sheikh Suleimān ibn Ahmed); Dhu Gheilān; Āl Wajhah (Sheikh Nāsir el-Akhram); Dhu 'Akam; Beni 'Aseyān; Beni Hāshim.

27. *Beni Ismā'īl*

A small Shafei tribe in the mountains round Menākhah, numbering about 2,500 souls, and neutral during its siege in 1911. They are now under Turkish domination. They are brave and well armed. Their country is fertile, producing coffee and cereals. The chief Sheikh is 'Ali Muhsin Yahya. The chief clans are: Āl Jaradi, Āl Jebāli, Beni 'Atīyah, Beni Bisher, and Beni Rajab. The chief villages are Masāribah, Jalbein, Jurn Ja'dal, and Jurn 'Arah.

28. *Jāmi'*

A Shafei tribe just north of Loheia and east as far as Zāhirah, which is their chief village. In 1911 they fought the Turks on

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behalf of Idrīsi, but they are now close allies of Ibn El-Heij of the Wa'zāt. The chief Sheikh is Mohammed Zeid, who comes from the Ashrāf of Sabia, and is Mudīr of Zāhirah. He is under his cousin Sherif Hamūd, the Kaimmakam of Loheia, who lives at Mutāridh, and governs the Beni Jāmi' and Wa'zāt.

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29. *Jemīmah*

A small Zeidi tribe living round Jebel Jemīmah, about 15 miles east of Qufl in Hajūr. They are outside Turkish jurisdiction, and are ruled by the Imam's nominee, Seyyid Ahmed ibn Qasīm. Their chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Nāsir.

30. *Beni Juma'ah*

A powerful and independent Zeidi tribe, partly nomad but chiefly settled, living in the country north-east of Abu 'Arīsh almost to Jebel Razah. Eight years ago the important Sheikh, Seyyid ed-Dahyāni, at that time Emir of Sa'dah and district, quarrelled with the Imam and fled to the Beni Juma'ah for protection. Since then he has lived with them and established a firm place for himself amongst them. He is a great friend of the Idrīsi, whom the Beni Juma'ah also support.

31. *Kam'ālah*

A Zeidi tribe about 40 miles west of San'ā, which revolted with the Beni Hubeish and others against the Turks in 1914 under Emīr esh-Shibi.

32. *Khaulān*

There are two branches of this tribe.

(1) Khaulān et-Tawāl. A Zeidi tribe to the east and south of San'ā, inhabiting the country on either side of Wādi Meswar. They are settled and agricultural, and number 7,000 to 8,000 fighting men. Kibs, 3 hours due east of San'ā, is their chief town, and the head-quarters of the influential Seyyid family of Kibs. Seyyid Ahmed Mab'ūth el-Kibsi and his brothers Seyyid Husein and Seyyid Mohammed ibn Ismā'īl are the heads of the family. The Khaulān have always fought for the Imam. The representative of the Imam, who is responsible for the collection of tithes, is Seyyid 'Abbās. The Khaulān dislike the Anīs, and fought them 12 years ago owing to the expulsion of a Khaulāni from Anīs.

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They trace their descent to Ghassān. Sālih ibn Mohammed et-Tawāl is the most important Sheikh of this tribe.

The chief clans are: Beni Jābir ('Abdullah ibn Sa'īd el-Jabri), Beni Kibs (Seyyid Hasan ibn Mohammed el-Kibsi), Yemanyatein ('Abdullah es-Sufi), Beni Dhobyān ('Ali Mahdi Shudeiq), Sihmān ('Ali ibn Yahya el-Qādhi), Beni Sihām (Muhsin ibn Muhsin en-Nini), Sa'b (Sālih ibn Mohammed Talwah).

The chief villages are: Husn Dhobyatein, Dhobeinah, Qada', Beit Nini, Qarwah, Marbūk, Tanam, Shafīq.

(2) Khaulān esh-Shām. A strong fighting Zeidi tribe in the fertile country between Jebel Murran and Jebel Razah due west of Sa'dah. They are related to the southern Khaulān, but are too far off to be in touch with them. They have a good fighting reputation and are allied with the Beni Murran, the Āl 'Ammar, and the Sahār in opposition to the pro-Idrīsi tribes of Jebel Razah. The Imam has a fortress at their chief village, Saqein, from which his representative and one of his chief military leaders, Seyyid Qasīm Seifi, governs the tribes of the district. Here lives also the Paramount Chief, Sheikh Jum'ān ibn Safīq. The country is said to contain gold, and is rich in wheat and coffee, of which last a large quantity is exported into Asir through Dahrān.

Chief divisions: Beni Quteim (Sheikh El-Jā'fari), Āl Thureim (Sheikh El-Hajj), Beni Kumamah (Sheikh Abu Qutābah), Beni Juma'ah (Sheikh Jum'ān ibn Safīq), Kadubah, Marwah (Seyyid 'Abd el-Bāri), Mansūrīyah (Ahmed Yahya Bahr), Quti' (Mohammed Hamūd), Ghanamīyah, Āl Fudhah and Beni Qobah (Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Fudhah), Beni Hāshim (Sheikh 'Abdullah 'Adham), 'Anazah (Sheikh Dabwān). Seyyid Ahmed Yahya Bahr is of great influence in the Tihāmah and looked on by the Suleil, Qahrah, 'Absi, and Zaranik as their religious leader.

Chief villages: Saqein, Tawīlah, and Shi'bah.

33. *Kheirān*

A small and unimportant tribe, allied to the Aflāh, to the east of the Beni Aslam, in Hajūr. Half Zeidi.

34. *Beni Khotab*

A small Zeidi tribe settled about three hours' journey S. of Menākhah. They number about 2,300 souls, and are under the Turks. Chief Sheikh: Husein el-Mudmāni. Chief villages: Hasabar, B. 'Atab, Juda, Beit Madar, Mujwarat el-Kirham.

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35. *Kokha*

A tribe near Mocha, which fired on a ship's cutter of H.M.S. *ama* and killed two men late in 1915. The Sheikh was made risoner, but disavowed complicity, and after being taken to Aden was released. Commerce between Aden and Kokha was forbidden. The Sheikh is a figurehead and powerless, but inimical to the Turks. 101 619 622

36. *Mahweit*

A Zeidi tribe just south of Jebel Milhān. They are directly administered by the Turks, but are in favour of the Imam, and are allies of their southern neighbours the Hufāsh, Sāri, and Bura' of Jebel Bura'.

37. *Makārimah*

A small remnant, numbering about 2,600 men, of the house of Makrami, the ruling family of Yām, still left in the district of Haraz. For 12 years the Makramis held the Emirate of Heima, Haraz, Menākhah and district by gift from the Imam Muhsin, but they were expelled by Mukhtār Pasha in 1872. Their followers who remained behind have little political importance now, and are chiefly engaged in trade. Like the rest of their tribe they are of Ismā'īliyah sect. In 1911 they fought for the Turks against the Imam. They occupy the villages of Mughāribah, Safīyah, Beit el-Hūd, Khiyam, Beit el-Ghail, Beit el-Akhbari, and Qushamīn. Their chief Sheikh is Qā'id el-Luf, who lives at Mughāribah. They are continually at feud with the Shafei, Zeidi, and Dā'ūdīyah tribes of the vicinity.

38. *Manāri*

The mercantile tribe of the district between Loheia and Hodeidah, peace loving and settled. Their chief village is Munīrah ; Seyyid Mohammed en-Niha is their principal Sheikh. They come under 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni and possibly are a section of the Beni Suleil.

39. *Beni Marhab*

A small Zeidi tribe immediately to the west of Zufeir, who come under the Kaimmakam of Hajjah, and are of no political importance.

40. *Masār*

A Zeidi tribe in the mountains round Menākhah, who were neutral during its siege in 1911. They inhabit the Masār block of hills which bears WNW. of the town and ends west of it. The

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chief sheikh of Masār and the villages round it is Ahmed el-Jans, a man of about 55 and a large landowner.

41. *Beni Matar*

A strong Zeidi tribe in the fertile country between Wa'lān and Mefhaq, just north of the Anīs, with whom they are on good terms. They are hostile to the Imam, who assassinated their chief Sheikh, Ibn Rumāh, whilst a guest of his at San'ā in 1905. At present Mohammed ibn Hasan Rumāh is their head, appointed Mudir by the Turks. 'Ali ibn 'Ali es-Salāmi of Hijrat Ibn Madi is another important chief.

42. *Mekhādir*

A small Zeidi tribe half an hour south of Jiblah. For many years they were ruled by representatives of the Wad'ah section of the Hāshid, until Mukhtār Pasha subdued Yemen and banished Ahmed ibn Muqbil el-Wada'i to his own country.

43. *Mesrūh*

A small Zeidi tribe under the Imam, just to the south of the Khamsīn, in the mountains about 30 miles east of Mīdi.

44. *Metwah*

A tribe in the mountains round Menākhah, which was neutral during its siege in 1911. Of the Dā'ūdīyah sect.

45. *Ahl Milhān*

These live in a mountain district N. of Wādi Sardūd and E. of the Suleil country. It is a small district but very fertile, with a population estimated at 10,000. The principal Sheikh is Ibrāhīm Hasan es-Sujaf of Khuslah. The clans are: Ma'zibah, Habbāt, Beni Useifri, Hamdān, Beni 'Ali, Jubah, Yamamīyah, Beni Wahhāb, Āl 'Asabah, Āl Khuslah, Surub, and Āl Mahras.

46. *Beni Mohammed*

A small tribe east of Kamarān. South of the Beni Qeis and between Zeidīyah and the hills. Sheikh, 'Ali Saghīr. 250 fighting men.

47. *Muqātil*

A warlike tribe in the hilly country between Menākhah and Mefhaq, Hīsn 'Awwād being their chief fortress. During the siege

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of Menākhah in 1911 their country was overrun by the Imam's troops, and they fought against him in self-defence. They bear no love to the Turks, but on that occasion were glad to receive arms and food from the Kaimmakam of Menākhah in return for their help. They are of the Dā'ūdīyah sect and are markedly hostile to their Zeidi co-religionists, such as the Anīs. They muster between 2,400 and 2,700 fighting men, and are allied with the Beni Murrah and Beni Ahlās.

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48. *Beni Murrah*

A small tribe of the Dā'ūdīyah sect, inhabiting with the Muqātil and Beni Ahlās, their allies, the country between Menākhah and Mefhaq. They have no love for the Turks, and equally little for the Imam and his followers, whom they fought in 1911. They number about 2,500 souls and their mountainous country produces coffee and *kat*. The chief Sheikh is Hibah Murrah, a rich old man. The chief villages are: Luqmat el-Qādhi, Hamīdi, Luqmat el-Miq'ab, Hisn Ibn ez-Ziyād, and Zayah.

49. *Beni Murran*

The Beni Murran inhabit the rich coffee country round Jebel Murran which lies a few miles W. of Sa'dah. Their chief village is at Tawīlah on the slopes of Jebel Murran. The tribe, reported strong, supports the Imam and fought for him against Idrīsi in 1911. Hizām ibn Qā'id et-Tawāfi is Paramount Chief, and the Imam's representative is Seyyid Qasīm ibn Yahya. The chief divisions are Beni Sa'd, Beni Dheiba'i, Hawāzim, Hijrah, and Hadahidah.

50. *Qafalīyah*

A small Zeidi tribe attached to the Imam, north-east of the Beni Aslam in Hajūr.

51. *Beni Qeis*

The Beni Qeis occupy Wādi Maur and Wādi La'ah from their confluence near Raighah for a day's march E. The country is well watered with springs and running streams. Their hill camels take over caravans coming from the plains and carry up the traffic through the difficult passes leading to Sūq Shiris and Hajjah. The principal Sheikh is 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni of Raighah, whose father was Kaimmakam and very influential. But the Beni Qeis now incline towards the Idrīsi. They are about 2,000 men. The principal villages are Raighah, Tōr, and Musallam.

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52. *Quhrah*

101 An important tribe on the first stages of the Hodeidah–San'ā road from the sea, for about 50 miles E., as far as Hajeilah. Their neighbours are: on the N. the Jarābihah; E. the tribes of Jebel Haraz and Jebel Bura'; and S. the 'Abs. Between the coast and Bājil, 25 miles, the country is mostly desert, and the inhabitants live in temporary huts in the Khabt: but E. of Bājil there is cultivation. The Quhrah own many camels, and transport from Hodeidah to Hajjeilah is mainly in their hands. They can put from 3,000 to 4,000 men in the field, and they gave valuable help to the Turks in 1911 when these occupied the Zahab heights. They are generally at feud with the Beni Suleil.

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The chief Sheikh is Mu'āfa Sherāf. Others are Hasan 'Abdullah and Ibrāhīm 'Ali. The chief villages are: Bājil (Sheikh 'Ayad ibn 'Ali Humeidah), Buhāh, 'Ubāl, and Hajjeilah (Seyyid Husein 'Ali).

53. *Rada'ah*

A Zeidi tribe living round the town of the same name ESE. of Dhamār. They are descended from Qahtān, and are chiefly cultivators and traders. Their chief Sheikh is Hamūd ibn Mohammed, who comes under the Turkish mutesarrif of Rada'ah.

54. *Rahāminah*

A small tribe south-west of Zebīd between Zebīd and Wādi Suweirah.

55. *Ahl Razah*

A Zeidi tribe living round Jebel Razah to the west of the Khaulān esh-Shām and Sa'dah. They are supporters of Idrīsi, and their country was the scene of the first fighting between Idrīsi and the Imam in 1912. Their chief fortress is Hisn en-Nazīr, situated on the slopes of Jebel Razah. The country is fertile, and coffee is largely grown, while there is said to be gold in the mountains. They claim descent from Khazraj, and acknowledge as chiefs Sheikh Ahmed ibn Sālih and Seyyid 'Ali ibn Huseini. The chief clan is the Dhu Hātim (Sheikh Sa'd 'Abdullah). Seyyid Yahya 'Arār ibn Nāsir, one of Idrīsi's chief muqdamis, administers the country of both the Ahl Razah and the Beni Juma'ah.

56. *Ahl Reimah*

The Ahl Reimah occupy the fertile Reimah massif, always spoken of by Arabs as the finest district in Yemen. Coffee, fruits of all

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sorts, and cereals are produced. The district is bounded on the N. by J. Bura' and Wādi Sihām; E. by Salfīyah and J. 'Utmah; S. by Wādi Reimah, and W. by the 'Abs and Zaranik districts. The Sheikh is Murshid ibn Mohammed el-Jābi, who is Turkish Kaimmakam. The Mudir is Seyyid Mahmūd. There are said to be seventy Sheikhs and seventy districts in J. Reimah, and a total strength of over 50,000 men. The principal clans are: Beni Waghid, Jad, Sa'īd, Walīd, Mukhtār, Tuleibi, Mas'ab, Ghuzi, Nomah, Yafuz, Ahl Dalamlam, Beni Harazi, Ahmed, Khudam, Ahl Jābi, and Beni en-Nahāri. The last defeated a Turkish expedition sent to collect taxes in 1914 and captured the Kaimmakam of Menākhah. Their chief Sheikh is Seyyid 'Abdullah en-Nahāri. His brother, the late Sheikh, Yahya, was defeated by the Turks, and died a captive. This clan is generally on bad terms with the Anīs.

Principal villages: Jābi (head-quarters of the district and of Sheikh Murshid), Raubat en-Nahāri (Sūq of Sheikh Murshid), Kusmah, 'Alujah (Sūq of Sheikh Mahmūd), and Hadīyah.

57. *Beni Sa'fān*

A tribe in the mountains WNW. of Menākhah, and separated from it by the Masār block of the Dā'ūdīyah sect. They helped the Turks in 1911, and 'Abdullah Beshīr, their Sheikh, by his friendly co-operation, enabled the Turks to turn the Imam's flank and relieve Menākhah. He is about 65, an experienced fighter. The tribe is a large one, numbering nearly 10,000 souls. It is generally on bad terms with the neighbouring Shafei, Zeidi, and Ismā'īlīyah tribes.

The chief clans are: Beni 'Ali Yahya and Beni Hārūn. The chief villages are: Metwah, Za'lah, Ashkar, Jari, Sharaji, Mujwan, and Hijri.

58. *Sahār*

The Sahār are a fairly numerous tribe, of which the settled portion lives in and round the town of Sa'dah and is engaged in agriculture and trading. Owing to internal disunion and an absence of tribal feeling it does not possess the political importance which its numbers should warrant. The villagers are all under the authority of the Imam, but the nomads are almost completely independent and are accustomed to range far afield to the north and east in the direction of Nejrān and Barat. The tribe keeps on good terms as a rule with its neighbours, the Hāshid and the Arabs of Khaulān esh-Shām.

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'Ali Ma'wad is the chief Sheikh of the settled portion. Seyyid Ahmed and Qasīm el-Hāshimi are the representatives of the Imam.

Settled :—

Chief clans : Beni Hāzim (Sheikh Tabrān Muqbil), Beni Sa'd (Sheikh Taheir), Beni Hamdān and Āl Nuqeim (Sheikh Hamdān el-Jirbi), Beni Dhufeir (Sheikh 'Abdullah Dahmi), Beni Sineidar (Sheikh Ahmed Sineidar), Beni Hurān and Beni 'Umarah (Seyyid Qasīm), Beni Jurmān (Ahmed el-Hāshimi), Beni Juma'ah (Sheikh Dahmash).

Nomads :—

Chief clans : Āl Sinān and 'Amālaqah (Sheikh Sālih Qādir), Beni 'Ajlah and Beni Hureimah (Sheikh Ibn el-'As), Beni Shāmi and Beni Beddar (Sheikh 'Ali el-Wada'i), Beni 'Awad and Beni Haddād (Sheikh Mansūr el-Haddād).

59. *Sāri*

A tribe just north of the Hufāsh and south of the Ahl Jebel Milhān, whose chief Sheikh is Sālih ibn Muslih. They are Zeidis and under the Imam, but their country is administered by the Turks, whom they hate. Allied with their northern neighbours, the Mahweit, also with the Hufāsh and Bura'.

60. *Senhān*

A small Zeidi tribe stretching from just south of San'ā to Mehāqarah and the northern edge of the Bilād er-Ruhus. On the east they are bounded by the Khaulān. They are entirely devoted to cultivation, and number about 700 men. Seyyid Mohammed Sibsib of Mehāqarah is the chief Sheikh. The tribe is loyal to the Imam, who has his representative, the Qādhi Lutf ez-Zubeir, living there.

The chief villages are : Na'd, Jūzah, Qulfān, Hazyaz, Lubād, Safīyah, Mehāqarah, and Sha'asān.

61. *Serbih*

Their stronghold is Da'ān, 3 hours north of 'Amrān. Their chief is Sheikh Rājih, who was granted the grade of Mirmirān before the Constitution and was made Pasha to secure his loyalty, but he remained staunch to the Imam and fought against the Turks in 1911. Peace was signed at Da'ān between 'Izzet Pasha and the Imam in 1911.

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62. *Ahl Sha'ir*

A large and peaceful tribe inhabiting the district round Jebel Sha'ir in Southern Yemen. They cultivate *kat* and cereals in the fertile valley of Wādi Bana. Their paramount Sheikh is Sālih ibn Yahya Hizām, of the Beni Hizām, who comes under the Kaimmakam of Qa'tabah. Sheikh Hajj el-Kabs of the Beni Kabs and Yahya el-Qeishi are also important men in the tribe.

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63. *Shamar*

A small Zeidi tribe attached to the Imam, north-east of the Beni Aslam, in Hajūr.

64. *Shemsān*

A small Zeidi tribe numbering about 1,000 souls, east of the Beni Ghill in Hajūr. They pay outward allegiance to the Imam, but are said to favour the Idrīsi. Their chief is Seyyid Yahya ibn el-Hādi.

65. *Beni Suleil*

The Beni Suleil occupy a large area from the coast opposite Kamarān to the foot of the hills below Jebel Milhān. On the north they have the Bu'ajah, Za'līyah, and Beni Qeis, on the east the Beni Qeis, and on the south the Hashābiri, who are perhaps really only one of their sections.

The main road, which runs north and south through the Tihāmah near the foot of the hills, passes through their country, as well as that of those other tribes mentioned above, and they and the Beni Qeis control the caravan trade going up to the Wādi Maur. Estimates of their numbers vary from 1,500 to 10,000 fighting men. The western part of their territory is desert, but they have a good deal of cultivable land under the foot-hills in the east.

The tribe supports the Turks, and their two chief men, 'Abdullah el-Bōni and 'Abdullah Kauzi, have each received the title of Pasha and been appointed Kaimmakam of Zeidīyah and Mudir of Kenāwuz respectively. They are friendly with the Wa'zāt but independent of them. Towards the Quhrah they are always hostile.

Their chief villages are: Zeidīyah (Sheikh 'Ali Nukar), Kenāwuz, Ibn 'Abbās, and Salīf on the coast. There are important salt-works at the last named, and a jetty where sea-going ships come alongside.

66. *Ahl el-'Ūd*

A large and peaceful tribe living about 13 miles north-west of Qa'tabah, and coming under the Turkish Kaimmakam of that place.

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They live round Jebel Madra, and cultivate *kat* and cereals in Wādi Bana. Hizām es-Sayādi is their chief Sheikh.

67. *Udhāqah*

A Zeidi tribe who claim descent from 'Anazah and 'Adnān, and live round Jebel Meswar to the west of 'Amrān, where there is a strong fortress at present occupied by the Turks. Their Emir is Seyyid Mohammed ibn El-Hādi, a servant of the Imam.

68. *Wa'zāt*

The Wa'zāt occupy the country to the north of Loheia, which has been the scene of the recent fighting between the Turks and the Idrīsi. To the north Wādi 'Ain and Wādi Wārith form the boundary between them and the pro-Idrīsi tribe of Beni 'Abs; to the east are the Beni Nashar; to the south their boundary is the Wādi Maur, including Mutāridh and Ghanamah, but not Zāhirah, which belongs to the Beni Jāmi'. Their chief villages are Mu'lūq, near Jebel 'Izzān in the district of Jarb, and Deiramshuma, a fortified Turkish post about an hour south of Wādi el-'Ain. The paramount Sheikh is Hādi ibn Ahmed el-Heij, a staunch supporter of the Turks who, always anxious to encourage the Sunni opponents of the Idrīsi, have made him Pasha and Mudir of the district. He comes second to the Sherif Hamūd, one of the Ashrāf of Sabia who have seceded from the Idrīsi, and who as Kaimmakam of Loheia governs the Wa'zāt and their allies, the Beni Jāmi'. Ibn El-Heij has long been opposed to the Idrīsi, and three years ago the Idrīsi captured his brother 'Abdullah and still holds him prisoner. With the Beni 'Abs the Wa'zāt have an ancient feud. During the Turko-Italian War Ibn el-Heij wavered in his allegiance and took money from the Italians, but in the past two years he has been most active on the Turkish side. In September 1915 he raided the Beni 'Abs and was wounded. The Idrīsi retaliated by cutting off his supplies, and Ibn el-Heij, finding himself short of food, and his followers beginning to desert, appealed to the Imam for help. The latter sent the discouraging reply that he would send troops if they were fed.

The Wa'zāt are reported to number between 1,500 to 3,000 fighting men. Sheikh 'Ali Ibrāhīm is the most important Sheikh after Hādi ibn Heij.

69. *Ya'bir*

A tribe of the Ismā'īlīyah sect in the district of Haraz, which sided with the Turks against the Imam in 1911.

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70. *Yām*

The Yām tribes form a powerful confederation. They stretch from the northern boundary of the Bekīl in Barat up the Wādi Nejrān and Wādi Habūnah far to the north in the direction of Tathlīth and Wādi Dawāsir. 101 619

Joseph Halévy, the only European who has visited their country, found it in 1870 a fertile and productive region inhabited by a well-to-do population. In religion they are Ismā'īlīyah and are known to the rest of Yemen as the Mu'tazilah or isolated sect; but as Wādi Nejrān was the last refuge of Christianity, and has remained far removed from external influence, it is possible that traces of the ancient worship still exist. Halévy was not long enough in the country to verify this, but the tolerance and even favour which he found extended to the Jews in Mikhlāf were hardly in the spirit of strict Mohammedanism. The religious chiefs are probably more orthodox than the bulk of the inhabitants, since they are in communication, not only with the chief Ashrāf of Yemen, but with the Āgha Khān, their spiritual head. 622

The ruling family is that of Makrami, descended from their famous ancestor who in the middle of the eighteenth century preached his reforming gospel from Nejrān to Hasa. About the middle of the nineteenth century they developed ideas of expansion and obtained from the Imam Muhsin in 1860 the Emirate of Heima, Haraz, and Menākhah. Their tenure, however, was short-lived, as in 1872 they were defeated and banished to their own country by Mukhtār Pasha. There is still a small remnant of the tribe, calling themselves the Makārimah, in the Haraz district, who fought for the Turks in 1911 but are chiefly traders and have little political importance.

The present Emir of Nejrān is Ismā'īl el-Makrami, who owes no allegiance. His tribesmen, however, are willing as a rule to serve as mercenaries with either the Imam or the Turks, if well paid. They have a reputation for ruthless bravery. Idrīsi has been in negotiation with them at various times during the present war, hoping with their help to force the Imam's hand against the Turks, but up to the present without result.

71. *Beni Zāfir*

A small tribe of Hajar el-Yemen living in Mikhlāf esh-Shems which is noted for its fruits, coffee, and *kat*. Formerly they were counted as in the Turkish Merkaz of Qufl, but after the treaty of 1911 between the Turks and the Imam they came under the juris-

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diction of the latter. They are Zeidis, good fighters, and allied with the neighbouring Zeidi tribes of Beni Ghill and Beni 'Azīz.

72. *Za'līyah*

A small tribe immediately to the south of Loheia and the Wādi Maur down to the Beni Suleil. They are independent of the Wa'zāt, their northern neighbours, and come under 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni. Sheikh Hādi 'Ali, living at Dār el-Muhannab, is their chief Sheikh. They number 400 men.

73. *Zaranik* (*Dharāniq*)

A powerful and warlike tribe divided into two sections, the Zaranik esh-Shām and Zaranik el-Yemen, and occupying the country between the sea and the hills from a few miles north of Beit el-Faqīh almost to Zebīd. The Zaranik have for long been a thorn in the side of the Turks, especially during the Turco-Italian War. Repeated expeditions have failed to subdue them, but latterly there have been reports that part of the highland section, under Sheikh 'Ali ibn Hamūd, have succumbed to Turkish bribes. Mohammed Yahya Fashīk, the chief of the lowland section and paramount over the whole tribe, living at Huseinīyah, nine miles north of Zebīd, has, however, continued to hold out stoutly. In November 1915 he made common cause with the Idrīsi in taking active measures against the Turks, and has succeeded in effectually cutting all communications in the Tihāmah from north to south. At the beginning of 1916 he was attacked by an irregular force from Mocha, increased by 300 Arabs under the leadership of Abela Effendi, the brother of Elias 'Osmān, Kaimmakam of Mocha, but unsuccessfully. In May 1916 he again took the offensive and looted the Turkish serai in Beit el-Faqīh. The two most important Sheikhs after Sheikh Fashīk, and closely allied with him, are Shāmi and Munāsar Saghīr of Kokar, chiefs of the Highland section. Other Sheikhs, of whom nothing is known save their names, are 'Abdullah Munāsar of Huseinīyah, Nāsir Jurmush, Ismā'īl Ahmed, Sheikh of Qaramshah, 'Abdullah Duneidinah of Zebīd, Ahmed Risqallah of the Āl 'Ali, Hasan Rīsh of Jīz, Samūd of Āl Mūsa, Hasan Mubārak Umm Faza', and Ibrāhīm Dhumbi of Direihimi.

74. *Zufeir*

Small Zeidi tribe 5 miles north of the Hajjah, with whom they are allied. They come under the Kaimmakam of Hajjah, but are said to dislike the Turks and to have lost confidence in the Imam.

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ambition to add fresh territories to his dominions and become the ruling force in the Hadhramaut.

He has three brothers, 'Omar, Husein, and Manassar—all of whom he has quarrelled with and expelled from the country.

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1. *'Abābid* (sing. *'Abbādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Felej Shirāh in Wādi Fara', in Western Hajar.

2. *'Abādilah* (sing. *'Abdūli*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,200 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Shārjah town, Ghāllah in Shameilīyah, Khaleibīyah, near Wādi Hām, and on Sheikh Shu'aib Island.

3. *'Abriyīn* (sing. *'Abri*)

A tribe of Nizāri descent in the Oman Sultanate, belonging to the Ghāfiri political faction; in religion they are mostly Ibadhis, but a small minority are Sunnis. They are found in Dhāhirah at 'Arāqi; in Western Hajar at 'Awābi, at 'Aqair in Wādi Shāfān, at Zāmmah and Hāt in Wādi Beni 'Auf, at Beit el-Qarn in Wādi Fara', at Tabāqah in Wādi Beni Ghāfir, and at 'Amq, Fashah, Maqamma, and Mabu in Wādi Sahtan; in Oman Proper at Bahlah, Farq, Ghamr, and Hamra: their number is estimated at 6,500 souls. They cultivate dates and corn and are generally a well-behaved and peaceable tribe. They are the real masters of 'Awābi, but Bahlah is their tribal capital and Hamra their largest separate village.

4. *Beni 'Adi* (sing. *'Adwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 5,000 souls; Hināwi in politics, settled chiefly in Western Hajar at the villages of Sawālih, Murbah, Qasra, Ghashab, and Wabil in Wādi Fara', but also found on the coast at Quryāt and at Ghuweisah in the sub-vilayet of Saham.

Those at Ghashab belong to a section called Beni Bakr.

5. *'Ajam, or Persians* (sing. *'Ajmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 10,000 souls, mostly now arabized Shiahs; settled at Muscat town and in

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Bātinah at Masna'ah, Suweiq, Sūr esh-Shiyādi, Ghuweisah, Liwa, and Sohār; also in Ru'ūs el-Jibāl at Bakhah.

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6. *Āl 'Ali* (sing. *'Aliyi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 6,750 souls, including 140 families of Bedouins; Ghāfiri in politics and professedly Hanbali, though virtually Wahabite, in religion. The settled portion are at Umm el-Qaiwein, Shārjah, and Ras el-Kheimah; the Bedouins between Umm el-Qaiwein and Jezirat el-Hamra and inland to Felej Āl-'Ali. They claim connexion with the Muteir of Nejd. There is a branch 3,500 strong in the Shibkūh district across the Gulf.

7. *Beni 'Ali* (sing. *'Alawi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,500 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar at Wuqbah, Heil Beni 'Ali, Yanqul, Murri, and Felej Sedeiriyīn, and in Bātinah at Saham town. Their tribal capital is Yanqul. They are a leading Hināwi tribe who have generally supported the present ruling family of Muscat. They grow grain and dates.

8. *Beni Bu 'Ali* (sing. *'Alawi*)

The principal Ghāfiri tribe of the Ja'lān and Sharqīyah districts in the Sultanate of Oman. They are partly nomadic and partly settled: the Bedouin portion inhabit Ja'lān and possess considerable herds of camels and goats, while the settled portion cultivate dates and corn in the Beled Beni Bu 'Ali oasis, and are found also at Sūr and at Ras er-Ruweis, Suweih, Khōr Beni Bu 'Ali, Jumeilah, and Lashkarah, on the SE. coast of Oman, where they are mostly mariners and fishermen. A few occur at Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah.

Some authorities connect the Beni Bu 'Ali with the Āl 'Ali of Trucial Oman and the Shibkūh district of Persia.

They number in all about 7,000 souls, of whom 1,000 are Bedouins. They became Wahabites at the time of the Nejdi invasions of Oman about a century ago, and as late as 1845 were strict if not fanatical in the observance of Wahabite principles. They have since relaxed somewhat and now smoke tobacco, but they continue to be exact in the forms and times of prayer and are accounted the most religious tribe in the Oman Sultanate. They belong to a Wahabite sect known as Azraqah.

They are on the average men of middle size with short features and quick, deep-set eyes; gloomy and determined in expression and

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• 101 character; warlike and independent, with a high reputation for courage and dash.

619 Their favourite weapon was originally a thin, straight, two-edged sword, sharp as a razor and attached by a leather thong to a shield 14 inches in diameter, in addition to which they carried matchlocks;
622 their armament is now more modern, but they still have few breech-loaders (1905).

They are the only tribe of the Sultanate who have met a British force on land. On November 9, 1820, they defeated a force of British Indian Sepoys at Beled Beni Bu 'Ali, and on March 2, 1821, suffered severe retribution near the same place. On the latter occasion the tribe lost heavily in killed and wounded, the town and fort were destroyed, and a large number of prisoners were taken, including the principal Sheikh, Mohammed ibn 'Ali; but the date-groves were spared—an act of clemency that was much appreciated and is still remembered. The prisoners, after being kept for two years at Bombay, were repatriated and received grants of money from the Indian Government to enable them to rebuild their houses and restore irrigation. Since this episode the tribe have uniformly shown themselves well disposed to the British and have treated hospitably more than one British traveller, but they have never fully regained their position in tribal politics.

They have a chronic feud with their neighbours the Beni Bu Hasan.

The following are the chief sections, &c., of the tribe:

Section.	*Subsection.*	*Fighting strength* (1905).
Fahûd	Fahûd	50
	Muwâridah	60
	Rewâtilah	50
Ja'âfarah	Ghanâbîs	200
	Beni Ibrâhim	120
	Âl Abu Muqbil	200
	Aulâd Sakhîlah	40
	Salâbîkhah	50
Rezîq (Beni)	Âl Hamâdah	200
	Aulâd Hasan	100
	Aulâd 'Abd el-Jalîl	40
	Aulâd Khanjar	40
Sinadah	Majâghamah	60
	Mazâmilah	100 } In addition about 1,000
	Aulâd Seif	50 } Bedouins.

9. *Âl Bu 'Amîm* (sing. *'Amîmi*)

A small tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 120 souls; settled in Abu Dhabi town, now merged in the Beni Yâs, originally belonging to the Beni Tamîm.

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10. *Beni 'Arābah* (sing. *'Arābi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls, of unascertained politics and religion, found chiefly in Wādi Tāyin at Sibal, Qurr, Hammām, and Shāt. They are said to have been a large tribe once, but cholera killed off a great number. They have been at feud with the Siyābiyīn for many years, but relations are less strained now. The singular form 'Arābi is avoided because it means a hill donkey.

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11. *Beni 'Auf* (sing. *'Aufi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering in all 1,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion. They are found in Oman Proper at Farq in Wādi Kalbu; in Western Hajar at Qasmītein and Teikha in Wādi Beni 'Auf, at Fara', Misfāh, and Nāzīyah in Wādi Fara', and at 'Awaih in Wādi Beni Khawās.

12. *'Awāmir* (sing. *'Amiri*)

A large tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering probably 10,000 souls; of Nizāri descent, but now Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; about 6,500 are settled and 3,500 are Bedouins.

To take the settled portion first: in Oman Proper they possess the villages of 'Aqīl, Qal'at el-'Awāmir, Felej, Hameidhah, Qurīyatein, Qārūt, Khurmah, Shāfa', Seiyāhi, and Sūq el-Qadīm, and are found at Nizwa; they occur also at Muscat town, Beit el-Felej, and Ruwi in the Muscat district; at Ghallah and Sād in Wādi Bōshar; at Heil Āl 'Umeir, Sīb, and Ma'bīlah in Bātinah; at Khōdh in Wādi Semā'il and at Khubār and Luwīz in Daghmar. Their sections are Aulād Ahmed, Aulād 'Ali ibn Hamad, Aulād 'Ali ibn Khalf, Aulād Amīr, Harāmilah, Ja'āfarah, Aulād el-Jā'id, Khanājirah, Mohammed, Aulād Mūsa, Rakhbah, Aulād Rāshid, Aulād Saba, Aulād Seif, Aulād Salīm, Aulād Sand, Sarāhīn, Sarāhīn el-Muweilah, and Aulād Shīrāz; at Sīb a section called Aulād Maheyyi is found.

The Bedouin portion range the borders of the Ruba' el-Khāli from Trucial Oman in the north, which they occasionally visit in small numbers, to the district of Dhofār on the southern coast of Arabia. A term 'Afār frequently used in connexion with the 'Awāmir appears to denote a portion of the tribe inhabiting a territory, called 'Afār, between Mahōt and Dhofār; it includes representatives of many sections. The 'Afār are popularly supposed to feed upon carrion: they deny this, but they wear skins and admit that they are not infrequently reduced to devouring them.

The 'Awāmir are reputed brave and warlike but crafty, treacherous,

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and predatory; they are said to plunder indiscriminately all whom they meet, not excepting members of their own tribe with whom they happen to be unacquainted.

They speak a peculiar dialect of Arabic, which varies to such an extent that the westernmost Bedouin sections are hardly understood by their settled brethren in Oman Proper.

The 'Awāmir are at feud with the Jannabah and the Darū'.

13. *'Awānāt* (sing. *'Awāni*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, now practically extinct; about 50 are found at Khatt and Jezīrat el-Hamra. Some even deny that these 50 are genuine 'Awānāt.

14. *Āl* (or *'Ayāl*) *'Azīz* (sing. *'Azīzi*)

A small tribe, numbering 700 souls; settled in Dhank town in Dhāhirah; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi and Sunni. They are usually reckoned as Na'īm (see p. 581), but their true origin is not known.

15. *Beni 'Azzān* (sing. *'Azzāni*)

A very small tribe, numbering 20 souls; settled in Nakhl in Western Hajar; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

16. *Badā'ah* (sing. *Bada'i*)

A small tribe, numbering 120 souls; settled in Bidit in Wādi Mabrah in Western Hajar; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi

17. *Āl Badar* (sing. *Badari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,200 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Barkah and Billah in Bātinah.

18. *Bahārinah* (sing. *Bahrāni*)

Bahrāni does not mean 'native of Bahrein'. It is the name of the race, or class, to which nearly all the Shiahs of the Bahrein Islands, of the Hasa and Qatīf oases, and the Qatar promontory belong. The Sunni inhabitant of Bahrein describes himself as Ahl el-Bahrein. As employed along the western coast of the Persian Gulf the term Bahrāni is practically a synonym for a Shiah whose mother tongue is Arabic.

Altogether the Bahārinah number not less than 100,000 souls, of whom only 850 are in Oman, viz. 250 in Sohār town in the Oman

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Sultanate and 600 in the towns of Abu Dhabi and Dibai in Trucial Oman. They are all Shiahs, unwarlike in character and engaged in peaceful pursuits; the richer living by trade and the poorer by husbandry, pearl-diving, and various handicrafts. 101 619 622

The local tradition is that they are descended from Arab tribes who were converted to Shiism 300 years ago, but some European writers are inclined to regard them as aborigines conquered by the Arabs.

19. *Beni Bahri* (sing. *Bahri*)

A small tribe of 500 souls; settled in Western Hajar at 'Aliya and 'Awābi in Wādi Beni Kharūs and at Hibra in Wādi Ma'āwal; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

20. *Balūchi, or Balūsh* (sing. *Balūshi*)

In Baluchistan the word *Balōch* is strictly used to designate certain respectable middle-class tribes of the country only; but in the Gulf of Persia and Oman it is used in a wider sense to include all immigrants from Baluchistan and persons whose mother tongue is the Baluchi language.

In the Oman Sultanate there are 20,000 Baluchis excluding Jadgāls, who in Baluchistan are reckoned as Balōchis but here are designated under their proper name from other Balūsh. In Trucial Oman they number 1,400.

In religion they are seldom Shiahs, even abroad, and they settle more readily among Arab than Persian communities. They were originally introduced as mercenaries, and are still largely in military service. The rest incline to sea-faring occupations, and some have amalgamated with the Arabs inland.

Their distribution is as below:

In the Sultanate:—

Muscat District	Muscat town, Matrah, Sidāb, Qābil 'Ali ibn Zamān, Mizra' el-'Alawi.
Bātinah	Sīb, Barkah, Sūr el-Balūsh, Saham, Sūr Heyyān, Masna'ah, Wudām, Suweiq, Shīlu, Sallān, Majīs, Sohār, Haseifin, Liwa, Shināṣ, Haseifin Sūr el-Balūsh.
Western Hajar	Buweirid in Wādi Fara'.
Eastern Hajar	Quryāt.
Dhāhirah	'Ar.qi and Aflāj Beni Qitab.
Ja'lān	Ijdu.

In Trucial Oman at:—

Dibai town.
Ghāllah.
Ras el-Kheimah.

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21. *Beni Battāsh* (sing. *Battāshi*)

101 619 622 A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 7,000 souls of Yemeni descent; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Wādi Tāyīn, where they occupy a large number of villages including Heil el-Ghāf, and found also in Wādis Maih, Hilu, and Beni Battāsh, at Daghmar and Quryāt, and at one or two other places on the coast of the Muscat district. They bear a good character and are peaceable, concerning themselves chiefly with trade and the cultivation of dates. It is said that they used to breed horses for the Indian market on grazing grounds near Quryāt, but they have long ceased to do so.

They are sometimes at feud with the Siyābiyīn.

Their sections are the following:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Location.*	*Remarks.*
Beni Dhakar	150	Wādi Beni Battāsh	
Aulād Fāris	200	Wādi Beni Battāsh	
Beni Ghasein	80	Madeirah in Wādi Tāyīn	Shepherds
Aulād Hazam	60	Madeirah in Wādi Tāyīn	Shepherds
Aulād Jumaʻah	50	Mazāraʻ in Wādi Tāyīn	Carriers and date-growers
Maʻāshirah	550	Yiti, Bandar Kheirān, and Kheisat esh-Sheikh on the Muscat coast; Mizraʻ el-ʻAlawi, Mizraʻ el-Hadri, and Rijaʻ in Wādi Maih. Hiwar and Felej el-Hilam in Wādi el-Hilu	
Aulād Mālik	120	ʻAqair, &c., in Wādi Beni Battāsh	Carriers and date-growers
Aulād Salt	120	ʻAqair, &c., in Wādi Beni Battāsh	Carriers and date-growers
Beni ʻUmr	650	Hida, ʻUqdah, ʻAjma, Malahlah Gheiyān, Sīdafi and Rikākīyah in Wādi Tāyīn	
Aulād Ward	30	Lashkhar in Wādi Tāyīn	Date-growers

22. *Bawārih* (sing. *Bārihi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 120 souls; Hināwi in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at ʻAdeibah in the Muscat district.

23. *Bayāsirah* (sing. *Bayāsar*)

A community or tribe of inferior social status, found everywhere in Oman, but specially at Nakhl, Bahlah, and Nizwa, and in the coast towns of Muscat, Matrah, Saham, and Sohār; they also

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occur at various places in Wādi Semā'il and at Misinnah and Mali in Wādi Beni Ghāfir. Their origin is doubtful; some authorities state that they are of Hadhramaut origin, but most of them appear to be the children of Oman Arabs by slave mothers. They are not united either in religion or politics. They are peaceable and industrious and some have accumulated wealth, but the Arabs do not entrust them with command, and they are accustomed to remove their sandals before kissing the hand of a Sheikh.

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They number perhaps 10,000 souls, and are connected among others with the following tribes:

Beni Hasan, 400 houses.
Beni Ruwāhah, 70 houses.
Beni Battāsh, 30 houses.
Habūs, 20 houses.

A few have emigrated to Dhofār Proper and are settled in cultivation at Hamrān.

Their sections are:

Aulād Barakein.
Aulād 'Abdu.
Aulād Subāh.
Āl Khaseib.
Aulād Hamad.
Aulād 'Ubeidān.

24. *Bidāh* (sing. *Bidāhi*)

A small tribe of 100 souls of Yemeni origin; settled at Dūt in Wādi Dhank in Dhāhirah and at Bidit in Wādi Mabrah in Western Hajar; in politics Ghāfiri. Their religious sect is not ascertained; they are sometimes at feud with the Miyāyihah Ibadhis.

25. *Bidūwāt* (sing. *Bidwi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Hināwi in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at Fuleij Bin Qafeyyir in Western Hajar and at Khadrawein in Bātinah. A few Bedouins among them.

26. *Āl Bōshar* (sing. *Bōshari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; settled in Wādi Semā'il; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion.

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27. *Yāl Breik* (sing. *Breiki*)

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A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, in religion partly Sunni and partly Ibadhi; settled in Bātinah at Masna'ah, Shirs, Qasbiyāt Yāl Breik, Dīl Yāl Breik, Umm el-Ja'ārīf, and Saham town.

28. *Daheilāt* (sing. *Ad-heili*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 200 souls; settled in Abu Dhabi town; by some regarded as a section of the Āl Bu Maheir.

29. *Dahāminah* (sing. *Dahmāni*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 150 souls; Sunni in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Wādi el-Qōr at Raha, Fashrah, and Nuslah, and close by at Manei'i.

30. *Dalālūl* (sing. *Dallal*)

An inferior caste who trade in cattle; they really belong to various tribes, and their name is simply taken from their occupation. They number 800 souls, and are settled in Western Hajar at Mahādhar and Hawājiri in Wādi Fara'. In politics they are Ghāfiri.

31. *Darāmikah* (sing. *Darmaki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Oman Proper at Saddi and Izki and in Bātinah at Mureir es-Saghīrah.

32. *Darū'* (sing. *Dara'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, belonging to the Ghāfiri faction: originally they were all nomads of the Ruba' el Khāli, but some are now settled at Tana'am and other places in Dhāhirah and a few at Barkah in Bātinah. Estimates of their numbers differ very widely: those in Dhāhirah may amount to 3,000 souls, of whom about one-third are settled.

The Bedouin portion now frequent the neighbourhood of Jebel Hamra. They are a wild and predatory race, and hardly a rising of the eastern tribes occurs in which they are not involved. They rear large numbers of camels, which they graze on the confines of the great desert.

The Bedouin Darū' are said to be Ibadhis; the settled portion are Sunnis.

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The Darū' are divided into the following sections: Badiwei, Batūn, Farādīs, Hāl Bu Hādi, Janīn, Hāl Khamīs, Yāl Khamīs, Mahābinah, Mahāridah, Majāli, Makhādir, Marāziqah, Hāl Mohammed, Mutāwihah, 'Ayāl Nafāfi, 'Ayāl Salīm, Shamātah, 'Ayāl Sultān, Thuweil and Zuweyyah. 101 619 622

33. *Dawakah* (sing. *Daweiki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Barkah. There is a small Bedouin portion ranging round Fuleij in Sharqīyah. They are clients of the Hirth.

34. *Beni Dāwud* (sing. *Dāwudi*)

A small tribe of 200 souls, found in Eastern Hajar in the hills between Sūr and Kalhāt; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

35. *Dhabābihah* (sing. *Adhbeibi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 200 souls; settled in Wādi Sfuni and its tributary Wādi Neidein. Their descent is unknown and they are said to be aborigines.

36. *Dhahūl* (sing. *Dhahli*)

A small tribe of 700 souls; settled in Western Hajar at 'Awābi and Tau esh-Sheikh in Wādi Beni Kharūs and in Bātinah at Liwa town; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

37. *Dhahūriyīn*

A tribe of the Ru'ūs el-Jibāl district in the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 1,750 souls, settled in the villages of Film (60 houses), Hablein (25 houses), Mansal (6 houses), and Maqāqah (100 houses), in Ghubbah Ghazīrah; Midah (1 house), Qānah (40 houses), Sham (25 houses), and Sībi (7 houses), in Khōr esh-Shām; Beled (20 houses) in Ghubbah Shābūs; Muntaf (15 houses) and Shīsah (15 houses) in Ghubbah Shīsah. There are about 200 of them in Lārak Island also, closely connected with the people of Kumzār.

The Dhahūriyīn are practically a part of the Shihūh tribe, by whom they are surrounded, but they claim connexion with the Dhawāhir of Bireimi and do not admit that they are in any way subordinate to the Shihūh. They are Ghāfiri in politics; in religion

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they are Hanbali, except those at Film and Mansal, who are Shafei.

In the cold weather they live by fishing; in spring, leaving only caretakers behind, they migrate bodily to Khōr Fakkān, Dibah, and Khasab, where they attach themselves to some of the permanent residents and bivouac in the date plantations.

38. *Fawāris* (or *Āl Fāris*) (sing. *Fārisi*)

In Oman this name is used to designate arabized Persian immigrants and their descendants. They number 5,000 souls; Sunni in religion; settled in Bātinah at Suweiharah, Sohār, Sallān, Sharu, and Fanjah.

39. *Fazāra'* (sing. *Fazāra'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Makhailīf and Khōr el-Hamām.

40. *Beni Fileit* (sing. *Fileiti*)

A small tribe of 400 souls; settled at Wāsit in Wādi Ma'āwal in Western Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

41. *Futeisāt* (sing. *Futeisi*)

A small tribe of 450 souls; settled at Furfārah in the Liwa sub-vilayet of Bātinah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

42. *Ghafeilāt* (sing. *Ghāfili*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Bu 'Abāli.

43. *Ghafalah* (sing. *Ghafeili*)

A Bedouin tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 500 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; well disposed to the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi. They own 700 camels and inhabit the plain country inland of Ras el-Kheimah and Umm el-Qaiwein, not extending into the hills. Their favourite haunt is the Jiri plain and near it.

44. *Ghafalah* (sing. *Ghafli*)

A small tribe of 500 souls; settled at Liwa town in Bātinah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Sunni.

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45. *Beni Ghaith* (sing. *Ghaithi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar at Halāhil, Rābi, Heil Ibn Suweidān, Gharrāq, and Sihlat, and in Bātinah at Waqībah and Fitnah. 101 619 622

46. *Ghawārib* (sing. *Ghāribi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 350 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Bu 'Abāli and Barkah.

47. *Habūs* (sing. *Habsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering probably 7,000 souls, of whom 100 are Bedouins; *Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion*; settled in Western Sharqīyah in Baldān el-Habūs, in Wādi 'Andām at Wāfi and Muteili', in Oman Proper at Manah in Wādi Mi'aidin.

They are a wild, uncivilized tribe, less wealthy and important than their neighbours the Hirth, with whom they have an alliance or the Hajriyīn They own camels, but are chiefly engaged in growing dates. The small Warūd tribe is tributary to them.

Mudheibi is their political capital and Rōdhah in Wādi Samad their largest settlement, both in Baldān el-Habūs.

Their principal divisions are:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Section.*	*Fighting strength.*
'Ayāl 'Abdu	100	Nājiyah	100
'Āsirah	100	Beni Bu Sa'īd	60
Yāl Dhanein	200	Sawālim	140
Ghanānimah	200	Yāl Shabīb	80
Ghasāsimah	100	Shamātarah	80
Aulād Haban	100	Beni Thāni	100
Jawābir	200	This last section is Bedouin, owning 60 camels, 30 donkeys, 50 cattle, and 2,000 sheep and goats.	
'Ayāl Mahrah	160		
Maqādamah	30		

48. *Hadādabah* (sing. *Haddābi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Shirs in Bātinah and Sharu and Fanjah in Wādi Semā'il in Eastern Hajar. Those at Fanjah are sometimes at feud with the 'Abriyīn.

49. *Beni Hadhram* or *Hadharmi* (sing. *Hadhrimi*)

A small and scattered tribe of 500 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Hadash in Wādi Mistāl, Nakhl in Wādi Ma'āwal, and Kafarah

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in Wādi Semā'il; in Oman Proper at 'Izz and Nizwa; in Muscat at Matrah. They are Ghāfiri in politics, and in religion probably Ibadhi.

50. *Aulād Hadīd* (sing. *Hadādi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sīb and Laghshībah in Bātinah.

51. *Hādiyin* (sing. *Hādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,400 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar in Wādi *'Andām and in the Muscat district at Khafeiji in* Wādi Maib and Quram in Wādi 'Adai.

52. *Hajriyīn* (sing. *Hajari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 7,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics, and Yemeni in descent. They inhabit the whole Badīyah division of the Sharqīyah district, are found also at Mudheibi and deal with the port of Sūr. They are rapacious and turbulent and have not a good name for honesty, nevertheless they are one of the wealthiest and most enterprising communities in this part of the country. They are engaged in cultivation and trade and own a number of boats: some of them visit Bombay and Zanzibar. Their tribal capital is Wāsil in Badīyah, but at present they have no *tamīmah*. It was the Hajriyīn who in 1813 attacked Mutlaq, the Wahabite leader, slew him and expelled his force from the country; Sa'd, the son of Mutlaq, in revenge completely broke their power, and they have never entirely recovered their former position.

The subdivisions of the tribe are as follows:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Location.*
Bahārinah	200	Wāsil, Heili, and Hātūh
Bahārinah Habābasah	80	Wāsil, Dabīk, and Qā'
Aulād Bu Heid	300	Rāk and Mintirib
Mahādinah and Mahāddah	400	Yāhis, Shāraq, and Shāhik
Mahāsinah	400	Ghabbi and Mintirib

53. *Halālamah* (sing. *Hallāmi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, only 75 souls; Maliki in religion; settled in Abu Dhabi town, and attached to the Beni Yās.

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54. *Āl Hanad* (sing. *Hamadi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, 500 souls, with some Bedouins amongst them; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Barkah in Bātinah. The Bedouins range in Sharqīyah.

55. *Beni Hamīd*

A few at Heir in Shameilīyah.

56. *Beni Hanīm* (sing. *Hamīmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Nizwa and Bahlah in Oman Proper and at Rostāq in Western Hajar.

57. *Beni Hammād* (sing. *Hammādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 900 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Wudām in Bātinah.

58. *Hanādhilah* (sing. *Handhali*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; settled in Eastern Hajar at Ghubrat et-Tām in Wādi Tāyīn; at Samā'īyah, Khabbah, and Waljah in Wādi Khabbah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

59. *Harāsis*

These are few in number and only visitors to Murbāt in Dhofār. Their proper habitat, religion, &c., are unknown.

60. *Beni Harrās* (sing. *Harrāsi*)

A considerable tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,000 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Jammah (500 houses), Buweirid (25 houses), Mansūr (40 houses) in Wādi Fara'; at Hillah Beni Harrās (100 houses) in Wādi Semā'il; at Nakhl (65 houses) and Hibra (40 houses) in Wādi Ma'āwal; at 'Awābi in Wādi Beni Kharūs and at Fīq in Wādi Mistāl. They also occur at Teimsa (40 houses) in Oman Proper. The ruling family is called Aulād Thineyyān; the tribal capital is Jammah. In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

61. *Beni Hasan* (sing. *Hasani*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; found in the Muscat district at

101 Qantab, Matrah, Dārseit, Sāru, Khuweir, and Ghubrah, all on the coast; at Jāl, Bōshar Ibn 'Amrān, Sād Felej, Ghallah, and Fuleij
619 esh-Shām, all in Wādi Bōshar; at Quram in Wādi 'Adai and at Mizra' el-'Alawi in Wādi Maih.
622 One of the sections is called 'Amārīyah.

62. *Beni Bu Hasan* (sing. *Hasani*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,000 souls or, with some subordinate tribes mentioned below, 7,000 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion with the exception of the Ahl Jebel section which is Azraqah Wahabite in religion. Their principal settlement is Beled Beni Bu Hasan in Ja'lān, where they number about 4,000 souls; about 500 are settled at Barkah and Hadhīb in Bātinah, and a few at Jināh near Sūr and at Fita in Eastern Hajar. The subordinate tribes are mostly Bedouin, ranging near 'Aqībah and in Jebel Mashā'ikh in Ja'lān, and, except for one tribe, the Hāl 'Umr, they are all robbers.

The settled portion grow dates and grain, and are well provided with camels. In language and appearance they do not differ from their Bedouin neighbours. They are nearly all armed with rifles of various kinds and are constantly fighting with the Beni Bu Hasan and the Beni Bu 'Ali. Their divisions are:

Sections.	*Fighting strength.*	*Sections.*	*Fighting strength.*
Darū'	30 settled	Masārīr	200 settled
Farārijah	40 "	Rawājih	100 Bedouins
Huwājir	60 "	Shikālah	100 settled
Beni Jābir	70 "	Suwābi'	100 "
Hāl Bu Matāni	200 "		

Client tribes. All Bedouins except the Hāl 'Umr.
Ahl Jebel, 60 households; Azraqah Wahabite; robbers.
Mashā'ikh el-Beled, 40 households; Ibadhi; robbers.
Mashā'ikh el-Jebel, 250 households; Ibadhi; robbers.
Beni Sarhān, 40 households, Ibadhi; robbers.
Hāl 'Umr, 100 households; own 2,000 date-palms.

63. *Hasrīt* (sing. *Hasrīti*)

A very small and poor tribe, practically all Bedouins, numbering 150 souls and distributed along the SE. coast of Oman and Dhofār; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

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64. *Beni Hawāl* (sing. *Hawāli*)

A very small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; settled in Heil and Muta'ārishah in Wādi el-Hilti; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi. 101 619 622

65. *Hawāshim* (sing. *Hāshimi*)

A tribe of 1,000 souls in the Oman Sultanate; settled in Western Hajar at Felej el-Wusta, Shabeikah, and Dāris in Wādi Fara', and in Oman Proper at Adam and Manah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

66. *Hawāsinah* (sing. *Hausini*)

A large and important tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 17,500 settled and also some Bedouins; Hināwi in politics, partly Sunni and partly Ibadhi in religion. They occupy the whole of the Wādi el-Hawāsinah, excluding the tributary Wādi Beni 'Umr; nearly all of Wādis Sarrāmi and Shāfān in Western Hajar; also most of the town of Khābūrah in Bātinah; they are also found at Qasbiyat el-Hawāsinah in the sub-vilayet of Saham. Their capital is Ghaizein in Wādi el-Hawāsinah. They are generally at feud with the Beni 'Umr, who adjoin them on the west.

Wādi el-Hawāsinah is deep and narrow. The villages are built upon the hill-sides and the date-trees grow on artificial terraces to which spring water is conducted in channels: there are no wells. The houses are of stone and mud; the crops besides dates are wheat, barley, bajri, maize, millet, lucerne, beans, sweet potatoes, and fodder grasses; the Hawāsinah keep camels, cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys. The fruits grown are limes, mangoes, grapes, olives, plums, pomegranates, figs, quinces, and almonds. Trade is carried on with Khābūrah and Suweiq.

The divisions of the tribe are:

Hawāmid.
Najāja'ah.
Aulād Rasheid.
Beni Sa'īd.
Sawālim.
Beni Sinān.

67. *Beni Haya* (sing. *Hayā'i*)

A small tribe of 500 souls in the Oman Sultanate; settled in Dhāhirah at Dhank town and in Bātinah at Sīb and Laghshībah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

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68. *Hikmān* (sing. *Hikmāni*)

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A tribe found on the SE. coast of Oman; the Barr el-Hikmān or mainland between Masīrah Island and Ghubbah Hashīsh is named after them. Mahōt is their principal settlement, but they also occur along the coast for 40 miles to the SW. of Ghubbah Hashīsh and at Murbāt in Dhofār, at Barkah and Wādi Manūmah in Bātinah.

Their number may be 800 souls. Seventy years ago they were an independent tribe, Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion, regarded as cognate with the Jannabah; but since that time they have partially lost their tribal individuality, those of Barr el-Hikmān having attached themselves to the Beni Bu 'Ali, while others have become Hināwis under the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, to whom they pay annual visits, receiving presents from him.

69. *Beni Hilāl* (sing. *Hilāli*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; settled in Oman Proper at Bahlah and Nizwa; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

70. *Beni Hina* (sing. *Hinā'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 9,000 souls; of Yemeni descent, Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion. The Hināwi faction, formed in Oman at the beginning of the eighteenth century, derived its names from the Beni Hina, whose chief sheikh at that time, Khalf el-Quseir, was the first leader of the faction.

The Beni Hina dwell chiefly in Hajar and in Oman Proper. Their capital is Nizwa in Oman Proper, where they have 300 houses. Their settlements are given below, the number of houses being stated in brackets.

In Hajar. Qurein (100), Habbās (80), Heili (200), Qadīmah (40), Jammah (50), Naghzah (50), Hārithīyah (20), and Khōdh (120), all in Wādi Semā'il; Hajrat esh-Sheikh (50), Hārat el-Jabah (80), Saqairīyah (30), and Shabeikah (40), all in Wādi Fara'; Haweil (45), and Hōqain (200), in Wādi Beni Ghāfir; Khān (40), in Wādi el-Jizi.

In Oman Proper. Nizwa (300), Bilād Seit (40), and Ghāfāt (50). In Bātinah: Liwa town (160). In Dhāhirah: Heil (100) and Dham (80).

There is a small section called Hawāqinah at Nizwa, and the Jabūr, though treated here as a separate tribe, is perhaps a branch.

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The Beni Hina are brave and warlike, and were in 1905 at feud with the Jannabah, Darū', and Beni Kelbān. 101 619 622

71. *Hinādīs* (sing. *Hindāsi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Adeibah in the Muscat district and at Ghalīl in Bātinah.

72. *Hirth* (sing. *Hārithi*)

An important tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 9,000 souls, excluding five client tribes who can muster 1,130 fighting men as detailed below. They are said to be of Nizāri descent, but now belong to the Hināwi faction; in religion they are Ibadhis.

The central division of Sharqīyah, called Baldān el-Hirth, with its villages and towns belongs entirely to the Hirth; their principal places are Ibra and Mudheirib, the former being the tribal capital. They are also found at Mudheibi, Nizwa, Samad, and Sīb. The bulk of them thus are located between the Hajriyīn on the east and the Habūs on the west. Though they retain some of the characteristics of Bedouins they are chiefly occupied in agriculture and date-growing. A few of them are wealthy traders owning merchant vessels, and some who emigrated to Zanzibar have become men of substance and position there.

The Hirth do not deal with Sūr; their ports are Matrah and Muscat.

They are a warlike tribe, and now armed with rifles of various kinds.

Their principal sections (in 1905) were:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Section.*	*Fighting strength.*
'Āsirah	150	Maqādihah	150
Barāwanah	250	Marāhibah	100
Ghayūth	150	Mashāhibah	150
Aulād Hadām	200	Matāwabah	150
Aulād Hadri	150	Rashāshidah	200
Aulād Harfah	150	Saqūr	100
Khanājirah	300	Samrah	300
Ma'āmir	280	Hāl Sinā'u	300
Maghārah	100		

The five client tribes, all Ibadhis and largely Bedouins, were (in 1905):

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Tribe.	Fighting strength.	Habitat.
Dawakah	100	Barkah, Shakhākhīt, and Bu Mahār in Bātinah
Muwālik	500	Wādi Beni Khālid
Nuwāfil	80	Bu 'Abāli, Sha'ībah, and Majiz en-Nuwāfil in Bātinah
Āl Bu Rasheid	170	'Abbāsah and Khadhra in Bātinah
Shabūl	280	Heyyadh, Sohār town, and Wādi Bōshar

73. *Hishm or Beni Hāshim* (sing. *Hāshimi*)

A tribe of the Ja'lān and the Eastern Hajar districts of the Oman Sultanate; they are Nizāri by descent, Ghāfiri in politics, in religion partly Ibadhi and partly Sunni. They are supposed to number about 8,000, of whom about 6,500 are settled at Kāmil (200 houses), Dīdu (50 houses), Humeidha (15 houses) and Buweirid (55 houses) in Ja'lān; at Tahwa (60 houses) near Jebel Khadhar; at Zilaft (50 houses), 'Adhfein (200 houses), Halfah (95 houses), Badh'ah (150 houses), Sīq (180 houses), and Sibt (160 houses) in the lower course of Wādi Beni Khālid; a few are found at Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah, and at Sūr in Bilād es-Sūr they have perhaps 80 houses. There are also about 1,500 Bedouins belonging to the tribe, who own some 500 camels, 250 donkeys, 700 cattle, and 8,000 sheep and goats.

They command the road from Sūr to Ja'lān above Rafsah, and can close it at pleasure. The whole of the Wādi Beni Khālid is under their control, for the other tribes inhabiting it are always disunited, and pay dues, it is said, to the Hishm.

The Hishm always supported Seyyid Tūrki when Sultan of Oman (1871–88) and were even with him at the capture of Matrah from 'Azzān in 1871. They took part with his son and successor, Seyyid Feisāl, in the crisis at Muscat in 1895, under the leadership of 'Abdullah ibn Sālim of the Beni Bu 'Ali.

Sections, &c., as obtaining in 1905:

Sections.	Fighting strength.	Habitat.	Religion.
Hirzah	150	Kāmil	Sunni
Hishāshimah	200	Kāmil	"
Kuwāshim	200	Humeidha	"
Marāhibah	300	Dīdu, Sīq	"
Aulād Nāsir	200	Buweirid	"
Beni Rāshid	300	Badh'ah, Sīq	Ibadhi
Beni Seif	300	Halfah	"
Sarāhimah	200	'Adhfein, Sibt	"
Thuwāni	50	Zilaft	"
Tuwā'i	200	Sibt	"
Beni 'Umr	400	Kāmil, Sīq	"
Zaheimiyin	200	Wādi Khabbah	"
Zeiyūd	150	Dīdu, Kāmil	Sunni

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74. *Hūwalah* (sing. *Hōli*)

A tribe numbering 17,000 outside Oman, but represented in Oman by 1,500 souls, in religion partly Maliki; some Shafei settled in Shārjah town. They have altogether lost their fighting qualities and are given up to money-making.

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75. *Huyūd* (sing. *Heidi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Dhiyān in Bātinah.

76. *Āl Bu 'Īsa*

A small Bedouin tribe of Ja'lān who occasionally visit Masīrah Island for nefarious purposes, ostensibly as fishermen but really as wreckers.

77. *Beni 'Īsa* (sing. *'Īsā'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, originally Ghāfiri but now (1905) Hināwi in politics; settled in Western Hajar at Hībi in Wādi Sarrāmi,

Ghadheifah, Ghareifah } in Wādi 'Āhin.

Khabt, 'Ablah, 'Abeilah } in Wādi el-Hilti.

78. *Ja'far*

These are about 100 in number and found in Murbāt, Dhofār. Nothing is known about them.

79. *Beni Jābir* (sing. *Jābiri*)

An important and in every way superior tribe of the Oman Sultanate, also the strongest numerically. They are smarter in dress, more intelligent, and better educated than most other tribes. They claim descent from the tribe of Dhubyān, famous in Arab poetry, and are at bitter enmity with the Beni Ruwāhah, who descend from the rival tribe of Abs.

The total number of the tribe is 25,000 souls, and they are found chiefly in Hajar. Their principal seat is the group of the three valleys of Hilam, Tīwi, and Shāb, known collectively as Wādi Beni Jābir I (to be distinguished from the Wādi Beni Jābir II, the western tributary of Wādi Semā'il). Hilam and Tau are equally regarded as their tribal capital. They are widely dispersed, but keep

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101 in touch and act as a body, and have often been used to close the passes leading to Muscat against the Sultan's enemies in Sharqīyah.
619 Further details of their distribution are given below against each section of the tribe.
622 In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

Subdivisions, &c., as obtaining in 1905.

Section.	*Fighters.*	*Habitat.*
Aulād Burhān	400	Seijah in Wādi Beni Jābir II (tributary of Wādi Semā'il)
Dafāfi	50	Hājir in Wādi Semā'il
Beni Fahd	200	Firjāt in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Beni Falīt	240	Qaiqa in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Beni Ghadānah	240	Bimah, Fins } on the coast of E. Hajar
Ghazāl	150	Daghmar, Dhibāb } on the coast of E. Hajar
Beni Hadhrami	400	Seima in Oman Proper. Wādi Semā'il

(There is some confusion between this section and the distinct tribe of the Beni Hadhram.)

Aulād Hameid	180	Muqazzih in Oman Proper
Beni Harb	240	Majāzah in Wādi 'Andām
Beni Ibrāhīm	240	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khamīs	160	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Lurhān	300	Wādi Semā'il
Ma'āmarah	400	'Amq and Felej el-Qabā'il in the Sohār sub-vilayet
Beni Mazrū'	240	Hīl in Wādi Beni Jābir II

(Some regard the Mazārī' of Wādi Fara' as of this section.)

Beni Muqīm	600	Ghail esh-Shāb, Jahl and Jeilah in Wādi Shāb; Tīwi, Seima, Mībām, and Am 'n Wādi Tīwi
Aulād Nāsir	320	Wādi Hilam
Beni Qurwāsh	160	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Rāshid	480	Wādis Hilam, Tīwi, and Tau
Aulād Rāshid ibn 'Āmir	240	Wādi Semā'il
Beni Sa'd	240	Wādi Semā'il
Āl Saba'	70	Samā'īyah and Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah
Aulād Saheim	140	Bīr and Misfāh in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Aulād Sa'īd	160	Hōb in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Aulād Salīm	240	Jeilah in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Salūt	640	Hilam in Wādi Hilam and most villages of Wādi Tīwi; Ghallah in Wādi Bōshar
Sha'ībiyīn or Shu'aibiyīn	350	Kabda and Kalhāt and Halfah in Wādi Beni Khālid

(Those of Kalhāt went over in 1907 to the Hināwis and have allied themselves to the Beni Bu Hasan.)

Shajbiyīn	200	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Wādi	80	Bidbid and elsewhere in Wādi Semā'il

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80. *Jabūr* (sing. *Jabūri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, perhaps a section of the Beni Hina, numbering 700 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Mutahaddamāt in Wādi 'Adai and at Hifri in Wādi Beni Kharūs. 101 619 622

81. *Jadgāl*, or *Zidjāl* (sing. *Zidjāli*)

A tribe of Persian Mekrān, now reckoned there as Baluchis, and said to have come from Sind. In Oman they number 10,000 souls; *Sunni in religion.* They occupy an entire suburban quarter of Muscat town and are found at Matrah, and generally wherever a Baluchi settlement exists. They have been introduced into Oman at various times as mercenary soldiers.

82. *Jahādhim* (sing. *Jahdhami*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Samad in Sharqīyah.

83. *Jahāwar* (sing. *Jauhari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,000 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Heilein and Mabrah in Wādi Mabrah; at 'Litheibāt, 'Aqair, Heyyadh, Khabt, 'Ablah, and 'Abeilah in Wādi el-Hilti. Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

84. *Jelājilah* (sing. *Jaleijali*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering only 50 souls; settled in Furfār, Heil, and Indūk. Divided in allegiance between the Sheikh of Shārjah and his rival, the rebel Sheikh of Fujeirah.

85. *Jannabah* (sing. *Janneibi*)

A large tribe of the Oman Sultanate, Yemeni by extraction, but now belonging to the Ghāfiri faction, and Sunnis in religion. They number in all about 12,000, of whom 3,000 are nomads. Their tribal capital is Sūr, but they possess also Masīrah Island, and interspersed with the Hikmān and Āl Wahībah occupy in a desultory fashion the SE. coast of Oman from Ras Jibsh, where they have a village, to the borders of Dhofār; some of them visit Murbāt in Dhofār; the cave dwellings on Ras Sājar and the small hamlet of Safqōt at the west end of Dhofār are said to be occupied by them. A few reside among the Hikmān of Mahōt, and detached colonies are

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found at Bahlah, Khadhra Bin Daffâ', and 'Izz in Oman Proper and at Wâdi Manûmah in Bâtinah.

It is necessary to distinguish the settled portion, resident chiefly at Sûr, from the migratory, pastoral, and fishing sections farther south. The former, known in common with some of the Beni Bu 'Ali as 'Sûris', own and navigate a large number of sea-going vessels which run to Bombay, Zanzibar, and the Red Sea; they are also merchants having large depots at Sûr, and the Hajriyin of the interior carry on all their foreign trade through them.

The pastoral portion are dark skinned, thin and under-sized, but not ill-looking; they wear their hair long and confine it round the head with a leather thong. They are disliked by their neighbours, and appear to have little or no religion. In the cool season they come down to the coast with their herds of camels and goats, which are said to be very large, retreating again to caves on the hills on the approach of the SW. monsoon. It has been noticed that those who fish are of a lighter complexion than the rest, and that their cranial and facial type is peculiar to themselves.

As a tribe the Jannabah bear an evil reputation. Those of Sûr indulged in slave-dealing and even piracy as long as these courses were open to them, while those of the SE. coast are wreckers and robbers to a man. They have a perpetual feud with the Âl Wahîbah, the enmity between them being more deadly than between any other tribes in Oman.

Their subdivisions and fighting strength are given below:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Habitat.*
'Arâmah	400 (underestimated)	Sûr.
Fawâris	600 "	Sûr, in Ja'lân and Masîrah Island.
Ghayyâlîn	400 "	Sûr and Masîrah Island.
Maja'alah	300 "	Nomad.
Makhînah	500 "	Sûr and Masîrah Island.

86. *Yâl Jarâd* (sing. *Jarâdi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hinâwi in politics; settled at Bu 'Abâli, Masna'ah, and Marâghah in Bâtinah. A few are Bedouin.

87. *Jisals* (sing. *Jisalsi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 350 souls; settled at Kubârah in Dhâhirah and at Bahlah in Oman Proper; Ghâfiri in politics. Those settled at Kubârah are subordinate to the Ya'âqib of 'Ibri.

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88. *Beni Ka'ab* (sing. *Ka'abi*)

A tribe of about 7,250 souls in the interior of the Oman promontory, having their head-quarters at Mahadhah, in the neighbourhood of which most of them are found. There are some about the head of Wādi el-Qōr, and also in the Sultanate at Hadaf in Wādi Hatta and at Haseifin, Sūr el-'Abri, and Tareif in the Liwa sub-vilayet of Sohār. They number 1,250 in the Oman Sultanate and 6,000 in Trucial Oman. In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Sunni.

Their principal sections, &c., are:

Section.	Habitat.	Number.
Dvinah	Wādi Shīya	150 nomads
Makātīm	Mahadhah and Kahal	800 settled
Mak'īd	Wādi Bu Jīla'ah	350 "
Miyādīlah	Wādi el-Hayūl and Shibakah in W. Qahā	500 "
Miyā'inah	Jawelf and Sharem in Wādi Khadhra	150 "
Mizhamiyīn	Mahadhah	50 "
Nawijiyīn	Khatwah in Wādi Bu Sa'ā, Khabbein, Zāhar, and Subeithah in Wādi 'Abellah adjacent of Wādi el-Jizi	1,400 "
Sakālāt	Mahadhah	300 "
Sawālim	Nawel'i	300 "
Shwaibiyīn	Wādi Shwaibah and Shibakah in Wādi Qahā	1,000 mostly nomad

(A clan of Shwaibiyīn known as Hibnāt are found in Shibakah.)

Abū Yidhwah	Mahadhah, Kahal, and Sharem in Wādi Khadhra	600 settled
Zaheirāt	Mahadhah and Nawel'i	300 "

89. *Beni Kaheil* (sing. *Kaheili*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Majis in the sub-vilayet of Sohār.

90. *Beni Keleib* (sing. *Keleibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,400 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Kitnah, Rābi, Heil Ibn Suweidān, Khaweirij, and Wāsit in Wādi el-Jizi and its tributaries: Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Sunni. They are divided into three sections:

Hadādinah (sing. Hadādāni) at Rābi.
Rasheidāt (sing. Rasheidi) at Heil Ibn Suweidān.
Shawāmis (sing. Shāmsi) at Kitnah, Wāsit, and Khaweirij.

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91. *Beni Kelbān* (sing. *Kelbāni*)

101 619 622 A tribe of the Oman Sultanate numbering about 8,000 souls, inhabiting both slopes of Western Hajar. On the Dhāhirah side they are found at Maqnīyāt (740 houses), which is their tribal capital, at Sammah (60 houses), at Khadal (100 houses) on an affluent of Wādi Dhank, and at Miskin (200 houses), Najeid (40 houses), and 'Āridh (300 houses) in Wādi el-Kebīr, and at 'Ibri. On the Bātinah side their villages are Zūla (20 houses) in Wādi Beni Ghāfir, Deiqarah (25 houses), Hiyāl (70 houses), Minzifah (25 houses), and Raqayyid (25 houses) in Wādi Mabrah, and Rattah (90 houses) in Wādi Sarrāmi. There are also 30 houses of theirs at Bahlah in Oman Proper. There are no Bedouins among them. In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi. In 1883 they sided with the Sultan of Oman.

Their subdivisions are:

Aulād 'Ameirah, 300 households in Maqnīyāt and Miskin.
Ghabābīn, 200 households in Maqnīyāt.
Jarāwinah, 720 houses in Maqnīyāt, 'Āridh, and Khadal.
Aulād Sinān, 200 households in Maqnīyāt.
Aulād Subeih, 150 households in Maqnīyāt and Miskin.
Beni Tiyūm, 20 households in Zūla, in Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

There is also a section or subsection called Quyūdh found at Raqayyid.

92. *Āl Bu Kelbi* (sing. *Kelbāni*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering only 70 souls, perhaps forming a subsection of the Āl Bu Khareibān section of the Na'īm. They are settled in 'Ajmān town.

93. *Aulād Kāsib* (sing. *Kāsibi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls, all Bedouins, found round Sūr in Eastern Hajar: Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi. Formerly they were a section of the Jannabah; now they are incorporated in the Beni Bu 'Ali.

94. *Āl Kathīr* (sing. *Kathīri*)

The principal tribe in Dhofār Proper, where all the villages except Tāqa belong to them; they are represented in the Samhān hills

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also by several sections who act as a partial counterpoise there to the uncivilized Qaras. A few emigrants of the tribe are settled at Dōhah in the Muscat district near Muscat town. 101 619

The tribe numbers 4,500, of whom 2,500 are settled and 2,000 nomad. 622

The settled Kathīr are agriculturists and grow bajri, maize, millet, cotton, and a little wheat and sugar-cane. They also grow coconuts for home consumption only; no dates; tobacco in small quantity—not enough for home consumption even; water and musk melons, papai, and a few plantains and mulberries. In the way of vegetables they have bindis and chilis (red pepper). Ploughs are not used; the ground is worked with spade or hoe. Fish abound and acres of small fish called *'a'id*, resembling the sardine, may be seen drying near villages.

They wear their hair long, tied by a fillet round their heads; Seyyids, however, and the poorest classes have their heads shaved. For clothing they ordinarily have only one garment, a dark blue sheet, 9 ft. by 4½ ft., which forms a kilt by day and a sheet by night.

The subdivisions of the settled portion are:

Beit 'Ali ibn Badr, 150 families.
Beit 'Amr ibn Mohammed, 40 families.
Āl Fādhil, 120 families.
Bu Ghawwās, 150 families.
Beit el-Marāhin or Marhūn, 50 families.
Āl Mohammed ibn Hamad, 150 families.
Shanāfirah, 225 families.

This section is loyal to the Sultan of Oman; they are said to have been 'Awāmir originally, but are now reckoned Āl Kathīr.

The Bedouin sections are:

Beit Bekhīt ibn Sālim, Beit el-Hamar, Beit Jadād, and Beit Masan. They own cattle and camels and collect frankincense like the Qaras. They arrange their hair in a top-knot instead of binding it with a fillet. Their dialect differs from that of other Bedouins of Oman and has not been investigated yet.

The Āl Kathīr are a Hināwi tribe, and claim to have emigrated from Hadhramaut three centuries ago, conquering Dhofār Proper and establishing a capital at Dahāriz. In religion they are Ibadhis. They are at constant feud with the Qaras, whom in their arms, clothing, and habits they resemble.

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95. *Ahl Ras el-Kheimah*

•101 A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 2,000 souls, all resident in the town of Ras el-Kheimah. They are a mongrel race formed by the fusion of various Arab tribes.
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96. *Beni Khālid* (sing. *Khālidi*)

An Arab tribe of Eastern Arabia who formerly had a very large range (see pp. 84 f., 608). They are still predominantly Bedouin, but here only the portion in Oman is dealt with, and that portion is settled in the Oman Sultanate at 'Abbāsah, Hajeirah, Khōr el-Milh, and Manātīf in Bātinah. Here they number 5,500 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics.

97. *Āl Khameyyis* (sing. *Khameisi*)

A small Bedouin tribe, numbering 400 souls, found in Oman Proper; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

98. *Khamārah*

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 375 souls, all resident in Abu Dhabi town. They are Maliki in religion. They came originally from Khamīr in Persia, and claim connexion with the 'Utūb.

99. *Yāl Khamīs* (sing. *Khamīsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Khabbah and Sha'ibah in Bātinah.

100. *Beni Khāmmārah* (sing. *Khammāri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in poitics; settled at Sūr Heyyān in Bātinah.

101. *Beni Kharūs* (sing. *Kharūsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,500 souls, of whom 1,500 are Bedouins. They inhabit the northern slopes of the Western Hajar and are settled at Misfāh (45 houses), 'Aliya (80 houses), Taqab (12 houses), Istāl (80 houses), Saneiba' (80 houses), Shau (10 houses), Hijār (90 houses), Tau esh-Sheikh (20 houses),

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'Awābi (70 houses), and Felej Beni Khazeir (20 houses), all in Wādi Beni Kharūs; at Nakhl in Wādi Ma'āwal they have 40 houses. Hijār is their tribal capital. The Bedouin section of 1,500 souls is named Yāl Khameyyis. They possess 150 camels, 300 donkeys, 150 cattle, and 2,000 sheep and goats. 101 619 622

The Beni Kharūs are Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion.

102. *Khazeimāt* (sing. *Khazeimi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Haseifīn Sūr el-Khazeimāt.

103. *Khazeir* (sing. *Khazeiri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 450 souls; settled at Nakhl in Western Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

104. *Beni Khazam* (sing. *Khazami*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sīya, 'Arqi, and Habūbīyah in Wādi Sarein in the Muscat district.

105. *Khōjah*, known to Arabs as *Lawātiyah*

The head-quarters of the Khōjah sect in the Persian Gulf are at Matrah, where they number about 1,050 souls; but they are found also at Khābūrah (125 souls), Sohār town, Suweiq (30), Barkah and Masna'ah in Bātinah; at Quryāt (1 family), and at Gwādar (300 souls); some also at Dibai, Ras el-Kheimah, and Shārjah towns. In Matrah the entire community lives in a large fort or enclosed quarter upon the sea beach for security and privacy (see above, p. 258). They marry for the most part only among themselves. About 10 families now adhere to Āgha Khān of Bombay; the rest have been converted to Thein 'Ashari Shiism, but preserve to some extent their old social usages and customs. The majority are petty merchants and shop-keepers; a few of them share in the trade between India and Oman, importing rice from Calcutta, piece-goods, oil, and drugs from Bombay, and exporting dates and dried fish. In the ports they are mostly British subjects. A few have acquired land.

106. *Aulād Kuleib* (sing. *Kuleibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Adeibah in the Muscat district.

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107: *Kunūd* (sing. *Kindi*)

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A scattered Ghāfiri tribe of Oman, Ibadhis in religion, numbering 1,500 souls, all settled. They are found at Nizwa in Oman Proper, where they have 40 houses, and which may be regarded as their tribal capital; at Nakhl (50 houses) in Wādi Ma'āwal; at Saheilah (100 houses), Mileyyinah (15 houses), Heil esh-Shiya (10 houses), Heil er-Rafsah (60 houses), and Thiqbah (20 houses), in Wādi el-Jizi and its tributaries; at Heil, Ghāliah (20 houses), and Furfār in the Shameiliyan tract, and finally in independent Oman at Bireimi village and in Mahadhah.

108. *Beni Lamak* (sing. *Lamki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Lamki in Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

Qasra
Umm Himār } in Wādi Fara'.

109. *Ma'āwal* (sing. *Ma'wali*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 8,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Wādi Ma'āwal in Western Hajar, where they own the villages of Āfi (1,000 houses), 'Areiq (40), Musilmāt (300), and part of Hibra (80); also at Khabbah (150) and Barkah (20) in Bātinah. There is also a Bedouin section by name Yāl Bin Rashīd. Āfi is the tribal capital. The Jalandite rulers of Oman, who flourished at the time of the conversion of the country to Islam, or somewhat earlier, are supposed to have belonged to this tribe.

The trade of Wādi Ma'āwal is with Barkah. Wheat, barley, lucerne, and beans are grown, and there are about 100,000 date-palms.

110. *Āl Bu Maheir* (sing. *Maheiri*)

A considerable tribe in Trucial Oman, found in all the coast towns. They have 400 houses in Dibai, 200 in Shārjah, 120 at Ras el-Kheimah, 100 at Abu Dhabi, 100 at Batīn, 80 at 'Ajmān, 60 at Khān, and 30 at Umm el-Qaiwein. By some, the Daheilāt of Abu Dhabi town are regarded as a section of the Āl Bu Maheir, who

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in their turn are reckoned, in Abu Dhabi, as a section of the great Beni Yās tribe. 101 619 622

In all they number about 5,500 souls, of whom only about 100, in the Abu Dhabi principality, are Bedouin in their habits.

They are said to be of Mahrah stock and to have come originally from Hadhramaut.

In religion and politics they follow the Sheikh of the principality in which they happen to live.

111. *Mahārah* (sing. *Mahri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,250 souls, all resident in Ras el-Kheimah town, of which they form one of the main elements.

112. *Mahārib* (sing. *Mahāribi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar, at 'Amqāt in Wādi Semā'il, and at Farfārah in Wādi Dhaba'ūn.

113. *Mahāriq* (sing. *Mahrūqi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,200; settled at Adam and Bahlah in Oman Proper and at Sanā'u in Sharqīyah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

The Beni Wāl form one of their sub-tribes.

114. *Mahārizah* (sing. *Maheirizi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 250 souls, sharing with the Sharqiyīn two villages in Wādi Hām, viz. Masāfi and Tayyibah, where they keep some live stock and grow dates.

115. *Mahras*

A few in Murbāt in Dhofār. Nothing known about them.

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116. *Aulād Mahriz* (sing. *Mahrizi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ibadhi in religion; settled at Ba'ad in Wādi Tāyīn.

117. *Majālibah* (sing. *Majlabi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar at Hillat el-Majālibah in Wādi Semā'il.

118. *Manādharah* (sing. *Mandhari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,850 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Western Hajar at Hawājiri, Hallah, and Mizāhīt in Wādi Fara'; in Oman Proper at Izki and Saddi; in Dhāhirah at Saleif; in Muscat at Matrah.

119. *Manāsīr* (sing. *Mansūri*)

A Bedouin tribe of Trucial Oman, with head-quarters in Dhafrah; their range is from El-Qatar on the NW. to the Bireimi oasis on the E., and they are found all over Dhafrah, but especially in Dhafrah Proper and Līwah; also in Khatam. A few frequent the neighbourhood of Abu Dhabi town and visit the Bireimi oasis, and some are settled in the coast towns of Khān and Jumeirah. In all, they number about 1,400 souls, of whom only 100 are settled. Most of them winter in Qatar or its neighbourhood and summer in Līwah, where they have temporary villages of huts made of date-sticks and leaves, and possess as joint tribal property some date-groves. When their sojourn in Līwah is over for the year they close up their dwellings and stop up their wells with sand. Their principal grazing ground is in Dhafrah Proper, but in the summer they leave their camels in Beinūnah with those of the Beni Yās. They are Hināwi in politics and Maliki in religion.

They were formerly subject to the Wahabite Government, and in 1865 were understood to pay a contribution worth 2,000 dollars a year, chiefly in kind, into the Wahabite treasury; now they are independent of all control, but maintain some intercourse with the town of Abu Dhabi and its Sheikh.

For the Bedouin Manāsīr, see above, p. 89 f.

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120. *Manāwarah* (sing. *Maneiwari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, or possibly a branch of the Beni Bu Hasan, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Hadhīb in Bātinah. 101 619 6221

121. *Maqābil* (sing. *Maqbāli*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,000 souls; settled for the most part in Western Hajar. Their villages are Khān (40 houses), Heil 'Adha (20 houses), and Hansi (20 houses) in Wādi el-Jizi and its tributaries; Muta'ārishah (60 houses), Heil (40 houses), Litheibāt (25 houses), and 'Aqair (20 houses), in Wādi el-Hilti; Murri (60 houses), Mahbab (60 houses), Nizūk (20 houses), Madīnah (25 houses), and Salam (30 houses), in Wādi Beni Ghāfir. They have outlying settlements at Bāt (180 houses), in Wādi Sharsah, in Dhāhirah, and at 'Aweināt (50 houses), Himbār (90 houses), and Tareif (200 houses) in Sohār in Bātinah. Heil in Wādi el-Hilti may be regarded as their tribal capital.

The Maqābīl belong to the Ghāfiri faction. In 1905 they gave trouble to the Sultan of Oman, and were expelled by his troops from a fort in Wādi el-Hilti.

The Beni Khail in Muta'ārishah and the Samāh in Bātinah are sections of the Maqābīl.

122. *Moqānnah* (sing. *Maqaini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Wudām in Bātinah.

123. *Marar* (sing. *Marri*)

A tribe found chiefly in the coast towns of Trucial Oman, but also in the interior; they have 200 houses at Shārjah in the Leyyah quarter, 40 at Abu Dhabi, and 30 at Dibai; besides these there are about 70 families of Bedouin Marar who inhabit Liwah in Dhafrah.

They claim to be a section of the Ahl Murrah, but their pretensions in this respect do not appear to be well founded.

Most of them are pearl-divers by occupation. In politics they are Hināwi, in religion they are Maliki Sunnis.

124. *Marāziq* (sing. *Marzūqi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sūr Heyyān in East

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Bātinah and at Hamām in Saham. They are supposed to be the same tribe as the Marāziq of the Shibkūh district of the Persian coast, though the latter are Wahabites.

125. *Masākirah* (sing. *Maskari*)

A Ghāfiri tribe of the Oman Sultanate, Ibadhi in religion, numbering in all 6,000 souls, of whom 1,600 are Bedouins. They inhabit the 'Alāyah or upper quarter of Ibra, sharing that town with the Hirth, and also occupy Yahmadi and other villages of the Baldān el-Masākirah division of Sharqīyah. Some live at Bilād es-Sūr. They have at times been at feud with the Hirth, but in 1877 were suspected of aiding the Hārithi rebel, Sālih, pecuniarily.

The Bedouin Masākirah are divided into three sections, viz.:

Faleihāt, 300 souls, owning 30 camels, 25 donkeys, 40 cattle, 200 sheep and goats.

Nahad, 500 souls, owning 50 camels, 40 donkeys, 30 cattle, 600 sheep and goats.

Masā'id or Masā'idah, 800 souls, owning 300 camels, 200 donkeys, 100 cattle, and 800 sheep and goats.

The principal Sheikhs are at Ibra and Yahmadi.

126. *Masālihah* (sing. *Maslahi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; settled at Qaryah in Oman Proper and in Wādi Beni Khālid in Eastern Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

127. *Mashāfirah* (sing. *Masheifari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 700 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Rumeis and Barkah in Bātinah and at Qābil in Sharqīyah, where some are Bedouins.

128. *Mashārifah* (sing. *Masharrafi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in and about the Wādi Fara' at Lamīm, Teima, Ghassah, Fuleij (or Faleij), Rafsah, and Mislaq in Eastern Hajar. They are entirely dominated by the Beni Bu Hasan.

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129. *Mashā'ikh*

A few in Murbāt in Dhofār Nothing known about them except that they are a sacred class.

130. *Matārish* (sing. *Matrūshi*)

A tribe of Oman, numbering 1,700 souls, of whom 1,000 are settled in Trucial Oman at Shārjah town and 700 in the Sultanate at Harādi and Mureir el-Kebīrah in Bātinah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Sunni.

131. *Mazārī'* (sing. *Mazrū'i* or *Mizra'i*)

A tribe of Oman, numbering about 6,400 souls, of whom 5,000 are in the Sultanate and 1,400 in Trucial Oman. In the Sultanate they are found at 'Alāyat el-Mazārī' and Wusheil in Western Hajar and at 'Aqr in Bātinah. In Trucial Oman they are found in Abu Dhabi and Dibai towns, in the village of Khān near Shārjah town, in Wādis Hām and Sfuni in the Ras el-Kheimah district, and in Wādi Sfei in the district of Shameilīyah.

They are as a rule Ghāfiri in politics and Hanbali in religion.

In Abu Dhabi territory they are regarded as a section of the Beni Yās.

132. *Mishāqisah* (sing. *Mashqasi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; settled at Heil, Mizāhīt, and Wusheil in Wādi Fara'; Ghāfiri in politics.

133. *Miyāyihah* (sing. *Miyāhi*)

This tribe of the Oman Sultanate is also called Beni Ghāfir, but the alternative name is apt to lead to confusion between the Miyāyihah tribe and the Ghāfiri political faction to which the tribe belongs and to which it gave its name. It has not now, and never had, as a tribe, any dominant position in the Ghāfiri political faction: that the faction was named after it was due not to the strength of the tribe but to the personal energy and talents of its Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Nāsir, who commanded the faction in the earliest struggle against the Hināwi. The Tamīmah of the Miyāyihah is no longer head of the Ghāfiri faction.

The Miyāyihah number about 7,000 souls, all settled. Their villages are Dhab'a (25 houses), Kahaf (30 houses), Dhaweihir (20 houses), Tayyib (25 houses), Rijlah (20 houses), Qarti (40 houses), Ruweibi (15 houses), Dīfa' (30 houses), Marji (50 houses), Khafdi (30 houses), Tabāqah (20 houses), Dihās (20 houses), 'Amār (25 houses), and Zawājir (35 houses), all in Wādi Beni Ghāfir;

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Khadhra (40 houses) in Wādi Sahtan; Rostāq (400 houses), Mizāhīt (65 houses), and Hazam (40 houses), in Wādi Fara'; Dariz (200 houses), in Wādi el-Kebīr; Beit el-'Ainein (20 houses), in Wādi Saneisal; Wahrah (100 houses), in Wādi Sharsah; Bahlah (30 houses), in Oman Proper.

They are Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion, except only those at Dariz, who are Sunni. Though not a very large tribe they were in 1881 simultaneously at feud with eight tribes and have a reputation for skill and courage in war.

A complete list of their subdivisions is not available. The few sections known are:

Beni Salmān, at Marji and Mizāhīt.
Salāmiyīn, at Dihās.
Maqārishah at Bahlah.
Khanābishah, at Nizūk (20 houses) and Madīnah (25 houses) in Wādi el-Hōqain, a tributary of Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

134. *Muwālik* (sing. *Māliki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Barkah, Shakhākhīt, and Rumeis Bu Mahār in Bātinah, and at Dawwah in Wādi Beni Khālid in Eastern Hajar. They are dependent on the Hirth.

135. *Muwālikh* (sing. *Mālikhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 700 souls; ? Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Hadd.

Their sections are:
Beni 'Āmir.
Beni Ghazal.
Beni Mahan.

136. *Beni Na'ab* or *Nu'abah* (sing. *Na'abi*)

A small but distinct tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering perhaps 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, religion unrecorded. Settled at Lājā, which belongs to them, and at Manah in Oman Proper; at Siyi and elsewhere in Wādi Sarein; in Wādi Mi'aidin; at Mazāra' in Wādi Tāyīn; in the hills on the right bank of the Tāyīn in the Wādi Dheiqah section they are shepherds and form a warlike section of the Beni Battāsh. They are possibly of non-Arab descent but are considered Arab now.

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137. *Beni Na'mān* (sing. *Na'māni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Sanā'u in Sharqīyah. They took part in the attack on Muscat in 1895.

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138. *Nabāhinah* (sing. *Nabhāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate which at the end of the sixteenth century furnished the rulers of Oman. They number only 600 and are settled at Sharqatein in Wādi Semā'il; at Hammām el-Ā'li and Sunub in Wādi Bōshar; and at Nakhl. They are Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

139. *Na'īm* (sing. *Na'aimi*)

An important tribe of Oman with independent branches in Bahrein and El-Qatar. Only the main tribe is dealt with here. They number in all 13,000 souls, of whom 10,500 are settled and 2,500 Bedouins. In the Sultanate 4,500 are settled at Dhank town (660 houses), Sanqar (45 houses), Saneinah (200 houses); in Trucial Oman 3,500 at Heirah (250 houses), Hamrīyah (250 houses), 'Ajmān (25 houses), Dheid (30 houses), Haqālah (10 houses), and Shārjah town (100 houses); in independent Oman at Qābil (180 houses), Hafīt (150 houses), Su'arah (100 houses), and Bireimi village (100 houses).

The Bedouins range over the entire central portion of the Oman promontory at its base. The district of Jau, in which the Bireimi oasis is situated, may be regarded as their head-quarters, but they predominate in Dhāhirah on the east, and on the west extend to Khatam, which they share with the Beni Yās and the Dhawāhir. In the winter some of them pasture their animals on the watershed between the Bireimi oasis and Sohār, and are an important factor in tribal politics at the head of Wādi Hatta. On the north their principal grazing ground is the plain of Jiri, which is shared by their Khawātir section with the Ghafalah tribe. In the direction of Shārjah the tract known as Gharīf was once in their possession, but they were displaced by the Beni Ka'ab, who, in their turn, have had to cede it to the Beni Qitab.

Roughly speaking there are ordinarily 1,200 Na'īm Bedouins in Trucial Oman, 900 in the Sultanate, and 400 in independent Oman.

Subdivisions:

The Na'īm, whether settled or nomadic, belong to one of two main divisions—the Āl Bu Khareibān, who are said to be descendants

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101 of Khazraj, and the Āl Bu Shāmis, who are said to be descendants
619 of 'Aus. The following are some of the better-known sections of these two main divisions.

622 *Āl Bu Khareibān* sub-tribe :

'Aryān at Hafīt, 140 souls.
Āl Bu Adhnein or Dhanein at 'Ajmān and elsewhere, 700 souls.
Hamīrat at 'Ajmān and elsewhere, 180 souls.
Khawātir at Hafīt and the Jiri plain, 500 souls.
Qarātisah at Bireimi and Su'arah.
Āl Bu Kelbi of 'Ajmān town (perhaps a section).

Āl Bu Shāmis sub-tribe :

'Ayāl 'Azīz at Dhank town, 700 souls ; believed not to be really Na'īm (see above, p. 550).
Darāwishah at Heirah, Hamrīyah, Shārjah town and Ras el-Kheimah town, 1,500 souls.
('Ayāl) Hiyah or Ahiya in Dhank town, 150 souls.
Kilābinah at Hafīt and Sanqar.
Shawāmis at Bizeili, Sancinah, and Dhank, 1,400 souls.
Wahā'ishah at Dhank town, 250 souls.

The Na'īm are Ghāfiri in politics, and, with few exceptions, Hanbali in religion.

140. *Naqbiyīn* (sing. *Naqbi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,800 souls ; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics ; settled in Shārjah principality on the east side of the Oman promontory at Khōr Fakkān, Ghāllah, Lūlayyah, Zubārah, Dibah, Fahlein, Khatt, and Diftah. They are generally hostile to their neighbours the Sharqiyīn. They are all engaged in agriculture.

141. *Āl Bin Nāsir* (sing. *Nāsiri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 120 souls ; Sunni in religion ; all settled in Abu Dhabi town. They live by pearl-diving and fishing and petty trade apparently.

142. *Nidābiyīn* (sing. *Nidābi*)

A settled tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls ; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi. Their villages are Lizugh, Mizra' Bu Ba'arah, Fankh, Da'sar, Sinsilah in Wādi el-'Aqq ; Mizra' and Mizra' el-Heitani in Wādi Seijāni ; Mahbūb, Hassās, and Sarūr in Wādi Semā'il ; Jarda in Eastern Hajar.

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Though not a large tribe their position in Wādi el-'Aqq and Wādi Seijāni commands the principal route from Sharqīyah to Matrah and Muscat towns, and their services have frequently been retained by the Sultans of Oman to bar the progress of insurgents from Sharqīyah to the capital. 101 619 622

143. *Nidheiriyīn* (sing. *Nidheiri*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls, settled at Dawwah in Wādi Beni Khālid, in Eastern Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

144. *Nuwāfil* (sing. *Naufili*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Bātinah at Bu 'Abāli, Sha'ībah, Majiz en-Nuwāfil, and Masna'ah. They are dependent on the Hirth and a few are Bedouins.

145. *Beit el-Qalam*

A few at Murbāt in Dhofār. Nothing known about them.

146. *Qara*

A wild tribe in the Samhān hills in Dhofār, ranging from Sadah on the east to Rakhyūt on the west and inland as far as the country is habitable, which is not a great distance. They number about 5,000 souls, all nomadic except a few hundred settled at Kharīfōt (30 houses), Murbāt (10 houses), Rakhyūt (65 houses), Sadah (20 houses), and Tāqa (20 houses). They call themselves Hakli, speak a language which has been described as a dialect of Mahri, and are commonly stated to be a branch of the Mahrah tribe. They differ greatly in appearance and character from the typical Arab, who regards them as heathens. They are classed as Sunnis of the Ghāfiri faction, but it is doubtful whether they are Arabs at all. They keep camels, cattle, sheep and goats, and subsist chiefly by collecting frankincense and other gums. They also do a little cultivation and a little business in hides and *ghi*. In winter they live in caverns which, if large enough, they share with their animals. One cavern at Dirbāt is 150′ × 50′ × 30′. A few have guns, the rest use iron swords, daggers, and even pointed throwing sticks. They carry a shield which serves also as a hat or water bucket or stool as desired. They quarrel and fight amongst themselves, and are a restless, irresponsible lot, but are not a resolute or really

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dangerous tribe. They may annoy their neighbours by damaging their crops at night, but they never attack settled villages. Their principal divisions are :

Beit 'Ak'āk, at Rakhyūt, 150 fighting men.
Barā'amah, in Samhān hills, behind Salālah, 160 fighting men.
Beit Hardān, in the hills near Rakhyūt, 70 fighting men.
Beit 'Īsa, at Rakhyūt, 80 fighting men.
Beit Jabūb, in the hills, 160 fighting men.
Beit Qatan, in the hills, 150 fighting men.
Beit Ka'bōb, in the hills.
Beit Kishōb, in the hills, 170 fighting men.
Kathōb or Ma'ashani at Tāqa, and in the hills about Wādi Dirbāt, 700 fighting men.
Beit Sa'īd, in the hills behind Hāsiki, 300 fighting men.
Shamāsah at Rakhyūt, 90 fighting men.
Beit Tabōk, in the hills, 170 fighting men.
Beni (or Ahl) 'Umr, at Murbāt and in the hills near by, 1,200 fighting men. This section is friendly to the Sultan of Oman and has a subsection, Beit Makhayyir.

147. *Āl Bu Qarein* (sing. *Qareini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Dhiyān and Hajeirah in Bātinah. Some at Hajeirah are Bedouins.

148. *Qateit* (sing. *Qateiti*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, very few in number; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Khābūrah town.

149. *Qawā'id* (sing. *Qā'idi*)

A Bedouin tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 250 souls. They range round about Shōkah in Wādi Hām; some of them cultivate a little, and are semi-settled at Shōkali. They are believed by some to be an offshoot of the Mazārī', but this is doubtful.

150. *Qawāsim* or *Jawāsim* (sing. *Qāsimi* or *Jāsimi*)

This is the family or small tribe to which the ruling sheikh of Shārjah belongs; it claims descent from the Prophet Mohammed. Outside Trucial Oman the subjects of Shārjah are sometimes spoken

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of as Jawāsim, and a tribe which has submitted to the sheikh is said to have become 'Jāsimi'; to this fact is probably due the indiscriminate application in old British records of the term 'Joasmee' to all the piratical inhabitants of what is now Trucial Oman. The Trucial flag of 1820 unfortunately came to be known, and is still known, as the Jāsimi flag, and the Beni Yās of Abu Dhabi have consequently always shown a disinclination to fly it. 101 619 622

The genuine Qawāsim in Trucial Oman in 1905 only numbered 18 adult males. Other Qawāsim to the number of 650 occur at Duvvān in the Lingeh district of the Persian coast.

A tribe of Qawāsim, supposed to be identical with the genuine Qawāsim by some, while others hold it to be a section of the Nidābiyīn, is settled in the Oman Sultanate at Miltiqa in Wādi Semā'il, Nafa'ah in Wādi Mansah, Felej el-Hijāri in Wādi Riseil, Mizra' el-'Alawi in Wādi Maih, and at Bandar Jissah on the Muscat coast.

This tribe numbers 1,100 souls.

151. *Beni Qitab* (sing. *Qitbi*)

A tribe of Oman, having a considerable range over the promontory and in Dhāhirah. They number about 4,800, of whom 2,500 are settled in the sultanate in the cluster of villages known as Aflāj Beni Qitab, in Dhāhirah, and 200 at Dheid, in the Shārjah principality. The remaining 2,100 are Bedouins, whose territory is bounded by the northern end of the Dheid plain, the towns of Shārjah and Dibai, the Bireimi oasis, and the western slopes of the promontory. The Bedouins muster 600 fighting men in their seven sections, as follows:—Farāriyah, 100; Hawāfir, 80; Khasāwinah, 120; Ma'āliyah, 40; Masā'id, 180; Midhāqarah, 30; Shibānāt, 50.

The Sheikh of Abu Dhabi has recently admitted the Beni Qitab to be clients of the Sheikh of Umm el-Qaiwain. In politics they are Ghāfiri, and in religion Sunni.

152. *Radeināt* (sing. *Radeini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Abbāsah in Bātinah.

153. *Rabbiyin* (sing. *Rabbi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in the upper part of Wādi Tāyin and in Wādi Mansah and its tributaries. Wāsit, between Wādis Tāyin and Mansah, is the seat of the principal sheikh.

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The Suwābiq at Beyyadh is one of their sections, and the Aulād or Beni Mahriz at Ba'ad and Mizbur is perhaps another.

154. *Ramāh* (sing. *Ramhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar, at 'Ain er-Ramāh, and not found anywhere else. They are goldsmiths.

155. *Beni Raqād* (sing. *Raqādi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; originally Yemeni, now Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Misfāh, Lansab, and Ghallah in the Muscat district and at Badī'ah in Wādi Tāyīn in Eastern Hajar.

156. *Āl Bu Rasheid* (sing. *Rasheidi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Abbāsah and Khadhra in Bātinah. They are partly Bedouin and dependent on the Hirth.

157. *Beni Rāshid* or *Rawāshid*

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Bātinah at Khishdah in Sohār; in Dhāhirah at 'Arāqi and Darīz in Wādi el-Kebīr; in Oman Proper at Adam, Bahlah, Khadhra Bin Daffā' in Sharqiyah, and Nizwa in Sanā'u.

158. *Beni Rāsib* (sing. *Rāsibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and bigoted Wahabite in religion; settled at Wāfi in Ja'lān and at feud with the Beni Bu Hasan. Their sections are Aulād Fāris, Marāziqah, and Aulād Rabī'.

159. *Beni Riyīm* (sing. *Riyīmi*)

A somewhat peculiar tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 11,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled at Izki (450 houses), Kamah (20 houses), Manah (140 houses), Birkat el-Mōz (250 houses), Karsha (20 houses), Muti (300 houses), Nizwa (500 houses), Tanūf (40 houses), and Zikeit (15 houses), all in Oman Proper; also at Shareijah (100 houses), and Seiq (60 houses) in

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Jebel Akhdhar; also at Misfāh (100 houses) in Wādi Beni Kharūs, and at Hijār (50 houses) and Qōrah (40 houses) in Wādi Mistāl. 101 619 622

They are said to be of Yemeni descent and among the earliest Arab settlers in Oman. They are well to do and peaceable, but those of the hills are disliked as being irascible, slothful, immoral, and inhospitable; the prejudice against them may be partly due to their disregard of Mohammedan principles in drinking a wine made by themselves from home-grown grapes. They are described as haggard and prematurely old and lacking the usual vivacity and strength of mountaineers. The women go unveiled and are sometimes of a clear ruddy complexion. Their sections are Jawāmīd at Sciq and Shareiqiyīn at Misfāh.

160. *Riyāyisah* (sing. *Rīsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Hascifīn Sūr er-Riyāyisah in Bātinah, at Tawi in Western Hajar, and in ShināS town.

161. *Beni Ruwāhah* (sing. *Ruwāhi*)

An important tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 18,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics, though said to be of Nizāri descent. Their principal seat is the upper part of Wādi Semā'il, called Wādi Beni Ruwāhah, which they monopolize, having 900 houses there; but they also inhabit the lower villages of 'Adhdah (50 houses), Rissah (20), Rufei'ah (80), Qarwāshiyah (50), Naghzah (50), Suharah (100), Hijrat Aulād Sa'ad (50), Jammār (75), Hijrat el-Bakriyīn (100), Ibrāhīmiyah (40), Beit Weled el-Khalīli (100), Subārah (50), Daqdaqain (20), and Tasāwir (25). In Wādi Bōshar they are found at Fuleij esh-Shām (15), in Wādi Dima at Hājir (100), and in Oman Proper at Izki, Khadhra Bin Daffā' (60), Nizwa (4), and Saddi (10). In Wādi Mistāl they occur at Ghubrah Beni Ruwāhah (40) and Heil (40). The greater part of Wādi 'Andām belongs to them and the whole of Wādi Mahram.

They are a troublesome tribe; they were against the Sultan of Oman from 1871 to 1888 consistently, and are supposed to be still very hostile; but they can be bought, as they were in 1905, when the Sultan made use of them.

Half a mile below the village of Wabāl, in Wādi Beni Ruwāhah, is a wall with towers and a gate through which the highway leads. This is called Darwazah (door), and its object is to close the route up the valley. It is permanently held by a garrison of the Beni Ruwāhah.

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*101 The tribe apparently owns few camels, but many cattle, donkeys, sheep, and goats, and thousands of date-palms. They also go in for trade, market-gardening, cultivation, and transport.
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622 The principal subdivisions of the Beni Ruwāhah are :

Section.	*Houses.*	*Habitat.*
Aulād 'Ali	200	Wādi Mahram
Aulād 'Aqīd	95	Wādi 'Andām
'Awāmir	200	Rīsah and Rufei'ah in Wādi Semā'il, also Wādi 'Andām
Aulād 'Āyish	200	Wādi Mahram, &c.
Bahālil		Naghzah in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Bin Bahīs	30	Sabārah in Wādi Semā'il
Bakriyīn	160	Hijrat el-Bakriyīn, Ibrāhīmīyah, and Sabārah in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Barkat	80	Wādi Mahram
Aulād Hamad	100	Wādi Mahram
Beni Hamīm	100	Wādi Mahram
Aulād Harmal	150	Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Hasan	180	Wādi 'Andām
Beni Hāshim	60	Mihall in Wādi Semā'il, &c.
Aulād Husein	50	Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Ibrāhīm	60	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khalf	70	Wasād in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khalīl	200	Suharah and Beit Weled el-Khalīl in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khamīs	60	Biyēq in Wādi Semā'il, &c.
Aulād Mas'ūd	80	Biyēq in Wādi Semā'il and Himamt, &c.
Beni Ni'mān	50	Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Nāsir Mohammed	20	Wabāl in Wādi Semā'il
Qurān	70	Suharah in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Rāshid	200	Himamt, &c.
Aulād Sa'd	100	Hijrat Aulād Sa'd in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Sālim	120	Wādi Mahram
Aulād Sulaimān ibn 'Umr	10	Hibāt in Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Wakīl	140	Dighīl in Wādi Semā'il, &c.

The Beni Ruwāhah occur also in Oman Proper and in some other places.

162. *Beni Sa'd* (sing. *Sa'di*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Bātinah at Liwr town, Diwānij, and Asrār Beni Sa'd.

163. *Yāl Sa'd* (sing. *Sa'di*)

A large tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 13,000 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion. They occupy a block of

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territory 25 miles in length towards the east end of Bâtinah, but a number of coastal villages in their tract are in other hands. Their traditional boundary on the east is the lower reach of the Wâdi Beni Kharûs; on the west the farthest point they occupy is Khadhra. Their principal settlements are at Masna'ah (50 houses), Tau esh-Shawi (20), Tarîf (60), Muladdah (400), Raqqâs (100), Gharsifah (500), Sûr el-Qarat (200), Tharmad (250), Bat-ha Suweiq (600), Khadhra (230), and Sûr Heyyân (50). They are also found at Khabbah and Hadhîb, the town of that name 5 m. E. of Khâbûrah.

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Among Arabs they are reputed unwarlike, mean spirited, and inhospitable. They are wealthy, owning hundreds of thousands of date-palms and a considerable area under grain, also many trading and fishing boats.

They pay nothing to the present Sultan, and have always been inclined to side with the 'Azzân branch of his family. On the whole, however, they give no trouble so long as they are left alone.

The principal divisions are:

Section.	Fighting strength.	Location.
Yâl Heyyân	700	Muladdah, Bat-hah Suweiq, and Khadhra
Yâl Hilâl	550	Masna'ah, Sûr el-Qarat, and Tharmad
Khanajirah	400	Masna'ah, Sûr el-Qarat, and Tharmad
Khawaitar	300	Tarîf, Muladdah, and Raqqâs
Maghâbishah	400	Masna'ah, Tau esh-Shawi, Raqqâs, and Khadhra
Shawâkât	300	Khabbah and Hadhîb

Mention is made of another tribe of Yâl Sa'd in the Oman Sultanate numbering 150 souls; Ibadhi in religion but Ghâfiri in politics, settled at Dâris in Wâdi Fara'. It is not stated whether they are connected with the Hinâwi Yâl Sa'd.

164. *Yâl Sa'd* (sing. *Yâl Sa'di*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; settled at Dâris in Wâdi Fara'; Ghâfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

165. *Sa'âdiyin* (sing. *Sa'di*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ibadhi in religion, and Ghâfiri, but subject to neighbouring Hinâwi tribes in politics; numbering 700 souls, settled at Muqal in Wâdi Beni Khâlid.

166. *Âl Bu Sa'id* (sing. *Sa'idi*)

This is the tribe of the Sultans of Oman; in politics Hinâwi, in religion Ibadhi, with a few Sunnis among them. They number

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6,000 souls, and are widely diffused. Their settlements are at Muscat town (8 houses), where they mostly belong to the sultan's family; at Sawāqim (20 houses) in Wādi Mijlāe; Heil el-Ghāf in Wādi Tāyin; Dhiyān (65), Qasbiyat Āl Bu Sa'īd (20) in Bātinah; at Hibra (80) in Wādi Ma'āwal; at Fath Āl Bu Sa'īd (50) in Wādi Bōshar; at Hārat el-Jabah (20) and Beit el-Qarn (5) in Wādi Fara'; at Jammār (75) in Wādi Semā'il; at Samad (50), Khadhar (25), and Sherī'at Āl Bu Sa'īd (10) in Wādi Samad; at Adam (150), Birkat el-Mōz (20), Felej (20), Mahyūl (10), Manah (200), Nizwa (250), and Raddah (20) in Oman Proper.

167. *Sā'idah* (sing. *Sā'idi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ghāfiri in politics, Sunni in religion; numbering 250 souls, settled at Dūt in Wādi Dhank.

168. *Saleimiyīn* (sing. *Saleimi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Rumānīyah in Wādi Fara', Western Hajar.

169. *Yāl 'Abd es-Salām* (sing. *Salāmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Dīl Yāl 'Abd es-Salām in Saham in Bātinah.

170. *Salīmiyīn* (sing. *Salīmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Nakhl, and at Rumānīyah in Wādi Fara', Western Hajar.

171. *Salātinah* (sing. *Salātini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Hināwi in politics and probably Sunni in religion; settled at Furfār es-Salātinah in Liwa in Bātinah.

172. *Sarsiriyīn* (sing. *Sarsiri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Nakhl in Western Hajar. Some of them are potters.

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173. *Beni Sārikh* (sing. *Sārikhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Hināwi in politics, formerly Ghāfiri; settled at 'Ain Beni Sārikh in Dhāhirah. 101 619 622

174. *Yāl Shabīb* (sing. *Shabibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Masna'ah in Bātinah and Lizq in Sharqīyah.

175. *Shabūl* (sing. *Shabli*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sohār town in Bātinah, at Heyyadh, Heil 'Adha, Hansi, and Furfār in Western Hajar, and at Jifār in Wādi Bōehar. They are dependent on the Hirth.

176. *Beni Shaheim* (sing. *Shaheimi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar in all the villages of Wādi Dima except Hājir.

177. *Shahā'irah* (sing. *Ashhari* or *Shahyāri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 125 souls; Ghāfiri in politics; settled at 'Asimah in Wādi Hām. They are considered to be aborigines.

178. *Beni Shahūm* (sing. *Shahmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 900 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics. Settled in Western Hajar, at Sa'abah, and Bilād Shahūm in Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

179. *Beni Shakeil* (sing. *Shakeili*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion, numbering 4,000 souls. Settled in Western Hajar at Umm Himār, Mīdān, Meihah, Sani, Maqham, Qaryah, and Heil Ghāfah; in Dhāhirah at 'Āridh; in Oman Proper at Bahlah, Bisya, and Seifam. Their tribal capital is Seifam.

180. *Shakhāriyīn* (sing. *Shakhāri*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Felej esh-Shakhāriyīn in Wādi 'Āhin

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101 in Western Hajar. They number 250 souls, and are allies of the Maqābil.

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181. *Shakūr* (sing. *Shakūri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; numbering 500 souls, settled in Dhank town in Dhāhirah.

182. *Beni Shameili* (sing. *Shameili*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,000 souls, originally Jews; settled at Shimil in Sīr, except for a few who are nomads among the Shihūh in Ru'ūs el-Jibāl. They are now closely connected with the Shihūh and may almost be regarded as a section of that tribe. At Shimil, which they entirely possess, they have 4,000 date-palms and some live stock, including 50 camels.

183. *Shamūs* (sing. *Shamsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Khōr el-Hamām in Saham.

184. *Shāqōsh*

These form a section of the Beni Ma'in of Qishm, and there are only a few of them. They are Ghāfiri in politics and reside at 'Ajmān town, where they have 12 houses. They are pearl-divers and fishermen.

185. *Sharā'inah* (sing. *Sharā'ini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar at Beit el-Qarn in Wādi Fara' and 'Ajn esh-Sharā'inah in Wādi Beni Ghāfir. They are allies of the Beni Kelbān.

186. *Sharqiyūn* (sing. *Sharqi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 7,000 souls, residing entirely within the jurisdiction of the Sheikh of Shārjah, found chiefly in the Shameiliyah tract and in Wādi Hām, but also in smaller numbers in the Jiri plain and in the Ras el-Kheimah district. Their principal settlements are at Bidyah (300 houses), Fujeirah (150), Gharfah (100), Marbah (100), Qareyyah (100), Qidfa' (100), and Ghāllah (70).

About half of those residing in the Shameiliyah tract have succeeded (1905), under the leadership of the Sheikh of Fujeirah, in casting off the yoke of Shārjah. Their independence has not, however, been recognized by the British Government.

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The occupations of the Sharqiyīn are various. They cultivate, fish, dive for pearls, trade with Muscat and Sīb, grow dates, and keep live stock, according to the facilities of the place where they reside. Their sections are Hafeitāt, Yamāmahah, Hamūdiyīn. Some claim the Jalājilah, Mahārizah, and Zahūm as sections of the Sharqiyīn, but this is not certain.

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187. *Shaufi'* (sing. *Shāfa'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at 'Aweināt in Sohār in Bātinah.

188. *Shawāmis* (sing. *Shāmisi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Hināwi in politics; settled at Habbās in Wādi Semā'il. There is a Shawāmis section of the Na'im and also of the Beni Keleib.

189. *Shiāūh* (sing. *Shiāhi*)

A peculiar tribe who inhabit the Oman promontory from Bei'ah northwards on the eastern coast, and from Khōr Khuweir northwards on the western coast. The whole of the Ru'ūs el-Jibāl district is in their occupation, except a few villages belonging to the Dhahūriyīn. They also occupy Sha'am, Ghalilah, and Khōr Khuweir in the Shārjah principality and the village of Heil in Sīr, and are found, too, at Saham town in Bātinah. Their number is roughly estimated at 21,500 souls, of whom 14,500 are on the coast and 7,000 in the interior. Those of the interior are described as Bedouin, but some of them have houses built of loose stone. The Shihūh are almost entirely included in the dominions of the Sultan of Oman. Only about 2,000 of those on the coast and a few of those in the interior are resident in Trucial Oman.

There is little intercourse between the coastal Shihūh and their brethren of the interior, many of whom never come down to the coast. The former are chiefly engaged in diving and wading for pearls and in fishing, though they keep goats and grow dates where they can: their food is chiefly fish which they catch, rice which they import, and dates which they grow and import. The latter are engaged in tending large flocks of goats and in agriculture. With irrigation from natural reservoirs in the hills they grow almost all the grain they want for home consumption. They live on the produce of their cultivation and their goats, and have nothing to do with the sea.

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In religion the Shihûh, both settled and nomad, are mostly Shafeis, but from and including Sha'am and Bei'ah southwards on either side of the promontory they are now Hanbalis. As a tribe they are still imperfect Moslems; those in the hills have no mosques and are extremely superstitious, still offering sacrifices to the mountain Jinns. From the time of the Wahabite movement, however, they have given up worshipping at Mazâra or tombs of holy men.

There are two languages spoken amongst them. The more general is the Shihhi dialect of Arabic; the other is an Iranian dialect chiefly spoken at Kumzâr, and on Lârak Island by the Kumâzirah subdivision of the Beni Shateir and their Dhahûriyin relations. From this fact it is inferred that the Shihûh are a composite tribe, originally Arab, but now containing some Persian elements.

There are two main divisions of the tribe:

1. Beni Hadîyah.
2. Beni Shateir.

The coastal Shihûh regard only these two main divisions and classify themselves in detail by villages and not by subsections. In the interior the classification is by subsections.

The following is the classification by sections among the nomad Shihûh of the interior:

1. *Beni Hadîyah.*

Section.	*Families.*	*Location.*
Beni Mohammed 'Abeid	100	The hills above Khasab
Beni 'Ali. Two clans of equal strength: (1) Ahl 'Aqabah; (2) Beni Yideid	200	Hills above Limah
Beni Ibrâhim	70	Hills near Ras el-Khaimah
Khanâzirah	100	Seih above Khasab
Beni Hâm Mazyûd	? 100	Hills east of Khasab

2. *Beni Shateir.*

Beni el-Asmum	70	Mussîlîh near Limah
Ahl Heil	70	Muskin el-Heil near Bei'ah
Beni Hamîd	25	Khabbah or Heir above Limah
Beni Kamar	70	Kazeff and Sehwah
Khanâbilah	90	Rawfkah, Selhad, Maqaleili
Mehâbib	60	Various places in hills
Maqâtîhah	60	Saqattah near Dibah
Ahl Muqâm	100	Khabbah Sîn near Dibah
Beni Marrah	25	Sal'alah and Ghibbah
Qayyâsah	100	Beighît
Sâ'ad	100	Hills above Ghalîlah
Ahl Selhad	180	Selhad and Khabbat Sîn

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190. *Shiqibinah* (sing. *Sheibini*)

A small Bedouin tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; Ghâfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; ranging round Adam in Oman Proper. 101 615 622

191. *Shiyâdi* (sing. *Shâdi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Sunni in religion, Hinâwi in politics; settled at Sâr esh-Shiyâdi, Ghuweisah, and Abu Dhurûs in Saham in Bâtinah.

192. *Sharûj* or *Sharûq* (sing. *Sharjé*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 650 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hinâwi in politics; settled at Samad town and Mukhtari' in Wâdi 'Andâm in Sharqiyah.

193. *Shweikiyin*

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 2,050 souls; Hanbali in religion; settled in Dibai and Shârjah towns. The bulk of them are in Shârjah, where they have 400 houses.

194. *Beni Sinân* (sing. *Sinâwi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ghâfiri in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at Quryât and Sâr (Saneisalah) in the Eastern Hajar.

195. *Siyâbiyin* (sing. *Siyâbi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,500 souls; Ghâfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; somewhat widely distributed, found chiefly in the Hajar and Muscat districts. Their tribal capital is Akh'ali (291 houses) in Wâdi Ahmad; other principal settlements are Sîb edh-Dhafar, Ghail ed-Dakk, Ghubrah, Dan, Bidbid, Mizra', Qurtâ', Mileyyinah, and 'Amqât, all in Wâdi Semâ'il; Rissah and Seijâni in Wâdi Seijâni; Felej Shirâh and Misfâh in Wâdi Fara'; Khabbah in Wâdi Khabbah; Ghubrat et-Tâm in Wâdi Tâyin; Sa'âl, Ghallah, and both Misfâhs in Wâdi Bôshra. Mareirât, Jafnein, and Risail in Wâdi Risail; Sîb and Barkah in Bâtinah, and at Matrah. Those at Rissah belong to a section called Mubâsili.

Some of the Siyâbiyin are rich, but the tribe generally are not held in much repute. They are inclined to be friendly with the Beni

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101 Jābir and at enmity with the Nidābiyīn, Beni Battāsh, Beni 'Arābah, and Hadādabah. There are no genuine Bedouins among them.
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196. *Beni Subh* (sing. *Subhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Abyadh in Wādi Beni Kharūs in Western Hajar and also in Oman Proper (not stated where).

197. *Sūdān* (sing. *Suweidi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, El-Qatar, and Bahrein; they are closely connected with the Kunūd, and their descent from Aswad el-Kindi—supposed to have been an immigrant from Yemen in the time of Mohammed—is generally admitted.

They number in all about 5,500 souls, of whom nearly 5,000 reside in the ports of Trucial Oman. They have 375 houses at Abu Dhabi town, 30 at Batīn, 250 at Dibai town, 300 at Shārjah town, 20 on Bu Mūsa Island in the Sheikhdom of Shārjah, 12 at 'Ajmān, 80 at Dōhah in El-Qatar, 10 at Hadd in Bahrein, and 49 on Sirri Island.

There is little to differentiate the Sūdān of Trucial Oman from the other tribes among whom they dwell; but those of El-Qatar are distinguished from most of their Sunni neighbours by being Hanābilah and not Muwālik.

Their two principal divisions are the Āl Ramdha and the Āl Sālmīn. They now live by dealing in and diving for pearls and other seafaring occupations.

198. *Suwālih* (sing. *Salhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Suweiq in Bātinah.

199. *Suwāwifah* (sing. *Suwāfi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, except for those at Khabbah, who are Ghāfiri. They are settled in Eastern Hajar at Khabbah and Quryāt; in Sharqīyah at Sanā'u; in Dhāhirah at Saleif in Wādi el-'Ain.

200. *Teiwāniyah* (sing. *Teiwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Muscat town and in Oman Proper at Nizwa.

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201. *Tatimmaha* (sing. *Tamtami*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Misfāh and 'Awābi in Wādi Bōshar.

202. *Taneij* (sing. *Taneiji*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 4,000 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; 2,500 are settled at Rams (400 houses), Dheid (70), and Hamrīyah (30), and 1,500 are Bedouins ranging round Dheid.

Rams belongs exclusively to the Taneij. Their houses are mostly of mud and stone. The chief occupations of the settled portion of the tribe are fishing and pearl-diving. They have some date plantations two miles inland at Dhāyah.

203. *Thameirāt* (sing. *Thāmiri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 120, residing in Abu Dhabi town. They are reckoned among the Beni Yās.

204. *Āl 'Umeir* (sing. *'Umeiri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Oman Proper at Izki, Birkat el-Mōz, and Mahyūl; also in Bātinah at Heil Āl 'Umeir and Sīb.

205. *Beni 'Umr* (sing. *Ma'amari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 11,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and in religion partly Ibadhi and partly Sunni; settled in Western Hajar and Bātinah, with very few, if any, Bedouins attached to them. In Western Hajar they occupy the whole of the Wādi Beni 'Umr, a tributary of the Wādi el-Hāwāsinah, viz. Mijzi, Jahanāt, Rahbah, Heil Islāt, Farfār, Ghaiz, and Lihbān; also the following villages in Wādi Beni 'Umr el-Gharbi: Heil, Shuweimarah, 'Aqrabīyah, Rahab, Dhabyān, and Beidha; also Hibi in Wādi Sarrāmi.

In Bātinah their settlements are at Sīb, Ghadhfān, and Hadd in the sub-vilayet of Sohār, at Harmūl, Nabar, Asrār Beni 'Umr, Umm el-'Inah, and Hameirah in the sub-vilayet of Liwa; and at Bileidah in the sub-vilayet of Shināṣ. Other settlements are at Ghashab and Felej el-'Āli in Wādi Fara'; at Hayyāl in Wādi el-Kebīr; and at Shareijah in Jebel Akhdhar. Ghadhfān is their principal place in the north and Lihbān in the south.

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101 They must not be confounded with a similarly named section of the Beni Battāsh.

619 They are always at feud with their neighbours the Hawāsinah and the Maqābil.
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206. *Beni Wakeib* (sing. *Wakeibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; scattered over the Muscat district, and not elsewhere except at Daghmar and Quryāt (60 hours). In the Muscat district their settlements are: in Wādi Mijlās and its tributaries at La'bān (40 houses), Sālifah (30), Būlidah (25), Habūbiyah (160), Mizra' Sumeir (20), Mizra' Baleil (15), Heithadh (30), Fayādh (20), and Heifal (15); in Wādi Maih and its tributaries, at Dhahr Sidrah (30), Tuyān Jahlūt (40), Sa'ādi (60), Maheidith (20), Rākil Milh (30), Mandhariyah (20), Mahā'il (25), Tawīlah (30), and Hājir (30); on the coast at Bistān (20), and Yiti (20); and at Wateyyah (6), Ruwi (25), and Muscat town (45).

Besides these settled members there are two sections of Bedouins, viz. Kawāsib (25 families) and Shabūl (35 families).

207. *Āl Wahibah* (sing. *Wakeibi*)

A very important tribe of the Sharqiyah and Ja'lān districts in the Oman Sultanate, almost entirely Bedouin, and enjoying at present (1905) a high position in the tribal system. They number about 13,000 souls. Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics. T" sedentary members occupy the villages of Sadeirah and Aflāj and part of the town of Mudheibi in the Baldān el-Habūs division of Sharqiyah; they are found also on the SE. coast as far north as Ras Sheiblah (20 houses), and as far south as Ras Sarāb; settlements of them exist at Majiz el-Wahibah (100) and Laghshibah (20) in Bātinah, at 'Adeibah (15) and Ghubrah (30) in Muscat; and at Ghallah (10) in Wādi Bōshar.

The Āl Wahibah are warlike, but though always ready to fight for plunder they are not unpleasant in ordinary dealings. They own the fastest camels in Oman and practically no date-groves or villages. This combination makes them most elusive enemies. They have a bitter feud with the Jannabah and sometimes among the Hikmān of Mahōt. Parties of them regularly visit the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi and receive presents from him. The majority of the nomads are purely pastoral, but a few on the SE. coast are expert fishermen.

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They are divided into many sections under six large, but apparently nameless, groups:

Groups of sections and fighting strength (1905).

Group I

'Asākirah
Barātamin (60)
Hāl Bu Ghafeilah, 70
Āl Bu Hidei, 70
Aulād el-Jahāmah, 60
Hāl Khamis, 60
Likānin
Mahābisah
Madhākir, 70
Hāl Mānis, 60
Muwāfid
Beni Na'mān, 60
Shalālibah, 50
Aulād 'Umr, 80

Group II

'Asāsff, 100
Āl Badr, 100
Jahāfil, 80
Karāhinah
Hāl Bu Ma'mar
Mughā'irah, 200
Shuwāll, 150
Suwād

Group III

Hatātimah
Madhāwirah, 200
Mufana
Hāl Muharram
Hāl Mushin

Group IV

Hāl Hadām
Aulād el-Hindi
Jidālah, 200

Group V

Hāl Badr, 100
Yāl Gharib
Hāl Hindi, 60
Hāl Mahāsib
Hāl Sinā'a

Group VI

Marāmihah, 250

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208. *Warād* (sing. *Wardi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics, though formerly Ghāfiri; settled at Samad in Sharqiyah and dependent on the Habūs.

209. *Waahāhāt* (sing. *Waahāhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 850 souls; in religion mostly Ibadhi, with some Shafei; in politics mostly Hināwi, with some Ghāfiris; settled at Tameit, Mushabbah, and 'Ajib in Wādi Hatta and at Aswad in Wādi el-Qōr.

210. *Ya'qūb* (sing. *Ya'qūbi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; of Yemeni origin, but now Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at 'Ibri, in Dhāhirah.

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211. *Ya'dribah* (sing. *Ya'rubi*)

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A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ghâfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Nakhl, Tuweyyah, Tikhah, and Hazam. They were once important, and supplied the rulers of Oman from A.D. 1625–1744. They have no influence now.

212. *Yahmidah* (sing. *Yahmadi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ghâfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Sohâr town and Nakhl.

213. *Beni Yâs*

One of the most compact and powerful tribes of Trucial Oman; their range is practically co-extensive with the territories of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, the basis of whose power they are.

Nomad. The Beni Yâs nomads, numbering about 2,000 souls, are all in the Abu Dhabi principality. Their favourite pastures are in Beinûnah, a tract of the Dhafrah district.

Settled. The non-nomads number in all about 12,000, of whom about 8,000 are settled in the Abu Dhabi principality, about 2,000 in Dibai territory, and the rest outside Oman, viz.: 1,200 in Hanjâm Island, 600 in Bahrein, 200 on Târût Island, and over 100 in El-Qatar.

In Abu Dhabi town they number 2,800 souls, and in Dibai they occupy 440 houses. Here, on the coast, they are engaged in pearl-fishing and navigation.

Inland, in Dhafrah, they number 5,100 souls and hold all the permanent settlements. [The only other tribe to be seen in Dhafrah is the Mansûri (Manâsir) and they only come to summer in the Liwah subdivision.] Here the Beni Yâs are semi-civilized, living in huts of date-sticks and leaves, owning date plantations individually (not collectively as do the Manâsir) and trading and corresponding with Abu Dhabi and even Dibai. Their main industry is date-growing, but some of them take a share in pearl-fishing and own a number of boats which are kept at Bandar Radeim, Khôr Mugheirah, and Bandar Mirfah. The pearl-fishers pay dues and the date-growers pay 2,500 dollars a year as agricultural taxes to the Abu Dhabi sheikh. Although, at times, sections of the tribe in the principality have evinced a disposition to hive off (as did the Âl Bu Falâsah section who now live in Dibai), the tribe as a whole is well affected and faithful to the Sheikh, and he is himself one of their number (Âl Bu Falâh section).

The Beni Yâs are of the Hinâwi political faction and differ from

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most of their neighbours in being, wherever they occur, Maliki Sunnis and not Hinâw. They had in 1905 no special relations of friendship or enmity wth adjoining tribes; at that time the following were their tribal sections:

Sections.	*Subsections.*
Âl Falâh	Âl Sa'dûn.
Âl Bu Falâh (the Shaikh of Abu Dhabi belongs to this section).	
Âl Bu Falâsah	Mijardah. Rawâshid. Yideiwât or Lâdeiwat.
Âl Bu Hamir Hawâmil. Mahâribah. Mazâri'. Qanâdil. Qasal. Qubeisât. Qumaim. Rumeithât. Sahâ'in. Seni Shikr. Âl Sultân.	

A few others not definitely ascertained.

24. *Za'âb* (sing. *Za'âbi*)

A tribe of Oman, numbering 4,500 souls, of whom 3,300 are in Trucial Oman and 1,200 in the Sultanate. They are Hanbali in religion and Hinâwi in politics; settled at Jezirat el-Hamra (500 houses), and Khôr Kilba (150) in the Shârjah principality; at Saham town, Qasbiyat ez-Za'âb, Abu Dhurfs, and Bu Baqarah, in the Sultanate of Oman. Some of them own date-groves at the village of Khatt in the Jiri plain, and go there in the hot weather.

25. *Zafeit* (sing. *Zafeiti*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls, all Bedouins of the Dhâhirah district; Ghâfiri in politics and in religion Ibadhi.

26. *Zahûm* (sing. *Zahmi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 100 souls, settled at Sîji in Wâdi Hâm, where they have 20 houses, 2,000 date-palms, and some live stock. They are claimed by some to belong to the Sharqiyin, but their settlement at Sîji is separate and the claim has not been allowed.

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217. *Zarrāf* (sing. *Zarrāfi*)

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A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at Arbaq and Shateifi in the Muscat district. They are merchants and sailors.

218. *Zatūt* (sing. *Zutti*)

A non-Arab tribe of Oman, numbering 1,000 souls; settled in various parts, chiefly at Bireimi, Muscat town, Matrah and Nakhl. They are generally Ibadhi in religion and apparently have a language of their own. Some say they are a branch of the Sulubba, others connect them with the Indian Jāts. They marry among themselves and are farriers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, armourers, carpenters, pedlars. Their women dance for payment but are not immoral. The levirate law obtains among them. They are despised but not molested by the Arabs, who value them for their services.

219. *Beni Zid* (sing. *Zidi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Fida in Wādi Dhank in Dhāhirah.

220. *Zikūwinah* (sing. *Zikwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Samad in Sharqīyah.

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CHAPTER XVI

SETTLED TRIBES OF THE CENTRE

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1. *'A'id*

Settled members of the 'A'id are reported at Hareimlah in 'Āridh, and at 'Adhār, Dilam, Suleimīyah (or Salāmīyah) and Yemāmah in Kharj, where they form the principal non-Bedouin tribe of the district.

2. *Anazah*

Communities of this important group (see p. 45) are found in the following places in Nejd: (*a*) in 'Āridh, at Barrah, Hareimlah, and Malham in Mahmal; at Bātin esh-Shuyūkh, Manfūhah, and Riyādh in Wādi Hanīfah; and at Dhrumah (Ifqahha tribe), and the villages of Mizāhmīyah and Rōdhah in the Dhrumah district; (*b*) in Hariq, at Hariq town (Hazāzinah sub-tribe of the Ruweilah), and Mufeijir (same sub-tribe); (*c*) in Hautah, at Hautah town and Hilwah, at both of which places they are of the Dā'ūd tribe; (*d*) in Aflāj, at Raudhah (Ijdeimāt tribe); (*e*) in Sedeir, at Dākhilah (Āl Bu Rabā' tribe), Dhalmah ('Askar tribe), Harmah, Ijwei, Janūbīyah, Khīs, Mejma' ('Askar and Haweidi tribes), Ruweidhah, Samnān near Zilfi (Haweishān tribe), and Tuweim; (*f*) in Qasim, at Aneizah, Boreidah, Dhalfa'ah, Dharās, 'Ain Ibn Faheid, Ghāf near Boreidah, Khabrah, Khadhar, Mureid Seyyid, Quseibah, Rass, Rōdhat er-Rubei'a, Seib, Shahībīyah, Shiqqah, Ta'amīyah, Watāt, and Wathāl. In the Wādi Sebei', Anazah are reported at Khurmah and Raudhah, and they are also said to be found in Kharj.

In Jebel Shammar settled Anazah live in Beidha Nethīl (?), Ghazālah, and Jauf el-'Amr.

3. *Ashrāf*

A few settlements of Ashrāf from the Hejaz (cf. p. 406) are found in Nejd in the following places: in Hariq, at Na'ām; in Aflāj, at Leilah and Seih; in Wadyān Dawāsir, at Sabhah.

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4. *Ateibah*

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Communities of Ateibah (see p. 67) exist in 'Āridh, at Banbān, Barrah, and Rghabah; in Sedeir, at Ilaqah, Iqlah, and Zilfi; in Qasīm, at Qasr Ibn 'Aqeyyil, Athlah, Basr, Bukeiriyah, Ahlab ed-Dūd, 'Ain Ibn Faheid, Ghāf, Ghammāsh, Heid, Jan'i, Nafi, Quwei'ah, Seib, and Wudhākh; and in Mudhnib (?).

5. *Buqūm*

This tribe, which is intimately connected with the Sebei' and Sahul (see p. 74), is said to be represented among the inhabitants of the villages of Rumadān and Turabah in the district of Wādi Sebei'.

6. *Dawāsir*

This widely diffused tribe, which has almost ceased to be Bedouin (see p. 75), is settled in various districts of Nejd; the Saleyyil and Wādi Dawāsir divisions of Wadyān Dawāsir belong almost entirely to them. In Aflāj they occupy the following places: Badī', Haddār, Hamar, Kharfah, Marwān, Rajeijiyah, Raudhah, Wasīt, and Wuseilah. In 'Āridh, Dawāsir are found in the following places in Mahmal: Bīr, Dqalah, Hasi, Jarīnah, Malham, Sufurrah, and Thādiq; and in Wādi Hanīfah at 'Ammāriyah, Dar'iyah and Manfūhah; they also occur in Dhrumah and Mizāhmiyah. Their settlements in Kharj are at Dilam, Suleimiyah, and Yemāmah; in Hariq-Hautah at Hariq town, Hautah town, and Hilwah; in Woshm, at Marāt; in Sedeir, at 'Audah, Ghāt, Hasūn, Jalājil, Ma'āshibah, Raudhah, Ruweidhah, and Zilfi; in Qasīm, at Hatān, Huweilān, Quwei'ah and Shamāsiyah. In the district of Wādi Sebei' and Wādi Turabah they are settled in Hazam, Khurmah, Raudhah, Rumadān, and Suweyyid.

Beyond the limits of Nejd, Dawāsir are found in great numbers in Bahrein (see p. 313), whither they immigrated in 1845, after first settling in Zakhnuniyah Island. Offshoots of this community are found in the Persian coast-district of Dashtistān, in Chāh Kōtah and its dependent villages, and at the village of Jazīrah in Bushire harbour. A few households are also settled at Dōhah in El-Qatar, and in Kuweit town.

It is possible that the Āl Brsik are not to be regarded as a main tribe of the Dawāsir, since by some authorities they are classified

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in the Misā'irah group. In the following table of the Dawāsir only those clans are included whose places of settlement have been ascertained.

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DAWĀSIR.

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Āl Berik, at Nuweimah		
Āl Hasan	*'Amamir*	*'Ajlān* (or *'Ajālīn*), at Leilah in Aflāj.
		Buras (or *Āl Abu Ras*), at Leilah.
		Hugēān, at Randhah and Wāsit in Aflāj; at Kamidah in Wadyān Dawāsir.
		Idghamah, at Rajeijiyah in Aflāj.
		Iakhurah, at Badi', Hamar and Wusailah in Aflāj; at Dīrsah in Wādi Dawāsir. The clan includes two families known as the Āl Bu 'Ali and Harāthmah.
		Māna', at Aseil in Wadyān Dawāsir; at Leilah.
		Mubārak, at Randhah.
		Quiadn, one of the largest clans of the 'Ammar; settlements not ascertained.
		Sa'd, at Aseil.
		Sukhābirah, at Badi'.
	Farjān	*'Arfaj*, at Wusailah.
		Badrāni, at Bir in 'Āridh.
		Bidārīn (possibly to be identified with Badrāni), at Jalājil and Zilf in Sedeir.
		Hamdān, at Leilah.
		Jadhālīn, at Leilah.
Makhānīs or Makhānīn, at Ma'talah in Wādi Dawāsir and elsewhere.		

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribes.*	*Sub-Tribes (cont.).*
Misā'irah.	*Āl Abu el-Hasan*, at Quweiz in Wadyān Dawāsir.	*Iatrīfāt*, at Hadder in Aflāj.
	Āl Bu Sabbā', at Nazwah in Wadyān Dawāsir.	*Sharīfah*, at Sabbah and Thamāmiyah in Wādi Dawāsir.
	Āl Rishān, at Ruweimah in Wādi Dawāsir.	*'Uwaidhāt*, at Thamāmiyah.
	Hautbijah, at Bilād el-Hanābijah in Wādi Dawāsir.	*'Uweimir*, at Huweimah in Wādi Dawāsir.
Sufāir, at Dām in Wadyān Dawāsir and elsewhere.	*Khantūbah*, at Maqābil in Wādi Dawāsir.	

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DAWĀSIR (*continued*)

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribes.*	*Sub-Tribes (cont.).*
SUHABAR.	*'Arrimah*, at Bilād Āl Hāmid in Wādi Dawāsir.	*Khadhrān* (owners of Shutbah in Aflāj, but have not permanently settled there).
WIMĀ'IR.	*Dawwās*, at Mathnah in Saleyyil.	*Khamāsīn*, at Mishrif in Wādi Dawāsir.
	Āl Dhuwayyān, at Bilād Āl Dhuwayyān and Khateijān in Saleyyil.	*Midbal* (or Midābilah), at Dhrumah in 'Āridh.
	Farrāj, at Kheirān in Saleyyil.	*Āl Mohammed*, at Bilād Āl Mohammed in Saleyyil.
	Āl Hāmid, at Bilād Āl Hāmid in Wādi Dawāsir.	*Āl Nāhish*, at Fara'ah in Wādi Dawāsir.
	Āl Hameish, at Dahlah in Saleyyil.	*Āl Suweilim*, at Thādiq in 'Āridh; at Muqābil in Saleyyil.
	Hijji, at Tamnah in Saleyyil; at Leilah in Aflāj.	*'Umūr*, at Kabkābiyah and Tamrah in Saleyyil.
	Āl 'Īsa, at Thādiq in 'Āridh.	*Walāmīn*, at Nafjān in Wādi Dawāsir.
	Jibārīn (or *Āl Jābir*), at Leilah.	

7. *Fadhūl*

This tribe, connected by vague tradition with the Beni Lām, is represented in the following parts of Nejd: in 'Āridh, at Bīr, Jarīnah, Mahriqah, Malham (Fadhl and Kathīr sub-tribes), Malqa, 'Audah and Dhrumah; in Hariq, at Hariq town; in Hautah, at Hautah town (Āl Tālib and Kathrān sub-tribes); in Aflāj, at 'Amār (Mugheirah sub-tribe), Leilah, Raudhah (Mugheirah sub-tribe) and Umm Shinādhir; in Sedeir, at 'Aaheirah, 'Attār, Mejma' (Fadhl and Kathīr sub-tribes), Tuwwim, and Zilfi. The Fadhūl are a tribe of considerable size, but they do not appear to be found outside the limits of Nejd.

8. *Beni Hajar*

Small settlements of Beni Hajar, now altogether unconnected with the Bedouin tribe of that name (see p. 87), occur in Aflāj at Wusailah, and in 'Āridh at Harwimlah and Thādiq. Arabs claiming to be Beni Hajar are found on the Persian coast, e. g. in the Rās-billeh district.

9. *Harb*

Settled members of this tribe (see p. 64) are found in 'Āridh at Rghabah, in the Wādi Sirr at Barrūd, and in Sedeir at Samnān near Zilfi. Some inhabitants of villages in Qasīm claim to be of

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Harb descent, especially at Baer, Bukeiriyah, 'Ain Ibn Faheid, Hamar, Hilāliyah, Jau'i, Mureid Seyyid, Nabhāniyah, Qaryah, Quwei'ah, Sheihiyah, Shiqqah, Subeih, and Ummahāt ez-Ziyābah. 101 619 622

10. *Hawāzin*

In Jebel Shammar at Jauf, Beidha Nethīl, Sakākah, and Teima, and in Nejd at Ghāt (in Sedeir) are settled inhabitants of this name, whose position has given rise to discussion. They would appear to be of Hawāzin descent, though members of the Huteim and Harb tribes; but their connexion with the Hawāzin of Koweit is still a matter of uncertainty (see p. 92 f.).

11. *Huteim*

Settled Huteim are said to dwell at Ghazālah, and Mustajiddah in Jebel Shammar, and at Hāyat, between Mustajiddah and Kheibar. In the Wādi Sirr they are reported at 'Ayūn es-Suweina' and Feidhah. The tribe is closely related to the Sherārāt (see p. 91).

12. *Beni Khadhir*

This name is used to describe a large body of inferior non-Arab tribes in Nejd, who cultivate [illegible] for Arab masters; they seldom own land themselves, but [illegible], who are Beni Khadhir, are said to do so at Seih in [illegible]. Beni Khadhir are settled in the following places: in 'Ārida [illegible] Hareimlah, Jarīnah, Malham (Hadhūd, Hamadāt, Muhārib, and Marshūd tribes), Rghabah, Salbūkh, Sedūs, and Thādiq (Rabeyya, Jidā'ah, Mizei'al, and Jamei'ah tribes), in Mahmal, and at Jabeilah, Malqa, 'Ammāriyah, Ilb, 'Audah, Dar'iyah, 'Araj, Bātin esh-Shuyūkh, Riyādh, Manfūhah, Mazni, and Hā'ir on Wādi Hanīfah; in Kharj, at 'Adhār, Dilam, Na'ajān, and Suleimiyah; in Hariq, at Hariq town and Mufeijir; in Hautah, at Hautah town, Hilwah, Quwei, and Wuseitah; in Afīāj, at 'Amār, Badi', Haddār, Haradhah, Kharfah, Leilah, Rajeijiyah, Raudhah, Seih, Shutbah, Stārah, Wāsit, and Wuseilah; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah, 'Attār, 'Audah, Dākhilah, Ghāt, Harmah, Hasūn, Hautah, Jalājil, Janūbiyah, Khatāmah, Khīs, Mejma', Raudhah, Ruweidhah, Tameir, Tu'weim, and Zilfī (Beni 'Atij and Natāqah tribes). Beni Khadhir are also said to be settled at Quwei'iyah in the south-western desert.

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13. *Beni Khâlid*

•101 619 622 Allusion has already been made to the widely scattered settlements of this tribe (see pp. 84, 299, 306, 572); the following are localities in which their presence is reported in Nejd: in 'Âridh, at Malham (Qammâz sub-tribe); in Sedeir, at Zilfi (Dûshân and Hamrân sub-tribes); in Qasîm, at Aneizah, Quseibah, and perhaps at Khabb and Qisei'ah; at Quwei'iyah in the south-western desert there are said to be members of a sub-tribe known as 'Arâfah. In the following table of the settled Beni Khâlid, which is not exhaustive, sub-tribes and clans are included from the Gulf Coast; for the nomadic sections of the tribe, see p. 85.

BENI KHÂLID

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*	
'Awâ'in	*Dawûdah* . .	A few at Yasrah in Bahrein and at 'Anik in the Qatîf Oasis.
	Âl Hasan . .	A few in the islands of Musallamiyah and Jinnah.
	Âl Khâlid . .	On Musallamiyah Island; the Sheikh of this clan is the Paramount Chief of the tribe.
	Âl Bâsin . .	On Musallamiyah Island.
	Âl Shâhîn . .	On Jinnah Island.
Âl Fuzzân	*Âl Bû 'Aisain* .	Only in El-Qatar and Bahrein; they are pearl-divers, pearl-merchants, and boatmen, and are now practically a separate tribe.
	Dhaheirât . .	At Qasr Âl Subeih in Hasa.
	Hud-hûd . .	At Qasr Âl Subeih.
	Nemeiât . .	In Qatar and Bahrein; they are now practically a separate tribe.
	Âl Kateb . .	In Hasa.
'Anâizah	. . . . .	Reported at Quwei'iyah.
Dûsân	. . . . .	At Zilfi.
Hamrân	. . . . .	At Zilfi.
Âl Jasîr	. . . . .	Half-settled, at Jubailah in the Hasa Oasis.
Musâsân	. . . . .	Some on Musallamiyah; a few at Kuwait; others (half-settled) at 'Anik in the Qatîf Oasis.
Âl Moqbân	. . . . .	At Kalâbiyah in the Hasa Oasis.
Qammâz	. . . . .	At Malham.

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14. *Muteir*

Though the Muteir are essentially nomadic (see p. 83), communities are reported in the following localities of Nejd: in 'Áridh, at Dhrumah (of a sub-tribe called Nafisah, said to belong to the Braih); in Woshm, at Jareifah; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah. Some of the inhabitants are said to be of Muteir blood in the following places in Qasim, which district may perhaps be regarded as their principal seat: Bukeiriyah, Buteinlyát, Ghâf ~~ner~~ Boreidah, Hatán, Khabb, Khabb el-Qabar, Khudheirah, Mureid Seyyid, Raff'ah, Raudhat el-Mahanna, Ta'amlyah, Ummahát es-Ziyábah, Wahtán, and Qasr Zeid.

Muteir are also said to inhabit villages in the Wádi el-Miyah tract of the Hasa province.

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15. *Negroes*

Full-blooded negroes dwell in some numbers in Jauf el-'Amr, and at Huweyyat beyond the western borders of Jebel Shammar. At Háyat, also beyond the border, are about 100 houses of negroes and half-castes. In the southern districts of Nejd a strong infusion of negro blood is reported, and there are said to be many full negroes, especially in Aflaj and Wadyán Dawásir.

16. *Qahtán*

In the Central South, this tribe is almost entirely nomadic (see p. 74), but communities of reputed Qahtán blood are ascribed to the following places in Nejd: in 'Áridh, at Malqa and Manfúhah; in Hautah, at Hautah town; in Sedeir, at Mejma', Raudhah, Zahlúlah, and Zilfi; in Qasim, at Bazr and Wahtán (Hatán); in SW. Nejd, at Quwei'lyah and Sha'arah.

17. *Sahul*

The Sahul, connected with the Sebei', and possibly only a sub-tribe (see p. 73), are now more settled than nomadic. They are reported in the following places in Nejd: in 'Áridh, at Barrah, Malham, and Dhrumah; in Kharj, at Sulaimiyah and Yemámah; in Hariq, at Hariq town; in Hautah, at Hautah town; in Aflaj, at Hardhah ('Arájid sub-tribe) and Shárah (Qahábinah sub-tribe).

18. *Sebei'*

The home of this tribe is in the Wádi Sebei', between Woshm and N. Asir (see p. 73), but settled communities are widely distributed in Nejd, where they are found in the following places: (a) in 'Áridh,

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at 'Awwinidh, Barrah, Ghiyānah, Harwimlah, Hirwah, Malham, (Āl Ibn Rashīd sub-tribe), Rghabah, Salbūkh, Sedūs, all in the Mahmal region; at 'Ammārīyah, Ilb, 'Audah, 'Arjah, Maskni', Hā'ir, all on Wādi Hanīfah; and at Dhrumah (Āl 'Abd el-'Azīz sub-tribe); (b) in Kharj, at Dilam and Yemāmah; (c) in Hariq, at Hariq town (Kathlān sub-tribe); (d) in Hautah, at Hautah town and Hilwah (Kathlān sub-tribe); (e) in Afīj, at Loilah (Rashīd sub-tribe); (f) in Woshm, at Shaqrah (Sūdah sub-tribe) and Watheithīyah; (g) in Sedeir, at 'Attār, Ghāt, Harmah, Hautah, Khatāmah, Khīs, Mejma', and Ruweidhah; and (h) in Qasīm, at 'Anaizah, 'Aushazīyah (Matārīd sub-tribe), Badāyah and Wādi.

19. *Shammar*

The Shammar are a powerful nomadic tribe (see p. 76), but they have settled communities in the following places in Jebel Shammar: 'Alaq (Aslam tribe), 'Aqdah, Beidha Nethīl, Bida', Feid, Ghazālah, Hā'il, Hafeinah, Hafnah, Jadhāmīyah, Kehīfah (Mas'ūd sub-tribe of the Aslam), Leqitah, Mūqaq, Mustajiddah, 'Odheim, Qasr er-Rabei'īyah, Sab'ān (a sub-tribe of the Aslam), Tābah, Teima and Waqid. In the Nefūd, Shammar are settled in Qana, and there are permanent military posts at the wells of Trobah and Hayyanīyah. In Nejd, inhabitants of reputed Shammar blood are found in the following places: in Qasīm, at 'Ayūn, Buteiniyāt, Ahlab ed-Dūd, Hamar, Qasr Sa'ūd, Shiqqah, and Tandmah; and in Sedeir, at 'Areirah, Artawīyah, Athlah, 'Attār (Qidīrah section) and Zilli.

20. *Sherārāt*

The Sherārāt, who are related to the Hutaim (see p. 93), form a proportion of the population at Jauf el-'Amr.

21. *Sunnā'*

The Sunnā', forming the smiths' caste, are sometimes found settled in the villages of Nejd (see p. 92).

22. *Beni Tamīm*

The Beni Tamīm (see pp. 76 and 81), now entirely a settled tribe, form an important element of the fixed population in Nejd and Jebel Shammar; in Qasīm the people may perhaps be assumed to be Tamīm where the presence of other tribes is not reported. Communities and smaller groups of Beni Tamīm are found in the following places in Nejd: in 'Ārīdh, at 'Ammārīyah, 'Arjah, Dar'īyah,

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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Dhrumah, Harwimlah, Hizwah, Mahriqah, Manfûhah, Masâni', Riyâdh, Sedûs, Sufurrah, Thâdiq; in Kharj, at 'Adhâr, Dilam, Na'ajân, and Suleimiyah; in Hautah, at Hilwah and Quwei'; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah, 'Audah, Dâkhilah, Dhalmah, Harmah, Hasûn, Hautah, Jalâjil, Janubiyah, Khatâmah, Khîs, Raudhah, Ruweidhah, Tameir, Tuweim and Wushei; in Qasîm, at Aneizah, Boreidah, and in all the oases (see p. 81); in the Wâdi Sirr, at Feidhah. 101 619 622

In Jebel Shammar the presence of Beni Tamîm is noted at 'Alaq, Qasr el-'Ashruwât, Feid, Mustajiddah, Sab'ân, Samîrah and Sileimi.

The tribal organization of the Beni Tamîm has tended to disappear in the process of settlement. The principal sub-tribes, with their lines of distribution, are enumerated in the following table, which must not, however, be regarded as exhaustive:

BENI TAMÎM

Hamir.
At Hautah in Sedeir.
'Abd el-Jabbar.
At Dhalmah in Sedeir.
Al Mâdhi.
At Harmah and Raudhah in Sedeir.

Mâjid.
At Thâdiq in 'Ârîdh.
Ibn Mu'ammar.
At Sedûs in 'Ârîdh.
Naudeir.
At Dhrumah in 'Ârîdh; at Hautah and Mejma' in Sedeir.

Thamdrah.
At Mejma'.
Tuweim.
In Kharj.
Wahebah.
At Mejma'.
Wahâb
At Riyâdh.

23. *Beni Zeid*

This settled tribe, connected by some authorities with the Beni Tamîm and by others with the Dawâsir, is found at Shaqrah and Washeiqir in Woshm. In the Wâdi Turabah it is represented at Khurmah and Ramadîn; communities also occur at Quwei'iyah and Sha'arah in the tract between the above districts.

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/The map following p. 502 should be assembled according to the plan given below:

a	b
c	d

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TRIBAL AREAS AND MIGRATION LINES OF THE NORTH ARABIAN BEDOUINS

Carl R. Raswan

[With separate map, Pl. V, facing p. 500]

104 SINCE 1911 the writer has spent a total of about seven years among the Bedouins. The main purpose of his repeated visits to northern Arabia has been the breeding of Arab horses and study of their history. Incidentally he has been impelled to determine as accurately as possible the *dira* or pasture districts of the various Bedouin tribes.

104 102 The accompanying maps are based largely upon personal observations and inquiries among the 'Aneze, Shammar, Shoraraat, Hueitat, Beni Sakhr, and other tribes, supplemented by data gleaned from Doughty's "Travels in Arabia Deserta" and more especially from Alois Musil's works. While the maps are in no sense final or complete, the writer is confident that their delineation of the tribal areas is more accurate than that shown on any previous maps.

Definite Boundaries

619 The migrations of the Bedouins are not arbitrary, aimless wanderings in the wilderness. Well defined landmarks limit them. Tribes related by blood ties may frequently use the same districts together 13 at certain seasons of the year. One tribe may conclude a treaty with 101 strangers, permitting the latter to use its pastures and watering places 22 for a specified period. Or else a powerful tribe, like the Ruala, may invade an enemy's territory without warning. In this case constant bickering, raiding, and skirmishing is the inevitable result.

A great northward shift of the Shammar and 'Aneze nomads took place during the first part of the seventeenth century, and the existing apportionment of the tribal areas was at that time roughly established. The boundaries which the various tribes now claim as their own and which are marked by water holes, variations in the desert surface (as between lava rock, gravel, red sand, etc.), dry watercourses, solitary hills, mountain ranges, cultivated tracts, and the like, have been definitely fixed since the beginning of the last century. Some of the more important of these landmarks are shown on Plate V, facing p. 500.

As a typical example of a tribal area let us examine the *dira* of the 'Amarat tribe of the 'Aneze "nation" (Fig. 1). The eastern limit

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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settlers, and the 'Amarat might ultimately be induced by the government of 'Iraq to settle in Mesopotamia after the new irrigation projects have been developed. The Ruala would undoubtedly hold out the longest against any such policy, many of them preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to their brothers in central Arabia rather than adopt the life of the settlers. The Weld 'Ali sheep breeders would settle in the neighborhood of Homs and Hama', and the camel breeders among them would remain with the Ruala.

Three hundred years have sufficed to bring the Bedouin tribes who left their central Arabian homeland to the brink of an abyss in which all the romance, beauty, and liberty of their nomadic life will disappear. Whatever one may think about the "backward, medieval, puritanical" rule of Ibn Sa'ud, the domain of this Wahhabi descendant of the Zana Muslim will some day be the last refuge for the few true Bedouin class that love the old, free, glamorous, roving life better than the stale and degrading existence of the settlers in territories under French or British control.

NOTES ON THE MAPS[1]

Plate V shows tribal boundaries, natural features, and place names. Owing to the confusion resulting from the overlapping of the tribal areas, Figures 1, 2, and 3 have been added representing these territories as differentiated by shading. On these maps reference numbers are given to the following notes explaining certain points of interest in connection with the movements of each tribe. The place names mentioned in these notes will all be found on Plate V.[2]

Detailed tables revealing the internal subdivisions of the various tribes into subtribes, clans, etc., will be found in "A Handbook of Arabia," pp. 43-55, and also scattered through the various volumes of Alois Musil. In many instances these classifications do not correspond. Since the pages on which the tables are found in Musil's publications are not readily determined from the indexes, the following references are included for the benefit of those wishing to make a critical study of the organization of the tribes whose territories are shown on the accompanying maps:

Figure 1. 'Anaze Tribes. Zana Muslim, including the Ruala and Weld'Ali, A. D., pp. 14-16; Weld'Ali, A. D., p. 84. 'Amarat, A. D., p. 32. Fed'an, A. D., p. 33. Sha'a, P., pp. 35, 91. Weld Sleyman, N. N., p. 55.

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[1] On the maps and in the text of this article Musil's modernized spelling of place names and tribal names here, in general, been followed. The transliterations, however, follow the English rather than the continental scheme, even in quotations from Musil's works.

[2] The abbreviations are as follows:

A. D., Alois Musil: Arabia Deserta. Amer. Geogr. Soc. Oriental Exploration and Studies No. 2. New York, 1927.

A. P., idem: Arabia Petraea. 3 vols., Kaiserliche Acad. der Wiss., Vienna, 1908.

M. E., idem: The Middle Euphrates. Amer. Geogr. Soc. Oriental Exploration and Studies No. 3. New York, 1927.

N. R., idem: The Northern Hejaz. Ibid. No. 1. New York, 1926.

N. N., idem: Northern Nejd. Ibid. No. 3. New York, 1928.

P., idem: Palmyrena. Ibid. No. 4. New York, 1928.

Handbook, "A Handbook of Arabia." Vol. 1. General, compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Brown Admiralty. London, 1920.

Doughty, C. M. Doughty: Travels in Arabia Deserta. 2 vols., London, 1888, 3rd ed. in 1. 1909.

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Figure 2. Shammar and Related Tribes. Northern Shammar, Handbook, p. 78. Tuman, N. N., p. 32 (according to Handbook, p. 80, these are listed as a subtribe of the Aslam). Aslam, N. N., p. 33. 'Abde, N. N., pp. 32–33. Sinjara, N. N., pp. 32–32. Zedir, Handbook, pp. 81–83.

Other Major Tribes. 'Umur, P., p. 24. Beni 'Atiyya, N. H., p. 235. Beli, N. H., p. 211. Jeheyna, Handbook, p. 63. Harb, Handbook, pp. 64–67. 'Ateyban, Handbook, pp. 67–69. 'Ajman, Handbook, pp. 85–87. Muteyr, Handbook, pp. 83–84.

Figure 3. Tribes of the Second Rank. Jbur, M. E., p. 83. Hadediyyin, P., p. 151. Sha'ban: 'Alzale subdivision, M. E., p. 186; Welde subdivision, M. E., p. 188. 'Aqeydat, M. E., pp. 73–74. Dleym, M. E., pp. 143–144. Beni Tamim, M. E., p. 139. Zeba', M. E., p. 127. Khazi'el: Beni Selame division, M. E., p. 107. Fua're, P., p. 37. Sleyb: Al'Ian subdivision (the Sleyb are scattered over northern Arabia; some of their subdivisions and areas are indicated in A. D., p. 231). Kuakbe, A. D., p. 16. Beni Sakhr, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 112–119. Sharaat, A. D., p. 136. 'Imran, N. H., p. 79. Hueitat ibn Jazi, N. H., pp. 6–7; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 51–54. Hueitat ibn Jad, N. H., p. 69; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 54–55. Hueitat at-Tihama, N. H., p. 129; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 48–49. Humeyda, Handbook, p. 59; A. P., Vol. 3, p. 103. 'Amarin clan, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 58–59.

FIGURE 1, 'AMERE TRIBES

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1. The inhabitants of Hama' and Hama entrust their flocks to the 'Ayde and Hesse groups of the Weld 'Ali. The sheykh Al-Tayyar of the Weld 'Ali owns houses in Homs, Sheykh Hmed, and Al-Buer (see A. D., pp. 390–391).
2. North of Al-Barde are good lowland spring pastures of the Sha'a.
3. Near 'Aqlat Shuab is buried Turki eben Mheyd, Fed'an chief (A. D., p. 62).
4. Near Al-Baghdadi is a garden belonging to Ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe.
5. The lowland of Ar-Rozz "is in cultivation and belongs to the head chief Fahad ibn Dreym ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe. His fortified farm, Al-Qeyr, is at the southeastern edge of the fields, and he maintains a small house at the spring of Al-'Eale" (A. D., p. 359).
6. The 'Amarat camp between Al-Felluja and Baghdad in August and September; later they go to Karbala.
7. The family of Ibn Hadhdhal have houses at Karbala and Remaa (see A. D., p. 258).
8. Al-Hamad and Al-Wadiyan are the winter pasture grounds of the Rwala in years of sufficient rain; if the rains do not suffice they go to the eastern borders of the Nafud or to the vicinity of Teyma'.
9. "From the end of June until the end of August the Rwala pasture in An-Nagra." This summer pasture is called *ungir*. After September they leave for Al-Hamad and Al-Wadiyan (A. D., p. 408).
10. The people of Naeib pay tribute to Nuri ibn Sha'lan, head chief of the Rwala, when the Rwala return from Nejd in June (A. D., p. 383).
11. Lihian is visited in lean years by the Rwala.
12. Some Mushib of the Qenna subdivision of the Sha'a tribe camp with the Beni Sakhr; others with the Beli (see Figs. 2 and 3).
13. Route taken by the northern Weld 'Ali to their southern relatives on the Rwala *dira* (pasture districts).
14. The Hueitat sometimes camp with the Rwala in this region.
15. In times of peace the Al Dughman clan of the Rwala camp in this vicinity (see N. N., p. 12).
16. The well of Helwiha in the district of Al-Hail or Al-Hail once belonged to Ibn Rweyye of the Al Sha'lan family of the Al Mur'an clan of the Rwala (A. D., p. 13; N. N., p. 13).
17. Al-Ma'aniyye belongs to the 'Aman, not to the Shammar (N. N., p. 32).

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FIG. 1

18. The Hejara is the spring pasture grounds of the 'Amarat, Sinjara Shammar, Zeda, and even of the Muntifiq in seasons of plentiful rain.

19. Teywiyyat 'Anaze at one time belonged to the Dahamshe branch of the 'Amarat (A. D., p. 32; N. N., p. 26).

20. The southern Wild 'Ali and the Al Mur'aa clan of the Rwala join when the pastures southwest of 'Teflna' fail and go together into Al-Labbe and Al-Hamad (see A. D., p. 180).

21. When there is not enough rain in Al-Hamad and Al-Wadiyan the Rwala go to the vicinity of 'Teyma' and the northern Nafud. When they leave, their enemies (for example, Shararat, Wild Sleymas, Howeit, and Beni 'Atiyya) may take their place (A. D., p. 143).

22. "The best valleys upon both sides the Harra, east el-Hejr, are sown all years by some of the Mnakib Anzeh. Their harvest up, they strike the hamlets of tents, and with their cattle go forth to wander a while as the nomads" (Doughty, Vol. 1, p. 234).

23. Sumira was formerly in the dira (territory) of the Rwala; the Harb and Beni Salem (Wild Sleymas) were taxed here by Ibn Rashid (Doughty, Vol. 2, p. 301).

24. Ibn Rashid taxed the Wild 'Ali at Al-Fawra (*ibid.*).

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FIG. 1

FIGURE 1, SHAMMAR AND RELATED TRIBES

1. The Northern Shammar trade at Deyr az-Zor and have their agent (wagil) there.
2. In certain years when the winter pastures are good the Northern Shammar migrate to Najd.
3. The country between Ma'an and Wadi Sirhan after April is war territory between the Huetat and their enemies, the Shararat, Beni Sakhr, and Shammar (see N. H., p. 14).
4. Until the rain pools have dried up (end of April) the Huetat ibn-Jaai encamp near the mountains Al-Hamar and Al-'Alar in territory which belongs to the Shararat (N. H., p. 15).
5. Shammar are sometimes found in the vicinity of Al-Bueyrat (see A. D., pp. 214-215).
6. Early summer camping grounds of the Siejara Shammar.
7. Al-Haal (Haul): summer camping place of the Siejara Shammar.
8. Cairn marking the grave of Bender, a chief of the Zweyl clan of the Tuman tribe (N. N., p. 195).
9. See Fig. 1, note 18.

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FIG. 3

10. The principal center of the Zeki, kinsmen of the Shammar, is near the Persian Gulf, but they have been known to raid as far north as 'Ana.
11. Al-Khawra: "There are upwards of eighty wells at Al-Khawra, from eight to ten fathoms deep. They belong to clans of the 'Abda tribe [of the Shammar] who pitch their camps by them in the hot summer" (N. N., p. 27).
12. Umm al-Qulbaw: "The eight huts of this hamlet belonged to [the Shammar emir] Ibn Rashid, who, with Fahhad al-Qir'i as supervisor, used to rear mares there" (N. N., p. 147).
13. The Shammar claim as their "home" the land east of Minwa.
14. See Fig. 1, note 21.
15. See Fig. 1, note 22.
16. See Fig. 1, note 12.
17. Al-Jaw forms the best military encampment of the Beli and their enemies (N. N., p. 214).
18. The Beni 'Atiyya trade in Tabuk, and their head chief, Ibn 'Atiyya, has property there (see N. N., pp. 158, 161).
19. The Beni 'Atiyya send men in July to Karak, Tafila, or Madaba to sell their camels there and buy barley (N. N., pp. 155-156).
20. The 'Amual clan of the Shammar "number about five hundred tents and usually

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many on the southwestern border of the 'Eja mountains." They were "at one time subject to the reigning family of Al Jarba, who have emigrated to Mesopotamia together with their clans. The 'Amud have remained in their original homeland and joined the Sinjara" (N. N., p. 94).

21. See Fig. 1, note 13.
22. *Dira* of the Beni Khaled, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.
23. *Dira* of the Beni Haly, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.

FIGURE 3. TRIBES OF THE SECOND RANK

1. Hamaydis: The "Beni Hamaydy," said by Doughty (Vol. 1, p. 26) to be "possessors of the most excellent strains of Arab horses, and in this fresh and plain country there is always plenty of wild pasture."
2. "The Beni Sakhr and the Huetat have no strictly defined frontiers, and when in the territory of the settlers both tribes often lay claim to the same settlements and exact payment from the same settlers. This proceeding generally results in skirmishes" (N. N., pp. 13-14).
3. See Fig. 1, note 12.
4. See Fig. 2, note 3.
5. After the end of April the Huetat ibn Jazi camp in this vicinity.
6. See Fig. 2, note 4.
7. See Fig. 1, note 14.
8. "The head chief Abu Tayya [of the Huetat at-Tibawa] generally resided in the settlement of Zba'" (N. N., p. 109).
9. See Fig. 1, note 21.
10. Two-thirds of the pure inhabitants of Nir come from the Dhayn tribe (M. E., p. 27).
11. Al-Khawa: the property of Zaber, chief of the Meghara clan of the Khawa of tribe (A. D., p. 369).

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following p 502 (a)

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following p. 502 (b)

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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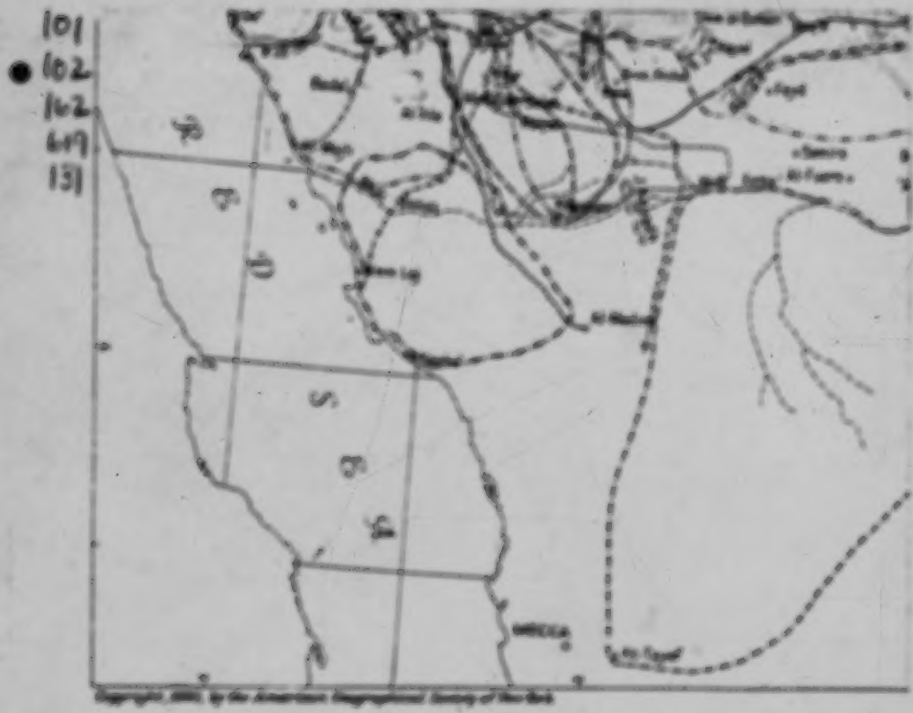

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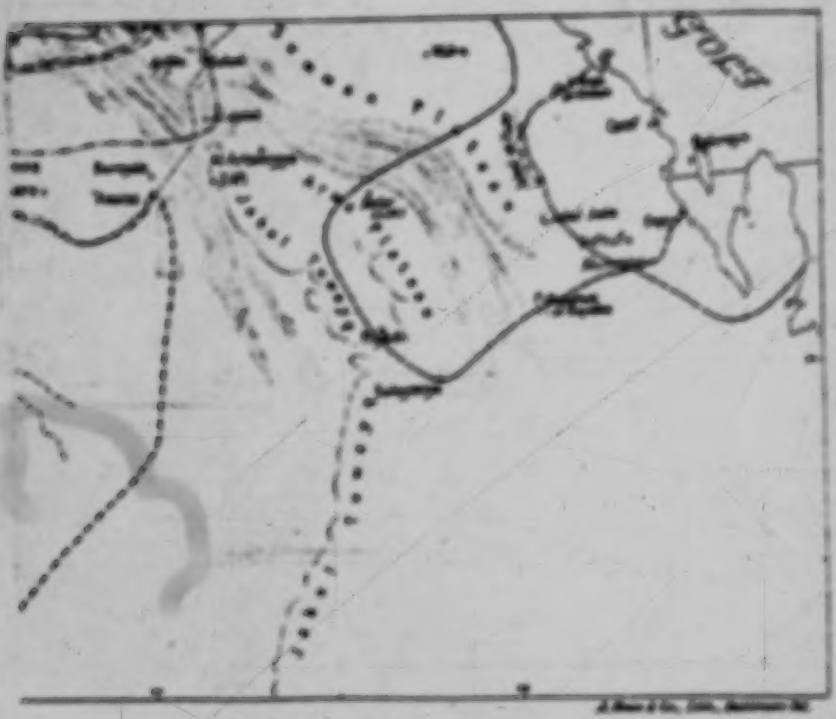

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p. 394 (2)

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CHAPTER I

My Life in the Desert

114 Badawin life has been so often and so well described by such giants
123 in Arabian knowledge as Doughty, Musil, Philby, Bertram Thomas and others, that I feel timid in recording my own experiences. I am constrained to do so, however, by the thought that even I may be able to add a little to the knowledge that has been accumulated about a people, who are perhaps more lovable than any other race on earth, for I have had the good fortune, during my seven years' life among the Muntafiq and Khamail Arabs of the Euphrates, my two years' duty in Bahrain and Hasa, and last but not least during my subsequent seven years' sojourn in Kuwait as H.M.'s Political Agent, to have lived, moved about and camped among the nomad Badawin* in their own tents and as one of themselves. During these years, and in particular during my service in Kuwait, I learned to like and respect the Badawin and gained an insight into his life which I shall never regret.† I was blessed with a wonderful partner, who loved the Arab woman, her charming ways, her wonderful courage, simplicity and pride of race even more perhaps than I did her menfolk. This enabled me to acquire through her a knowledge of the thoughts, manners and occupations of these daughters of Arabia and descendants of Hagar, which few others have had a like chance to gain. Two factors in particular have helped me to win the confidence of the Arab and have assisted not a little in furthering my investigations. First, the fact that I was wet-nursed by an 'Anizah woman of the Misrab section of the Ruwala, and so can claim milk-brotherhood with them. Secondly, the fact that I have spoken Arabic from childhood.

103 * In Arabic *al badia* means the normal inhabited desert; *al bada or al badawi* (feminine: *al badawiyah*) the desert-dwelling nomad, whom in English we call the "Badawin". The nomad naturally does not refer to himself as a Badawin, but rightly styles himself an Arab. I use the word Badawin as both a singular and plural noun and as an adjective.

† Since quitting official life I have continued to reside in Kuwait as a member of the Kuwait Oil Company.

Feeding Baby

854 saddle bags with its head out. After this age the baby is practically never washed; and it is taken out of its swaddling clothes only at night and then for only short periods.

The idea underlying the swaddling clothes is firstly, to keep the baby quiet, and secondly, to make it grow strong and straight.

853 The baby is fed at any hour of the day and night, or whenever it cries. It is not immodest for a Badawin woman to feed her baby in

Nazak.

the presence of her menfolk, or even of strange men; and I have often seen women to whom I have been talking, open their front garment and bring out a breast to suckle their infant.

BADAWIN NAMES

109 852 The Badawin frequently name men and places after parts of the human body. Some of the best-known examples are given below.

Places.

Al Sirra—"The Navel"; a hill near Kuwait.

Al Dhid—"The woman's breast"; a hill in the Neutral Zone south of Kuwait.

Al Nuhaidain—"The maiden's breasts"; two small twin hills in Kuwait.

Kaden al Afit—"The gazelle's nose"; a hill 40 miles north-west of Kuwait.

Dhair'at al Dhabe—"The Hyena's Mounds"; a group of low hills 25 miles south-west of Kuwait.

851 *Men.*

Zib Salmane—"Dog's penis"; cognomen of Khalid al Hithlain, present Sheikh of the 'Ajman.

Ab 'al Kilab—"Father of Dogs"; cognomen given to Naif al Hithlain, late Sheikh of the 'Ajman.

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tents were common to the Al Rimal or Al Ramla (Rub'al Khali) 275
and were always the work of Jinns (spirits).

(d) Individual Murra, he said, themselves often came out of the 125
great desert "mad", which made them sing and laugh in strange manner. This was undoubtedly due to Jinn influence.

(e) The word Rub' al Khali, he said, was a *hadhar* or townsman's 367
expression, and Badawin did not know the name, and he himself had 108
only once or twice heard it.

(f) Rashid knew seven of Philby's guides personally when he made his great trans-desert journey; one of them, Falah abu Ja'ala, was his cousin. (See page 10 of Philby's book; also first part of this chapter.)

THE DEAD WOMAN WHO NURSED HER CHILD

(Recounted by Dhuwaihi bin Khamit of the 'Awazim on 21st 67
April, 1935, in camp at Malah, Kuwait.)

A man of the 'Awazim was once travelling near Hail with his young wife. The lassy was with child, and in a gorge between some high rocky hills she suddenly gave birth to a baby boy, but in the process died. Her husband did all he could for her, but as he was alone, he could not save her. He buried her by putting her body in a small cave nearby, and filled up the entrance with stones. Loth to remove the child, still knowing it would shortly die for lack of milk, he laid it on its mother's breast with her left arm round it, and put the mother's left breast to the baby's mouth. He then rode away.

Nine months later a party of Badawin of the same tribe happened to wander by and camp close to the spot where the woman and child had been buried. Knowing the story they went to the cave's mouth to see if the wall was intact. To their surprise they found a few stones removed and a hole in the wall; outside on the sand they found the tracks of a child's feet running all over the ground. In great fear and filled with superstition they quickly rode away from the haunted place. In course of time the Badawin told the father, who hastened to the spot, and found the hole in the wall and the small footmarks. Looking inside the cave, he found a live boy-child sitting and prattling beside the mummified form of his dead wife. The mother's body was all dried up, except her left eye and the left side of her face, her left

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Faisiliya Island
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Sketch of Hasa Oasis.
Sketch of Hasa Oasis looking West
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Sketch Map showing Motor Road from Riyadh to Kuwait. No. 1
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II. Family of the AL SA'UD showing the AL ARÁFA Branch.
III. Family Tree of the AL RASHID.
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V. Tree showing the names of the Shaikhs (DUHAM) of MUTAIR ('IZWA).
VI. Table of the AL SUBAH ('ATBI) Ruling Family of Kuwait.

NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF ARABIC WORDS

In representing Arabic as spoken by the Badawin I have striven to write what I heard, however far removed from literary forms. To simplify typewriting I have not attempted to distinguish the Arabic sounds of 'ain and hamzah but represent both by an apostrophe. Similarly I have not sought to differentiate the Arabic varieties of *s*, *t*, *h*, etc., nor systematically to insert the final silent *h*. I lay no claim to a profound knowledge of classical or literary Arabic, and I therefore crave the indulgence of those learned in these matters.

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already gone ahead to spy out the land, the grazing and the water. Assuming that there is no enemy near or danger imminent, the baggage-camels and women folk follow fairly close on their heels. After the women and camp gear, the herds of camels and sheep follow on a broad front, slowly grazing along till they reach their new camp. There they find everything ready and the tents pitched. A strong guard is, of course, left with the herds. As in the case of the individual tent owner, the shaikh decides on where the camp is to be, and on the spot where he kneels his camel and off-saddles, his own tent will be pitched.

A tribe in camp is not concertinaed up but scatters out over a wide space, each group of family tents being about two hundred yards from its neighbour if the ground is broken, and possibly four hundred yards apart in flat open ground. Hence a body of Badawin having, say, four hundred tents will cover a wide area when camped. This is the procedure in winter or spring when no enemy is about and likely to attack. In summer, on the other hand, when the tribe is camped on water, it literally surrounds the wells with tents, leaving only sufficient space for the camels and sheep to drink. Tents on such occasions are close together and generally in a series of lines, with tent ropes almost touching those of their neighbours. The widely scattered camp formation of winter may make it difficult for the fighting men to concentrate suddenly, but is ideal for passive defence. A sudden surprise raid cannot penetrate deeply into such a camp, as each tent becomes a small fort from which fire is directed on the intruders, who soon find themselves fired on from all sides. (The German pill-box system during the first Great War proved the efficacy of the method.) Badawin methods of fighting are discussed in Chapter XXVI.

NOTE.—

Asaïs—the man who goes ahead to look for best grazing ground.

Salléf—the leader of the tribe or head of family on the march. He always rides alone at head.

Makhir—is name given to the family baggage-camels as opposed to *Al Aba'ir*, milch and loose camels on march.

Al Ghanam—the sheep on the march.

Al Bakar—the lambs who march separate from the ewes.

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(F) *Quail.*

One fell exhausted in my compound on 9th September, 1935 (going south), and I have put up odd ones at Adaliyah when riding in March and April.

(G) *Persian Doves.*

Always seen in large numbers in the end of May and early June (going north), but do not seem to pass through Kuwait on migration south. They are shot and netted in large quantities and are eaten by the local people.

(H) *Swallows.*

These appear in the early days of March (going north) and continue passing through till the end of April. They appear again in much larger quantities in October, when they seem to collect on the telegraph wires in preparation for the long sea journey south. On several occasions when we have been out in camp in the desert in the beginning of March, exhausted birds would come and roost inside our tent, on a rope or cord for hanging clothes on. On one extra cold night one fell off the rope and crept into my daughter's bed for warmth, where we found it dead next morning.

BADAWIN NAMES FOR CERTAIN WILD BIRDS.

'Aqab—Eagle.
Abu Heggal—Black-and-white Crow.
Asfir—Yellow Wagtail.
Durdya or *Durjalan*—Cream-coloured Courser.
Gharmak—Flamingo.
Gatta—Sandgrouse.
Gôba—Crested Lark.
Gharrâb—Raven.
Hubara—Lesser Bustard (plural *Habari*).
Hud-Hud or *Hud-Hud*—Hoopoe.
Hammâmi—Shrike.
Hammân al barr—Spotted or Persian Doves.
Hurr—Falcon (Saker and Lagger).
Karwan—Stone Curlew or Goo-goo eye.
Kadhâri—Wild Duck.

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Murrâ—Quail.
Nasr—Vulture.
Qubaisa—Owl.
Rigaiyah or *Rigai'a*—Swallow.
Sakhi—Grey Wagtail.
Shabbah—Kestrel Hawk.
Shâhîn—Peregrine Falcon (Shahin).
Simmah—Redstart.
Wagg or *Bas*—Goose.
Zarzûr—Sparrow, also Blue Jay (Roller).

BIRD TRAPS

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There are three very common forms of bird traps for snaring small birds. They are known as:

(a) *Al Falâh.*
(b) *Al Sakhka.*
(c) *Al Sâlia.*

They should not be confused with the bird traps described in the chapter entitled "Hawking", which are for snaring large birds.

(a) The *Falâh* is mostly used for snaring the lesser kestrel hawk, which in some years appears in tens of thousands over Kuwait town during the end of March and April. These birds are caught with a decoy. A captive kestrel is obtained, and tied by both legs to a heavy stone, by means of a strong cord about 2 feet long, in a place near some trees, where the birds are known to roost. All round this bird are placed *falâhs* carefully covered over with a light layer of sand, and pegged to the ground, with only a wriggling grub visible. The hawks, seeing a fellow kestrel on the ground, out of curiosity circle round and round and above it, and eventually settle close to it and are caught in the traps as they peck at the grubs attached to them. The boy trap-owners, who are lying hidden behind a wall or in some shallow pit in the vicinity, then rush out and capture the flapping birds.

The traps are carefully adjusted, so that the bird's legs are never broken, but the trap is just too heavy to enable them to fly away with it, although birds very often drag the peg out of the ground which holds the trap.

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turned into a dish by the Prophet. The true reason for the sanctity of the dish is obscure.

AL KHAFWI

Al Khawi is a small lizard delicately built; when full grown does not exceed 7 inches in length. It is commonly met everywhere in the desert of North-East Arabia, and is very fast. It may be seen rushing about at lightning speed from one *'arfaj* bush to another, twitching its long thin tail from side to side. It has a fine skin, spotted on the back, and is greyish white in colour.

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Another variety of this lizard has lines along its back, and is pale salmon pink in colour under the tail. Among the Shammar Badawin the same lizard is known under the name of *Al Sulaimanyah*.

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ROLLER BEETLE

The desert is full of roller beetles, especially where Badawin camps exist. This beetle is locally known as *Abu Salla* (Father of camel manure) or Abu Ja'id.*

It usually appears in spring, and is to be seen everywhere, rolling fresh bits of manure (camel, horse, donkey or even goat) into a perfect ball, and carting it off backwards at an amazing and feverish pace. When the beetle comes to a nice soft spot, it starts digging a sloping hole in mad fashion, sufficiently large to take its manure ball. When the hole is ready it rolls the ball down the slope of the hole, where it comes to rest 8 to 10 inches from the entrance. The digging is done with the beetle's strong fore-feet, and to get earth out it turns round and shovels out earth with head and snout. It is extremely funny, and works as if life depended on getting the hole dug in a minimum of time. When rolling the ball along, the beetle's hind quarters and legs are cocked up against the ball and guide the latter in the proper direction, the beetle's strong head and claws which are on the ground do the pushing. The roller beetle always moves backwards at an amazing pace if ground is smooth.

It usually has several small fly-parasites on its back, which appear to have their abode in the join between head and body.

* Roller beetle appeared in 1937 on February 19th and just after good rain. Clearly they come out of the ground where they hibernate for six months.

Badawin Snake Names

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The Arab of Kuwait calls a snake *hejye*, and the Badawin calls the same thing a *dib*. Both words denote any kind of snake.

The local Badawin's names for his special varieties are as under. (The descriptions are his.)

(a) *Hamish*—A snake, light brownish to sandy colour, with dark spots down back, usually about 4 feet long, very bold, gets angry and attacks man. (The cobra variety with and without hood.)

(b) *Hâw*—Black snake, 3 to 3 feet long, moves fast. (Black Cobra?)

(c) *Hejye*—Every form of viper.

(a), (b) and (c) Very poisonous, according to the Badawin.

(d) *Zawja*—A sandy-coloured snake, with dark lines down its whole length, 1½ to 3 feet long. It moves fast in straight line, does not zig-zag.

Non-poisonous, according to Badawin.

GAURTI or JARBU' (Short-eared)
Found dead of cold 31.1.37 at Um Rijm, Kuwait

GLOSSARY OF COMMON BADAWIN WORDS

104 *A'aqul* or *'Aqu*—camel thorn bush of Iraq (Alhagi maurorum D.C.).
A'ardiyah—common long-haired and long-eared goat.
'A'arab—advance lines of irregular Badawin troops leading an attack.
A'asin—obstinate.
'A'asifa—expression used for mare wanting a horse.
Abu'ir—unladen camels on the march.
Abir, plu. of *bir*, q.v.
'Abba or *'Abbah*, plu. *'abbi*—cloak universally worn by Arabs. See *bisht*.
'Abd, plu. *'abid*—slave (negro).
'Abd mamlik—slave (bought).
'Abd mu'allid, plu. *mu'alid*—domestic slave born in captivity.
'Abda—woman slave.
'Abid—servant of God, a pious man.
'Abraq (pronounced *abrag*), plu. *'abariq*—high stony ground, with sand at base, usually overlooking a valley; e.g. *'abraq al hakari*, *'abraq khaisan*, *'abraq khalija*, all in Kuwait or environs.
Abu—father.
Abu Haggah—black and white hawk, buzzard, or crow.
Abu Hajaiyir—a sheep disease.
Abu Hamaiyir—whooping cough.
Abu Ja'al or *Abu Jalla*—roller- or scarab-beetle.
Abu Rumah—a goat disease.
Abu Saiyaha—white blaze on horse.
Abu Shabanba—kind of mud-fish found in Kuwait waters.
'Ada—custom.
'Adan, plu. *adanat*—light shifting sand, *'Adan* district of Kuwait situate on coast south of town.
'Adhfir, plu. *'adhafir*—finger or toe nails.
'Adhan—call to prayer.
'Adil—large woollen saddle-bags for carrying rice.
'Afri—a type of Arabian gazelle, the smallest. See also *dhabi*, *'idmi*.
'Agab—eagle. See *'Aqab*.
'Agal—head cord (*aggal* is term used for hobbling a camel).
'Agla, *'aqla* or *'uqla*—a sweet-water shallow well in the bed, or vicinity of, a dry water-course, which has to be dug out after each rains; like *thamilah*, e.g. *'Uglat ibn Siqai* (north-west corner of Kuwait) and *Um 'agla* in Dahana sands.

Glossary

'Agra—scabies of head.
'Agrab or aqrab—scorpion.
Ahl, ál—family, people, inhabitants.
Ahl al bait—miscreas of the tent.
Ahl al ghanam—sheep-herding tribes. See *Shu*
Ahl al khibrah—expert exponents of camel-law and other precedents.
'Aib—dishonour, disgrace; dishonourable, disgraceful.
'Aibah, plu. *'aiyab*—leather saddle-bags for carrying dates.
'Ain, plu. *'eyun*—spring of water; also eye, and so Evil Eye.
'Aiyal—children, family in general, household.
'Ajaj—sand storm, dust (*sha'if*).
'Ajman—a large and well-known Arab tribe of *Sharif* descent.
'Ajram—a bush resting of salt; there are six of them, all known under common name of *hamth* (Chenopodiaceae). Camels must eat these once in fifteen days to keep them fit.
Ajúzah—old woman; a 5-day wind usually blowing between 26th February and 8th March.
Akhdar—(fem. *khadra or khadra*)—green.
'Akka—sheepskin bag for storing clarified butter.
Al—the (article).
Ál or Al—tribe, house of, e.g. *ál Sa'ud, ál Murra*.
Alahum (Ahlah Ana)—war cry of the 'Awazim.
'Alaikum as salám—on you be peace.
Alam, dual *alamain*, plu. *alamát*—sign, boundary-mark, flag (like *rijm*).
'Alán—written proclamation.
Al fik—long stone instrument for hammering in tent pegs.
Al hamdu l'Illah—praise be to God.
'Ali—high, lofty, sublime.
'Alim, plu. *'ulama*—priest.
Aling (aling)—a truce, leach.
Allah hailkum—God give you life! (an intimate welcome).
Allah-i-alkum ajarkum—death condolence made to men when a grown-up male relative has died.
Allah-i-alkum ajarick—death condolence said to a woman on the death of a relation or child.
Allah-i-salmu—God save him, often used when referring to a big man, e.g. "Shaikh Ahmad, *Allah-i-salmu*".
Allah-i-salmak—God save you.
Allah yukain ajarkum—death condolence made to a man for his child's death.
Al rimál—'Ajman name and Murra name for the *Rub 'al khali*, the Great Empty Quarter in South Arabia.
Al sharif—the sacred black camel herd of the Mutair.
'Am—father's brother, paternal uncle. See *Ibn'am, bint 'am*.
'Amám—relationship, or relations on father's side.

Glossary

104 *Ambar ho*—rice from Iraq or Iran.
'Amdda—see *'Amud*.
'Anouni—name given by slave-woman to her mistress. Literally "my aunt".
'Anni—name given by slave to his master. Literally "my uncle".
Amir, plu. *umara*—leader, prince.
Amir al Mumineen—Commander of the Faithful, e.g. *min al amir al mumineen illa ahl al Kufa, salam 'alaikum.*
'Amud, plu. *'amdda*—tent pole.
Anwah—see *nu.*
Ardiyat—plu. of *ardi*, q.v.
'Angar—ship's anchor with four or six prongs.
'Aniqah—a large Arab tribe of *Sharif* descent.
'Anz—female goat.
'Aqab (pronounced *'agal*)—eagle.
Aqail—a tribe of non-aristocrat, town-dwelling camel-dealers.
'A'qil, fem. *aqila*, (or *aqila*)—wise, sensible.
'Aqla—see *'Agla.*
'Aqrab—see *Agrab.*
'Arab al 'aribe—Arabs of the Arabs, or descendants of *Yarab*, the Father of Arabs.
'Arab al musta'ribe—Arabs who became Arabs (i.e. descendants of Ishmael).
Arabana—horse-drawn carriage.
'Arabdawi, plu. *'Arabdar*—Arab who is half Badawin, half townsman.
'Arad—a bush tasting of salt; there are six of them all known under the common name of *hamdh* (Chenopodiaceae).
'Arafa—desert law connected with recovery of stolen or lost camels.
Arba'iyin—40-day wind from north-west See *kirik.*
'Arbiyah—name given to Hasa and Kuwait sheep (black).
Arah—ground, land, earth.
'Arah—honour, when used in connection with women.
'Ardha—war dance, a showing off, parade.
'Arf—money compensation for manslaughter or bodily injury. (See *Islahat.*)
'Arfaj—shrub growing in the desert (common to north-east Arabia) (Rhanterium epapposum Oliv.).
'Arish—hut, roof, shelter made of mats.
'Arq—low hill, knoll.
Arsah—see *Rishah.*
Arshiyah—famous breed of camel.
As Sulaimaniyah—variety of *al khawi* lizard.
'Asar—see *'Asar.*
Asfur—yellow wagtail among Badawin, elsewhere sparrow.
'Asha—time of final evening prayer, about an hour and a half after sunset.

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Glossary

'Akib—grass or grazing.
Akhwa or *'Akhwah*, pln. *'ashayir*—family, tribe, kin; settled tribes of Iraq. 10
Ashraf, plural of *sharif*—descendants of the Prophet through daughter Fatima; Shariffal class of Hijaz.
'Asil, pln. *Asilin*—thoroughbred, noble, of pure descent.
'Asa—camel stick made of cane.
Asaba—head-cloth for dead women.
'Asar or *'asar*—afternoon, *salat al asar* afternoon prayer.
'Asada—the person who marches ahead to find best grazing ground.
Aswad—black.
'Atf—name given by 'Awazim to the *mahar*, or woman's camel litter.
Atkafir—finger-rails.
'Atba—threshold.
Atab—sing. *ata*, tent ropes.
Atiyah—famous breed of camel.
Atlal—see *wadi*.
'Aun—A small edible fish, like a sardine, chiefly used as food for cattle.
'Auaj—a thorny bush, believed by the Badawin to be under the special protection of spirits (*jinn*) (Lycium arabicum, Schweinf.).
'Awaf—said to a person who has had a good dinner and is satisfied.
'Awaijin—a pattern in the *ghar* (tent divide).
'Awajin—a large, important, non-aristocratic tribe.
'Ayah or *'Aish*—rice, also *ruz*, *sumin*.
'Ayah anbar ho—special quality rice from North Iran and Middle Euphrates.
'Ayah hallum—Patna rice.
'Ayah peshawari—Peshawar rice, very high quality.
Ayyam—pln. of *yawm*, day.
Ayyam al tashrik—days of drying flesh. The three days' rite at Mina during the *Haj* season. It is one of the five *wajibat* or requisites of pilgrimage.
Ajbal—line of hair on horse's belly.
'Ajmi—a member of the 'Awazim tribe.
'Aziz—dear one, one who is in favour.

Bab, pln. *abwab*—gate, door.
Bab al 'Ali—Sublime Porte.
Bad al Mashal—fee payable on reclaimed silt-land.
Badda—type of small boat with one mast.
Badawiyah—Badawin woman.
Badia—generic term for nomads who live in the desert, i.e. Badawin.
Badla—the fifth-quality pearl.
Bado—plural of Badawi (pronounced Baduwi), i.e. Arab of the desert.
Baghala—frigate type of dhow with stern windows.
Bahan (al)—name given to flock of lambs and kids.
Bahra, pln. *bahar*—dry sandy water-course.

Glossary

● 154 *Bahr*—sea.
Bahra—before a vowel *bahr-ur*, land, district, low place with water or marsh.
Ba'ij—pattern in *qibla* (sand-divide).
Bait (*beit*), plu. *bayût*—house, building, tent, e.g. *bayût sha'ar*—hair tents.
Bait Allah—House of God, common name for Mecca.
Bait al mal—house of revenue, Treasury.
Bait al sha'ar—plu. *bîyût sha'ar*, Badawin tent.
Baiza-jan—egg-plant.
Bakhîl—stingy.
Bakkarah—young female camel, generic term.
Bakkâra—camel-stick made of cane.
Balad, plu. *bilâd* or *buldân*—town, district, country.
Balam Ashkâri—river boat in use in Basra.
Balam sandi—type of small dhow used on lower reaches of Shatt al 'Arab.
Balash—Badawin name for syphilis. See *firingi*.
Bâmia—vegetable known as "ladies' fingers".
Bandar—see *Bint*.
Bandar—port, harbour, protection.
Bani, plu. of *ibn*—sons of; frequently occurs in tribal names.
Bani 'Am—members of a tribe with one male ancestry.
Bani Hâjir, *Bani Khâlid*, *Bani Yâm*, *Bani Yâs*—aristocratic Arab tribes.
Baqarah—type of dhow.
Baragh—rice and meat cooked in vine-leaves; also known as *dolma*.
Baras—leprosy.
Barga (*barqa*)—lumbago.
Bargah—isolated part of Nufudh desert.
Bârih (or *Bârah*) *al Thurayya*—the forty days' north-west wind of the Persian Gulf. Also known as *bârih al Sarâyâ*. Usually blows between 15th April and 27th May. *Bârih al Jauza* or *bârih al kabir*, a 40-day wind from north-west usually blows during July: also called *al arb'aiyin*.
Barr—the desert (as opposed to sea), land; *nahn'anu bal barr*, we went into the desert.
Bashir—bringer of good tidings, see *bishâra*, good tidings.
Baz—goose. See *Wazz*.
Basha, plu. *bashat*, *abashah*—ground broken with sandy nullahs. Broad shallow river bed like *bakara*.
Batil—fast sailing dhow of peculiar design (now almost extinct).
Bâtin—depression, shallow valley, e.g. *al Bâtin*, famous depression west of Kuwait.
Bâtiniyah—famous breed of riding camels from Batinah coast, Oman.
Batn—belly, depression, river-bed.
Battan—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Battûla—a type of woman's mask.

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Baul (or *Bil*)—urine. Female-camel urine is used as a hair-wash and often as a purgative by Badawin men and women. (Camel urine known as *baul hajin*.) 104

Bawara—common heavy anchor used in Kuwait (European shape).

Bazar—assemblage of shopping booths; shopping centre.

Bayir or *Bayir*, plu. *abiyir* or *ba'ir*—ordinary male pack-camel; also used as generic name for camel. *Ahl al bayir*, people of the camel, i.e. true nomadic Badawin.

Barbaiyah—breed of small goats with short hair and long ears, said to come from Somaliland in first place, very good milk givers.

Bil (or *Ibil*)—generic term for camels generally, like *dibbasah*. Both terms are used to denote the herd of camels.

Bilaiw—payment to a spy to trace a stolen camel.

Bin—variant form of *ibn*, e.g. Bin Sa'ud.

Bint, plu. *banat*—girl.

Bint al bahr or *Bint al nakhuda*—lit. "girl of the sea" or "captain's daughter."

A pretty pink and silver fish found off Kuwait.

Bint al harim, or *bint al hawa* (see *gahba*)—prostitute.

Bint al matar—"Daughter of rain", a small, fat, scarlet spider.

Bint 'am—first cousin female on father's side.

Bint al Nakhuda—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Bir, plu. *abar* or *biyar*—well.

Biriq or *Briq* (pronounced *brik*)—water jug, companion of *maghasal*, basin.

Birkah, before a vowel *birkat*—pool, cistern, tank.

Biwail—part of stern-piece of *bam*, q.v.

Biz—another part of stern-piece of *bam*, q.v.

Bishara—good tidings.

Bisla—see *'abba*.

B'ism 'Illah—in the name of God, said before eating, etc.

Biyah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Bukhang—small girl's head-covering.

Bukhur—incense.

Bam—largest type of dhow built in Persian Gulf, has good cargo space.

Burqa or *burga*—face mask worn by Badawin women in Arabia (south of Kuwait), also hood for falcon.

Burwa'g—a kind of wild flower used in making *ign*.

Bustan—wind north-west and west, usually blows between 2nd January and 7th February.

Bustara—type of small dhow (sea-going).

Glossary

104 *Chakla*—part of a *jalibia*, q.v.
Chaf or *Kaff*—distance between extended thumb and forefinger.
Chadaf—fisherman's oar.
Chafan—part of stern-piece of *bâm*, q.v.
Chan'ad—see *Kan'ad*.
Chau—measure of weight in selling pearls.
Chelb—part of *jalibia*, q.v.
Chesrib—loot obtained as a result of a raid (see *Kassib*).
Chifan—(*Kifan*) shroud.
Chiw—see *Kiwh*.
Chisab—(*Kisab*) small *dhallo*-type woman's camel liner.

Dab, plu. *dibban*—snake (plural form also used by Badawin for worms in stomach).
Dabbara al bair—change the face of the tent round.
Dagal—part of a *jalibia*.
Dahal, plu. *dahal*—a natural well with subterranean caverns opening out from the bottom in various directions.
Dahanah, *Dahana*, *Al Dahna*—comparatively hard pebbly ground covered at intervals with parallel sand dunes of varying width. The name, commonly given to the great sandy belt protecting inner Najd, which extends in unbroken line from the Rub' al Khali in the south, up the west side of Hasa province, along the southern reaches of the Summan region and turning north-west finally sweeps towards Jabal Shammar and Hail, leaving these two regions to the south of it. In its north-west course it is known as the *Nufudh*.
Daid—breast of woman (plu. *dâid*, dual *daidain*, often given as names of hills, etc. See *nakaid*).
Dairum—bark of tree used for cleaning teeth. It dyes the lips saffron red.
Dakhâla—protection, sanctuary. The Arab law which ensures protection for a suppliant; *dakhilak hafadhni ya fulan* (I am your suppliant, protect me, So-and-So).
Dakhil—person seeking sanctuary.
Dalag—bracelets (tribal), consisting of mixed coloured beads.
Dalla, plu. *dallal*—brass coffee-pot.
Dallâl—broker, pearl-broker.
Dalla—small leather bucket.
Dâmir—sort of Zouave jacket for men.
Dangiyah—Indian-built dhow closely resembling *bâm*.
Dâr, plu. *diyâr*—house, habitation, courtyard of a house: more commonly known as *haush* in Kuwait.
Darâya—cream-coloured courser (bird). See *darjalan*.

Glossary

Darb, plu. *darib*—road.

Darjaha—cream-coloured courser. See *darbya*.

Darma al sair—hawker's glove.

Dasha—before a vowel *dashar*, land-locked bay or large house, e.g. *Dashar Qudhma* on north side of bay of Kuwait.

Dehn—clarified butter (see *samen*). Used also as hair-oil.

Dera'ah—woman's frock.

Dhaba or *dhaba'a*—hyena.

Dhabi—gazelle, e.g. *Khashm al dhabi*, gazelle's nose, a prominent landmark in Kuwait. See *'afri* and *'idmi*.

Dhabihah—a sheep set apart for killing, often used with *manihah*, a sheep set apart for milking, e.g. *dhabihah wa manihah*, an expression used for good-will tax voluntarily paid by strangers on arrival in foreign tribal country.

Dhafeiyir—a woman's plait.

Dhafer—to plait.

Dhafir—an aristocratic Arab tribe.

Dhahar—lit. back, *al Dhahar* is a well-known ridge lying 10 miles south of Kuwait and extending parallel to the coast for 30 miles. The same ridge is also known as "the girl's eyebrows", *Laik al hira* by mariners.

Dhaiqah—before vowel *dhaiqar*, narrow pass.

Dhala'a or *Dhila'a*, plu. *dhila'an*—a small prominent hill, e.g. *Dhala'an al dhaba*, the hyena's mounds, a well-known landmark in Kuwait.

Dhalla—very large, woman's camel litter with wings (see *sajaba*), common to 'Anaza, Dhafir, etc.

Dhalul, plu. *dhalul*—riding camel, as opposed to milch or pack camel.

Dhara—Muziri name for *qata*, or tent-divide.

Dhifa—hospitality.

Dhib—wolf.

Dhil'ah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Dhilai'ah—diminutive of *dhalul*.

Dhimma—safe keeping. Guardianship.

Dhina—unborn child.

Dhinf'an—mother who has just borne a child.

Dhrabil—badger.

Dhab—spine-tailed edible monitor lizard.

Dhahar—noon, sometimes pronounced *dhahar*.

Dhul Hijjah—the month of pilgrimage (*Hajj*).

Dhura—maize, Indian corn.

Dibba—locusts in hopper stage before wings have appeared.

Dibban—worms (literally "snakes") in human body.

Dibbash—see *bil*.

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104 *Dibdibba*—type of country covered with scrub jungle or *sijar* or *siyar* as the Badawin calls small trees, bushes, etc. The exact opposite to *gaw'a* country, which is dead flat and devoid of any brushwood of any sort. *Al Dibdibba* is the well-known stretch of country extending for about 30 miles in depth on either side of the great *Bitin* depression (100 miles west of Kuwait) and roughly speaking lying between Riq'ai in the south and Al Shiqaq in the north. The *Dibdibba* region contains various forms of *hawdh* bush in profusion, notably the *rimth* variety, which all contain salt and are good for camels.

Dig—phthisis, consumption. See also *sil*.

Diwah—the Badawin name for a tribal range, e.g. *diwa al Munair*, the Munair tribal country.

Dikkiska—cotton smock.

Diwan—royal court, hall, reception room, court of justice, sofa. See *majlis*.

Diwaniyah—portion of tent or house where male guests are received.

Diya or *'Idiya*—blood money. See *fasl*.

Dolma, dolma—dish of rice and meat wrapped up in vine leaves (probably Turkish word). Also stuffed onions similarly cooked.

Dugg—porpoise.

Dukhn—the Indian *bajri*, millet.

Dukh, plu. *dikhan*—before a vowel *dikhan*, a low hill or hillock, or rolling plain.

Dunhal (*Dunhal*), plu. *dawahil*—mirrors.

Dushan—ruling class of the Munair tribe.

Dawailiwah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Faqah—truffles.

Fahad or *Nimr*—panther.

Fahada—charrah.

Fahal—male camel, male, young man, man.

Fahsha, plu. *fawahish*—bad woman, prostitute. See *qahba*.

Faisa, plu. *faisada*—prostitute.

Fajar (*fajr*)—dawn.

Fakh—a type of bird trap.

Fak'ij—see *Filjan*.

Faliq—paralysis.

Fallah—cultivator; peasant, as opposed to nomad.

Faqah—see *Faqah*.

Faridla—inedible, stinging fish found in Kuwait waters.

Fariq (pronounced always *farij*), plu. *firaq, afraq, afariq*—division of a tribe, party, sect, quarter of a town inhabited by a special class.

Farkh al chisah—lit. "child of the *chisah*", or small *chisah* (woman's litter).

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Farkh al hawi—diminutive travelling litter. See *Farkh al chimb*. [274]
Farwah or *Farwah*—long-sleeved coat with sheep- or lamb-skin lining.
Fasl—Iraq tribal word for 'diya, blood money.
Fashlu—official period of family mourning.
Fati—female camel over ten years of age.
Farwah—"electric fish". The bladder is used as a cure for fever.
Farshah—line of hair behind horse's ear.
Farwa—decorative cushion having a religious sanction.
Fashlu—see *fashlu*.
Fidhwi—name given to Ruler's paid retainers, pln. *fidawiyah*.
Fikr—see *al fikr*.
Fijda, pln. *fida'i*—strip of brown or black coarse cloth woven of sheep's wool or goats' hair for roof of Badawin tent.
Fila—horse in its first year.
Finjil or *finjan*, pln. *finajil* or *finajin*—coffee cup.
Fish—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Fraida—woman's nose ring, large size, as opposed to small size, *khazama*, q.v.
Frash—that which is sat on, i.e. carpets or bedding.
Frinji or *farinji*—syphilis or Frank's disease. See *hakak*.
Fur or *ifur*—mushroom.
Fulan—so and so.
Fulani or *fanlani*—a type of camel riding-saddle favoured in Southern Arabia.
Fusta—wooden water-tank fixed in pearling boats.
Farwah—see *Farwah*.

Gif—see *qif*, earth, tract of land.
Gi'ab—part of hand-loom.
Gabr (*Qabr*)—grave.
Gaghraf—one of variety of salty plants known as *hamdh* (Salsola verrucosa, M.B.).
Gahwa—see *Qahwa*.
Gaidh—see *Qaidh*.
Galida—name given to any necklace.
Gall—see *gall*.
Ghata (*Qdma*), pln. *ghyda*—wooden supports erected over a well between which wooden wheel is fixed to take rope.
Garab, sing. *girba* (*girba*)—goat water-skin.
Garab—horse in its eighth year or older; aged horse.
Garaa—petal-less daisy used in making *ign*.
Garra 'aisah—congratulatory greeting made on the return of a dear one.
Gash (*Qash*)—baggage.
Gasir—see *qasir*.

Glossary

Gab—fourth-quality pearl.
Gadas—strips of wood sewn into the tent roofing exactly where poles support tent.
Gaiss—sand-grouse.
Ga'ud—young male camel.
Gaum—see *gaum*, following, army, fighting force.
Gawi or *Gawi*—a species of pigeon with short, round ears. See *Jarbu'*.
Gaw—horse of rabdhah.
Gawadi—see *gawadi*.
Ghadiah—'Ajman name for woman's litter.
Ghadir—quarter in *gaw* (tent-divide).
Ghadaf—dahoomam's ear.
Ghadir, pln. *ghadirin*, *ghadirin*—cave, depression in which water lies for a considerable period like *khabra*, a temporary rain-water pool.
Ghagh-ruf—see *gaghruf*.
Ghain, pln. *ghainin*—pearl diver.
Ghanam (*al*)—the flocks (sheep). *Ahl ghanam*—sheep-owning tribes.
Ghar, pln. *aghwar*, *ghiran*—cave, lair, stony place, can be used for troop of raiders.
Gharb—west, e.g. *hawa gharbi*, a westerly wind.
Gharwah—flamingo.
Gharrah—crown.
Ghassil—ceremonial washer of the dead.
Ghaus—pearl-diving season.
Ghawwas, pln. *ghawwasin*—pearl diver.
Ghayal, pln. *ghiyan*—gazelle or deer. The shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq call their small donkeys *ghiyan*. See *Dhali*.
Ghayil al khadid—pommels of riding saddle.
Ghazya—a raid, or party of raiders, e.g. *ghazzaiua*, we raided.
Ghirb—camel disease caused by worm fly.
Ghubbiya—kind of grub used for baiting bird-trap.
Ghusul al ras—washing of a woman's hair.
Gim—woman's litter, square type.
Girwiq—a pink solution for sore eyes (much used in towns).
Gibbe—crested lark.
Gab-gab—crab; woman's wooden sandals; golden cap worn by brides and little girls in Kuwait on festive days.
Gafa—*gafa al hair*, the back of the tent.
Gafil—official name for the termination of pearl-fishing period.
Gaibah—plural of *jaibi* or *gaibi*, well.
Gahab—third-quality pearl.
Gamaha—woman's bracelets.
Garjiyah (*Qurijiyah*)—name given to Georgian girls (usually bought ones).
Garwa—plaits of hair.

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Gawa—strength; see *gawah*.

Habbiba—child's hammock erected inside the tent. 104

Habal—rope.

Habbiyah—name given to sheep bred by Qahtan tribe.

Habl or *Hebil*, plu. *hibal*—small hills, small dune country, can also mean rope or cable, e.g. *al Habl*, a well-known tract north of Hofuf in Hasa.

Habla—pregnant. See also *Hawila*.

Hablim—Badawin widow's mourning. See *Habbal*.

Had-had, see *Hud-had*.

Habbal—widow's mourning.

Hadh—luck, in good sense.

Hadhar or *Hadir*, sing. *hadhari*—town-dwellers, term used by Badawin.

Hadhara or *Hadhardah*—fish traps made of reeds (Kuwait).

Hadhira—wall made of *'arfaj* bushes to keep cold wind out of tent (see *'ima*), the term used by Badawin for town-dwellers.

Hadid—iron; horse bobbles; horse-shoe.

Hadith—sacred tradition of Muslims.

Hadj wahed khalifah—three-year-old female camel.

Hafir, plu. *hafayir*—pit or cavity.

Hafirah—little pit.

Hail—cardamom seed, usually placed in Arab coffee.

Haiya—Badawin name for viper (horned or otherwise). Kuwait Arab's term for any kind of snake.

Haiyak Allah—God grant you life (a welcome).

Haiyir 'alaiha—expression used when a man forces a girl to remain single i.e. keeping her for himself, *hajir*.

Haj or *Hajah*—anything necessary, want, need. e.g. *illi hajah li derhim alyum*, I want money to-day; *khabrat haj*, the wanted lake.

Haj—pilgrimage to Mecca.

Hajar, plu. *ahjar*—stone.

Hajj, plu. *hujjaj*—pilgrim, especially pilgrim to Mecca.

Hajil—horse with certain markings of good omen.

Hajirah—town or settlement.

Hajir—a man who keeps his female first cousin from marriage with another.

Hakim—ruler, governor, government official.

Hal—condition, state, e.g. *kaif halak*, how are you? how is your condition?

Halga—a circular mark or *wasm*, used by the Al Sa'adun Shaikhs of the Muntafiq.

Hallal—lawful, permitted.

Halwa—sweetmeat, dim. *halaiwa* or *ya halaila*—a term of endearment used with children.

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[194] *Hakwak*—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Hão—black snake, said to be poisonous.
Hámr—gold cap for covering head, worn by brides. A chain hangs down from it on each side of the face. See *Tallid*.
Hamád—dry barren region, also name of the Syrian desert.
Hamáh—shaikhs' reserved grazing grounds.
Hamam—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour; also called *Qurfah*.
Hamaqi—hot-tempered person.
Hamdiyah, plu. *hamdiyan*—wide, shallow and dry water-course leading from high ground gradually to lower ground, e.g. *Hamdiyat al shimali, al wasi wa al janubi*, three dry water-courses leading from Qara's region into *Shaqq* depression 50 miles south-west of Kuwait.
Hamdh—desert shrubs sub to tame, there are six of them, all known under common name of *hamdh* (*shamran, 'arfaj, gaqlaqf, rimth, qirsa, shahrana*).
Hámile—pregnant (of a woman). See *hahla*.
Hamlah—turtle.
Hamsati—porter.
Hamamah, plu. *hamamam*—pigeon, dove; *hamamah al hur*—spotted or Persian dove.
Hamamah, plu. *hamamah*—bath.
Hamamah—shrike.
Hamrah—a red, edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Hamula—subsection of a tribe (family).
Hamur—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Hanqrasa—alternative name for *sift*, q.v.
Hanlah—cobra—poisonous.
Hanni—see *Farkh al hanni*.
Hanni wa 'afia—said by host to guest who has thanked him for his meal.
Hanniyah—said to a person who has had a deep drink of water.
Hap—right, due.
Haqal—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Harám—forbidden, evil, sinful; evil, sin.
Hárem—a sacred thing or place, e.g. *al mahrram*, the women's quarter of the tent, also the city of Mecca, the Great Mosque of Jerusalem.
Harb—an aristocratic Arab tribe.
Harbiyah—Iraqi term for attacking force.
Harir—a dish of corn and meat pounded together and made into a kind of porridge (eaten during *Ramadhan*).
Harm—salty plant of the *hamdh* family, q.v.
Harra—before vowel *harrat*, plu. *hirar*, a surface of corrugated and fissured lava or scoria, overlying either plain or mountain surface, e.g. *al Harra*.

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Hasad—envy.
Hasbah—measles.
Hashm—honour money, or you give honour to a person; fine.
Hasni (or *Husni*)—fox.
Hassu—pebbles or pebbly ground, e.g. *hassu al dhabi.*
Hathira—wall of *'arfaj* outside tent. See *'Inna.*
Hattáb—woodcutter, plu. *hawátib.*
Haudh, plu. *hiyadh*—reservoir or cistern, also leather watering trough for camels and sheep.
Haufa—bridal tent or mat hut, honeymoon tent.
Hauli—horse in its second year.
Haumah—flat desert place (see north-west corner of Kuwait state).
Haûtah—garden, enclosure or small house, yard.
Hauz, plu. *hizan*—strip of garden ground.
Háwa—wind.
Hawailah—a Badawin game.
Hawaitat—an aristocratic Arab tribe.
Háwan—mortar for crushing coffee-beans.
Hazaim or *Huzaim*—dim. of *hazm*, plu. *huzum*, rough elevated ground, a district in Kuwait neutral zone.
Hazzám—gold waist-band used by Kuwait women worn over *dera'ah.*
Hidna—cessation of war or hostilities.
Hiff—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Hijjil, plu. *hijjál*—massive anklet, gold or silver, worn by women.
Hijrah—flight; more particularly the flight (Hegira) of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in A.D. 622 from which year the Muslims reckon their calendar.
Hijrah, plu. *hijrat* or *hijjar*—house, room, building, e.g. *hijjar al 'Ikhwan*, the townships of the 'Ikhwan.
Hilál—new moon, pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Hindi—Kuwait name for the circumcisor.
Hinna—henna, herb used for staining finger nails, palms of hands and feet, orange-colour.
Hirán—a camel calf.
Hirish—male camel over twenty years.
Hirr—wild cat.
Hirshán—name given to shepherd community, semi-serfs of the Mutair tribe.
Hizan—see *Hauz.*
Hudrdhi—minature dagger carried by Badawin.
Hubara, plu. *habari*—lesser bustard.
Hud-hud—hoopoe.
Hufaira—dim. of *hafirah*, small cavity.

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104 *Hufrah*—before vowel *hufrat*, plu. *hafaiyir*, ditch or hole in the ground.
Hujjah—justification.
Hukara—*hikra* or *hukra*. Badawin name for shepherd tribes of Iraq. See *shawáwi*.
Hukriyah—name given to Iraq sheep, brown or white.
Hukúmah—government.
Humra—brown camel.
Húri—lady of Paradise, plu. *huriyah* (the reward of the elect); small dug-out boat carried by larger vessels.
Hurr—species of falcon.
Hurra—famous breed of camel.
Hurrum—species of desert salty bush (Zygophyllum coccineum L.).
Husni—see *hasni*.
Hutaim—a large and very powerful group of non-aristocrat Arab tribes.
Huwár—young first-born camel (from birth to one year old).
Huwairiyah—prehistoric boat built of palm fronds.

-i—my (suffixed to noun).
'Iblásah—spy employed to trace strayed or stolen camels.
Iblis—the Devil.
Ibn—son of . . ., *ibn ám*, first cousin. The obligatory mate for an Arab girl is the son of her father's brother, her *ibn 'ám*.
Ibra—small needle.
'Id—festival, e.g. *'Id al fitr*; *'Id al 'adha* or *dhahiyah*.
'Id kum mubarak—a happy *'Id* (reply *iyamkum sa'ida*, may your days be happy).
'Idaira—before a vowel *'idairat*, prominent hillocks, or hillocks rising out of low range of hills, e.g. *'Idairat al hussin*, a district of *al Liyah* near Kuwait.
'Idiyah—blood-price of man slain.
'Idmi—small gazelle, colour whitish as compared with *dhabi*, which is fawn-coloured.
Igi—milk cakes, look like lumps of chalk.
Ihrám—primitive dress, consisting of two white shawls or towel-like garments assumed by pilgrims on entering the *háram* area at Mecca, and worn during the whole performance of sacred rites.
'Ikhwan—name given to fanatical brotherhood in Najd.
Ille—until.
'Ilm—learning.
Imám—religious leader. Name given to Bin Sa'ud by the 'Ikhwan.
Iman—piety, e.g. *al nadhafa min al iman*, cleanliness comes from piety.
'Inna—wall made of *'arfaj* bushes to keep cold wind out of tent (see *hadhira*).

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Insha'llah—if God will; please God. 104
Islahat—money compensation for manslaughter or bodily injury. See *'Arf.*
Ism—name, e.g. *Taiyib ism*, a township in Najd.
'Iswah—war-cry. See also *Nakkwa.*
'Itfah—lynx or catalan.
Ithil or *Ithyl*, plu. *uthál*—tamarisk tree (Tamarix articulata).
'Itiqad—conviction, sympathetic magic.
Itzifaq—a coming together.
Iqar—loin cloth used by sailors.

Ja'ad—white or black sheepskin covering for riding saddle.
Ja'ada (al)—a herb with fever-curing properties (Teucrium polium L). Also used as a purgative.
Ja'ama—double line of hair on horse's chest.
Jabal, plu. *jibál* or *ajbal*—mountain.
Jabali—wind blowing from the mountains; wind north-east by east (also known *na'ashi*).
Jáddah—causeway or high road.
Jadid, fem. *jadidah*—new, modern.
Jahámah—strayed camels; desert law connected with recovery of lost or stolen camels.
Jaish—camels with fighting men mounted on them.
Jál—stony ridge, not very high cliff, e.g. *Jál-al-liyah*, a ridge in Kuwait.
Jalib—see *qalib*, an unlined well, plu. *gulbán.*
Jalibát or *Jali*—square-sterned boat with upright bow.
Jalla—camel manure, dried and used as fuel.
Jáma—masthead pulley-block of *bám*, q.v.
Jama'a—before a vowel *jama'at*, community or following, e.g. *ya jama'a*, oh my following.
Jamal, plu. *jimál*—ordinary pack-camel (male), or male camel for breeding.
Jámi, plu. *jawámi*—mosque.
Janúb—south.
Jauza—period of summer. See *Saif.*
Jár—neighbour, like *qasir.*
Jarád—common locust, yellow brown.
Jarah—a large wound. See *nawáb.*
Jarbu'—jerboa, kangaroo desert rat.
Járiah—woman slave (term used among Badawin).
Jarjur—shark.
Jarra—track or trail, e.g. *jarrat saiyára*, the tracks of a car.
Jarrab—camel mange.
Jarrah—a goat disease, virulent mange.

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104 *Jau*—a basin in which water collects, a hollow, wide valley, pasture ground.
Jauf, plu. *ajwáf*—vast plain, depression, hollow.
Jauqa—first and second *jauqa* are the second and third recognised periods of the Arabian summer. See *saif*.
Jaztrah (before vowel *jaztrat*), plu. *jazaiyir* or *juzr*—island.
Jebelli—see *jabali*.
Jedá'ár—five-year-old camel.
Jeddi (*al*)—the North Star.
Jehámo—see *Jahámah*.
Jehází—the bridal gifts of money, clothing, etc., given by prospective husband to bride before marriage.
Jerób—small gazelle-skin bag for carrying coffee on march.
Jezz—coarse silk.
Jibla—direction of Mecca. See *qibla*.
Jibli—South-west wind.
Jida'—the one with the cut ear ('Ajman word).
Jidd (*jadd*), plu. *ajdád* or *judúd*—grandfather, ancestor.
Jidda—town of Jedda.
Jiddá—large wooden cup or bowl (made from tamarisk wood).
Jidda—horse (fit for riding) in its third year.
Jidri—smallpox; also a sheep disease.
Jiffar—case for holding weapon; scabbard.
Jiffar al tufaq—rifle-bag or carrier.
Jihád—holy war.
Jillál—horse cloth, blanket, rug.
Jináza—corpse, wooden bed for carrying dead.
Jiniyah—6-year-old camel.
Jinn, plu. *jinún*—a spirit who usually resides in the ground; evil spirit (genie).
Jirba (*Qirba*), plu. *garab*, or *qarab*—goat-skin for carrying water.
Jisr, plu. *jusúr*—bridge.
Jiwan—a perfect pearl.
Juss—lime, gypsum.
Jawazir—attachment used in fixing rope to side of tent.

Kabá—liver.
Kabáb—dish consisting of rissoles made of meat, rice, raisins, etc. (town).
Ká'bah—the *Bait Allah*, or House of God, situate in the great court of the Mosque at Mecca. The famous *hajar al aswad*, or black stone, is built into the wall.
Kabír, fem. *kabirah*, plu. *kibár*—great.
Kadhéri—wild duck.
Kaffiyah—headcloth.
Kahal or *Kuhl*—antimony for putting on eyes (men and women), kohl.
Kaif?—how? *Kaif hálak?* how are you?

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Kalb, plu. *kulab*—dog.
Kan'ád (pronounced *chan'ád*)—"seer-fish" or "Indian salmon".
Kandr—fruit of the *sidr* tree.
Karwán—stone curlew.
Kashm—nose.
Kashta (or *Kashti*)—picnic.
Kátib—scribe or secretary.
Kauliyah—gipsies.
Kaus—damp south-east wind.
Kerím—merciful.
Kessib (pronounced *chessib*)—loot obtained as a result of a raid.
Khabat—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Khabra (before a vowel *khabrat*), plu. *khabári*—lakelet formed by rainwater in hollow ground, e.g. *Khabrat jilhim* in Kuwait.
Khad—pasture land, practically same meaning as *al khalla*, empty places and *al barr*, the outside reaches, i.e. the desert. A Badawin will say to another *khadkum taiyib*? meaning "is the ground good on which you are grazing your flocks?"
Khaddám—falcon-bearers, servant.
Khaddár—part of a *jalibút*, q.v.
Khadra—see *Akhdar*.
Khafs—a natural rocky hollow place, more often than not containing water; *al Khafs*, north of Riyadh, is a favourite camping place for the Ál Sa'ud.
Khalfah—milch camel.
Khálí—empty, uninhabited.
Khalifah—caliph; name of the ruling family of Bahrain Islands.
Khalla—the desert regions, or empty places, e.g. *rah lal khalla*, he has gone into the desert regions.
Khamár—horse in its sixth year.
Khamsah—five. *Al Khamsah*, the five main strains of Arab thoroughbreds.
Khamzar—ring for fourth finger.
Khanchiyah—three or four weeks of the pre-pearling season.
Khanyar—dagger (Iraqi pattern).
Kharíf—autumn.
Kharij or *Kharj*—men's saddle bag, also district in Najd.
Kharúf (or *Fahal*)—young ram, ram for breeding.
Kharza ma al nigat—a round, yellow pebble.
Khashil—necklace made of gold coins. See *sankh*.
Khashm—prominent headland, spur, peak, lit. nose, e.g. *Khashm al 'Afri* in Kuwait, "the gazelle's nose".
Khasir, plu. *Khusur*—bracelets of large amber beads.
Khaswi—small spotted lizard, common in North East Arabia.

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●104 *Khaur*—bay, inlet of the sea.

Khúwah—insurance tax paid by strangers who enter tribal territory not their own.

Khawál—relations of a person on his or her mother's side.

Khawi—companion on road, protector. See *rafiq*.

Khazáma—woman's nose ring, small size with pearl and turquoise mountings.

Khaznah—treasure.

Khibrah—knowledge, experience. *Ahl al khibrah*, wise men, experts, counsellors.

Khidmah—service; fee for service rendered.

Khillal—bodkins used to attach the *ruag* to the tent roof, toothpick. Also used for branding.

Khitab Sulaiman bin Da'úd—Solomon's circle, used to keep ants under control.

Khúso—Badawin dagger.

Khusír—pair of amber bead bracelets, sing. *khasír*.

Khuwaisat—thick gold bracelets studded with turquoise.

Kifan—see *chifan*.

Kímh (pronounced *Chím*), plu. *Kumuh*—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Kiswah (or *chiswa*)—gift of clothing.

Kitbát—gold ornaments woven into plaits of hair or hung on end of plait.

Kitf (pronounced *chitf*)—shoulder, mountain slope.

Kra'a—series of small ridges on undulating ground, e.g. *Kra'a al Maru* in Kuwait.

Krush—famous breed of horses, belonging to the Mutair.

Kuhl—see *kahal*.

Kulaibain (pronounced *chulaibain*)—lit. two dogs, the fifth and hottest period of summer in Kuwait. See *Saif*.

Kunj—alternative name for *Kutiyah*, q.v.

Kút—fort or keep.

Kutiyah—Indian-built dhow closely resembling *baghala*.

Kuwais—diminutive of *kút*, i.e. small fort.

Labbé—'Ajman woman's expression "at your service".

Labbeika—meaning, "here I am at your service", the opening word of the *talbiyat* cry which is meritorious for the pilgrims to Mecca to raise during the performance of the sacred rites.

Lagger—species of falcon (not Arabic).

Lahad—cavity in side-wall of grave in which corpse is laid.

Lahéf—quilt, blanket.

Lahm mashwi—meat roasted in oven.

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Laik al bint—"the girl's eyebrow", a name given by mariners to the *Dhdhar*. 104
well-known ridge south of Kuwait.
Lail—night.
Lattamat—white socks on horse's forelegs.
Leben—buttermilk, as opposed to *rauba*, curdled milk.
Legaha—term used of mare in foal, also used for fertilised date palms.
Lidji—four-year-old camel.
Lifa—piece of coir rope placed in the spout of the coffee-pot to act as a filter.
Lijám—horse's bit.
Luban—incense.
Lúgi—half-breed *salúqi*.
Lukhmah—coarse fish caught in Kuwait Bay, rarely eaten. The Stinging Ray.

Má, ma, mai (often pronounced *moi*), plu. *miyah, amwah*—water, plural often used in sense of sources, springs.
Ma'adán—name given to marsh tribes of Iraq.
Ma'aiyna—collar of small coloured beads worn by some tribal women.
Ma'aliana—full, overflowing, used in referring to lakes or pools.
Ma'araga—cloth saddle without stirrups.
Ma'arifat al dalála—science of guiding.
Ma'arifat al jarra—science of tracking.
Ma'atúq—freed slave.
Ma'aza—herd of full-grown goats (females).
Ma'aẓib—host; courteous way of referring to the master of a slave.
Mabkhar—burner for frankincense.
Mabrah—spindle for spinning wool. See *maghẓal*.
Mabrúk—fortunate, lucky, possessing good qualities.
Madfún—buried; (of legal claims) time-barred.
Madhara—a lamb skin for storing *dehen* or *semen* (as opposed to *'akka*, sheepskin).
Madinah (before vowel *madinat*), plu. *mudun, mudu, madaiyin*—town, important centre.
Madrajah or *madraj*, plu. *madarij*—road, path; in plural, steps.
Madrasah—before vowal *madrasat*, school, university.
Mafraq, plu. *mafariq*—bifurcation, crossing of roads.
Mafrash—carpets spread over the ground.
Mafrúd—young weaned camel from second year.
Maga'ad—sitting place; *maga'ad al ẓilim*—men's portion of the tent.
Maghassal—basin; place for pilgrims to perform purificatory ablutions before entering sacred precincts of Mecca for the *Haj*.
Maghathir—herd of white camels.
Maghrab (*mughrib*)—sunset.

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104 *Maghzal*—spindle for spinning wool. See *Mubbrah*.
Mahal—abode, quarter.
Mahála—wooden wheel over which rope passes when drawing water from well (see *gáma*); also see *makhtar*.
Mahallah—before vowel *mahallat*, quarter of a town, station, inn.
Mahallibi—a dish of ground rice and milk (among town folk).
Mahatt, *Mahattah*—before vowel *mahattat*, place of alighting or unloading, station or aerodrome.
Mahfudh—protector.
Mahjan (or *mahqan*)—funnel for filling water-skins, etc.
Mahjar—stony ground.
Mahmása—coffee roaster.
Mahshi—*Shaikh Mahshi*, stuffed pumpkins or cucumbers.
Maid—kind of small, edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Maidán—open space, vast plain.
Majadím—tent-front support-poles.
Majlis, *Mijlis*—council (see *Díwán*); reception room; reception.
Makhait—sail-maker's bodkin.
Makhmar—goatskin for making *rauba*.
Makhtar—pin which fastens wooden wheel of well to supports.
Makhúr—name given to baggage camels on march.
Maksar—woman's camel litter (rounded top).
Maktúb—written; "it is written", i.e. fore-ordained.
Malgat—pincers or tongs.
Malha—black camel.
Málik, plu. *malúk*—king.
Ma'mal, plu. *ma'amil*—workshop, factory.
Mambar—pulpit.
Mamlúk, plu. *mamlúkin*—purchased slave, owned by master.
Ma'múr—official.
Manasir—an aristocratic Arab tribe.
Manhús—lung disease of camels.
Manihah—a sheep set apart for milking.
Mankhah—skin bag for making *leben*.
Mansiyah—line of hair on horse's back under saddle, considered unlucky.
Maqbara or *Maqbarah*—burial-ground, graveyard.
Marakib—circular wooden supports of rod holding up threads of the loom.
Marámi—group of three rings worn on second finger by Badawin women.
Maraq or *Marag*—a tasty stew.
Marardh al khabith—phthisis (see also *diq* and *sil*).
Marba'aniyah—variable wind blowing last week of November and during December.
Margad al harim—women's quarters in tent.

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Marqad al rijál—men's quarters in tent. 104

Marhaba—a word used in greeting a person (probably Turkish).

Markab—tripod on which the coffee-pot is boiled, also Ark of Ishmael of Ruwala tribe.

Markaz—place where flag is planted on ground, headquarters, chief town of province.

Marsa—plu. *mirási*, anchorage, harbour.

Masaicha—desert plant, application of which eases scorpion stings (Haplophyllum tuberculatum Forssk A. Juss).

Mashai—part of a *jalibút*, q.v.

Mashúwah—small craft.

Masjid—plu. *masajid*, place of prayer, small mosque.

Masmár—cloves, sometimes put in coffee.

Masnad, plu. *masanad*—cushion.

Masrab—'Awazim word for *mukrash*, q.v.

Matbakh—kitchen.

Mathâyid—plain straight gold bangles. Wavy gold bangles, *mathâyid al haiya*.

Matlúb—in debt; in arrears with the fasting enjoined for Ramadhán.

Mattárih—another name for a hand loom (see *nattu*).

Mattrah, plu. *mattarah*—mattress for guest to sit on.

Ma yargud wiaha—does not sleep with her.

Mazab—see *mizbah*.

Meshash—see *mishash*.

Mezuda or *Mizuda*—large bag for carrying tent treasures.

Midáf—handle of pinnace oar of ocean-going *búm*.

Middrah—gazelle's horn for pulling down threads when weaving.

Midkhal—husband's entry into his bride's presence.

Midhqál—measure of weight, used in weighing pearls.

Mihlal—place of assembly.

Mijaikím—herd of black camels.

Mijbah—hole in the ground for cooking.

Mijdim—one front pole of tent, plural see *majadim*.

Mijlis—see *Majlis*.

Mikhyal—staff on which shepherd hangs his *'abba* to keep sheep together.

Mil—part of stern-piece of *búm*, q.v.

Milah—salt.

Milâha—salty patch.

Milfa—face or head veil, as opposed to *burqa* face mask.

Milh, plu. *milah*, *milhah*, *amlah*—salt, salt water, salty (adj.).

Mimbar—see *mambar*.

Min—from.

Minakha—inner courtyard.

Minsab—tent peg.

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104 *Minin*—large camel-skin water container.
Minyar—piece of wood lifting threads on loom.
Miraka—leathern apron which hangs in front of a camel saddle, finely woven with fancy colouring.
Mirjahah—wooden tripod to which is hung skin for making *lebin*.
Mirján—coral, name given to coral bracelets of Dhafir tribal women.
Mirwihah—wind.
Mirzim—fourth period of summer. See *Saif*; south-east wind of second half of July.
Misáma—pack saddle (camel).
Misha—shuttle.
Mishá'ab—Badawin camel stick, cut with small angular headpiece from the *sidr* tree.
Mishash or *Mushash*—shallow wells in clay area into which rain water percolates, e.g. *Mishash Khalifa*, on road to *Qusur*, Kuwait.
Mishizza—gadget for tightening up threads of woven fabric on loom. See *natha*.
Misht—wooden comb, pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Mismár—horse-shoe nail, also cloves.
Miyah—see *má*.
Mizáda—'Ajman word for *ráwi*, q.v.
Mizáwal—saddle-bags which hang on woman's litter.
Mizba—infant's hammock (Hasa tribes).
Mizra, *Mazra'a*—sown field, arable land.
Mizúda—small bag for carrying money, *hail*, etc., on the march.
Mu'áidin inshallah—may God give you happy *'Id*.
Mu'allid, plu. *mu'alid*—domestic slave born of slave parents.
Muáshi—name given to camels on move or grazing.
Mubárak—blessed, happy.
Mubarrad—wooden slipper for cooling coffee-beans after roasting.
Mubbrah—spindle for spinning wool or cotton. See *maghzal*.
Mudarraj—constructed in steps.
Mudhaumina—'Ajman name for *dhalla* (litter).
Mudir—director, governor, superintendent.
Mufrud—second year's camel when it no longer drinks from its mother.
Mughbát, plu. *mughabat*—diminutive type of litter used by 'Ajman women.
Mugwár—club-headed stick.
Mugas—pair of scissors, pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Mughassil—professional washer of dead.
Muhailah—distinctive large river craft, Shatt al 'Arab dhow.
Muharram—lit. forbidden, name given to women's end of tent, also Arabic month.
Mujtahid—Shiah religious authority or *'álim*.
Mukhabbal—mad, a senseless person.

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Mukhaddah—pillow, from *khad*, cheek.
Mukhbát—wooden peg for stirring boiling coffee, 'Ajman name for *farkh al chitab.*
Mukrash—bladder, used for storing butter.
Mulk—property.
Mulla—teacher.
Munákh—place where camel kneels down, resting place.
Muntafiq—powerful tribal confederacy in Iraq.
Muqta' or *Maqta'*—ford, or path through marshy ground.
Murauwar—'Ajman name for *chitab* (litter).
Murrái—quail.
Murtachi—attitude of a man leaning on guest saddle.
Musábilah—movement of members of tribes to towns for marketing.
Musainad—small leather cushion which hangs in front of camel saddle to rest leg on.
Mushá[illegible]—holy priests of Najd.
*Musul[illegible]*lu. *Muslimin*, a believer in Islám, a follower of the Prophet Muhammad, a Muslim (Moslem).
Muta'awah or *Mutawa'a*—Badawin name for a holy man, priest, or anyone who leads prayers.
Muta'ba—pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Mutadaiyanin—the supporting troops of "those with religion" following up an attack led by Badawin irregulars.
Mutair—a large, aristocratic Arab tribe.
Muthaumina—'Ajman name for *al halla* (litter).
Muthif—semicircular hut of mats and reeds, guest house.
Mutla'i—east wind, also known as *sharqi.*
Mutasannad—attitude of a man leaning against a cushion.
Mutawwif, plu. *mutawwifin*—guide for the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina.
Muttar—rain; *bint al muttar*, small scarlet spider.
Muwaih—a little water.
Muwaihah (before vowel *muwaihat*)—a little water
Muqliqan—small, edible, flat fish (sole).

Na'aja—ewe.
Na'al—horse-shoe.
Na'am—ostrich.
Na'amiyah—name given to 'Anizah sheep.
Na'ashi—wind north-east by east.
Nabi, plu. *anbiyá*—prophet.
Nabuk—another name for *sidr* tree, q.v.
Nabwa—hillock.
Nadh or *Nadhah*, plu. *ندهاه*—vast open tract.
Nadhid—place in tent for piling bedding, etc. See *Qash.*

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104 *Nafúdh* or *Nufudh*—sandy desert waste where dunes are blown into horse-shoe shaped hillocks. The Great Nufúdh lies between Hail and Jauf al 'Amr.

Nágá—female camel that has had calf; eight-year-old camel, when she is allowed to breed.

Nága-tin-bichir—female camel which has its first calf.

Nagis—see *Najis*.

Nahr, plu. *anhur*, *anhar*, *nuhúr*—river, stream or canal.

Najdiyah—name given to Najd breed of sheep (black with white marking on head and smaller tails).

Najis, *nagis* or *naqis*—unclean.

Najran—Province of Yemen.

Nakhil—palm trees, palm grove.

Nakhl—palm tree.

Nakhwa—war-cry, *'iswah* has like meaning.

Naqib, plu. *nuqaba*—head of community, e.g. Naqíbs of Basra and Baghdad, Naqib al Ashraf, the head representative of Sharifial clans.

Naqis or *Nagis*—see *najis*, unclean.

Naqrur—kind of flat fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Náshi—see *Na'ashi*.

Nashuk—term used for snuffing of a camel.

Nasr or *Nisr*—vulture.

Nassi or *Nussi*—a grass which grows in the desert (Aristida plumosa L.).

Natara—the watching of newly wed bride and groom by spoil-sport relatives.

Natha—flat piece of wood for tightening threads when weaving. See *Mishizza*.

Nattah—circular leather mat for baby to rest on.

Nattu or *Natu*—hand-loom (tent).

Naukhada—captain of a sailing boat.

Nauwakh al dhalúl—to make the camel kneel.

Nejd or *Najd*—plateau or elevated ground.

Nifl—herb (Trigonella stellata), used in women's hairdressing.

Niga or *Niqa*—Badawin term for declaration of war, e.g. *mardud al niga 'alaikum*, war is declared on you.

Nimr—panther. See *Fahad*.

Niqa', plu. *niqá'*—flat country where water stagnates, e.g. *Um Niqa* in Kuwait.

Niqrah or *Nuqrah*—before a vowel *nuqrat*, cavity, pit, depression, e.g. *Niqrat as S'aiyid*, ten miles south of Kuwait.

Nis—porcupine.

Nisá, plu. *niswán*—woman.

Nufuan—see *nafúdh*.

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Nuhaid—dual *nuhaidain*, lit. "breast of maiden", name given to prominent hills resembling a maiden's breasts, e.g. *Nuhaidain* hills south of Sirra fort in Kuwait. 104

Nuqtah—plu. *nuqat*, spot, point, military post.

Núra—lime, also a woman's name.

Nuwaibi—kind of flat fish caught in Kuwait harbour.

Pariála—see *Fariála*.

Qá'—(normally pronounced Ga'), ground, tract of land.

Qabilah—plu. *qabá'il* or *qabáiyil*, Badawin name for a tribe.

Qabr—plu. *qubur*, tomb.

Qádhi, plu. *qudhat*—judge, magistrate who interprets the religious law of Islam.

Qáfilah (before a vowel *qáfilat*), plu. *qawáfil* (pronounced *jáfila* as a rule) —caravan.

Qafr—desert without water or vegetation (probably word *cafard* or desert madness used in French Foreign Legion, derived from this word).

Qahba (*Gahba*), plu. *qaháb*—prostitute. See *fáhasda, bint al háwa, bint al harám.*

Qahtan—an aristocratic Arab tribe.

Qahwa—coffee, or place selected to make coffee in tent (see *wujár*).

Qaidh (pronounced *gaidh*)—late summer, the hottest period of Arabian summer just preceding rains. See *Saif*.

Qal'ah—before a vowel *qal'at*, fort, citadel.

Qalb—heart, centre.

Qalib, plu. *qulbán*—desert well, always pronounced *jalib*.

Qalím—Persian rug.

Qa'ma—see *Ga'ma*.

Qantárah, plu. *qanátir*—bridge.

Qara'a—bare wide plain entirely devoid of trees or brushwood.

Qara'a—bareness.

Qarah—(pronounced *ga'rah*), depression, low ground, pit or hollow in sand bed.

Qárah, plu. *qárát*—isolated hill, e.g. *al Qárah*, hill near Hufuf.

Qarfah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour; also called *Hamam*.

Qarib—(pronounced *jarib*), close at hand, dim. *qaraiyib* or *garaiyib*.

Qarn, plu. *qurún*—horn, projecting hill.

Qaryah or *Quryah*, plu. *qaryat, qiryat, quryat*—village, hamlet.

Qash or *Gash*—baggage.

Qasír—plu. *qusara*—tent-neighbour (see *gasír*), like *jár*.

Qasr, plu. *qusúr*—fort, palace, castle.

Qáta or *Gáta*—tent partition, divide.

Qatta or *Gatta*—sandgrouse.

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104 *Qaum*—fighting-force, following, *qaum al Duwish*, the following of Al Duwish.

Qauq—high round sandhill, plu. *qiqan*.

Qawasim—an aristocratic Arab tribe.

Qawwád (*gawwád*)—procureur, pimp.

Qázi—Persian form of the Arabic *Qádhi* (q.v.) frequently preferred by English speakers.

Qibla (*jibla*)—towards Mecca. The direction in which the Muslim turns to pray.

Qirba—(see *jirba*), water-skin, plu. *garab* or *qarab*.

Qissah, plu. *qisás*—story, tale.

Qubaisa—owl.

Qubbah, plu. *qubáb*—dome, cupola.

Qumfidh—hedgehog.

Qur'an—the Muslims' sacred book (Koran).

Qurun—side-plaits of hair.

Qusair—dim. of *qasr*.

Qusara—body of laws and customs relating to mutual obligations of tent-neighbours.

Quwah—strength.

Ra'aiyah—flock of sheep.

Rab', plu. *riba'*, *rabu'*, *arbu'*, *arbá'*—home, dwelling. Portion of tent set apart for the men of the following; See *Jama'a*.

Rába—six-year-old camel.

Raba'a—men's portion of the tent where male guests are received.

Rabábah, plu. *rabáb*—Badawin violin with one string, frowned on by Wahhabis.

Rabat—stud.

Rabi' (pronounced *rabia*)—spring (season).

Raddah—three or four weeks of the post-pearling season.

Rafiq—lit. friend, comrade, a man taken from the tribe through whose territory a traveller intends to pass. He insures him against all molestation on part of any member of tribe. See *khawi*.

Ráhah—before a vowel *ráhat*, rest, repose.

Rahat—mill stone.

Rahla—camels carrying loads to market.

Rahmah—blessing.

Rai al bait—householder; master of the tent; head of the family.

Ra'is, plu. *ra'asa*—chief, leader.

Ráiyah—a camel herd. Each herd consists of 70 camels.

Raiyat—woman's dress put up like a flag on a pole to welcome return of a relative or the arrival of an important guest.

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Raiyat al bait—mistress of the tent.
Rajul, plu. *rijál*, *arjal*—man.
Ramád—sore eyes.
Ramadhán—the lunar month during which Muslims fast daily from before sunrise till after sunset.
Raml, plu. *rimál*—sand.
Ramlah, plu. *rimál*—sandy reach, sandy area.
Ramrám—a herb which has anti-snake bite properties according to Badawin (Heliotropium undulatum, Vahl., or H. cignosum). Also used as a mouth-wash.
Ras, plu. *ru'us*—head, promontory.
Rashaida—non-aristocratic Arab tribe famous for its huntsmen and desert guides, originally serfs of the Mutair.
Rashúsh—herb used as hair-wash.
Rasúl—prophet.
Ratab—fresh dates.
Rauba, *roba*—curdled milk.
Raudha, plu. *raudh*, *raudhat*, *riyádh*—a wide open vale or depression containing good grazing, owing to rain water having formed a lake during winter and kept ground moist, e.g. *Raudhatain*, the two *raudhas* on the Kuwait–Zubair road near Safwan.
Rawagu al bait—attach the *ruag* (back and side curtains) of the tent.
Ráwi, plu. *ruwi*—camel water-skin, generic term. See *minún* and *thilaithi*.
Rayál—Badawin way of emphasizing the word *rajul*, a man; a man indeed.
Rhím—largest of the Arabian gazelle.
Ribyan—prawns.
Rigaiyah or *Riqá'i*—swallow (bird).
Rih—name given by Badawin to all aches and pains such as rheumatism, etc., wind.
Ríha—smell, usually of harmful kind, bad for wounds.
Rijim, plu. *rijúm*—cairn, heap of stones, a prominent feature or peak, e.g. *Um rijim* in Kuwait.
Rimdh—salty plant, included under term *hamdh*.
Riqá'i—see *rigaiyah*.
Risan—headstall for camel or horse.
Ritbah, plu. *artab*—semicircular wood fasteners on which the ropes are fastened to the edge of the tent.
Riyadh—see *raudha*, capital of Sa'udi Arabia.
Riyál or *rial*—the Maria Theresa dollar, the most common medium of exchange in Arabia. All bear date 1788, though coins are still minted.
Roba—see *Rauba*.
Ruag, plu. *rawwag*—long strip of curtain which closes the back and side of the tent, usually four strips sewn together.
Rubá—abode.

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104 *Ruba*—horse in its fifth year.
Rufga—safe conduct.
Ruh—soul, spirit.
Ruwala—section of the 'Anizah tribe.
Ruz—rice (see *aysh* or *aish*), word *ruz* mostly used in Syria and Palestine.

Sa'ad—circular spot of hair on horse's forehead.
Sa'af—stalks or fronds of date palm.
Sabkhah, *Sabakhah* (before a vowel *sabkhat* and *sabakhat*), plu. *sibákh*—saline depression, salt ground, salt marsh, always slippery and moist especially if south wind blows. After rain such ground is impossible for camels. Salty areas seem particularly prone to mirage effects in summer and winter.
Sabúr—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Sádah—plu. of *saiyid*, descendant of Prophet.
Sadda—barrage or dam.
Sadu—hand-loom. See *Nattu* and *Mattárih*.
Safari (pronounced *sfiri*)—period in early autumn just before the rains.
Safát—market place, open space for Badawin to buy necessaries.
Safi—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Safifa—hangings to decorate camel saddle.
Safina—river craft in Iraq with rounded bottom, a large craft.
Safrah—light-fawn camel.
Saggár—falconer; trainer of hunting hawks.
Sagwa—see *Saqwa*.
Sahar—witchcraft, spell (*sahára* is a woman caster of spells).
Sahara—lungs.
Sahara—wide waterless desert, like *qara'a*, only with less vegetation.
Sahára—box in which lady of tent keeps her treasures; witch, spell-binder.
Sahil or *Sahl*—easy, smooth.
Sahm—share, used when tribe divides booty after a raid.
Sahuh—an Arab tribe.
Saib—hauler of rope bringing pearl diver to surface, plu. *siyáb*.
Sa'ida—happy.
Saif—summer. Subdivided into 13-day periods, thus—*saif*, early summer, first *jauza*, second *jauza*, *mirzim*, *kulaibain*, *suhail*. The period *mirzim* to *suhail* is known as *qaidh*, late summer.
Saif, plu. *suyúf*—sword.
Saif—a pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Saih—running water.
Saihad—hillock.
Sail—torrent after rain, running water, *sail al ma*, a rain-rivulet; to pour down in a torrent.

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Saiyid, plu. *sádah*, *sádát*—master, lord, title of one descended from the Prophet through Fatima his daughter. 104

Sakan—habitation.

Sakar—kind of hunting falcon.

Sakbah—current.

Sakhal wahshi—wild goat or *thar* of Oman.

Sakhla—goat.

Sakhul—kids, lit. plu. of *sakhla*.

Sákin, plu. *sukkán*—inhabitant.

Salaf—loan, advance given to pearl divers for support of their families at home. See *tisqán*.

Saláh—arms, weapons.

Saláhi—grey wagtail.

Salám 'alaikum—peace be upon you. (Reply is *'alaikum as salám*: on you be peace.)

Sália—a type of bird trap.

Salib—the Christian cross.

Salláf—the leader of a tribe or family when on the march.

Salúqi or *Salúgi*, plu. *salag*—Arab greyhound used for hunting hares and gazelle.

Sambúq—pearling boat.

Samil, plu. *samlan*—special sheepskin for making *leben* or buttermilk.

Sammu or *Sam*—expression used by host to guest when meal is ready for eating; "pray fall to".

Sána, plu. *Sanna*—servant class among tribes, whose trade is metal-working, etc.

Sanad—deed, deed of purchase.

Sanah or *Sanat*—year.

Sanat al Hamra—the red year (1932), the red sand-storm visitation.

Sanat al Jahrah—the year of Jahrah (1921), Battle of Jahrah victory.

Sanat al Rahma—the year of mercy (1918), the great influenza visitation.

Sanat al Sibila—the year of the Battle of Sibila (1929).

Saniya—round copper tray for serving meals; *saniya abu kursi*, "tray father of the chair", i.e. tray with pedestal base.

Sankh—necklace of gold coins. Kuwait term for *khashil*.

Saqwa—poison, love potion. See *sim*.

Sarár or *Sarrár*—pair of small sticks eight inches long, used for tying up camel's udders.

Sardáb—cellar, underground room for protection against heat in summer.

Sarîfah, plu. *sarâ'if*—booth made of poles (*chandals*), covered with mats (*bu'ári*).

Sarîya—armed party.

Sarkál—junior shaikh of a tribe of cultivators (Iraq).

Sarrár—see *Sarár*.

Glossary

104 *Saru*—line of hair on horse's neck.
Satúr—bow of *búm*, q.v.
Sauda—black camel.
Saujar—short knickers worn by some townswomen.
Saumar—a black stain or dye used on women's feet in towns.
Sauq wa Qaud (*Gaud*)—desert law connected with recovery of stolen or lost camels by friendly agreement.
Sawab—a small wound. See *jarah*.
Sawai—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Sawíb—wounded man.
Sba'a—subsection of the 'Anizah tribe.
Sbei—an aristocratic Najd tribe.
Sbúr—scouts.
Semen or *semn*—clarified butter made from sheep's milk, universally used among Arabs for cooking purposes. See *dehen*.
Sha'ák—Kuwait negress addicted to unnatural vices.
Sha'al—herd of brown camels.
Sha'alah—brown camel.
Sha'b—following, tribe, party.
Shabbuth—kestrel hawk.
Shadád—camel riding-saddle covered with sheepskin.
Sháhid—witness; silver or gold ring worn on forefinger with large turquoise setting.
Sháhín—shahin falcon.
Sha'ib, plu. *shu'ab*, *shi'ab*, *sha'aban*—water-course, ravine, mountain cleft.
Shaikh (or *Sheikh*)—head of a tribe or house, an old man or religious leader.
Shaikh (or *Sheikh*) *mahshi*—stuffed pumpkins or cucumbers.
Shaikhah—chief wife of a shaikh.
Shalhah (*shalhat*)—strip of land formed by silt along river bank reclaimed for cultivation. See *Shuwati*.
Sha'm—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Shamál—cool, dry north-west wind.
Shámi—north-west by west wind.
Shammar—an aristocratic Arab tribe.
Shanada—ammonia.
Shanaitir—chicken-pox.
Shaq ẓij—line of hair of bad omen on horse's throat.
Shaqiq—split or torn.
Shaqq—split, fissure, valley, e.g. well-known depression in Kuwait *al Shaqq*.
Sharaf—pride or honour.
Sharáthi—long-eared jerboa.
Sharbat—coffee stock or old brew, also sweet lemonade in towns.
Sharqi (*sharqi*)—east wind (also known in Kuwait as *mutla'i*).

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Sha'ri—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Shari'a or *Shari'ah*—religious law of Islam.
Sharif, plu. *Shurafa*—honourable, noble; member of Sharifian family of Hijaz.
Sharín—second-quality pearl.
Sharqi—eastern; east wind.
Shat finajil or *finajín*—brass case for holding coffee-cups.
Shatra—short-eared goats.
Shawáwi—shepherd tribes of North-East Arabia and Iraq, sing. *sháwi* (see *hukara* or *hukra*).
Sháwi, plu. *shawáwi*—shepherd, goatherd. Term used by townsfolk.
Shawiyah—Iraqi name for shepherd tribes as a whole.
Sheikh—see *Shaikh*.
Shenúf—pattern in *qáta* (tent-divide).
Shi'ah—sect of Islam, as opposed to Sunni, etc. Adherent of this sect.
Shibbr—span.
Shím—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Shíma—honour.
Shimál—north-west wind common to Najd, Persian Gulf and Iraq.
Shinaitir—chicken pox.
Shinan—salty bush, one of the six varieties of *hamdh* (Amabasis setifera, Moq.).
Shinkar—hooks on either side of woman's litter, to hang saddle-bags on.
Shita—winter.
Shu'ai—small pearling or fishing boat.
Shubaram—see *Hamdh*.
Shukaili—ill-omened horse with two white legs (near hind and off fore).
Shumahi—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Shuqqa, plu. *shiqáq*—depression in surrounding country.
Shurafa—see *Sharif*.
Shuruf (*al*)—the sacred black camel herd of the Mutair.
Shuwati—strip of land formed by silt along river bank reclaimed for cultivation. See *Shalhah*.
Siais—seven-year-old camel.
Sidr—a tree whose leaves are used for washing women's hair, also for washing the dead (Zizyphus Spina-Christa L. Willd.).
Sif—sea front, beach, landing stage.
Sifari (pronounced *sfiri*)—early autumn; September.
Siflah—lower part, e.g. *Jariya siflah*, name of 'Ikhwan village in Summán, North-East Arabia.
Sifra—circular leather mat, serving as "table-cloth".
Sikkah (before a vowel *sikkat*), plu. *sikák*—*sikkat* (*al*) *hadid*, the iron road, railway.
Sil—phthisis, consumption (see *diq*); also known as *marauda al khabith*.

Glossary

104 *Silsilah* (before vowel *silsilat*), plu. *salásil*—chain, unbroken succession.
Sim—poison. See *saqwa*.
Sim al simach—fish-poison. Also used for killing head-lice.
Simanab—redstart.
Simsim—sesame seed.
Sinn—anchor consisting of flat stone with spike at top and underneath, for use on rocky bottom.
Sirhán—lion.
Sirra—navel.
Sirwál—trousers, men's or women's.
Siyáb—see *Saib*.
Siyahud—wind-swept mounds.
Subá—horse in its seventh year.
Subáha—husband's morning gift of money to wife after marriage consummated.
Súf—ball of wool.
Suff—oar of pearling boat; blade of pinnace-oar of ocean-going *búm*, q.v.
Suhail—Canopus. Final period of summer, see *Saif*; September wind.
Suhaili—South wind, common in Kuwait. Usually blows between 13th March and 10th April.
Suldba—a type of bird trap.
Sulaimaniyah—cat's-eye stone, said to extract scorpion poison if applied to part affected. The Shammar Badawin's name for small lizard otherwise known as *Kharwi*.
Sulubba (sing. *sulubbi*, plu. *sulaib*)—generic term for depressed community in Arabia, said to be descended from followers of Crusaders.
Summán—term used to denote a ridge, high land or raised gravelly area covered with rocks, stones or pebbles, as opposed to sandy tracts in the vicinity. There are many Summan areas in Arabia, but the one most commonly spoken of is the country of the Mutair ('Ilwa) tribe. This roughly extends from Thamami (southern end of Batin valley near Kuwait) to Nta' village in mid Hasa (exclusive of latter). In other words, it extends along the north side of the *dahana* belt of sand which protects inner Najd.

The above region is covered with red sandstone rocks and sandy hollows. It contains very good grazing after rains and the *sidr* or *nabuk* tree grows luxuriantly there. These trees are prized and guarded by the mutair shaikhs as a tribal article of value. From the *sidr* tree is cut the universally used camel stick *mishd'ab*.

Sunna—custom, usage, divine law, tradition, meritorious.
Sunni—lawful, *Sunni* Muhammadan as opposed to *Shi'ah*. See *shi'ah*.
Suq, plu. *aswáq*—bazaar, market place.
Surra—disease-carrying fly dangerous to camels (non-Arab word).
Suwáb—small wound.

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Suyúf, sing. *saif*—swords; two hair lines on horse's belly. 104

Ta'am—food supplies.
Ta'as, plu. *ta'ús*—high sand-dune.
Tabbar—woodcutter's chopper.
Tafadhalu or *Thafadhalu*—(host to guest) welcome!; "pray fall to".
Taffah (before vowel *taffat*)—tract of rough, low, hummocky ground near seashore, e.g. *Taffat al Athami* in Kuwait Neutral Zone.
Tahal—a sheep disease.
Taifa—section of a tribe.
Tair, plu. *tuyúr*—bird; more especially, hawk.
Tais or *Téẓ*—he-goat.
Taiyára—aeroplane, name given to *dhalla* to-day (large, woman's camel litter).
Taiyib, fem. *taiyibba*—good, excellent, pleasant.
Tal, plu. *tuhúl*—mound, small hill.
Tallah—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Tallal—side chain hanging down from *háma* (gold cap).
Talqin—the ceremony of singing the praises of the dead person by the washer.
Tama'—cupidity.
Tamar—dates.
Tamáta—tomatoes.
Tammam—perfect, pure, intact.
Tanb, plu. *atnáb*—rope of tent.
Tarachi—woman's earrings.
Tarfah—dwarf tamarisk.
Tariq, plu. *turúq*—road, path.
Tarrija, plu. *tara'ij*—strip of webbing fixed on inside of tent to take the strain of the ropes.
Ta'ús, sing. *ta'as*—high sand dunes in dune country, usually horseshoe-shaped.
Tawaf—ceremonial circumambulation of the Ka'abah when performing the Haj pilgrimage.
Tawásha—business of going out to pearl banks and buying pearls on spot.
Tawáwish—see *Tawwásh*.
Tawíl, plu. *tuwál*—long; also name of a copper bar coin current in Hasa.
Tawwásh, plu. *tawáwish*—merchant going out to banks to buy pearls direct from boats. See *tawásha*.
Téẓ—see *Tais*.
Thafadhalu—see *Tafadhalu*.
Thaif—guest.

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104 *Thamilah*—before vowel *thamilat*, plu. *thimdiyil*, shallow water-hole in bed of a dry water-course or *bahara*. Usually from two to six feet deep, e.g. *Thamilat 'Atul*, *Thamilal Turki*, both in Kuwait.

Thammam—a kind of coarse grass (Panicum turgidum, Forssk.).

Thamran—salty plant included under term *hamdh*.

Thar—wild goat of Oman.

Thaub—article of women's dress. Also woman's shroud.

Thaub shillahát—white smock with long wide sleeves, as opposed to *dishdásha*. Worn by men.

Theluth—a salty *hamdh* bush.

Thena—horse in its fourth year.

Thilaithi—water container made from half a camel skin.

Thob—see *thaub*.

Thuraiya—Pleiades, pattern in the *qáta* (tent-divide), gold coins on a woman's *thaub* or overdress.

Tíb—sweet-smelling wood, e.g. *hát tíb*, bring incense; *tataiyabu*, be pleased to take incense.

Timmin—rice.

Tín—clay, loam, fig.

Tiráhah—fee paid to man who voluntarily restores straying camels to owner.

Tisqám—loan given when diver returns from pearl banks.

Tisyar—Iraqi tribal word for a safe-conduct man who accompanies another through enemy country, like Badawin *rafiq*. Also used in Iraq as the equivalent of *wejh*, q.v.

Tufaq—rifle.

Tulli—male lamb, e.g. *al tullian*, the herd of male lambs for eating.

Turri—part of a *jalibút*, q.v.

Tuwál, plu. of *tawíl*—the long places, is commonly used to denote certain areas owned by the Dhafir and Mutair tribes, e.g. *Tuwál al Dhafir*, *Tuwál al Mutair*, the long places of the Dhafir and ditto of the Mutair.

'Udh—sweet-smelling wood burnt as incense.

'Udhkul—to enter.

'Ugla—see *'Agla*.

'Uhaimir—south-east wind during November.

'Ulema, plu. of *'álim*—religious leader, priest.

Um, *umm*, plu. *ummahát*—mother, e.g. *umm 'irmun* or mother of bones. (locality in Kuwait).

Ummahá—"O Mother", exclamation of surprise.

Um, al 'Aiyál—"mother of the children", lady of the house or tent. See *raiyat al bait*.

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Umaniyah—famous breed of riding camel from Oman.
Umm al Judairah—a game, similar to *hawailah*.
Umm Raugella—article of women's dress.
Urdua—a pattern in the *qáta* (tent-divide).
Ushr, plu. *'ushúr*—tithes, or one-in-ten tax.
Utaiba—an aristocratic Arab tribe.

Va—and.
Va'al—wild goat, Arabian ibex.
Va 'alaikum as salám—and upon you be peace.
Vadha—white camel, also name given to women.
Vádi, plu. *widyán*—water-course, valley, bed of stream.
Vaggiyah—measure of weight, approximately 5 lbs.
Vahar—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Vahbiyah—deed of gift.
Vakar al Tair—stand for falcon to perch on.
Vakil, plu. *wukala*—agent, deputy, steward.
Valad, *Veled*, *vald*, *vuld*, plu. *aulád*, *awalad*—boy, son of, descendant, e.g. *walad 'ám*, first cousin male on father's side.
Valádat (or *Thind'at*)—term used for woman who has just borne a child.
Váli, plu. *wulát*—regent, or governor of a province.
Válid—father.
Vallah!—by God!
Vaqf, plu. *auqáf*, *wuqúf*—land held in trust for religious purposes.
Varaqa—document, writing.
Vasáqah—restitution of lost or stolen camels.
Vasat—ring for third finger of a woman.
Vásil—section of Mutair tribe.
Vasm—tribal camel brand marks, also rainy season of late October and November.
Váwi—jackal.
Vazir—minister.
Vazz or *Bat*—goose.
Vejh—security, lit. face.
Vejh al bait—the face of the tent (front).
Vejh nabi'ak—lit. the face of your Prophet (the reply to *garrat 'ainak*).
Vird—watering of camels at wells.
Vizz—sea-horse.
Vudhaihi—oryx.
Vufah—loyal.
Vujar—shallow circular hole in ground used as a fireplace for making coffee.
Vurral—poisonous snake-headed monitor.

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104 *ya*—O! (used before noun or proper name).
Yad, yed—*yad al mahmása*, metal rod for stirring coffee berries; *yad wal háwan*, pestle and mortar.
Yáhi—cold north wind, common in Kuwait.
Yakhakh—carmine-coloured locust.
Yakhur—stables.
Yám—ancestor of 'Ajman and Murra tribes.
Yamín—right hand.
Yamyam—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Yanam—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour.
Yárab—said to be son of Qahtan, ancestor of Arabs.
Ya'sub—bee.
Yaum, plu. *ayyám*—day.
Ybbah!—"O Father", exclamation of surprise.
Yellah—salt venison, sun-dried.
Yemma—part of a *jalibút*, q.v.
Yimkin—perhaps.
Yisár—left hand.
Yumma—"O mother", exclamation of surprise.

Za'alan—angry,
Zababit—kind of shell-fish.
Záfáran—saffron, made into tea, sometimes put into coffee for flavour.
Zakát or *Zikát*—taxes having religious sanction behind them.
Zam Zam—the holy well in the Great Mosque at Mecca; supposed to be the water which saved the life of Hagar in the wilderness.
Zarág—sandy-coloured thin snake with dark lines down its body, non-poisonous.
Zarár—gold medallion with turquoise setting worn in middle of neck especially by Muntafiq women.
Zarúqah—small *baqarah* with one mast.
Zarqúr—sparrow or blue jay.
Zaur or *Zor*—long cliff-like range of hills having gentle slope on one side and steep escarpment or the other, e.g. *al Zaur* hills on the north side of bay of Kuwait.
Zebút—plu. *zababit*, sea-shell used in fortune telling.
Zernik—arsenic.
Zib—penis.
Zibún—an article of men's clothing, also worn by women under the *thaub*.
Zubaidi—kind of edible fish caught in Kuwait harbour; the Indian pomfret.

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THE 'ANAZAH TRIBES*

TOUVIA ASHKENAZI

619 101 TO THE RABI'A GROUP[1] belong the 'Anazah and the closely related 'Asad who live near each other to the north of the Wâdi Rumma.[2] The Pilgrim Road from Baṣra[3] to Medina[4] crosses their territory. The 'Anazah, who are scattered throughout the peninsula of Arabia, Syria and 'Irak, are divided [601] into a Southern and Northern branch. All the tribes, and all the clans of the 'Anazah tribes, in the opinion of the ar-Rwala, have a common father and therefore are they beni al-'amm, their paternal cousins.[5] They are called by many travellers the 'Anazah nation.[6] The 'Anazah of the Syrian desert are the most

128 * Because of limitations of special type available native words are given in the text without diacritical marks. A list showing the proper orthography is given at the end of this article—Editor.

113 1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1938, pp. 176-178; see tribal descent of Arabian Bedouins, Carl Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia* (Boston, 1935), p. 232; cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1933), p. xix, "The Descendants of Rabia"; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (3rd ed., revised, 1946), pp. 93, 280, 502 n. l; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman* (3rd ed., 1929), pp. 95, 101, 106, 131, 177, 439; Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1946), vol. 2, p. 477.

2 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 374; cf. *First List of Names in Arabia (N. W. and S. W.)* (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, Royal Geographical Society, December, 1931, p. 8 (Rima, Wâdi ar: wadi, 160 km south of Hail; Arabic *A* [for Arabic forms see list at end of this article]). See also David George Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: a Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (New York, 1904), Rumma, W. er –, pp. 164, 184, 190, 208, 233, 239. 273, 277, 285, 288 ff., 296 ff., 306, 316, 326, 340, 341.

3 Basra: pr. Basra (sharp s); Arabic *B*.

4 Medina: 350 km north of Mecca; conv. for Arabic *C* – Al Medina; formerly Arabic *D* – Yathrib.

[104] 5 The word duriyye, "descendants," is replaced among the ar-Rwala by the word dana which designates very distant descendants irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or whether the relationship is due to adoption. This term is employed particularly by the 'Anazah. Dana, "descendants": John Lewis Burckhardt employs this term in 1810 *(Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* [2 vols., London, 1830], vol. 2, pp. 4-6); cf. Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 47-50; Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins* (Paris, 1930), p. 113; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des etats du Levant placés sous mandat français* (Beyrouth, July, 1930), p. 7.

6 Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), p. 1; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 176; Carl Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins* (Geographical Review, vol. 20, no. 3, 1930), p. 494; *idem, Vocabulary of Bedouin Words Concerning Horses* (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 4, no. 2, 1945), p. 97.

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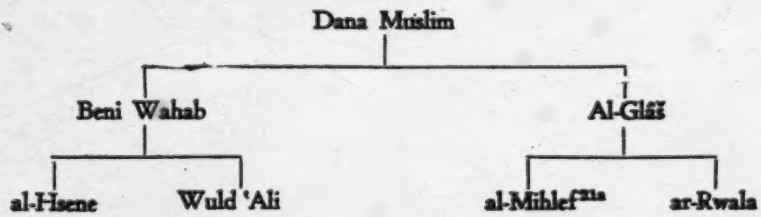
619 from Damascus as far as al-'Ela',[19] in return for which he received a large sum
622 of money from the Turkish Government. In the oasis of Heybâr several families of Wuld Sleyman and the Wuld 'Ali still have their palms. The Serahin, who belong to the as-Sba'a tribe and obey the chief of the kin of Abu-Sama, have their fellahin there.[20]

The house of Sa'ûd is a descendant from the 'Anazah branch, who further belong to the Maṣâlîh. King 'Abd el-'Azîz Eben Sa'ûd honors and appreciates the feelings of these 'Anazah, and especially those belonging to the Maṣâlîh. According to Hafiz Wahbe,

> in the year 850 of the Hegira came Rabî'a, son of Man'a, from their ancient abode, called Dar'a near Katif to 'Ali Eben Dar'a master of Hagr and Gaz'a near ar-Riad, member of the Rabî'a Eben Man'as tribe. Eben Dar'a gave the latter Mulayid and Guzayba, famous places in Dar'a. They settled down and built there these places, he, and his descendants after him. Man'a was the father of Rab'a who became famous and powerful all around his place. His son Musa was even more famous than his father. Musa was father of Ibrahîm, grand father of Mukran and Sa'ûd. Sa'ûd is the father of the House of Sa'ûd.[21]

TABLE 2



THE SOUTHERN BRANCH

To the Southern Branch of the 'Anazah belong: (1) Ab al-Hayl, (2) Ebn Sabah, (3) Ebn Sa'ûd, (4) Kahaṭan—various clans, (5) Muntifeš, (6) Al-Aškar, chief of the Muntifeš tribe are also descendants from the 'Anazah.

CHIEFTANSHIP

622 The word ḳowm indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible
104 to say: "Kowm eben Sa'lân, he is of the ḳowm of Eben Sa'lân"; "the ḳowm of

19 Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, pp. 182, 183, 184, 271.

20 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, p. 58.

21 Hafiz Wahbe, *Gazîratu-l-'Arab fi-l-karni-l-'Iṣrin* [The Arabic Peninsula in the Twentieth Century] (Cairo, 1354:1935), pp. 106-107. Cf. K. S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia, with an Account of the Development of its Natural Resources* (with Edward J. Jurji, 1947), p. 88.

21a Also called Muhallaf.

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104 622 Eben Me'gel are encamped here"; "the ḳown of Eben Gandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as "That is the ḳown of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the ḳown of the Frege," will never be heard. When the late Prince Eben Sa'lân spoke of gemâ'ati, he was thinking of the various tribes who obeyed his orders and who would hasten to his assistance. Gemâ'a is almost the same as ḳown.[26] The rank of chief[27] is hereditary in a definite house, âl.[28] It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities; nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses may persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted, either of their own free will or under compulsion, and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes, is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as Seyh al-bâb, while affairs of war are left to a man from a different kin. Such a leader is known as Seyh aš-šdâd or Seyh al-harb. If he succeeds in subduing the enemy and concluding a favorable peace, several clans may become attached to him. They obey him in peace. There ensue wars in which the hereditary head chief generally succumbs and his house acknowledges the supremacy of the previous military commander, who then becomes Seyh al-bâb as well.[29]

619 622 173 According to tradition the head chief of all the Rwala was originally descended

26 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 50-51.

27 The ar-Rwala give the name of Šeyh and also Šuyuh to their head chief. The head chief declares war and concludes peace. Cf. *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 7-9; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 202-208; Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, *The New Iraq: its Problem of Bedouin Education* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), pp. 27-29; Leo Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Beersebe: ihre Rechtsverhältnisse Sitten und Gebräuch, aus dem Arabischen Übersetzt* (Luzern, 1938), pp. 29-31: "Eine Buch des Gouverneurs 'Aref el-'Aref in Beersebe"; Touvia Ashkenazi, *Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du nord* (Paris, 1938), pp. 51-53.

601 28 Generally the word âl denotes the same as beni or eben, its meaning being wider than that of ahl. Feriž is the name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor. A Feriž is also wider than an ahl. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word âl, which is often interchanged with the article al, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rweyli, a member of the ar-Rwala tribe. Cf. Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 47-50; Ign. Goldziher, in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft, vol. 50, pp. 11-117; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 248; Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung, etc.*, part 1, pp. 68-111; part 2, pp. 182-229.

29 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 50-51.

[For further information about the life of the Bedouin see 2: Musil, Alois. The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins, category 116, MD4 Rwala.]

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[For information pertaining to the organized resettlement of the Bedouins as agriculturalists in the Middle East, see M1 Middle East, 68: Neubart, entire source.]

113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721 Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 197-204.]

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THE 'ANAZAH TRIBES*

TOUVIA ASHKENAZI

619 101 TO THE RABI'A GROUP[1] belong the 'Anazah and the closely related 'Asad who live near each other to the north of the Wâdi Rumma.[2] The Pilgrim Road from Baṣra[3] to Medina[4] crosses their territory. The 'Anazah, who are scattered throughout the peninsula of Arabia, Syria and 'Irak, are divided [601] into a Southern and Northern branch. All the tribes, and all the clans of the 'Anazah tribes, in the opinion of the ar-Rwala, have a common father and therefore are they beni al-'amm, their paternal cousins.[5] They are called by many travellers the 'Anazah nation.[6] The 'Anazah of the Syrian desert are the most

128 * Because of limitations of special type available native words are given in the text without diacritical marks. A list showing the proper orthography is given at the end of this article—Editor.

113 1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1938, pp. 176-178; see tribal descent of Arabian Bedouins, Carl Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia* (Boston, 1935), p. 232; cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1933), p. xix, "The Descendants of Rabia"; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (3rd ed., revised, 1946), pp. 93, 280, 502 n. l; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman* (3rd ed., 1929), pp. 95, 101, 106, 131, 177, 439; Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1946), vol. 2, p. 477.

2 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 374; cf. *First List of Names in Arabia (N. W. and S. W.)* (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, Royal Geographical Society, December, 1931, p. 8 (Rima, Wâdi ar: wadi, 160 km south of Hail; Arabic *A* [for Arabic forms see list at end of this article]). See also David George Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: a Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (New York, 1904), Rumma, W. er –, pp. 164, 184, 190, 208, 233, 239, 273, 277, 285, 288 ff., 296 ff., 306, 316, 326, 340, 341.

3 Basra: pr. Basra (sharp s); Arabic *B*.

4 Medina: 350 km north of Mecca; conv. for Arabic *C* – Al Medina; formerly Arabic *D* – Yathrib.

[604] 5 The word duriyye, "descendants," is replaced among the ar-Rwala by the word dana which designates very distant descendants irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or whether the relationship is due to adoption. This term is employed particularly by the 'Anazah. Dana, "descendants": John Lewis Burckhardt employs this term in 1810 *(Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* [2 vols., London, 1830], vol. 2, pp. 4-6); cf. Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 47-50; Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins* (Paris, 1930), p. 113; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des etats du Levant placés sous mandat français* (Beyrouth, July, 1930), p. 7.

6 Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), p. 1; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 176; Carl Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins* (Geographical Review, vol. 20, no. 3, 1930), p. 494; *idem, Vocabulary of Bedouin Words Concerning Horses* (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 4, no. 2, 1945), p. 97.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

powerful of all the purely nomad confederations from the borders of 'Irak to the eastern frontiers of Syria.[7] 619 101

(1) The Southern 'Anazah, comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab al-Hayl, Eben Sabah, Ebn Sa'ûd, and various clans of the Kahṭan and the Muntifeš (al-Aškar, etc.). (2) The Northern 'Anazah are subdivided into (a) the Dana Muslim, and (b) the Dana Bišr. The Dana Bišr include the Wuld 'Ali[8] and the ar-Rwala,[9] who are also known as the Al-Glâs.[10] 619

THE NORTHERN BRANCH

The Northern Branch of the 'Anazah are subdivided, as we have mentioned, into two branches: (a) Dana Bišr and (b) Dana Muslim. 619 622

According to Gertrude Bell,

The Anizah are divided roughly, into three groups. The Amarat, who claim descent from a legendary ancestor called Bishr, occupy, under Fahad Beg ibn Hadhdhal, the south-east angle of the Syrian desert and spend the summer near the Euphrates. The

7 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia* (India Office, 3rd December 1920: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, London, 1920 [Cmd. 1061]), pp. 39-40; Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins;* Max Fr. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* (Leipzig, 1939), vol. 1: "Die Beduinenstämme in Mesoptamien und Syrien," pp. 62-130; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 15-33; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, "Les tribus du desert," pp. 41-45, 113-123; Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, pp. 110-112; *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Beyrouth, 1922), p. 6; *The Military Handbook of Palestine and Syria* (Cairo, 1918), pp. 53-55; J. C. Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq* (Journal, Royal Central Asian Society, vol. 22, part 1, 1935), p. 15; E. Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung der Arabischen Beduinenstämme* (Islamica, vol. 6, part 1, Leipzig, 1933), p. 89; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, pp. 497-499; *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council with the Study of the Frontier between Syria and Iraq* (League of Nations, Mandates: Official No. C. 578, M. 285, 1932), vi, p. 27. 113

8 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 26-28; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 84; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, p. 499, map, "Tribal Areas of the 'Aneze Tribes."

9 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.; idem, Arabia Deserta*, pp. 14-16; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-25; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 113, 123; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. 1, pp. 62-130; *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53; Lady Bell, ed., *The Letters of Gertrude Bell* (New York, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 332, 351; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, pp. 234, 271, 358, 376, 388, 565; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert* (New York, 1927), pp. 58-59, 95, 111, 244, 249, 260, 268, 274, 296, 299, 302, 310, 315, 320, 324; *Report, Iraq for the Year 1929* (Colonial no. 55, 1930), pp. 35-36.

10 Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 271. Doughty remarks further "Incorporate of old with the Ruwàlla, are the ancient Annezy Aarab, el-Jellàs; of whom a wady of Kheybar, their former possession long forsaken by them, is yet named" (vol. 1, p. 377). And further he notes: "We came through palm-groves in a valley bottom, W. Jellâs, named after the old division of Annezy, which having long since forsaken Kheybar, are at this day—we have seen—with the Ruwàlla in the north" (vol. 2, p. 92; also pp. 134, 205).

21: Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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619 owned a few acres of arable land, tilled by riverain fellahin. These his son in-
622 herited, together with the Turkish title. It was one of the boldest strokes of Ottoman make-believe, but it could not give the nomad Seyh the remotest resemblance to a Turkish Effendi.[41]

We have to conclude that there is no one paramount chief among the 'Anazah tribes. The two most important 'Anazah chieftains are Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân and Fahad Ebn Haddal on the borders of 'Irak and the Syrian desert respectively.[42]

STATISTICS

161 We have little knowledge about their numbers in ancient times. We may relate what Burckhardt says when he travelled amongst them:

> From some Damascus pedlars, who had passed their whole lives among the Bedouins, I learned particulars which induce me to state the force of the Aeneze [illegible] alone mentioned (viz: El Besher) (their brethren in Nedjed not included) at about ten thousand horsemen, and perhaps ninety or one hundred thousand camel-riders; a number rather over than under rated.[43]

And elsewhere he states:

> To detail all their minor branches or yowayehs, would be to give an index of all their families, every large family with its relations constituting a small tribe in itself. It is difficult to ascertain the numbers of each tribe, from a prejudice which forbids them to count the horsemen; as they believe like the eastern merchants, that whoever knows the exact amount of his wealth may soon expect to lose part of it.[44]

Modern travellers have checked and left us more particulars with regard to statistics of the 'Anazah tribes. The whole tribe was estimated by Lady Anne Blunt, in 1879, as follows: 1. Fedân—4,000 tents; 2. Sebâa—4,000 tents; 3. Ibn Hâddal—4,000 tents; 4. Hesânneh—500 tents; 5. Roâla or Jelâas—12,000 tents; 6. Wêlled Ali—3,000 tents; 7. Sirhân—?; 8 and 9. Erfuddi and Towf—?.[45] Habib Chiha estimated them at 97,000 tents.[46] During the First World War (1914-1918) the 'Anazah of Syria were estimated by the Intel-

41 *Letters of Gertrude Bell*, p. 41.

42 Cf. Rawan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, pp. 115-116. Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân became head chief of the ar-Rwala tribe and its emirate at the death of the Emir Nuri Ebn Sa'lân, his grandfather, which occurred July 1, 1942 (*Palestine Post*, July 3, 1942).

43 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

44 *Ibid.*

● 113 45 Anne Blunt, *The Bedouins of the Euphrates*, pp. 190-192; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 346.

46 Habib Chiha, *La province de Baghdad; son passé, son présent, son avenir . . . et une étude inédite sur les tribus nomades de la Mésopotamie* (Cairo, 1908), p. 243.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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101 Any non-nomad is automatically ruled out. But there are tens of thousands of nomadic tribesmen in Syria and 'Irak who live in tents and are continually on the move, but who are not Bedouins, for they do not primarily breed camels, but sheep and donkeys.[66] A Bedouin must also be able to trace his descent from certain recognized pure-bred Bedouin tribes. We find, therefore, that a Bedouin, in the strictest sense, is a camel-breeding nomad of certain specified tribes.[67] There are seven or eight principal tribes in northern Arabia. (1) 'Anazah, the most numerous, fill the greater part of the triangle of the Syrian desert; (2) Sammâr, bound 'Anazah on the south, with a branch in northern 'Irak between the Tigris and Euphrates; (3) Mutair and the Az-Zefîr lie in the extreme southeast of our area, while Beni-Sahr, the Hwêtat, and Beni Atiyeh occupy the southwest corner. In addition to these, however, there are certain ignoble tribes scattered everywhere among the Bedouins.[68]

178 It is also significant to learn what their social and economic status in Syria, 'Irak, and the Arabian Peninsula was under Turkish rule and before 1914 as well as under British, French, and Saudi-Arabian administration ever since then. Will this completely pure-nomadic stock succeed in preserving their ancient mode of life in the framework of the industrialization of the Near and Middle East? Or, will they be forced to retire to their lairs of old, the Arabian Peninsula, to preserve their traditions? Or, will they be forced by slow process to give up their completely nomadic habits, turn by degrees into semi-nomads and successively to semi-farmers, attached to the soil, until they finally are settled and firmly attached to a permanent abode? And we learn, from the past, that the 'Anazah tribes will not be able to continue for long in their present ancient mode of life, preserving all customs and circumstances of nomad life, because the Near East and Middle East are changing from patriarchal-feudal into progressive, civilized countries with a higher culture and standard of life. This will force a firm and fixed policy with regard to the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes dwelling on the borders and in the deserts to become settled, to make them stop raiding, and give way to a new mode of life. Sovereign states in the Middle East have to initiate a settlement movement to attach them gradually to some fixed abode and to give up their seasonable migrations. The political importance of the Bedouins will therefore become reduced in the future, and the establishment of firm con-

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113 66 Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 13.

67 *Idem*, p. 15.

68 Josef Henninger, *Priesttümme in Arabien* (in *Festschrift St Gabriel zum 50 jährigen Jubiläum*, Wien-Mödling, 1939), pp. 501-539; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15; Montagne, *Notes sur le vie sociale, etc.*, p. 74.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (nodate) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

trol will destroy many of their most attractive qualities: their sturdy independence, their chivalry, their raids, and their poetry. Already their chiefs are showing signs of taking to politics or agriculture, while their ambitious youths are seeking enlistment and promotion in the police. In northern Arabia—touching on 'Irak, Syria, and Trans-Jordan—the Bedouin will lose his influence and most of his distinctive qualities. In Negd, where a greater proportion of the population is nomadic, the Bedouin may retain some of his importance rather longer. Imperialist rule will see with pity that the good old raid must cease, and representatives of the imperialist rule "hope they will not be swept away too rapidly by the spread of civilization." [69] 178

And those Bedouin tribes, who refuse to settle down and exchange their tents for houses, who insist upon wandering and living upon camel- and horse-raising, will have to return to those waste lands and plains whence they emerged hundreds of years ago. But even there progressing civilization will hound them, as even the Arabian Peninsula is slowly advancing in this direction under King 'Abd el-'Aziz Eben Sa'ûd, himself of noble and pure nomadic descent. As long as there are deserts in the heart of settled countries, there will also be nomads, nomads who will threaten the borders of these settled countries and their progress. But now as of old, today as in the days of Byzantine and Persian domination, it is the duty of these progressive countries to ward off this threat, not by armies, but by wisely helping these nomads to satisfy their primitive and slender demands, to try and settle them at least partially on waste land and crown land, and to respect their internal customs and ways of life. Such settlement will strengthen the safety and good order of the open roads and highways and of the borders of sown countries in the Near and Middle East.

Orthographic Note

The proper orthographic forms of foreign words are listed here in the order in which they occur in the text: 128

69 The words of General Sir Percy Cox. See Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 31. On the other hand, much penetrating research at first hand must be consulted: Rasoan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, pp. 496-497; de Boucheman, *La sédentarisation des nomades du désert de Syrie* (L'Asie Française, no. 320, May 1934), pp. 140-143; Taha Hussein, *Literary Life in the Arabic Peninsula* (translated from the Arabic by Martin Springling: The Open Court, vol. 46, no. 12, 1932), pp. 828-846. 113

29: Glubb--9 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

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Sedentarization of the Nomads in the Arab Middle East

Introduction

*166 In spite of the importance and magnitude of the issue, the problem of sedentarization has largely been neglected by experts on Middle Eastern Affairs, and no comprehensive study has yet been made on the subject.

The chief obstacle to an exhaustive treatment of the subject is the meagerness of reliable data. Trustworthy statistical information is generally not available for the countries of the Middle East, with the exception of Egypt and the Arab population of Palestine (Israel). The Bedouin, more than the settled people, have a deep-rooted aversion to any type of enumeration.

114 The writer has endeavored to consult the obtainable written literature, statistical, analytical and descriptive. While the material may be adequate for a discussion of sedentarization in general terms, a more detailed study must wait for additional factual data to become available.

The Role of Pastoralism and Agriculturalism

121 As this dissertation is concerned with the transition of societies, nomadic to sedentary, it is in place to sketch briefly the role of pastoralism and agriculturalism in the growth of human civilization.

000 Modern society derives its sustenance from farming, or stock-breeding, or both. Simpler people are sustained by hunting, fishing and the collecting of wild roots and seeds.[1] There is

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1. Boas, 1938, p. 282

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FOREWORD

114 A brief autobiographical note will explain how I came to write this
608 book. I was born in Beyrout, Syria, in 1881, and as a small child was taken to Damascus, where my mother's milk failed early. It so happened that Shaikh Mijwal of the Mazrab section of the Sba'a, the well-known sub-tribe of the great 'Anizah group, was in Damascus at the time, and gallantly stepping into the breach, he volunteered to secure for me a wet nurse or foster mother from among his tribeswomen. A Badawiyah girl was duly produced and according to my mother's testimony I drank her milk for several weeks. This in the eyes of the Badawin entitles me to a certain "blood affinity" with the 'Anizah; for to drink a woman's milk in the desert is to become a child of the foster mother. This fact has been of assistance to me in my dealings with the Badawin of the high desert and around Kuwait.

114 Shaikh Mijwal al Mazrab, as my readers will doubtless remember, was the desert Chieftain who married Lady Digby (at one time also Lady Ellenborough) in the late sixties, and provided her with a suitable residence in Damascus where she always spent the summer months. After the death of Lady Digby in 1881, this house was rented by my father, and I spent my childhood days rambling about the lovely garden that had once been the pride and happiness of Lady Digby. At an early age I was given my first camel ride, by Shaikh Mijwal's grown-up son Shaikh Ja'afat, or Ya'afat as he was called, who still clearly remembers the incident.

My father was at this time H.B.M.'s Consul at Damascus.

KUWAIT
September 26, 1936

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PREFACE

114 I started collecting material for this book in 1929 when I first came to Kuwait, and have continued to do so up to midsummer of 1936, when my notes were finally typed out.

000 I am conscious that place and personal names have in some cases been spelt not in accordance with official practice, and I fear in this respect I am laying myself open to criticism. My excuse is that I was anxious to spell strange-sounding names as they were locally pronounced, and not according to any hard and fast rule.

I make no apologies for style. Throughout my career I have felt my shortcomings as a writer. I recall that my late Chief in Iraq, Sir Arnold Wilson, once remarked to me, "You are a very good Political Officer, but you cannot write a d——!" so my readers now know the worst. I have simply done my best to pass on to those interested in Arabia certain knowledge which I have acquired by long residence among the Badawin, and in the peculiarly Arab town of Kuwait. Some of this knowledge will I think be found to be new, and it would to my mind be a pity to leave no record of it, especially of the charming and unspoiled Badawin of Eastern Arabia. I shall feel amply rewarded if those whose work hereafter leads them to Arabia, whether as Government servants or in commercial undertakings, find some solace or pleasure in my book. I shall be doubly rewarded if I succeed in inspiring an interest in one of the proudest and most lovable of all peoples, the Desert Arab.

In conclusion may I plead that such eminent authorities on Arabia as H. St. J. Philby, Bertram Thomas, Paul Harrison and others who may read these lines be gentle in their criticism.

H. R. P. D.

KUWAIT
September 26, 1936

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CHAPTER I

My Life in the Desert

114 Badawin life has been so often and so well described by such giants
123 in Arabian knowledge as Doughty, Musil, Philby, Bertram Thomas and others, that I feel timid in recording my own experiences. I am constrained to do so, however, by the thought that even I may be able to add a little to the knowledge that has been accumulated about a people, who are perhaps more lovable than any other race on earth, for I have had the good fortune, during my seven years' life among the Muntafiq and Khazail Arabs of the Euphrates, my two years' duty in Bahrain and Hasa, and last but not least during my subsequent seven years' sojourn in Kuwait as H.M.'s Political Agent, to have lived, moved about and camped among the nomad Badawin* in their own tents and as one of themselves. During these years, and in particular during my service in Kuwait, I learned to like and respect the Badawin and gained an insight into his life which I shall never regret.† I was blessed with a wonderful partner, who loved the Arab woman, her charming ways, her wonderful courage, simplicity and pride of race even more perhaps than I did her menfolk. This enabled me to acquire through her a knowledge of the thoughts, manners and occupations of these daughters of Arabia and descendants of Hagar, which few others have had a like chance to gain. Two factors in particular have helped me to win the confidence of the Arab and have assisted not a little in furthering my investigations. First, the fact that I was wet-nursed by an 'Anizah woman of the Misrab section of the Ruwala, and so can claim milk-brotherhood with them. Secondly, the fact that I have spoken Arabic from childhood.

103 * In Arabic *al bádia* means the nomad-inhabited desert; *al badu* or *al baduwi* (feminine: *al badawiyah*) the desert-dwelling nomad, whom in English we call the "Badawin". The nomad naturally does not refer to himself as a Badawin, but rightly styles himself an Arab. I use the word Badawin as both a singular and plural noun and as an adjective.

† Since quitting official life I have continued to reside in Kuwait as a member of the Kuwait Oil Company.

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Desert Camping

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The Badawin themselves were quick to realise that I was interested in them and liked them ("Al galb sháhid" as they say: "the heart bears witness") and appreciated the fact that I preferred to live in a black tent as they did, and always kept one ready in the desert, year in and year out, in charge of a respected Badawin family who wandered about with other nomads. These things made my position in the Kuwait Badawin world secure.

When I first came to Kuwait in May 1929, I bought the necessary "black" Badawin tents, and handed them over to one Salim al Muzaiyin, a Mutair (Sana) tribesman of Kuwait, whom with his Shammari wife I met in the Shamiyah camping ground of Kuwait when out riding one afternoon, instructing him to pitch my tents wherever he and his family and herdsmen happened to wander. I thus got early into desert ways and always had a camp ready for me. For seven* winters in succession I have made a practice of taking out my wife, son and daughter,† and living with our Badawin friends as opportunity offered and work at headquarters permitted. I would often take my wife and little girl to camp 40 or 50 miles away, leave them there alone for ten days or a fortnight. My own sojourns were as a rule of shorter duration, but speaking generally, we were able to spend quite a third of the Autumn, Winter and Spring months of each year wandering round with our Arab friends. Our favourite part of Kuwait, because of the abundance of grazing and flowers in spring, was Araifjan, a district some 40 miles south of Kuwait, but our wanderings took us at different times to practically every corner of the state, as well as to the Kuwait Neutral Zone.‡ Our own camp always consisted of three tents. With our Badawin family's three tents this gave us six tents all told, which were invariably pitched in a line.

Sometimes of course our party camped alone, at other times among large numbers of 'Ajman, 'Awazim, Mutair or 'Arabdar Badawin as the mood of our man took him, or migrations from the south occurred.

We never told Salim to go to any particular place or to join up with any particular tribe—we left him to decide where the grazing was

* Now eighteen winters.

† My son was sent to school in England in 1933, my daughter in 1935.

‡ Not included in the above, a journey to Khabari Wadha in Sa'udi Arabia in 1930, and another journey to Riyadh in 1937.

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best for his own camels and sheep, and for our sheep, camels and horses, which we left entirely in his charge. All we asked of him was that as he moved about and pitched his own camp, he would also pitch our black tents, ready for us to join him if opportunity offered. 114 123

There was no need for him to tell us where he intended to move to next or when. We in Kuwait always knew where the various Badawin ('Arabdar as well as foreign Badawin) were encamped. It was part of my job as Political Agent to know this—and any tribesman could at any given moment say where Abu Sa'ud's or Daksan's camp was.*

Our desert life was good; I count 1929 to 1936 as some of the happiest years that my wife and I have ever spent together. In these camps my wife and daughter largely amused themselves with collecting wild flowers for Kew Gardens in London and insects for the South Kensington Natural History Museum. I for my part did political work, got in touch with neighbouring shaikhs from Sa'udi Arabia or Iraq and generally kept myself abreast of the Badawin news about the Arabian world. When not at work, the wife and I hawked the lesser bustard (*hubára*), shot sand grouse or went for rides on our riding camels. Such rides almost always ended in calls on our neighbours, some 'Ajman shaikh, or some relative of the Shaikh of Kuwait. Periodically, if distances were great, we would take out cars and visit shaikhs of the Mutair, Shammar, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, many of whom migrated almost every year, with their vast herds of camels, into Kuwait territory or into the Neutral Zone to the south of it. Many happy days were thus spent, and we were able to get on to terms of real intimacy with the shaikhs of those great tribes as well as with their charming womenfolk. My descriptions of such things as the daily round of a Badawin family, and how they water their camels, horses, sheep, etc., are therefore based on actual experience. I would watch their doings for days at a time, and supplement my observations by perpetually asking questions. I used to find that a good opportunity for questioning was round our camp fire at night. On these occasions while coffee went the round, men, women and children of the camp would foregather in our tent, retail news of raids, expectations, rain, grazing,

* "Daksan" was the Badawin version of my name, but I was more often known as the "father of Sa'ud"—Abu Sa'ud.

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114 sickness amongst camels, sheep and so forth, and answer questions
128 on a hundred subjects. Were strangers to drop in, the women and children would discreetly disappear, but the real valuable and pleasant evenings were those when we were *en famille*, so to speak, and outsiders were neither present nor expected.

115 The following made up our family at Abu Sa'ud's camp, as it was
592 called, in the *barr* (desert):

Salim al Muzaiyin—the head of our Badawin family (Mutairi).
Maziad—a Dhafir tribesman (assistant to Salim), and a fine example of a desert fighting man.
Dhuwaihi—'Azmi* (Muta'awah), a blind old man and leader of the family prayers.
Hamud—a lad of sixteen, Salim's nephew.
Faláh—'Azmi camel herdsman and brother of Dhuwaihi.
Nasir—'Azmi shepherd.
Swailim—'Azmi camel-herd.
Amsha—wife of Salim, our hostess (a Shammariyah).
Maneira—Salim's sister.
Hussa—Salim's daughter (fifteen years old).
Wadha—Dhuwaihi's daughter (fourteen years old).
Dghaima—Maziad's daughter (mother was dead).
Adhaiya—Dhuwaihi's daughter.
Marzúk—negro slave boy (died 1933).
Mabrúk—negro slave boy (aged three in 1934).
Hawaiya—Dhuwaihi's wife (seldom seen).
Dhuwaihi's three infants, Faláh, Kharmit and Bibi.

Of the above the following deserve more detailed mention:

Salim al Muzaiyin.—A fine, thick-set, good type of Badawin—of the Muzaina family, a semi-nomad Mutairi. Head of the clan is his brother Ibrahim al Muzaiyin, at one time intimate companion, friend and standard-bearer of the great Shaikh Mubárak of Kuwait and hero of a dozen tribal battles and a hundred raids. Ibrahim left the service of the present shaikh three years ago, as times were bad in Kuwait, and removed to Riyadh, where he now enjoys a comfortable stipend from Bin Sa'ud. Salim, who is now the head of the house in Kuwait, is widely respected for his honesty, stability and knowledge of country from Kuwait to Riyadh and Hufuf. He visits Bin Sa'ud's capital regularly twice a year, to see his elder brother, and generally is *persona grata* with the King as with Ibn

* Singular of 'Awazim.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XXII

'Ajman Talks and Tales

(from my original Diaries)

PHILBY'S "EMPTY QUARTER"

While camped alongside of a large 'Ajman camp, consisting of details 114
of the Musrah, Mahfudh and Sulaiman sections, on 7th November, 1933, some 30 miles south of Kuwait, I took the opportunity of discussing with Muhammad bin Hajjaj and Junaifir bin Hawaila, both of the Mahfudh, Philby's journey across the Rub' al Kháli. The world was still talking of his remarkable experiences, and I was curious to know how much the ordinary Badawin knew about it, and especially those northern sections of the 'Ajman who reside in and on the borders of Kuwait.

I found that they knew all about Philby's adventures and to a less extent about Bertram Thomas's journey too.

Both Junaifir and Muhammad al Hajjaj, as well as other greybeards 609
present, declared that they knew Falah abu Ja'sha well, and most of 114
the Murra and 'Ajman companions of Philby mentioned on page 10 of his *Empty Quarter* (I had the book with me, and read out the names). They went further and quite voluntarily recounted some of the more amusing incidents that had befallen Philby. They had got these, they said, from Abu Ja'sha and others. My hearers spoke of Philby as a *rayál*, meaning that he was a "man indeed", and said that he had not stinted his money, when it came to rewarding his party. They said, however, that he was *hamaqi*, hot-tempered, but that as he was a "good Muslim" this would be forgiven him. Junaifir said that he knew the country covered by Philby as far as Bir Fáthil and Maqainama wells, but had never been further south of these places, which as he said was *Dirat al Murra*. He had also been down the Wadi al Dawasir to Sulaiyil and to the more western wells of Ranya, Bisha, Jash and Tathlith.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

609 114 Muhammad al Hajjaj on the other hand said that he had been as far as Najran *via* Sulaiyil and had married a girl there and resided with her for some time. The Yam tribe of that region were, he said, blood brothers of the 'Ajman and Murra, who both had originally come from Najran. As regards the Rúb' al Kháli, he said he had once visited the wells of Um al Hadid (near 'Ubar) with the Murra, and had heard much about the ancient city which was supposed to lie buried there under the sands. His furthest southern point had been a spot a little north of Shenna (Philby's furthest south), where the water was everywhere undrinkable.

Both Muhammad bin Hajjaj and Junaifir called the phantom city 'Ubár; I tried to make them say it was "Wabár", but they said theirs was the correct way of pronouncing its name. They did admit, however, that "Wabár" was the way the tribes to the north and round Hasa pronounced the name, while the Murra, Manasír and Awámir, etc., call it "'Ubár". This is of interest in view of the arguments which both Philby and Bertram Thomas put forward as to the right way of spelling the now famous spot.

PHILBY AND THE MILK

000 On 27th April, 1935, I spent a whole day with some of the Mahfudh section of the 'Ajman camped 30 miles south of Kuwait and west of the Dhahar ridge. I went over to their widely extended camp which was situate some 5 miles south of mine and found Mahfudh, 'Arja, and other details camped together.

Old Junaifir bin Hawaila, Marait his cousin, and Fahad father of Maneira, wife of Hamad bin Mishwat, were there besides many others. 'Abdullah bin Junaifir gave me lunch (my wife and Zahra were with me and also Salim al Muzaiyin). It consisted of two sheep and a grand dish of rice, cooked 'Ajman fashion (i.e. with lots of yellow-looking melted butter poured over the rice as a gravy). The meat was deliciously tender, and we enjoyed our meal. The owners of some dozen tents lunched on the remains after we had finished, and while they were feeding we repaired to Husain abu Juma's tent and his brother Suwaiyan's, both doughty warriors it was said, who had accompanied Sa'ud the King's son to Najran, during the recent Yaman expedition (1934).

THE BADU OF SOUTHERN ARABIA

By W. P. THESIGER, D.S.O.

114

Lecture given on September 28, 1949, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

The Chairman: To-day Mr. Thesiger is going to talk to us about the countries around the Red Sea, with which he has been acquainted since childhood. He was born in Abyssinia. Before the recent war he was with the Sudan Civil Service. In 1940 he was sent to Abyssinia and volunteered for service there with the Ethiopian Patriot Force, in which he was awarded the D.S.O.

Later he was sent on special duty to Damascus and was able to resume his Arabic studies. Since the war he has carried out several remarkable trips to explore the heart of the area known as the "Empty Quarter," and he is now going to tell us about the most recent of these.

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I AM going to talk about the Badu of Southern Arabia; that is to say, the camel-owning nomads who live in and around the Empty Quarter. I wish to make it clear that I am talking about the Badu, or Baduin, and not about Arabs who cultivate or live in towns, for there is all the difference in the world between them. I do not suppose that a sophisticated young town Arab would be flattered if you referred to him as a Badui, though it is surprising how many of them do proudly claim Badu origin, and I do know that no Badui would like to be called a townsman or cultivator. At first sight the Badu of Southern Arabia appear to be very different from those of the north, but I believe that this difference is largely superficial and due to the clothes which they wear. I do not think that either a Sa'ari from the deserts just north of the Hadhramaut or a Wahibi from South-Eastern Oman would feel himself much out of place in an encampment of the Rualla. On the other hand, I think that a townsman from Aden or Muscat would always be conspicuous in Damascus. I wish also to make it quite clear that I am describing conditions in Southern Arabia and not in Arabia as a whole. In the past Badu life was everywhere much the same, harder in some places and easier in others. The last quarter of a century has, however, seen the most revolutionary changes in the north. There Ibn Saud has imposed his iron will upon the tribes. He has subjected the nomad to the rule of the settled Arab, stamped out raiding, and taxed the Badui as well as the cultivator. The same process has been carried out in Trans-Jordan, in Syria, and in Iraq. It was largely the use of the motor-car which made it possible to bring the Badu under control, for that robbed them of their age-old inaccessibility. Previously they had only to retire into the desert to be safe from pursuit, but now they are at the mercy of a motorized patrol, unable to get away and with nowhere to hide.

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Cars have, however, not yet penetrated into the southern desert, and there the old life still goes on. I do not suppose, except that the Badu are now armed with rifles, that their way of life has greatly changed since the times of Abraham. In the south they are still dominant and even unchallenged. It is true that before they enter the valley of the Hadhramaut

22;Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

TRIBAL AREAS AND MIGRATION LINES OF THE NORTH ARABIAN BEDOUINS

Carl R. Raswan

[With separate map, Pl. V, facing p. 502]

114 SINCE 1911 the writer has spent a total of about seven years among the Bedouins. The main purpose of his repeated visits to northern Arabia has been the breeding of Arab horses and study of their history. Incidentally he has been impelled to determine as accurately as possible the *dira* or pasture districts of the various Bedouin tribes.

114 102 The accompanying maps are based largely upon personal observations and inquiries among the 'Aneze, Shammar, Shararat, Huetat, Beni Sakhr, and other tribes, supplemented by data gleaned from Doughty's "Travels in Arabia Deserta" and more especially from Alois Musil's works. While the maps are in no sense final or complete, the writer is confident that their delineation of the tribal areas is more accurate than that shown on any previous maps.

Definite Boundaries

619 131 101 221 The migrations of the Bedouins are not arbitrary, aimless wanderings in the wilderness. Well defined landmarks limit them. Tribes related by blood ties may frequently use the same districts together at certain seasons of the year. One tribe may conclude a treaty with strangers, permitting the latter to use its pastures and watering places for a specified period. Or else a powerful tribe, like the Ruala, may invade an enemy's territory without warning. In this case constant bickering, raiding, and skirmishing is the inevitable result.

A great northward shift of the Shammar and 'Aneze nomads took place during the first part of the seventeenth century, and the existing apportionment of the tribal areas was at that time roughly established. The boundaries which the various tribes now claim as their own and which are marked by water holes, variations in the desert surface (as between lava rock, gravel, red sand, etc.), dry watercourses, solitary hills, mountain ranges, cultivated tracts, and the like, have been definitely fixed since the beginning of the last century. Some of the more important of these landmarks are shown on Plate V, facing p. 502.

As a typical example of a tribal area let us examine the *dira* of the 'Amarat tribe of the 'Aneze "nation" (Fig. 1). The eastern limit

25: Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

Wolves of the Desert

The Sa'ar Tribe at the Watering Place

by WILFRED THESIGER, D.S.O.

114 *The Geographical Magazine Trust Fund has contributed a substantial sum towards the cost of Mr Thesiger's journeys across the Empty Quarter of Southern Arabia, during one of which the encounter herein described took place.* (Left) *A Sa'ar tribesman: of a clan "hated and feared by all the South Arabian desert tribes"*

p. 394 (B)

29: Glubb--1 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

THE SULUBBA AND OTHER IGNOBLE TRIBES OF SOUTHWESTERN ASIA

by

J. B. Glubb*

114 * Political Officer in Trans-Jordan. These notes were received at Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, during 1935--H.F.

SULUBBA

101 The origin of these people remains obscure.
144 None of the Arab historians of the early Islamic conquests appear to mention them, which seems to disprove the theory that they are remnants of an old conquered race. The hypothesis suggesting descent from the Crusaders seems to be a modern European fantasia based solely on the resemblance between their tribal name and the Arabic word for a cross.

101 Musil (1), in his "Arabia Deserta," states
144
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1. Alois Musil, Arabia Deserta, p. 233.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MS4

The élaki is the common saddle type all

B 492 171 over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *hawiyya*, the word also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Sba'a* and *Rawala*) (Boucheman 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Negd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *hedâğe*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *hedâğe* or *hawiyya* is not mentioned from Kuweit by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al fulani*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al fulani* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *hawiyya* or *hedâğe* type the more so because riding saddles for camels and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory that the riding saddle of *al fulani* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *hawiyya* or *hedâğe* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.180.80), from the Regeibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Iâa w Aich* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 92).

B [114]

T 492 Saddles of the *hawiyya* or *hedâğe* type (*élaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *aruki*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fitted each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Iwilemmeden Kel Denek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of them consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

T [177]

The *élaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJY

Diffusion and Function in Social Organization

T 121

The problems connected with diffusion of so-called social traits have been only superficially studied by anthropologists, who hold very different views about this matter. Thus Murdock stresses that "the forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion" and that "traits of social structure appear to be borrowed, in general, only under conditions in which the same traits would be independently elaborated even in the absence of culture contacts" (Murdock 1949, p. 196). This extreme view is that adopted by some anthropologists, while other scholars agree with Lowie that diffusion has played a large part in the distribution of traits of social organization (Lowie 1950, p. 261; 1953, p. 421 f.).

It is often stated in anthropological literature that there is not necessarily any functional connection between a particular type of social organization and a particular type of economic culture. This was shown very clearly by Wissler for the American Indians (cf. Wissler 1922). In regard to Northern Africa we have a type of patrilineal social organization which is shared by all Arabs, whether settled agriculturists or true nomads, and we have another type of social organization among Tuareg-speaking pastoralists and agriculturists. Arab and Tuareg pastoralists have largely the same type of economy, but differ much in social organization. The same holds for Arab and Tuareg agriculturists.

B 613 [114]

I have never studied Arab social organization in great detail. The patrilineages of North African Arab pastoralists have been brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard in regard to the bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949), and the Arab bedouins I have visited (e.g., *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, *Chamba*, *Larba*, *Ulad Nail*) apparently have lineage-systems of much the same type. The *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe falls into four maximal patrilineages which again divide into lesser patrilineal units. An Arab is named after an ancestor of a minor patrilineage of his tribe and by an individual name. When he writes his name the ancestral name comes first. A *Chamba* Arab I knew well was named *Ben Hadid Sayah*. *Sayah* was his personal name while *Ben Hadid* ("son of *Hadid*") referred to the ancestor of his patrilineage with a depth of five generations.

B 601

It seems as if Arab kinship terminology is of very much the same type throughout North Africa. I have taken down the systems used among the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*, and they appear to be identical apart from dialectical distinctions. The systems are characterized by a preference for descriptive terms. Those for "father" and "mother" are not used for kinsmen other than the true parents, though a father's brother may be called "father" if the true father has died. There is a term for "grandfather" and "grandmother" which can be used for all grandparents, while kinsmen of lower generations are known by descriptive terms so that it is always clear whether a kinsman belongs to

[p. 447]

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

114 sickness amongst camels, sheep and so forth, and answer questions
123 on a hundred subjects. Were strangers to drop in, the women and children would discreetly disappear, but the real valuable and pleasant evenings were those when we were *en famille*, so to speak, and outsiders were neither present nor expected.

115 The following made up our family at Abu Sa'ud's camp, as it was
592 called, in the *barr* (desert):

Salim al Muzaiyin—the head of our Badawin family (Mutairi).
Maziad—a Dhafir tribesman (assistant to Salim), and a fine example of a desert fighting man.
Dhuwaihi—'Azmi* (Muta'awah), a blind old man and leader of the family prayers.
Hamud—a lad of sixteen, Salim's nephew.
Faláh—'Azmi camel herdsman and brother of Dhuwaihi.
Nasir—'Azmi shepherd.
Swailim—'Azmi camel-herd.
Amsha—wife of Salim, our hostess (a Shammariyah).
Maneira—Salim's sister.
Hussa—Salim's daughter (fifteen years old).
Wadha—Dhuwaihi's daughter (fourteen years old).
Dghaima—Maziad's daughter (mother was dead).
Adhaiya—Dhuwaihi's daughter.
Marzúk—negro slave boy (died 1933).
Mabrúk—negro slave boy (aged three in 1934).
Hawaiya—Dhuwaihi's wife (seldom seen).
Dhuwaihi's three infants, Faláh, Kharmit and Bibi.

Of the above the following deserve more detailed mention:

Salim al Muzaiyin.—A fine, thick-set, good type of Badawin—of the Muzaina family, a semi-nomad Mutairi. Head of the clan is his brother Ibrahim al Muzaiyin, at one time intimate companion, friend and standard-bearer of the great Shaikh Mubárak of Kuwait and hero of a dozen tribal battles and a hundred raids. Ibrahim left the service of the present shaikh three years ago, as times were bad in Kuwait, and removed to Riyadh, where he now enjoys a comfortable stipend from Bin Sa'ud. Salim, who is now the head of the house in Kuwait, is widely respected for his honesty, stability and knowledge of country from Kuwait to Riyadh and Hufuf. He visits Bin Sa'ud's capital regularly twice a year, to see his elder brother, and generally is *persona grata* with the King as with Ibn

* Singular of 'Awazim.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Subah. A most useful man to have, and a good man in a tight place. He is a relative of Ibrahim ibn Juma'a, Bin Sa'ud's major domo in charge of the entertainment of Badawin guests in Riyadh. Being a Mutairi tribesman, Salim is a particularly useful man to have for work in the desert, where Mutair tribesmen commonly roam.

Maziad.—A Dhafir Badawin of Juwasim origin. Very useful, hardy and honest; a widower till 1934, when he married a Mutairi woman. He bought her for two she-camels and 100 rials, and is still paying off his debt. He is exceptionally valuable when Dhafir tribesmen are met with, as he insures the camp against raids and robbery by his fellow-tribesmen.

Dhuwaihi, the blind Muta'awah or priest, has much influence with his tribe and, like Maziad, insures that the 'Awazim tribe is friendly disposed. He leads the prayers, and marries those desiring matrimony. A rather dear old man.

Swailim.—A fine upstanding 'Azmi warrior, full of camel lore, and as hard as nails, assists Maziad with the camels: a remarkable youth where tracking, finding of lost camels, birds' nests and *fagah* (truffles) for the camp are concerned.

Amongst the women, pride of place must go to Amsha (or Atsha, to give her her Shammari name), the gentle-eyed, sweet-natured and contralto-voiced Shammari wife of Salim. Always tidy, clean and attractive, and a mine of information in matters of desert folklore, names of herbs, flowers and the manners and customs of her people, the Tumán section of the Sinjára Shammar. She was brought up in Hail or its vicinity, and came to Kuwait as a girl of fifteen in 1921 (*sanat al Jahrah*). She is a splendid cook and a real companion to her husband. She has had seven children, all of whom died in infancy except Hussa, her daughter. The latter is now fifteen years old and of marriageable age. A strong, thick-set and particularly attractive Badawin lass, Hussa does most of the tent work for her mother, weaves tent strips and *qátas* (dividing curtains for the tent) in her spare time, and daily goes out to cut firewood with her inseparable friend and companion, little Wadha, the particularly pretty daughter of old Dhuwaihi. Neither girl ever seems to tire, though occupied all day with some job or other. The whole charm of the family and my camp would disappear were Amsha, Hussa and Wadha to come to any harm.

At 'Id and in the strictest privacy of the closed tent, little Wadha

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

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and Hussa, decked out in their best frocks, have many times given my wife and myself rare pleasure, by loosing their hair and dancing before us with graceful movement of head, hair and body.

One can only think of Maneira, as the maker of the *leben*, with the early morning (3 a.m.) *rug-rug-rug* sound of her goatskin, hanging on the tripod, as she swung it backward and forward to the tune of her *leben*-making songs. She was also the camp's expert fortune-teller. A description of her methods and skill will be given elsewhere (see chapter XLI).

Sedentarization of the Bedouin in the Arab Middle East

Introduction

*166 In spite of the importance and magnitude of the issue, the problem of sedentarization has largely been neglected by experts on Middle Eastern Affairs, and no comprehensive study has yet been made on the subject.

The chief obstacle to an exhaustive treatment of the subject is the paucity of reliable data. Trustworthy statistical information is generally not available for the countries of the Middle East, with the exception of Egypt and the Arab population of Palestine (Israel). The Bedouin, more than the settled people, have a deep-rooted aversion to any type of enumeration.

114 The writer has endeavored to consult the obtainable written literature, statistical, analytical and descriptive. While the material may be adequate for a discussion of sedentarization in general terms, a more detailed study must wait for additional factual data to become available.

The Role of Pastoralism and Agriculturalism

121 As this dissertation is concerned with the transition of societies, nomadic to sedentary, it is in place to sketch briefly the role of pastoralism and agriculturalism in the growth of human civilization.

000 Modern society derives its sustenance from farming, or stock-breeding, or both. Simpler people are sustained by hunting, fishing and the collecting of wild roots and seeds.[1] There is

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1. Boas, 1938, p. 282

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4

With the improvements of communication and construction of pipe- 369
lines there has been an ever-increasing mutual contact between the 178
nomads and the settled people of village and town. While tribal
shaikhs are the first to come under the influence of modernization,
the tribesmen are also gradually adopting the mode of existence of
settled society.

CHAPTER 1

Delimitation of the Area under Consideration

This paper will limit itself primarily to the problem of 361
sedentarization of the nomadic populations in the countries of the 121
Fertile Crescent, that is: Iraq, Syria, Jordan (Transjordan) and
Israel (Palestine), an area which distinguishes itself by its
Moslem Arab majority,[1] its striking similarities of natural envi-
ronment and social organization. Saudi Arabia was included in this
study because of the inter-relations which exist between the Be-
douin of the Arabian and Syrian deserts. Tribes of the Anezeh
Confederation wander from Saudi Arabia through Jordan into Syria
and back and sections of the Shammar migrate back and forth
between Arabia and Iraq.

Desert and Soil

The chief common natural feature of the area is of a geo- 132
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1. With the exception of the Kurdish language used by the Kurds in Syria and Iraq, Aramaic spoken by the Nestorian Christians in Kurdistan and in a few villages in Syria, and Hebrew spoken by the Jewish community of Israel, the area is Arabic in character.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ4

migrated from Central Arabia. Before Ibn Hadhdhal, the greatest 622
shaikh in the Syrian desert had been Ibn Jesham, who now lives in poverty on the Lower Euphrates.

It was, indeed, related that an Arab petitioner had once 181
accosted His Majesty King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud by the title of Chief of the Arabs, but that the latter had protested: "I take refuge with God, my son! The Chief of the Arabs is Ibn Hadhdhal." With less than 200 years of rule to their credit, the Sauds were a new family to the Arabs.

When this story was repeated to Ibn Hadhdhal, he interrupted the narrator to object: "I take refuge with God, my son!" said the old chieftain. "The chief of the Arabs is Ibn Jesham." Such was the modest chivalry of these old chiefs, although all of them were at war with one another.

From Ibn Hadhdhal I obtained a letter to Al Nuri ibn Shaalan, 122
chief of the Ruwallah. A retainer of Fahad's, Burjas al Dhafiri, was 628
detailed to accompany us on our journey, to save us from molesta- 485
tion by the Amarat. He could not, of course, protect us from raiders from other tribes. Burjas came from the Dhafir tribe, not the Amarat. He had been obliged to flee from his relatives owing to a blood feud, and had taken refuge with Ibn Hadhdhal, whose trusted retainer he had become. Burjas was so short-sighted that he was almost blind, but he knew the desert perfectly for hundreds of miles. As we rode along, he would cross-question us as to what we could see. "To the north-west, there should soon appear two low round hills each surmounted by a heap of stones, like a woman's breasts." "Can you see on the south a tall grey peak? It is Feridat al Wa'ar."

Burjas, half-blind, carried 200,000 square miles of desert in his 485
mind's eye, and could estimate when every distant landmark would come into view.

We made for the water-holes at Al Molussi, in the hope of 485
hearing news of Ibn Shaalan. The water-holes were in a narrow 609
valley at the foot of a rocky cliff. There was nobody camped on the water. We stopped to drink, when suddenly we were startled by a voice calling: "What are you, O camel riders?"

High above us on the rocky cliff face sat three men, each holding a rifle. Burjas argued with them without revealing our identity,

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER I

My Life in the Desert

114 Badawin life has been so often and so well described by such giants
123 in Arabian knowledge as Doughty, Musil, Philby, Bertram Thomas and others, that I feel timid in recording my own experiences. I am constrained to do so, however, by the thought that even I may be able to add a little to the knowledge that has been accumulated about a people, who are perhaps more lovable than any other race on earth, for I have had the good fortune, during my seven years' life among the Muntafiq and Khazail Arabs of the Euphrates, my two years' duty in Bahrain and Hasa, and last but not least during my subsequent seven years' sojourn in Kuwait as H.M.'s Political Agent, to have lived, moved about and camped among the nomad Badawin* in their own tents and as one of themselves. During these years, and in particular during my service in Kuwait, I learned to like and respect the Badawin and gained an insight into his life which I shall never regret.† I was blessed with a wonderful partner, who loved the Arab woman, her charming ways, her wonderful courage, simplicity and pride of race even more perhaps than I did her menfolk. This enabled me to acquire through her a knowledge of the thoughts, manners and occupations of these daughters of Arabia and descendants of Hagar, which few others have had a like chance to gain. Two factors in particular have helped me to win the confidence of the Arab and have assisted not a little in furthering my investigations. First, the fact that I was wet-nursed by an 'Anizah woman of the Misrab section of the Ruwala, and so can claim milk-brotherhood with them. Secondly, the fact that I have spoken Arabic from childhood.

103 * In Arabic *al bádia* means the nomad-inhabited desert; *al badu* or *al badawi* (feminine: *al badawiyah*) the desert-dwelling nomad, whom in English we call the "Badawin". The nomad naturally does not refer to himself as a Badawin, but rightly styles himself an Arab. I use the word Badawin as both a singular and plural noun and as an adjective.

† Since quitting official life I have continued to reside in Kuwait as a member of the Kuwait Oil Company.

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Desert Camping

114 The Badawin themselves were quick to realise that I was interested
● 123 in them and liked them ("Al galb sháhid" as they say: "the heart bears witness") and appreciated the fact that I preferred to live in a black tent as they did, and always kept one ready in the desert, year in and year out, in charge of a respected Badawin family who wandered about with other nomads. These things made my position in the Kuwait Badawin world secure.

When I first came to Kuwait in May 1929, I bought the necessary "black" Badawin tents, and handed them over to one Salim al Muzaiyin, a Mutair (Sana) tribesman of Kuwait, whom with his Shammari wife I met in the Shamiyah camping ground of Kuwait when out riding one afternoon, instructing him to pitch my tents wherever he and his family and herdsmen happened to wander. I thus got early into desert ways and always had a camp ready for me. For seven* winters in succession I have made a practice of taking out my wife, son and daughter,† and living with our Badawin friends as opportunity offered and work at headquarters permitted. I would often take my wife and little girl to camp 40 or 50 miles away, leave them there alone for ten days or a fortnight. My own sojourns were as a rule of shorter duration, but speaking generally, we were able to spend quite a third of the Autumn, Winter and Spring months of each year wandering round with our Arab friends. Our favourite part of Kuwait, because of the abundance of grazing and flowers in spring, was Araifjan, a district some 40 miles south of Kuwait, but our wanderings took us at different times to practically every corner of the state, as well as to the Kuwait Neutral Zone.‡ Our own camp always consisted of three tents. With our Badawin family's three tents this gave us six tents all told, which were invariably pitched in a line.

Sometimes of course our party camped alone, at other times among large numbers of 'Ajman, 'Awazim, Mutair or 'Arabdar Badawin as the mood of our man took him, or migrations from the south occurred.

We never told Salim to go to any particular place or to join up with any particular tribe—we left him to decide where the grazing was

* Now eighteen winters.

† My son was sent to school in England in 1933, my daughter in 1935.

‡ Not included in the above, a journey to Khabari Wadha in Sa'udi Arabia in 1930, and another journey to Riyadh in 1937.

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

best for his own camels and sheep, and for our sheep, camels and horses, which we left entirely in his charge. All we asked of him was that as he moved about and pitched his own camp, he would also pitch our black tents, ready for us to join him if opportunity offered.

There was no need for him to tell us where he intended to move to next or when. We in Kuwait always knew where the [illegible]ous Badawin ('Arabdar as well as foreign Badawin) were encamped. It was part of my job as Political Agent to know this—and any tribesman could at any given moment say where Abu Sa'ud's or Daksan's camp was.*

Our desert life was good; I count 1929 to 1936 as some of the happiest years that my wife and I have ever spent together. In these camps my wife and daughter largely amused themselves with collecting wild flowers for Kew Gardens in London and insects for the South Kensington Natural History Museum. I for my part did political work, got in touch with neighbouring shaikhs from Sa'udi Arabia or Iraq and generally kept myself abreast of the Badawin news about the Arabian world. When not at work, the wife and I hawked the lesser bustard (*hubâra*), shot sand grouse or went for rides on our riding camels. Such rides almost always ended in calls on our neighbours, some 'Ajman shaikh, or some relative of the Shaikh of Kuwait. Periodically, if distances were great, we would take out cars and visit shaikhs of the Mutair, Shammar, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, many of whom migrated almost every year, with their vast herds of camels, into Kuwait territory or into the Neutral Zone to the south of it. Many happy days were thus spent, and we were able to get on to terms of real intimacy with the shaikhs of those great tribes as well as with their charming womenfolk. My descriptions of such things as the daily round of a Badawin family, and how they water their camels, horses, sheep, etc., are therefore based on actual experience. I would watch their doings for days at a time, and supplement my observations by perpetually asking questions. I used to find that a good opportunity for questioning was round our camp fire at night. On these occasions while coffee went the round, men, women and children of the camp would foregather in our tent, retail news of raids, expectations, rain, grazing,

* "Daksan" was the Badawin version of my name, but I was more often known as the "father of Sa'ud"—Abu Sa'ud.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

114 sickness amongst camels, sheep and so forth, and answer questions
123 on a hundred subjects. Were strangers to drop in, the women and children would discreetly disappear, but the real valuable and pleasant evenings were those when we were *en famille*, so to speak, and outsiders were neither present nor expected.

115 The following made up our family at Abu Sa'ud's camp, as it was
592 called, in the *barr* (desert):

Salim al Muzaiyin—the head of our Badawin family (Mutairi).
Maziad—a Dhafir tribesman (assistant to Salim), and a fine example of a desert fighting man.
Dhuwaihi—'Azmi* (Muta'awah), a blind old man and leader of the family prayers.
Hamud—a lad of sixteen, Salim's nephew.
Faláh—'Azmi camel herdsman and brother of Dhuwaihi.
Nasir—'Azmi shepherd.
Swailim—'Azmi camel-herd.
Amsha—wife of Salim, our hostess (a Shammariyah).
Maneira—Salim's sister.
Hussa—Salim's daughter (fifteen years old).
Wadha—Dhuwaihi's daughter (fourteen years old).
Dghaima—Maziad's daughter (mother was dead).
Adhaiya—Dhuwaihi's daughter.
Marzúk—negro slave boy (died 1933).
Mabrúk—negro slave boy (aged three in 1934).
Hawaiya—Dhuwaihi's wife (seldom seen).
Dhuwaihi's three infants, Faláh, Kharmit and Bibi.

Of the above the following deserve more detailed mention:

Salim al Muzaiyin.—A fine, thick-set, good type of Badawin—of the Muzaina family, a semi-nomad Mutairi. Head of the clan is his brother Ibrahim al Muzaiyin, at one time intimate companion, friend and standard-bearer of the great Shaikh Mubárak of Kuwait and hero of a dozen tribal battles and a hundred raids. Ibrahim left the service of the present shaikh three years ago, as times were bad in Kuwait, and removed to Riyadh, where he now enjoys a comfortable stipend from Bin Sa'ud. Salim, who is now the head of the house in Kuwait, is widely respected for his honesty, stability and knowledge of country from Kuwait to Riyadh and Hufuf. He visits Bin Sa'ud's capital regularly twice a year, to see his elder brother, and generally is *persona grata* with the King as with Ibn

* Singular of 'Awazim.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

THE 'ANAZAH TRIBES*

TOUVIA ASHKENAZI

619 101 TO THE RABI'A GROUP[1] belong the 'Anazah and the closely related 'Asad who live near each other to the north of the Wâdi Rumma.[2] The Pilgrim Road from Baṣra[3] to Medina[4] crosses their territory. The 'Anazah, who are scattered throughout the peninsula of Arabia, Syria and 'Irak, are divided [601] into a Southern and Northern branch. All the tribes, and all the clans of the 'Anazah tribes, in the opinion of the ar-Rwala, have a common father and therefore are they beni al-'amm, their paternal cousins.[5] They are called by many travellers the 'Anazah nation.[6] The 'Anazah of the Syrian desert are the most

128 * Because of limitations of special type available native words are given in the text without diacritical marks. A list showing the proper orthography is given at the end of this article—Editor.

113 1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1938, pp. 176-178; see tribal descent of Arabian Bedouins, Carl Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia* (Boston, 1935), p. 232; cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1933), p. xix, "The Descendants of Rabia"; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (3rd ed., revised, 1946), pp. 93, 280, 502 n. l; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman* (3rd ed., 1929), pp. 95, 101, 106, 131, 177, 439; Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1946), vol. 2, p. 477.

2 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 374; cf. *First List of Names in Arabia (N. W. and S. W.)* (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, Royal Geographical Society, December, 1931, p. 8 (Rima, Wâdi ar: wadi, 160 km south of Hail; Arabic *A* [for Arabic forms see list at end of this article]). See also David George Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: a Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (New York, 1904), Rumma, W. er –, pp. 164, 184, 190, 208, 233, 239, 273, 277, 285, 288 ff., 296 ff., 306, 316, 326, 340, 341.

3 Basra: pr. Basra (sharp s); Arabic *B*.

4 Medina: 350 km north of Mecca; conv. for Arabic *C* – Al Medina; formerly Arabic *D* – Yathrib.

[104] 5 The word duriyye, "descendants," is replaced among the ar-Rwala by the word dana which designates very distant descendants irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or whether the relationship is due to adoption. This term is employed particularly by the 'Anazah. Dana, "descendants": John Lewis Burckhardt employs this term in 1810 *(Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* [2 vols., London, 1830], vol. 2, pp. 4-6); cf. Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 47-50; Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins* (Paris, 1930), p. 113; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des etats du Levant placés sous mandat français* (Beyrouth, July, 1930), p. 7.

6 Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), p. 1; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 176; Carl Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins* (Geographical Review, vol. 20, no. 3, 1930), p. 494; *idem, Vocabulary of Bedouin Words Concerning Horses* (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 4, no. 2, 1945), p. 97.

Zh:Ashkenazi E-4 (nodate) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

mol will destroy many of their most attractive qualities: their sturdy independence, 178
their chivalry, their raids, and their poetry. Already their chiefs are showing signs of taking to politics or agriculture, while their ambitious youths are seeking enlistment and promotion in the police. In northern Arabia—touching on 'Irak, Syria, and Trans-Jordan—the Bedouin will lose his influence and most of his distinctive qualities. In Negd, where a greater proportion of the population is nomadic, the Bedouin may retain some of his importance rather longer. Imperialist rule will see with pity that the good old raid must cease, and representatives of the imperialist rule "hope they will not be swept away too rapidly by the spread of civilization." [69]

And those Bedouin tribes, who refuse to settle down and exchange their tents for houses, who insist upon wandering and living upon camel- and horse-raising, will have to return to those waste lands and plains whence they emerged hundreds of years ago. But even there progressing civilization will hound them, as even the Arabian Peninsula is slowly advancing in this direction under King 'Abd el-'Aziz Eben Sa'ûd, himself of noble and pure nomadic descent. As long as there are deserts in the heart of settled countries, there will also be nomads, nomads who will threaten the borders of these settled countries and their progress. But now as of old, today as in the days of Byzantine and Persian domination, it is the duty of these progressive countries to ward off this threat, not by armies, but by wisely helping these nomads to satisfy their primitive and slender demands, to try and settle them at least partially on waste land and crown land, and to respect their internal customs and ways of life. Such settlement will strengthen the safety and good order of the open roads and highways and of the borders of sown countries in the Near and Middle East.

Orthographic Note

The proper orthographic forms of foreign words are listed here in the order 128
in which they occur in the text:

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69 The words of General Sir Percy Cox. See Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, 113
p. 31. On the other hand, much penetrating research at first hand must be consulted: Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines*, etc., pp. 496-497; de Bouchaman, *La sédentarisation des nomades du désert de Syrie* (L'Asie Française, no. 320, May 1934), pp. 140-143; Taha Husein, *Literary Life in the Arabic Peninsula* (translated from the Arabic by Martin Springling: The Open Court, vol. 46, no. 12, 1932), pp. 828-846.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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'Ânazah	Sa'ûd	Šeyḫ aš-šdâd
Eben Şabaḥ	Maşaliḥ	Šeyḫ al-ḥarb
Ebn Sa'ûd	Abd el-'Azîz Eben Sa'ûd	Ḳa'ḳa 'a
Kaḥtan	Ḥafiz Wahbe	Neğd
Ḍana Muslim	Heğira	aš-Šreyfi
Ḍana Biğr	Hağr	Ḳaḥaṭan
Âl-Ğlâs	Ğaz'a	al-Ğowf
as-Sba'a Ḳmusa	Ğuzayba	Šammâr
al-Ḥsene	Ab al-Ḫayl	'azid al-ḥarb
Ḍana Mifreğ	Ebn Şabaḥ	Ḥağğ
al-Maşâliḥ	Ḳahaṭan	Faḥad Beg Ebn Haḏḏal
Eben Ğa'îš	'Âl Wahab	Ğebel Šammâr
al-Miḥlef	Âl-Ğebel	Nuri Ebn Ša'lân
Ḫeybâr	Ša'lân	Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân
ḫlal	Eben Ğandal	Ğebel ad-Drûz
Eben Melḥem	Freğe	Yazidi's
Seraḥin	ğemâ'ati	Ḫabur
Abû-Samş	Ğemâ'a	Haḏḏal
fellaḥîn	Šeyḫ al-bâb	Ḥwêtat

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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The following additional words appear in the footnotes: 128

Baṣra	Aṣ-Ṣefir
ḍuriyye	Ḳal'at ez-Zerkâ
ḍana	Ḥussein Eben 'Ali
Ğaziratu-l-'Arab fi-l-karni-l-'Iṣrin	Ḥeğâz
Muḫallaf	Ḥashimite
Âl-'Ali	'Abd ar-Raḥman
Šuyûḫ	Ḥusein
Ğowf al-'Âmir	(pr.) Ḳárbalâ
Dumat el-Ğendel	An-Naǰaf
Şunn'a	

The f llowing are Arabic forms indicated in the footnotes by italic capitals:

A	وادي الرمة	*H*	سكاكة
B	بصرة	*I*	جبل شمر
C	المدينة	*J*	كربلاء
D	يثرب	*K*	النجف
E	خيبر	*L*	دير الزور
F	الجوف	*M*	الموصل
G	جوف العامر	*N*	نهر الخابور

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68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East M1
BEDOUINS MJ4

CHAPTER VII

The Boundary Lines and their Bearing on Bedouin Migration

B 131 361

With the conclusion of the First World War and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire the Syrian Desert was partitioned among four new states: Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and Saudi Arabia.

Epstein states[1] that the political boundary lines impose limitations on the Bedouin who can no longer freely wander over vast areas. In times of severe drought they cannot migrate with their flocks across the border where rains may have been more abundant. As an example he cites the case of a number of large Transjordanian tribes who were accustomed to have their winter quarters in Wadi Sirhan, which is now part of Saudi Arabia. New political conditions force the Bedouin to remain with their herds in the cold plains of Moab and Edom. Epstein, however, fails to explain why the tribes in question could not avail themselves of the provisions made in the Saudi Arabian (Nejd)-Transjordan agreements of 1925 and 1927 for cross-border migrations of the Bedouin. Article 9 of the Treaty of Friendship and Bon Voisinage concluded in 1927 at Jedda between Saudi Arabia and Transjordan reads as follows:

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> "The tribes of the two parties which habitually frequent both sides of the frontier for purposes of grazing or "musebala" shall be free to move from place to place in

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1. Epstein, 1938, p. 229

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the two countries, unless either of the two governments should find it necessary to restrict this freedom of movement in the interest of public order and for the reasons of economic necessity." 1)

The earlier Hadda agreement of 1925 2) mentions specifically the Wadi Sirhan. Artical 4 of the Hadda Agreement reads:

> "The government of Nejd undertake to maintain all established rights, that may be enjoyed in the Wadi Sirhan by tribes not under their jurisdiction, whether such rights appertain to grazing or to habitation or to ownership, or the like. The government of Transjordan undertake to extend identical treatment to Nejd subjects who may enjoy similar established rights in Transjordan territory."

Cross-border migration of the Bedouin tribes is similarly regulated by bi-lateral treaty arrangements between Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Iraq and Syria, Syria and Turkey and wherever such custom has been established.

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In fact, the tribes seem to increase their customary radius of movement whenever necessary. In 1935, for example, a considerable number of the Iraqi Amarat tribe entered Transjordan and even penetrated the Amman region. The Amarat had been at feud with the Transjordanian tribes for centuries, and never before had they been able to cross the frontier unmolested. 3) As recently as 1927 the Amarat raided the Howeitat of Transjordan, whereupon the Howeitat and the Beni Sakir counter-raided the Amarat. 4)

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1. ~~Command Paper 2951~~ Text of Treaty Treaty of Hadda 1-7 pp. 303-308
2. Command Paper 2566
3. Report, 1935, p. 307
4. Report, 1927, p. 74

58: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East M
BEDOUINS MJ4

At the beginning of 1929 practically the whole of the powerful 221
Rwala tribe entered Iraqi territory and encamped west of the Wadim area. The Rwala were soon followed by the Sba'a, another great tribe of the Anezeh. These unusual movements were caused by lack of good grazing in Syria.[1]

Political boundary lines thus do not appear to have seriously 131 221 659
affected tribal mobility. On the contrary, public security has enabled tribes to wander beyond their dirah into territories where in the past they would not have dared to camp. The Transjordanian tribes which, according to Epstein, were prevented from migrating to the Wadi Sirhan may have feared to cross the border line. It must be understood that states may sign agreements which the tribes have no intention to observe.

It happened both before and after the establishment of 221 721
frontiers that Transjordan nomads were attacked and plundered in their Wadi Sirhan grazing areas by hostile tribes of Hejaz. Due to the frequency of such occurrences the tribes customarily moving for the winter to the Wadi Sirhan were not forced by the authorities to disarm because their lives and possessions could not be protected by British and local forces while away from Transjordan territory.[2]

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1. Report, 1929a, pp. 35-36
2. Report, 1930, p. 135

648 Political authorities have made no serious efforts to inter-
221 fere with tribal migrations which follow the law of economic need. The governments stopped raiding, but not grazing.

With the establishment of public security, tribal movements have been facilitated where fears of attack may have prevented them before.[1]

Stoppage of raiding, plunder and extortion as affecting Bedouin economy

721 Raids fulfilled a definite economic function in Bedouin
434 society. Especially in times of drought, the booty taken in raids constituted, according to the Bedouin way of thinking a welcome means of income. In reality, however, the desert people did not suffer a great economic loss from the stoppage of raiding. In speaking of raiding Major Glubb correctly states that "some become rich, some were ruined; there is a net loss on the whole."[2]

More significant was the economic loss incurred to the Bedouin when imposition of khuwa was outlawed.

434 The economic situation of the Bedouin on the whole was not
131 seriously affected by the establishment of political boundary lines and enforcement of public security. Economic adjustments were made within the pastoral economy where the decline of the demand for the camel made this necessary.

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1. However, in spite of the vigorous actions of the Saudi regime raiding in the Arabian Desert has not yet been completely stopped.
2. Glubb, 1935, p. 22

JORDAN BEDOUINS MJ4

coming in from the desert and moving northward, can be observed in the geographic distribution of the population of Transjordan. The Southern Ma'an district and the parts east of the Hejaz railway are the domains of the Bedouin. Southern Balqa and the entire Karak district are inhabited by semi-nomads, already settled on the land, but still living in tents and retaining their tribal organization. In Ajloun and the northern part of Balqa the settled villager predominates.

178 166x 131 166x

b. external factors and planned change 166x

Bedouin settlement on land considerably progressed under the impact of:

a. development of the area with subsequent limitation of pasture lands

b. the measures of the governments

c. the examples of the sheikhs and their attempts to settle the tribesmen

CHAPTER X

Tribal Land and the Role of the Sheikh in Bedouin Settlement Since the 19th Century 421 425

With the introduction of the Land Registration Law of 1859 most of the tribal land in the Ottoman Empire became the property of the sheikhs.

The individual tribesmen as well as the settled villagers

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1 Bedouins, 1939

followers. I took with me only a single servant and we bought two inferior riding camels for £15 each from a tribal encampment near Ramadi. My expenses were limited to the purchase of these two camels and a cheap suit of Arab clothing.

The most striking attribute of the bedouin of twenty-five years ago was his bold frankness and democracy. Perhaps because he lived in a great open country, he more often than not spoke in a rather loud voice. He was no respecter of ranks or dignities, and addressed everybody by his first name. If he did not know it, he would accost the stranger in stentorian tones with the greeting, "Peace be upon you, O man!" In 1921, when King Feisal of Iraq paid his first visit to Ramadi, a number of tribesmen introduced to him greeted him without ceremony but with perfect urbanity as "O Feisal!"

This absence of ceremony held nothing of unseemly familiarity or bad taste. It was purely naive. It had never occurred to the Arab tribesman that classes existed. A barefooted bedouin in a ragged cloak would walk up to a king, shake him by the hand and wish him good morning, completely disregarding the merriment or horror of the whispering courtiers.

Before the days of governments, the tribal chiefs fulfilled some of the tasks of administration. They made war and peace on behalf of their tribes; usually, it is true, preferring war. But to the defenceless traveller they provided protection from the depredations of their followers.

The Syrian desert between the Euphrates and the Wadi as Sirhan in Trans-Jordan is entirely occupied by Aneizah. So numerous is this tribe that it has itself split into several subdivisions under independent chiefs, who in those days were not infrequently at war with one another. Of these subdivisions, the Amarat occupied the eastern half of the desert and owed allegiance to Iraq. But the second half of our journey would take us across the area of the Ruwallah, who were subjects of Syria.

I decided to go first to the tent of Fahad ibn Hadhdhal, the great shaikh of the Amarat division of the Aneizah. So noble was Ibn Hadhdhal by descent that he was sometimes called the father of the Arabs. The great tribes of Aneizah had been in occupation of the Syrian desert for less than 200 years, having

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

TRIBAL AREAS AND MIGRATION LINES OF THE NORTH ARABIAN BEDOUINS

Carl R. Raswan

[With separate map, Pl. V, facing p. 502]

114 SINCE 1911 the writer has spent a total of about seven years among the Bedouins. The main purpose of his repeated visits to northern Arabia has been the breeding of Arab horses and study of their history. Incidentally he has been impelled to determine as accurately as possible the *dira* or pasture districts of the various Bedouin tribes.

114 102 The accompanying maps are based largely upon personal observations and inquiries among the 'Anese, Shammar, Shararat, Huetat, Beni Sakhr, and other tribes, supplemented by data gleaned from Doughty's "Travels in Arabia Deserta" and more especially from Alois Musil's works. While the maps are in no sense final or complete, the writer is confident that their delineation of the tribal areas is more accurate than that shown on any previous maps.

Definite Boundaries

619 13 101 221 The migrations of the Bedouins are not arbitrary, aimless wanderings in the wilderness. Well defined landmarks limit them. Tribes related by blood ties may frequently use the same districts together at certain seasons of the year. One tribe may conclude a treaty with strangers, permitting the latter to use its pastures and watering places for a specified period. Or else a powerful tribe, like the Ruala, may invade an enemy's territory without warning. In this case constant bickering, raiding, and skirmishing is the inevitable result.

A great northward shift of the Shammar and 'Anese nomads took place during the first part of the seventeenth century, and the existing apportionment of the tribal areas was at that time roughly established. The boundaries which the various tribes now claim as their own and which are marked by water holes, variations in the desert surface (as between lava rock, gravel, red sand, etc.), dry watercourses, solitary hills, mountain ranges, cultivated tracts, and the like, have been definitely fixed since the beginning of the last century. Some of the more important of these landmarks are shown on Plate V, facing p. 502.

As a typical example of a tribal area let us examine the *dira* of the 'Amarat tribe of the 'Anese "nation" (Fig. 1). The eastern limit

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

of their wanderings approaches close to Baghdad, Kerbela, and An-Nejef. To the south, in seasons of sufficient rain, they pasture their herds on the tract of Al-Hejera; but when rain is scanty they move westward and thence northward around the southern and western edges of Al-Wudiyan. Thence, crossing Wadi al-Ghadaf, Wadi al-Hazimi, and Wadi Hauran (near Ar-Rutba, now a military outpost of 'Iraq) they reach their northern limits at the base of the mountains Abu Rijmen and Jebel Bishri between As-Sukhne and Deyr az-Zor. Within this *dira* lie the boundaries of the pasture districts of other tribes. In the north the Fed'an range as far south as 'Aqlat Shuab (where their great chief Turki ibn Mheyd lies buried), and the Sba'a go south to Wadi al-Ghadaf. The Fed'an and Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amarat, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders. The territory of the Ruala, also related by blood to the 'Amarat, overlaps that of the latter in Al-Wudiyan and Al-Hejera; and on the south Al-Hejera is also occupied by the Shammar (Fig. 2). In addition, the 'Amarat share part of their *dira* with 'Aqeydat, Dleym, and Khaza'el (Fig. 3), tribes of the second rank, despised by the strong Bedouins of noble blood, with whom, however, they are occasionally allowed to migrate.

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Relation to Natural Features

Since very early times three great natural features have borne a close relation to the territorial subdivision of the major nomadic nations of northern and central Arabia. The first is a well defined depression that cuts across the entire peninsula from the Red Sea at Al-Wejh to Basra and is marked by the irregular lines of Wadi Humdh to the west and of Wadi Ruma' and its continuation, Al-Baten, to the east. The watershed between these two systems of wadies lies east of Khaybar in Jebel Abyadh. The ancient Bedouin tribes occupying areas north of this depression are now represented also in Syria and Mesopotamia, but those with pastures south of the depression appear to have remained in central Arabia.

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The second great natural feature is the Nafud sand desert and its principal outliers, Al-Labbe and Ad-Dhana. The sands of the last reach south across Wadi Ruma' and, extending between Hufhuf and Riyadh, finally connect with the boundless southern sands of the "Empty Quarter." These *nafuds* have always constituted natural limits for the migrating nomads and their herds. During winter and spring they are healthful country: out of the sands, moistened by the rains, springs up a fragrant pasture growth, and the bushes sprout forth life-giving leaves and flowers; but at other seasons all is a desolate waste. On rare occasions the nomad nations whose normal ranges lie far north in Syria return to this cradle of their race. The northern

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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settlers, and the 'Amarat might ultimately be induced by the government of 'Iraq to settle in Mesopotamia after the new irrigation projects have been developed. The Ruala would undoubtedly hold out the longest against any such policy, many of them preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to their brothers in central Arabia rather than adopt the life of the settlers. The Weld 'Ali sheep breeders would settle in the neighborhood of Homs and Hama', and the camel breeders among them would remain with the Ruala.

Three hundred years have sufficed to bring the Bedouin tribes who left their central Arabian homeland to the brink of an abyss in which all the romance, beauty, and liberty of their nomadic life will disappear. Whatever one may think about the "backward, medieval, puritanical" rule of Ibn Sa'ud, the domain of this Wahhabi descendant of the Zana Muslim will some day be the last refuge for the few true Bedouin clans that love the old, free, glamorous, roving life better than the stale and degrading existence of the settlers in territories under French or British control.

NOTES ON THE MAPS[1]

Plate V shows tribal boundaries, natural features, and place names. Owing to the confusion resulting from the overlapping of the tribal areas, Figures 1, 2, and 3 have been added representing these territories as differentiated by shading. On these maps reference numbers are given to the following notes explaining certain points of interest in connection with the movements of each tribe. The place names mentioned in these notes will all be found on Plate V.[2]

Detailed tables revealing the internal subdivisions of the various tribes into subtribes, clans, etc., will be found in "A Handbook of Arabia," pp. 45-95, and also scattered through the various volumes of Alois Musil. In many instances these classifications do not correspond. Since the pages on which the tables are found in Musil's publications are not readily determined from the indexes, the following references are included for the benefit of those wishing to make a critical study of the organization of the tribes whose territories are shown on the accompanying maps:

Figure 1. 'Anaze Tribes. Zana Muslim, including the Ruala and Weld'Ali, A. D., pp. 14-16; Weld'Ali. A. D., p. 84. 'Amarat, A. D., p. 52. Fed'an, A. D., p. 55. Sba'a, P., pp. 55, 91. Weld Sleyman, N. N., p. 95.

[1] On the maps and in the text of this article Musil's renderings of the spelling of place names and tribal names have, in general, been followed. The transliteration, however, follows the English rather than the continental scheme, even in quotations from Musil's works.

[2] The abbreviations are as follows:

A. D., Alois Musil: Arabia Deserta, *Amer. Geog. Soc. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 2*, New York, 1927.

A. P., *idem*: Arabia Petraea, 3 vols., Kaiserliche Akad. der Wiss., Vienna, 1908.

M. E., *idem*: The Middle Euphrates, *Amer. Geog. Soc. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 3*, New York, 1927.

N. E., *idem*: The Northern Hejaz, *ibid. No. 1*, New York, 1926.

N. N., *idem*: Northern Nejd, *ibid. No. 5*, New York, 1928.

P., *idem*: Palmyrena, *ibid. No. 4*, New York, 1928.

Handbook, "A Handbook of Arabia," Vol. 1, General, compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, British Admiralty, London, 1920.

Doughty, C. M. Doughty: Travels in Arabia Deserta, 2 vols., London, 1888; 3rd edition, 1921.

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

102 131 *Figure 2. Shammar and Related Tribes.* Northern Shammar, Handbook, p. 78. Tuman, N. N., p. 32 (according to Handbook, p. 80, these are listed as a subtribe of the Aslam). Aslam, N. N., p. 33. 'Abde, N. N., pp. 32–33. Sinjara, N. N., pp. 31–32. Zefir, Handbook, pp. 81–83.

Other Major Tribes. 'Umur, P., p. 24. Beni 'Atiyye, N. H., p. 235. Beli, N. H., p. 211. Jeheyna, Handbook, p. 63. Harb, Handbook, pp. 64–67. 'Ateyban, Handbook, pp. 67–69. 'Ajman, Handbook, pp. 85–87. Muteyr, Handbook, pp. 83–84.

Figure 3. Tribes of the Second Rank. Jbur, M. E., p. 83. Hadediyyin, P., p. 151. Sha'ban: 'Afazle subdivision, M. E., p. 186; Welde subdivision, M. E., p. 188. 'Aqeydat, M. E., pp. 73–74. Dleym, M. E., pp. 143–144. Beni Tamim, M. E., p. 139. Zoba', M. E., p. 127. Khaza'el: Beni Selame division, M. E., p. 107. Fua're, P., p. 37. Sleyb: Al'Isa subdivision (the Sleyb are scattered over northern Arabia; some of their subdivisions and areas are indicated in A. D., p. 231). Kuakbe, A. D., p. 16. Beni Sakhr, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 112–119. Shararat, A. D., p. 136. 'Imran, N. H., p. 79. Huetat ibn Jazi, N. H., pp. 6–7; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 51–54. Huetat ibn Jad, N. H., p. 69; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 54–55. Huetat at-Tihama, N. H., p. 129; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 48–49. Humeyda, Handbook, p. 59; A. P., Vol. 3, p. 103. 'Amarin clan, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 58–59.

FIGURE 1, 'ANEZE TRIBES

101 1. The inhabitants of Hama' and Homs entrust their flocks to the 'Ayde and Hsene groups of the Weld 'Ali. The sheykh At-Tayyar of the Weld 'Ali owns houses in Homs, Sheykh Hmed, and Al-Buer (see A. D., pp. 390–391).
102
162 2. North of Al-Barde are good lowland spring pastures of the Sba'a.
619 3. Near 'Aqlat Shuab is buried Turki eben Mheyd, Fed'an chief (A. D., p. 62).
4. Near Al-Baghdadi is a garden belonging to Ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe.
131 5. The lowland of Ar-Roza "is in cultivation and belongs to the head chief Fahad ibn Dreym ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe. His fortified farm, Al-Qseyr, is at the southeastern edge of the fields, and he maintains a small house at the spring of Al-'Eele" (A. D., p. 359).
6. The 'Amarat camp between Al-Felluje and Baghdad in August and September; later they go to Kerbela.
7. The family of Ibn Hadhdhal have houses at Kerbela and Remaa (see A. D., p. 258).
8. Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan are the winter pasture grounds of the Ruala in years of sufficient rain; if the rains do not suffice they go to the eastern borders of the Nafud or to the vicinity of Teyma'.
9. "From the end of June until the end of August the Ruala pasture in An-Nuqra." This summer pasture is called *magis*. After September they leave for Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan (A. D., p. 408).
10. The people of Nasib pay tribute to Nuri ibn Sha'lan, head chief of the Ruala, when the Ruala return from Nejd in June (A. D., p. 353).
11. Libben is visited in lean years by the Ruala.
12. Some Muahib of the Qmuss subdivision of the Sba'a tribe camp with the Beni Sakhr; others with the Beli (see Figs. 2 and 3).
13. Route taken by the northern Weld 'Ali to their southern relatives on the Ruala *dira* (pasture districts).
14. The Huetat sometimes camp with the Ruala in this region.
15. In times of peace the Âl Dughman clan of the Ruala camp in this vicinity (see N. N., p. 12).
16. The well of Hebeke in the district of Al-Hazl or Al-Hzul once belonged to Ibn Bneyye of the Âl Sha'lan family of the Âl Mur'az clan of the Ruala (A. D., p. 15; N. N., p. 13).
17. Al-Ma'aniyye belongs to the 'Aneze, not to the Shammar (N. N., p. 32).

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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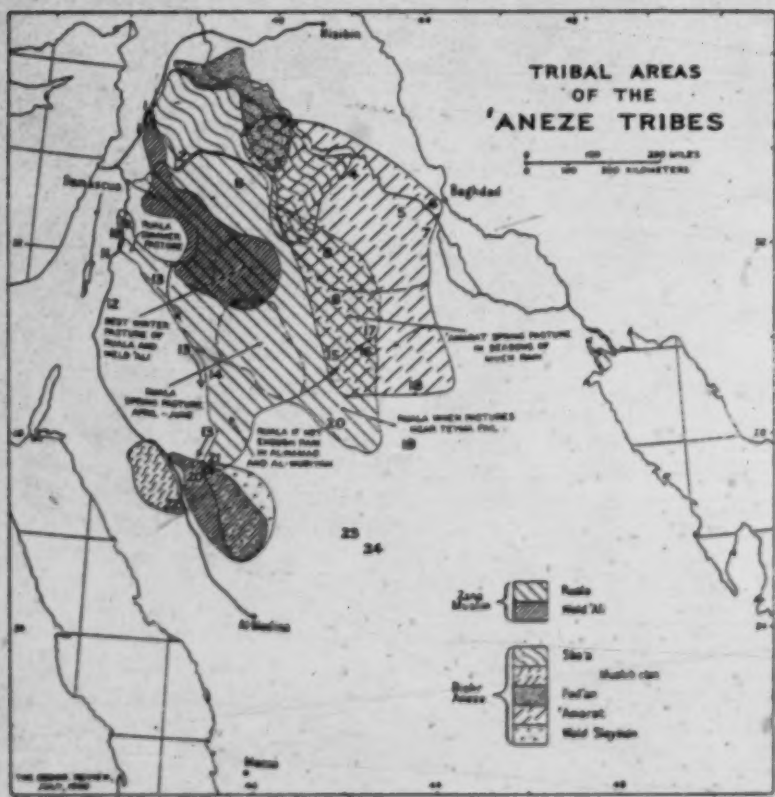

FIG. 1

18. The Hejera is the spring pasture grounds of the 'Amarat, Sinjara Shammar, Zefir, and even of the Muntifeq in seasons of plentiful rain.
19. Teysiyyet 'Aneze at one time belonged to the Dahamahe branch of the 'Amarat (A. D., p. 52; N. N., p. 26).
20. The southern Weld 'Ali and the Âl Mur'az clan of the Ruala join when the pastures southwest of Teyma' fail and go together into Al-Labbe and Al-Hamad (see A. D., p. 180).
21. When there is not enough rain in Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan the Ruala go to the vicinity of Teyma' and the northern Nafud. When they leave, their enemies (for example, Shararat, Weld Sleyman, Hteym, and Beni 'Atiyye) may take their place (A. D., p. 143).
22. "The best valleys upon both sides the Harra, next el-Hejr, are sown all years by some of the Moahib Aarab. Their harvest up, they strike the hamlets of tents, and with their cattle go forth to wander a while as the nomads" (Doughty, Vol. 1, p. 234).
23. Samira was formerly in the *dira* (territory) of the Ruala; the Harb and Beni Salem (Weld Sleyman) were taxed here by Ibn Rashid (Doughty, Vol. 2, p. 301).
24. Ibn Rashid taxed the Weld 'Ali at Al-Faara (*ibid.*).

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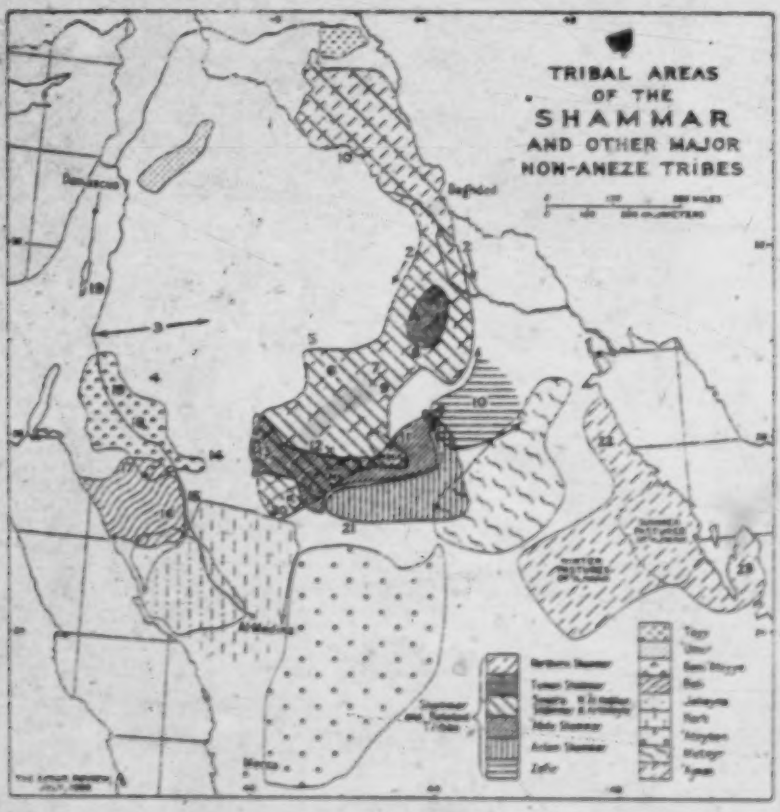

FIG. 2

FIGURE 2, SHAMMAR AND RELATED TRIBES

1. The Northern Shammar trade at Deyr az-Zor and have their agent (*wagil*) there.
2. In certain years when the winter pastures are good the Northern Shammar migrate to Nejd.
3. The country between Ma'an and Wadi Sirhan after April is war territory between the Huetat and their enemies, the Shararat, Beni Sakhr, and Shammar (see N. H., p. 14).
4. Until the rain pools have dried up (end of April) the Huetat ibn-Jazi encamp near the mountains Al-Hamar and Al-'Afar in territory which belongs to the Shararat (N. H., p. 13).
5. Shammar are sometimes found in the vicinity of Al-Bueytat (see A. D., pp. 214–215).
6. Early summer camping grounds of the Sinjara Shammar.
7. Al-Hazl (Hzul): summer camping place of the Sinjara Shammar.
8. Cairn marking the grave of Bender, a chief of the Zmeyl clan of the Tuman tribe (N. N., p. 193).
9. See Fig. 1, note 18.

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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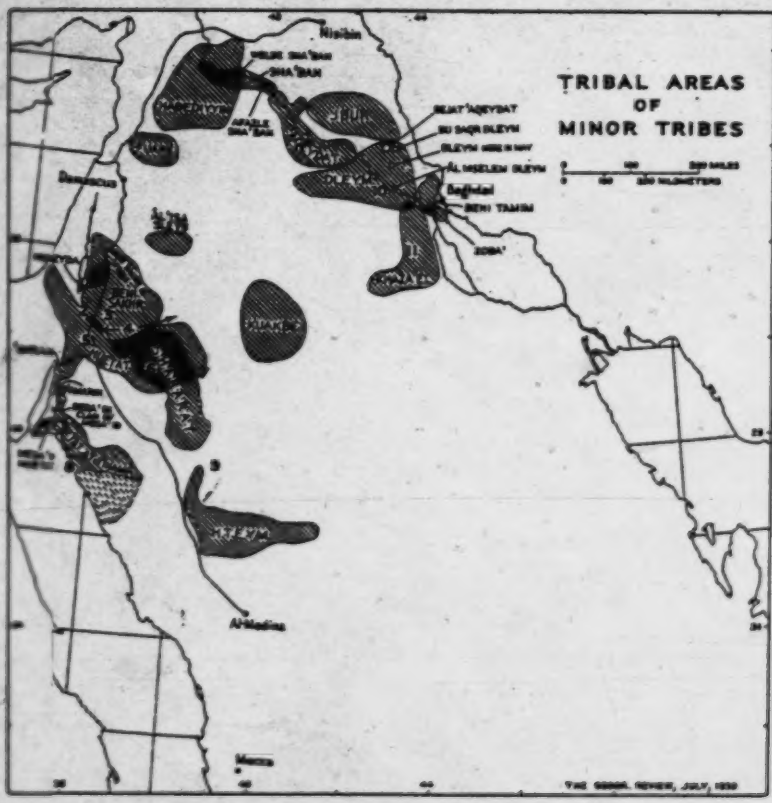

FIG. 3

10. The principal center of the Zefir, kinsmen of the Shammar, is near the Persian Gulf, but they have been known to raid as far north as 'Ana.
11. Al-Khazra: "There are upwards of eighty wells at Al-Khazra, from eight to ten fathoms deep. They belong to clans of the 'Abde tribe [of the Shammar] who pitch their camps by them in the hot summer" (N. N., p. 27).
12. Umm al-Qulban: "The eight huts of this hamlet belonged to [the Shammar emir] Ibn Rashid, who, with Fahhad al-Qfe'i as supervisor, used to rear mares there" (N. N., p. 147).
13. The Shammar claim as their "home" the land east of Misma.
14. See Fig. 1, note 21.
15. See Fig. 1, note 22.
16. See Fig. 1, note 12.
17. Al-Jau forms the best winter encampment of the Beli and their enemies (N. H., p. 214).
18. The Beni 'Atiyye trade in Tebuk; and their head chief, Ibn 'Atiyye, has property there (see N. H., pp. 152, 161).
19. The Beni 'Atiyye send men in July to Kerak, Tafile, or Madaba to sell their camels there and buy barley (N. H., pp. 155–156).
20. The 'Amud clan of the Shammar "number about five hundred tents and usually

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

101 camp on the southwestern border of the 'Eja mountains." They were "at
102 one time subject to the reigning family of Āl Jarba, who have emigrated to
162 Mesopotamia together with their clans. The 'Amud have remained in their original homeland and joined the Sinjara" (N. N., p. 94).

619 21. See Fig. 1, note 23.

131 22. *Dira* of the Beni Khaled, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.

23. *Dira* of the Beni Hajr, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.

FIGURE 3, TRIBES OF THE SECOND RANK

1. Humeyda: The "Beni Hameydy," said by Doughty (Vol. 1, p. 26) to be "possessors of the most excellent strains of Arab horses, and in this fresh and plain country there is always plenty of wild pasture."
2. "The Beni Sakhr and the Huetat have no strictly defined frontiers, and when in the territory of the settlers both tribes often lay claim to the same settlements and exact payment from the same settlers. This proceeding generally results in skirmishes" (N. H., pp. 13–14).
3. See Fig. 1, note 12.
4. See Fig. 2, note 3.
5. After the end of April the Huetat ibn Jazi camp in this vicinity.
6. See Fig. 2, note 4.
7. See Fig. 1, note 14.
8. "The head chief Abu Tqeqa [of the Huetat at-Tihama] generally resided in the settlement of Zbe'" (N. H., p. 129).
9. See Fig. 1, note 21.
10. Two-thirds of the 5000 inhabitants of Hit come from the Dleym tribe (M. E., p. 27).
11. Al-Khazra: the property of Zaher, chief of the Moghara clan of the Khaza el tribe (A. D., p. 369).

22: Raswan

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/The map following p. 502 should be assembled according to the plan given below:

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c	d

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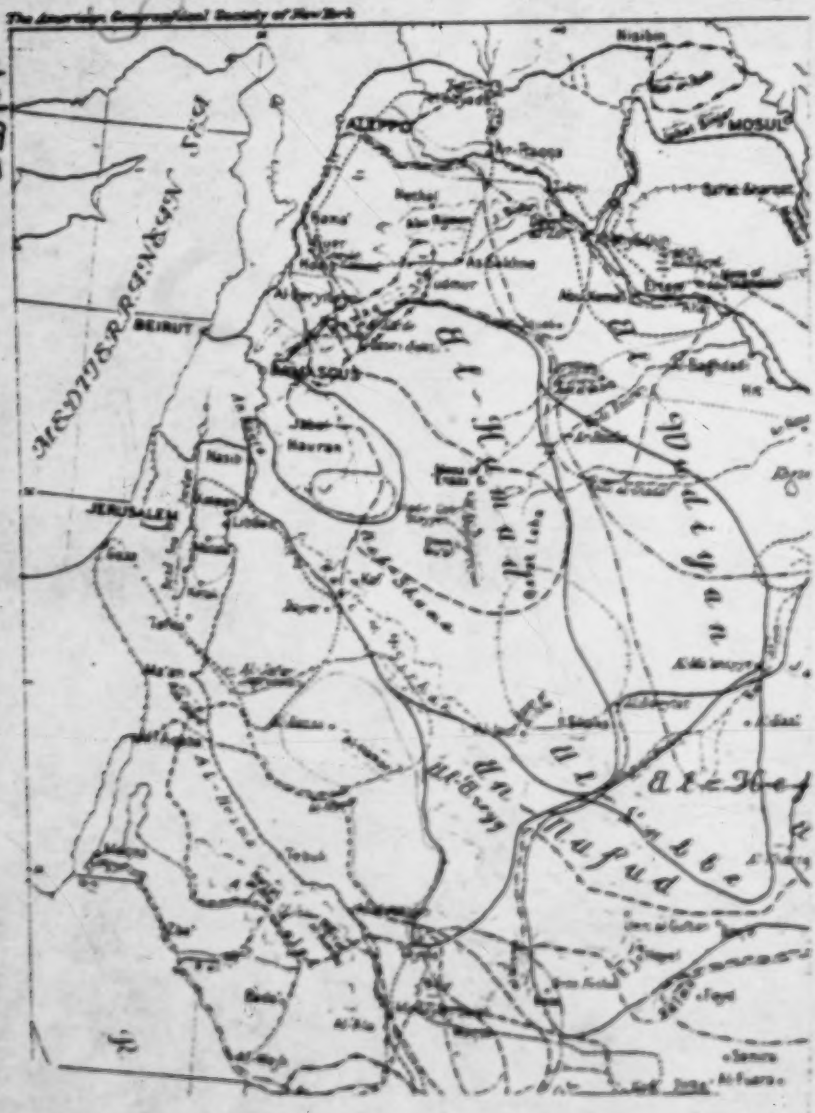

following p 502 (a).

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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following p. 502 (b)

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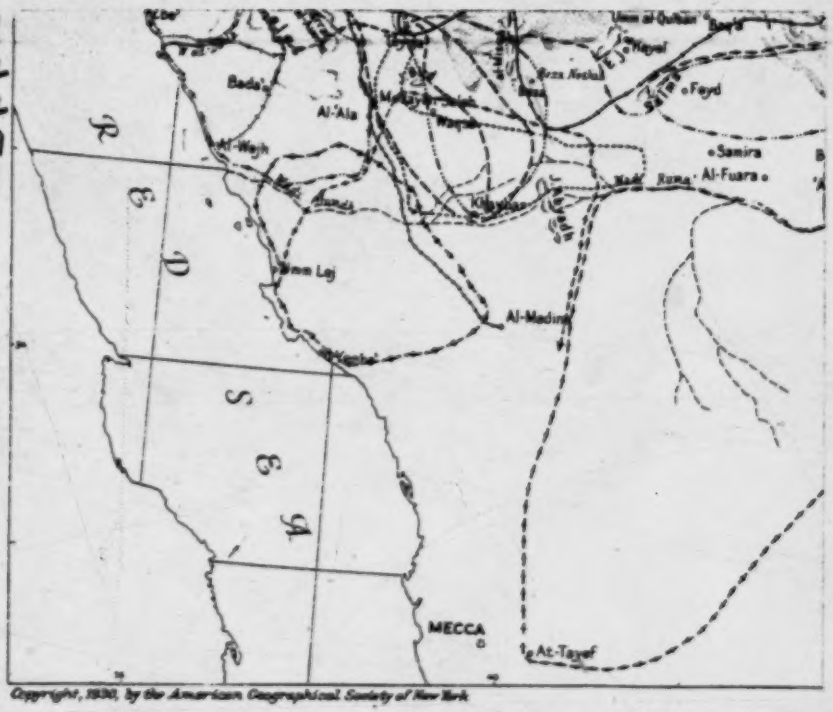
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Al-'Ala
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22:Raswan/ ~~1-5~~(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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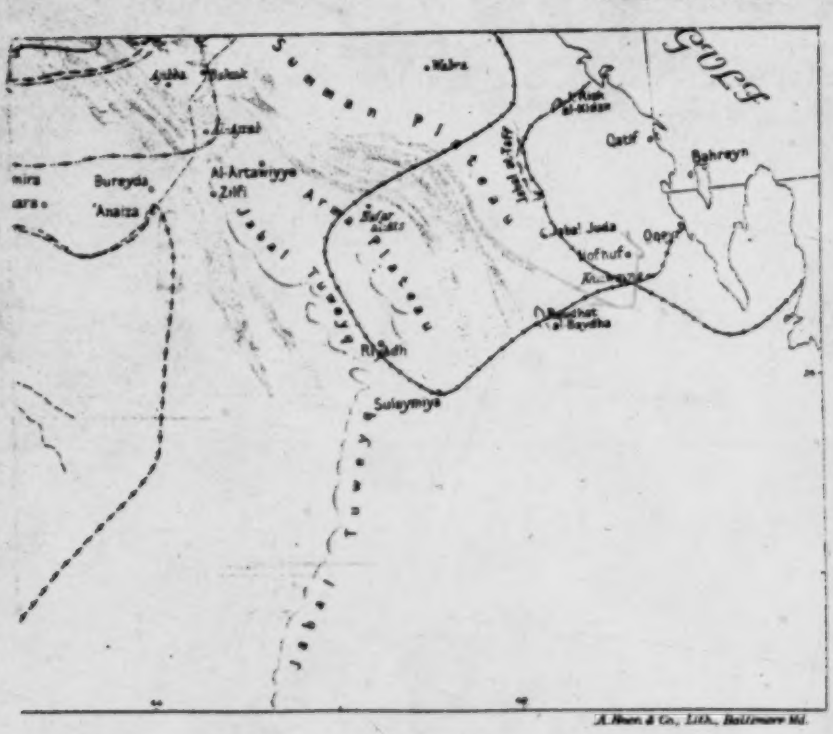

following p 502 (d)

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

With the improvements of communication and construction of pipe- 369
lines there has been an ever-increasing mutual contact between the 178
nomads and the settled people of village and town. While tribal sheikhs are the first to come under the influence of modernization, the tribesmen are also gradually adopting the mode of existence of settled society.

CHAPTER 1

Definition of the Area under Consideration

This paper will limit itself primarily to the problem of 361
sedentarization of the nomadic populations in the countries of the 121
Fertile Crescent, that is: Iraq, Syria, Jordan (Transjordan) and Israel (Palestine), an area which distinguishes itself by its Moslem Arab majority,[1] its striking similarities of natural environment and social organization. Saudi Arabia was included in this study because of the inter-relations which exist between the Bedouin of the Arabian and Syrian deserts. Tribes of the Anezeh Confederation wander from Saudi Arabia through Jordan into Syria and back and sections of the Shammar migrate back and forth between Arabia and Iraq.

Desert and Steppe

The chief common natural feature of the area is of a geo- 132 133

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1. With the exception of the Kurdish language used by the Kurds in Syria and Iraq, Aramaic spoken by the Nestorian Christians in Kurdistan and in a few villages in Syria, and Hebrew spoken by the Jewish community of Israel, the area is Arabic in character.

132 graphic-climatic characters[1] Regions with hot, rainless summers
133 and cool, wet winters where cultivation is possible and enormous expanses of desert with extremes of high temperatures and almost complete dryness where nothing but rough grasses, hardier shrubs can grow. The amount of annual precipitation will make the difference between the desert and sown, it is ultimately the climatic conditions which will determine where and when cultivation is possible and what types of crops may be selected. The dividing line between the arid desert and the cultivated land is not a rigidly defined boundary. Generally there is a gradual transition from the sown to the barren desert, steppe land[2] as a rule constituting the intervening belt. The width of the semi-desert or steppe land is not identical in all the regions, and it is not static. Throughout the ages it has varied in response to human factors.[3]

133 The steppe is the permanent domain of the nomads who breed
361 sheep and goats, and the camping area of the camel Bedouin during the hot summer months when life in the desert is intolerable.

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1. For a more detailed description of the common geographic characteristics of the Middle East see: Patai, 1952. As the author deals with the entire area of the Middle East: North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, the Iranian Plateau and Asia Minor, his numerical percentages of desert and sown as well as settled and nomadic people are not necessarily applicable to the more limited region which is considered in this paper.
2. Districts receiving 200 - 300 mm of rain have steppe character, while tracts whose annual precipitation remains below this figure may be regarded as desert. Cf. Bonne, 1948, p. 149.
3. The shifting boundary line between desert and sown is not the result of changing natural conditions like climatic changes as it has been variously suggested.

492 desert like a bird is a European illusion. The bedouin, it is true, will make his camel gallop in a battle. Good riding camels will travel at a jog-trot for considerable distances. But a journey of several hundred miles is chiefly performed at a walk. The camel covers long distances owing to its powers of endurance and the [141] hardihood of its rider. Twenty hours' riding a day at five miles an hour makes a hundred miles, and four hours' rest will often suffice the bedouins.

These long hours of slow movement are sometimes an intense weariness. The country traversed is often featureless or only slightly undulating plains. The saddle, a wooden framework with a goat-skin and saddle-bag thrown over it, soon rubs sores on the thighs of the beginner.

492 The worst enemy of the inexperienced camel rider is the heat 132 and glare, especially near Iraq or on the shores of the Red Sea, for the uplands of the hinterland are cooler. On our crossing of the Syrian desert, however, we suffered not from the heat but from the cold. Not a tree or a cliff was to be found to break the violence of that cutting north wind, which seemed to howl around us day and night. It blew round our legs as we sat shivering on our camels, it bore away our voices so that we could not hear one another speak. It filled our stale bread and sticky dates with sand when we dismounted to eat.

609 Occasionally this dumb and hopeless misery was forgotten in a wild alarm, a glimpse of raiders, a swift flight down little valleys. Once topping a small ridge, we came in sight of a group of camelmen riding towards us at a range of only a few hundred yards. Qasim, who had the raider's eye for country, raced down into a little hollow on our right. Keeping in low ground, we hit our camels sharply and dashed on at top speed. Suddenly our leader pulled up, jumped off, hobbled his camel and ran forward up a low ridge. We followed his example as best we could, and flung ourselves on the ground a few yards from him, loading as we did so. The other party had not seen us, and by raising my head slightly I could see them riding along, unconcernedly talking together. They were within close range now. The gear on their saddles and the fact that they were driving a camel laden with 000 sacks proved that they were not raiders. Qasim suddenly stood up

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER II

Autumn Stirrings

It is early November, the 2nd to be accurate, and I have ordered 132
Salim al Muzaiyin to move his camp out into the *barr*, preparatory to 361
my joining him. We have had a week's steady south wind, clouds are banking up in the West, and we have had distant thunder and lightning. Most of the tribes have left water and are scattering over the hinterland in search of suitable grazing grounds, for the promise of rain is near. All the tent families go off on their own and camp in twos and threes, well apart from their neighbours (a mile or so perhaps), yet within sound of rifle-shot in case of an alarm, when all must come to the help of the person attacked.

The Badawin camped round Kuwait on the Shamiyah and Dasma 361
wells have already moved off, some to the Kabd region, some to 'Adan, some to the Huzaim and some to the Grain district. The Fidawiyah, under their Amir, Haif bin Hajraf, of the Sulaiman section of the 'Ajman, accompanied by Nahar and 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim,* stout old warriors both, have gone to the Humatiyat region beyond Manaqish and the Shaqq, 60 miles from Kuwait. They have 223
cunningly chosen their region because the *hubara* have arrived in the Dibdibba, and hunting with hawks is a favourite sport. The Amir, and every self-respecting young brave, possesses his hawk, a *barr* or *shahin* (*sakar*, *lagger* or *shahin* falcon), and all go out as they get opportunity, and bring back game for their wives' cooking-pot. Some, especially the 'Awazim, like also to hunt hare and gazelle with 224
saluqis, and great is the excitement when venison is brought home. 251
The young hunters go far from their tents, and if they find that the gazelle meat will not keep, they spread the carcase out in the shape of a mat, having removed the ribs and larger bones, and

* Was one of the forty who helped Ibn Sa'ud to capture Riyadh, though not among the actual twenty-three who rushed Qasr 'Ajlan in the heart of the city.

Hawking

B 224 251 prepare the venison with salt into what they call *yullak*, a sort of biltong, slashing it into long slices to allow the salt to penetrate and to enable ribbon-like strips to be easily removed at home for food.

k 132 This is a season for rejoicing, the rains are close at hand, there is a nip in the air of a morning and fires are in demand at night. Once again the desert comes to life after the long, weary, soul-killing heat of summer, the scorching suffocating dustscorns, the need to stay close-camped near water, and the ever-present dread that your enemy knows where you are and by a sudden dash may carry off your camels, nay, all you possess, in one swift raid.

B 312 152 For water, the various tent dwellers send in camels to the nearest wells, often as far as 30 miles away, once in five, six or seven days. Neither camel, sheep nor man is very thirsty these days, so water is no longer the immediate necessity of life. As the first rains fall and grass begins to come up, water is less and less required by the livestock, till finally in the full *rabi'* (spring) when grass is well up and succulent, only man requires it.

B 223 k 225 This is the season also when the Shaikhs of Kuwait, as well as all other rulers in Arabia, start going deep into the high desert in search of *houbara*. The practice of hunting on camel-back has gone. The motor car serves the purpose better. Great hunters, like His Highness Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah and Shaikh Salim al Hamud, are out two or three times a week. They nearly always spend at least one night bivouacking in the blue (*khalla*) without tent or covering beyond their *'abbas*. It is unmanly and soft to take even a small shelter. The huntsman and falcon bearers (*khaddam*) are all of the Rashaida tribe, born Essus all, with eyes like their own hawks, and with the uncannyest knowledge of the habits of the *houbara*. The courtly and religious Nazzal, famous over North and Central Arabia for his knowledge and eye for country, is there, so are Sa'ud bin Nimran, the lion-hearted and jovial; Addas, the hawk-eyed; Gharsiyib, the smeller of *houbara* from afar, and great raider of war days; Sa'ad, the tracker; Mirshid al Shammari, of the renowned Ibn Twala clan, and old Saif bin Ta'ami, companion of the great Mubarak in many a past raid.

Of hawks we have the famous "Dhiffi", "Kabrit", "Sahin" and

1/1 [early November -- Aug/Sept]

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THE ANNUAL MOVES

212 During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September
361 and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concen-
285 trates on its wells (*gulldn*), which in each case are groups of wells
•192 lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here
221 they camp (*iguiyudun*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *mushkilah* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring
735 them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the
651 time when the *zakat* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *surfya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer.

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

221 At long last October, or the warm season (the rains) arrives and
192 small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

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there is a stir in the Badawin world. Suhail (Canopus) has also been* 221
seen, low down in the southern horizon, which to the Badawin means 132
the end of the dread summer, for man and beast then need less to drink. Even the blood grows cooler of a sudden.

A general cheerfulness now takes hold of the Badawin tent-dweller. He has safely weathered one more dread summer, the life-giving rains are coming and with them abundance once again. He joyfully packs up his belongings and by the 15th of October is ready to move. The end of the month sees him gone, rain or no rain. At first he does not go too far from water, for his camels, sheep and mares must still be watered frequently.

With the first fall of rain, however, he is gone on his great annual migration, or, to be more accurate, his grand circular tour. The various sections of the tribe now move together or follow each other from grazing ground to grazing ground, till they have systematically passed over and eaten down all the *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh* grasses that the rains have brought in their train. Should rains be delayed in a particular area, the tribe skip it and pass on to where the country has become green. The night lightning and the heavy bank of clouds seen of an evening far away on the horizon are their surest guides.

Certain areas are known to be nearly always good in autumn, and to these the shaikhs will usually take their own best camels with them.

This moving in the wake of the grazing is spread over November, December, January, February, March and April, till by May all nomad households are once more beginning to converge slowly on to water. It is a sad period, this having to go, so to speak, "home again" after the glorious annual holiday. During the migration months the tribal tents change ground about every ten days, both for sanitary reasons and because the grass has been eaten up—so the moves are slow, leisurely and pleasant. Nor are distances to the next camp great. It is 517
a period of joy for all, women renew their winter garments, make 224
labes, wear their best frocks and amuse themselves among the flowers. 262
The better-off men hawk the lesser bustard (*hubara*), hunt gazelle

* In Najd Canopus is usually seen between 1st September and 10th September. In Kuwait if the sky is clear it is seen any time after the 20th September, and at about 3.30 a.m., very low down in the south over the Bridd Gate.

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511 what the world would call honest methods. Hence if he cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work
[461] he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as is the case under Bin Sa'ud's regime to-day), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a "square" meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party.

262 His own food for most of the year consists of only camel's milk and a handful of dates per day. The camel-herd gets even less than this.

291 The Badawin's clothes are on the same scanty scale as his food, a thin cotton *dishdásha* (smock), replaced only when it falls off his back with age, and a threadbare *'abba* (cloak), *kaffiyah* and thin rope *agál* (head cloth and head cord), are all he has to cover his ill-nourished body. Yet all this makes for toughness and hardihood, and the average
[132] Badawin seems made of steel. The lack of warm clothing is probably the hardest thing in life that he has to bear, for in winter the temperature often falls below freezing point, and the winds are of ice, and cut the body through and through. I have never in my life felt so cold as in the desert a hundred miles inland of Kuwait when a *yakí* or *jaloí*
262 wind has been blowing in December or January. Yet in spite of the
574 hard life, the Badawin is never in danger of actual starvation or of dying from want. His *ahl* (family) would never permit this, nor would the system of affording three days' hospitality to all and sundry —such a splendid feature of democratic Arabia—allow of a man reaching such straits. A person who is down and out, without a penny to his name, would in reality be far worse off in London than in Arabia, where he could always hope to find a black tent or two to sponge on.

[18] A Badawin's dream and ambition in life is to possess about a dozen
281 camels, next a wife, and afterwards a mare, half a hundred sheep and a *saláqi*—I am, of course, assuming that he starts with a rifle and a *dhalál* (riding camel). Give the desert man these essentials and he is a made man, for both camels and sheep double themselves in three years. Any male lambs that are born, he kills for food, the females he

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521 about. Yet gossips they are, and expert in tearing others' reputations.
658 Many a desert tragedy has resulted from too glib a tongue. Ordinary sexual matters are discussed before small children with a frankness
964 and simplicity which modern educationists might approve, but which an English person may find at times embarrassing. The bearing of their young by camels, mares and ewes is not only an everyday topic, but mothers will take their children to watch the progress of such events, alongside their menfolk.

937 On the whole, Badawin women are extremely moral, though they might readily succumb to temptation were it to come their way. Fortunately it does not.

They go in for love affairs, of course, and married women are not above falling desperately in love with other men than their husbands. A woman's only hope in such a case (unless her man happens to be her first cousin) is to tell her husband the whole truth, and beg him to divorce her. This happens fairly often among the rank and file, though not among the senior ladies of the tribe or the shaikh's wives. Sir Richard Burton has said somewhere that among Badawin women who were separated from their menfolk during long absences in the desert when at war, abnormal and unnatural living was not uncommon. This I think a libel, or at least a grave exaggeration.

THE DAILY ROUND OF A BADAWIN FAMILY—"AN AUTUMN STUDY"

132 Time, Early November; Place, Wafra, 30 miles from the sea in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.

[342] The tent is pitched on a slight rise in the ground, so that if rain
512 comes the water will not flood the interior. Everyone is busy from earliest dawn to nightfall, especially the women and girls. A little rain has fallen, the first for eight months, and grass has just started sprouting in the hollows. Both camels and sheep are thin and scarcely able to walk any distance. The summer has been a terribly severe one. More rain is urgently needed, else the grass that has come up will wither again. The head of the family has ridden off on his mare the previous evening to see if better grazing exists 10 miles away. He will not be back till sunset to-day.

000 At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the 'adhan (call to prayer),

Rain!

512 all he wants. Coffee then goes round, and master, servants and women
264 go early to bed.

182 That night Allah the All-seeing, the All-merciful, is good to his
512 people. As the camp sleeps, a great thundercloud appears and gradually creeps up from the far north-west. Nearer and nearer it comes till at 3 a.m. it is exactly overhead. There is a death-like stillness, and even the camp dogs cease their baying and the sleepers turn uneasily in their sleep. The air is oppressive, even hot. Suddenly a cold chill wind begins to blow; the shepherd watching his sheep in front of the tent wakes his master and whispers, "Allah Kerim, Insha'llah it will rain, the mercy of God is coming, Oh Allah, give us of thy blessing". Suddenly there is a soul-raising thunderclap followed by a simultaneous blaze of forked lightning, which lights up the whole landscape a vivid bluey-white. Clap after clap follows; each rolling away in the distance like salvos of great artillery. Shouts and cries rise from the camp. The men rush to the camels and sheep, the women to the tent ropes, and then with a dull roar growing every instant deeper and closer, the rain comes at last. At first great heavy drops the size of small saucers, then in a few seconds the downpour. And what a downpour! Fortunately there is no wind but just a deep booming roar, as the water pours down in sheets. For ten minutes everyone holds on to what he can grip, expecting the squall which usually follows such rain. But none comes. Then cries of joy as the open spaces round the camp site begin to fill with water. The tents perched up on higher ground than the surrounding country are safe from flood, but by 3.30 a.m. the countryside is a vast shallow lake. By
312 3.45 a.m. the rain thins off. Regardless of everything, men, women and
512 children rush forth to collect the delicious rain-water into every kind of utensil they can lay hands on: water-skins, basins, tins and cooking pots of every description are made to serve. When these are filled women and children sit in the water and literally wallow in it for sheer joy. The men rouse the camels and make them drink knee deep in the fresh brown sea. Everyone is delirious, for they have been drinking brackish and even salt water for the last nine months. The great blessing has come at last. God is great, God is good to the *Mu'min*. The incongruous part of it all is that it is still pitch dark.
000 No one has a lantern, so one cares. At length dawn breaks. Prayers,

Rejoicing

~~Chap. III~~
At length dawn breaks. Prayers, 512 [188] 182
genuine prayers of heartfelt thanks are said and the storm passes away. What a scene daylight brings! Each tent, like a little Noah's ark, is perched safely on its small Ararat, and a sea of fresh water for a couple of miles all round gives the appearance of the Flood of Bible story. Away to the right are some low hills, and to the left one can see the water tumbling down their sides as the various nullahs *sail* (the Arab word for running in spate). You can hear the dull roar of these distant water-courses running full. The summer has ended at long long last. The Badawin world comes to life and is happy once more. "Now we shall see the *fagus* (truffles)", cry the delighted children.

(The above was a personal experience of 2nd November, 1933.)

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below it ready to make *leben* (sour milk) with, or, if necessary, to hang 415
a sheep's carcase on, preparatory to skinning it.

A fuller description and names of the articles found in both men's and women's portions of the tent will be found in Chapter V.

POSITION OF TENT WITH REGARD TO THE WIND

Tents are always pitched with one of their long sides facing in the 342
direction of the wind. Hence in the eastern and north-eastern part of 132
Arabia, where there are two very common prevailing winds, the *Shemâl* (north-west wind) and the *Kaus* (south-east wind), it is the general rule to see black tents pitched with their longer axis facing towards the north-west. This does not mean that tents are opened towards the side from which the wind is blowing—the contrary is the case, and the side of the tent is always closed in the direction from which the wind is blowing, and the sheltered side opened.

The side which is open is called *wejh al bait* (the face of the tent), the closed side *guffa al bait* (the back of the tent). Should the wind suddenly change, as often happens during the rainy season, it is necessary for the inhabitants of the tent to change the "face" of the tent at once. Otherwise the wind gets under the tent, billows it up, and if it does not carry it away, at least causes the tent poles to fall and lets the tent then collapse upon its occupants. A sudden change of wind therefore means confusion and lots of shouting. The owner's first and immediate orders are, "Change the back wall, my children, the wind has come", or in Arabic, *Jaina al hawa, dabbaru al bait ya awlaadi*. The excited women and servants thereupon rush about, drop the front bamboo supports (facing the wind), quickly unpin the back curtains and carry them round to the side from which the wind is blowing, and again as quickly pin them on to the tent roof, and bury their bottom edges in the sand; the side poles are next put under the edge of the tent roof facing away from the wind, each under a rope, and lastly the tent partition curtains are taken down, reversed and fixed up again with the embroidered ends extending out of the tent and thrown back over the tent ropes. The whole process takes a surprisingly short time.

Of course, in very hot weather the Badawin wants to take advantage of the slightest breeze, so he rolls up the back curtain or unpins several

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342 yards of it so as to let portions of it lie on the ground: the breeze in
132 this manner percolates into every part of the tent. If the sun is very strong, a locally woven carpet (usually some shade of orange) is hung up near the tent roof between poles and is pinned to the underside of the tent roof. This doubles the thickness of the tent and brings relief.

In very cold weather, on the other hand, the tent can be closed from the front by drawing inwards the embroidered ends of the *qdta* (which already extend several yards outside the tent) and by joining the ends near the middle of the tent side. The top edge is then pinned to the edge of the roof of the tent as is done in the case of the back curtain. This encloses the tent completely and gives great cosiness and warmth to the occupants. Similarly, the ends of the *rugg* are brought right round the guest quarters and the woman's cookhouse respectively, and turn those places into warm corners to sit in.

NOTE.—The men's quarter of a tent or *rubu'a* is always situated at the east end of the tent, irrespective of which way the tent is facing. This is the universal rule in Eastern and North-Eastern Arabia.

Similarly it is the rule for a tent to be pitched with its longer axis at right angles to the north-west wind (*Shamal*). In inner Najd, and especially among 'Utaiba tribe, the longer axis facing the north-west is the rule, and the tent is opened at its ends only. The *rubu'a* here is at southern end.

THE TENT DOGS

231 Every tent has its watch-dogs, and also (especially amongst the 'Ajman, 'Awazim and Mutair) a *sulûqi* or two. The former are fierce, shaggy animals who usually have their ears cut off short to make them good fighters. Their heads are broad, rather like our bull-terrier type, and they are fierce and very powerfully built. These dogs guard the camels and sheep at night from wolves and strangers, and are trained to move round and round the tents all night in a large circle. The incoming or departing guest usually has a busy time keeping off these savage dogs, who bark at his heels in a most disconcerting manner, and are only kept back by a continual motion of his cane behind him, or
231 by the shouts of the occupants of the tent. The watch-dog usually
826 sleeps outside the women's apartments and is fed with little bits of rice, bread and dates that are left over from the meals. It is never allowed inside the tents, being unclean (*najis*). The *sulûqis* (pronounced *sulûqi*,

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B 312 on such wells, then it will have to pay *zakát* for that year to the Central Government in whose state it is a guest.

K 132 The first signs of the coming summer are the drying up of all desert grasses (*'ashib*), the mirage—which now flickers everywhere B 132 and seems to fill every small depression in the countryside with a little lake of water—and the sandstorms. The glare also becomes intense and makes the desert-dweller fold his *kaffiyah* or head-cloth across his face. The winds are hot as though driven out of a great furnace by some gigantic bellows. The traveller now finds himself mistaking bushes and animals for distant tents and men, especially at midday and as night draws near.

Men and animals now want to drink more often, so of necessity tents are brought closer to water.

The women in their *biyút sha'ar* (hair tents) also feel the effects of the sun and erect false roofs of saffron or other coloured rugs above their heads inside their tents, to keep out the stinging rays.

Both men and women grow palpably thinner, while all develop a much deeper tan than during the winter.

The most unpleasant feature of this half-season period is the sandstorm. These storms grow more and more frequent and vicious until by June the countryside seems to have taken on a permanent canopy of sand-haze which lodges in nostrils, eyes and throat. Alternating with these sandstorms come gentle south-east winds, or dead calms which bring up heavy dews in their train. These too are most trying.

B 221 By the 5th June the desert world, which has slowly been converging on the well-areas, now definitely goes to ground and camps on water. 312 If these well-areas are popular, several thousand tents will congregate close together and as near to the well-heads as possible—the tents of the shaikhs and prominent men standing out of the general mass by reason of their size and the number of their poles.

At Jahrah in 1935, for instance, when Kuwait tribes as well as Dhafir, Shammar (Abda), Dahamsha ('Anizah) and 'Ajman details were camped there, the sight was a remarkable one, for well over three thousand black hair-tents were congregated in an area only 1 mile square.

K 132 About 10th June, if the year is a normal one, North-East Arabia and especially the Persian Gulf seaboard is visited by what is known as

Prickly Heat

K 132 calm, with heavy dew by day and night. It is a long weary month for men and women, now at the end of their tether and incapable of standing much more. Night and day you perspire heavily and continuously, and only a minimum of clothes can be endured. The sea temperature rises high by day, and during the night the thermometer registers anything from 85° F. to 90° F. Bathing is a warm water bath, and prickly heat attacks everyone.

B 132 K 132 The Badawin in particular feel this damp heat, which seems to penetrate their very bones, and brings out ailments of every description. The whole local world now longs and prays for the rise of *Sukail*, that tantalising twinkling star known to the West as Canopus, whose coming always brings relief. So powerful is this longing that after the 25th of August men get up hours before dawn to see if they can get a glimpse of that blessed constellation. At long last comes hope, usually in the shape of a camel courier from Najd. He brings the joyful news that ten days previously *Sukail* was seen in high Qasim. It must therefore be seen any moment now in Kuwait. Watch is redoubled and the keenest-eyed Rashaida hunters are set to search the southern skies about 3 a.m. at Jahrah and Subaihiyah, for there it is less misty than at Kuwait. At long last the star appears. Like wild fire the news is rushed into Kuwait, and spread abroad among the Badawin. The cry is raised: "*Sukail* has been seen, *Sukail* has been seen by so-and-so, thanks be to Allah, the Merciful. Summer is at an end, *al qaidh* is over."

K 132 Great is the rejoicing, and the Arab, being properly brought up to the belief that immediate relief follows, actually begins to feel cooler, though the European perceives but little change. The Arab's conviction is that the inside of a man's body now gets cooler, and so thirst is no longer painful, while water left out at night gets cool by dawn, whereas before it remained hot through the night.

By the 25th September the whole world can see and enjoy Canopus, and 15th October ushers in the joyous warm or rainy season, when the first clouds for six months are seen once more.

Anyone who has experienced an Arabian summer on the borders of the Persian Gulf, and has lived with the Badawin during that haunting period, will appreciate the immense relief that comes with the advent of the rains.

[1 August or the month of 354 the two dogs -- Archyal]

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Accompaniments of Rain

Chap. XX

THE RAINS

The rains may arrive any time between the 1st October and 3rd November, and usually set in with a series of thunderstorms. Great and wild is the rejoicing when Kuwait first perceives, borne strongly on the breeze, the smell of the first rain on parched-up sand. I have described in Chapter III the scene of excitement when men, women and children rush out into the rain and collect the precious water into every possible utensil. Camels groan extra loud to testify their pleasure, and sheep set up a pandemonium of baa-ing. The city folk, normally dependent for their water on the Shatt al 'Arab, 100 miles away, act like their Badawin brethren, and endeavour to catch into every form of utensil the water running off their house-tops.

An annual visitor now makes its appearance in the desert. This is the *bint al mattar* (Daughter of Rain), a small plump-bodied spider, brilliantly scarlet in colour and with a body like velvet. It appears apparently from nowhere as soon as the first rain has wet the ground.

The next arrivals in Kuwait are old Badawin men bearing sprigs of green grass which they have brought to show their beloved Shaikh, with congratulations such as, "*ya tawal al 'umr* (O thou with long life) God has given good rain at So-and-So, there has been *sail* (the expression used to convey that water-channels have flowed), and so many hand-widths of rain have fallen (meaning the depth into the soil which the rain has penetrated), we come to show you the green grass ('*ashab*) that has come up". As bringers of good news they get, of course, suitable presents.

This is followed by other news brought in from various parts that *khabras* (lakelets) have formed at So-and-So, and will last for so many days.

Last of all comes news that the *hubara* or lesser bustard have made their appearance. From the shaikh downwards, out go all lovers of the chase, and hundreds of birds are brought into the town and to the various Badawin encampments as food. They are assuredly an additional gift of God.

If rain falls in October, truffles and mushrooms, great delicacies to every Badawin, appear in the following spring, and form the staple food of the tent-dweller and his family for weeks on end. Truffles

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B 137 with *kubra* are verily, like the manna of old, Allah's reward to those who have endured the summer heat.

On the warm rains follow the new green shoots, and almost in a matter of hours, the yellow desert takes on a pale green hue. This rapidly develops till the advent of the December cold winds, when further growth is retarded until February and March. Then and only then does everything rush up into bloom, and flowers begin to cover the whole countryside. Nevertheless, the grass of October and November comes up sufficiently high to allow sheep to graze on it, though not without difficulty. This for the moment is all the Badawin asks.

WINTER

B 132 K 132 The period between the October rains and spring proper is known as *shita*, and lasts from about 15th November to the 15th of February. The cold now becomes intense, and the north-west winds cut to the marrow. Badawin men and women who can afford it go about in woollen top-boots. Similarly *farwahs* (fur-lined coats) are worn by the well-to-do from the shaikh downwards. The poor Badawin has a bad time, however, for his body, inured to the recent great heat of summer, can ill adjust itself to the biting cold. His threadbare summer cloak is all he has, and he therefore feels the cold even more than he did the heat.

To the European the cold of the Arabian winter and especially of the hinterland acts as a wonderful tonic. The desert air has a champagne effect about it, and nights in the desert are glorious experiences. As January draws nigh a series of frosts occur, usually about ten in number. At night the temperature in the hinterland drops to 29° F. and under, and water-skins freeze solid: an almost unbelievable change from the all too recent summer. If a north-west wind blows it can be very cold indeed on these frosty nights and nothing but an all-night fire will keep the sleeper alive.

I have visited the Karakoram and the Pamirs in my time, and have spent two winters at Gilgit, yet the cold of the Arabian desert seems to surpass anything I ever felt in those high altitudes. The explanation no doubt is that the Arabian summer saps a man's strength and leaves him ill prepared to fight such intense cold.

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Heaven on Earth

Chap. XX

SPRING

Spring (*rabi'*) comes at last about 15th February, and if rains have been good, a truly marvellous spring it is. Wild flowers come up in profusion everywhere, and the countryside becomes a multi-coloured carpet. The Badawin is now in as near heaven as he can ever hope to be in this world. His camels and sheep graze in plenty, milk and *leben* are abundant, the sun's warm rays give new life to him, he grows fat and the whole world is rosy. It is then that the well-to-do from Kuwait, some one hundred families, imitate their nomad brethren and make for the high desert to enjoy four months of that Badawin existence which they have so recently abandoned. Back to the happy desert life and black hair-tents once more! Men, women and children, from the shaikh downwards, take part in this spring migration from the city, and what health and strength it brings them! Poorer town-Arabs as yet only half urbanised do their utmost to get out too, and if they cannot afford tents they plant themselves on kinsmen among the great Mutair, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes. By the end of spring everybody in the desert has got a new lease of life. They look definitely healthy, with rounded cheeks and well-covered body, a change indeed from their appearance at the end of summer.

K 132 B 221 132

Camels develop an enlarged hump, sheep an enormously fat tail and man lots of extra flesh, all a reserve of strength against the dreaded summer.

The Badawin will tell you that he prefers the summer, because he has no warm clothes or good food to keep him comfortable in the winter months. Yet were it not for the cold winter, his race would assuredly die out. It is the winter that keeps the inhabitant of Arabia the virile, tough and wiry person that he is. Had he a temperate instead of a torrid summer, his race would certainly be one of the finest in the world: and dangerous in proportion.

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

133 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
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● 132 year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
233 depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances. Most of this vegetation is not grass, but desert plants like the succulent yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
233 acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their
262 camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

With the improvements of communication and construction of pipelines there has been an ever-increasing mutual contact between the nomads and the settled people of village and town. While tribal sheikhs are the first to come under the influence of modernization, the tribesmen are also gradually adopting the mode of existence of settled society. 369 178

CHAPTER 1

Definition of the Area under Consideration

361 121

This paper will limit itself primarily to the problem of sedentarization of the nomadic populations in the countries of the Fertile Crescent, that is: Iraq, Syria, Jordan (Transjordan) and Israel (Palestine), an area which distinguishes itself by its Moslem Arab majority,[1] its striking similarities of natural environment and social organization. Saudi Arabia was included in this study because of the inter-relations which exist between the Bedouin of the Arabian and Syrian deserts. Tribes of the Anezeh Confederation wander from Saudi Arabia through Jordan into Syria and back and sections of the Shammar migrate back and forth between Arabia and Iraq.

Desert and Steppe

The chief common natural feature of the area is of a gen- 132 133

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1. With the exception of the Kurdish language used by the Kurds in Syria and Iraq, Aramaic spoken by the Nestorian Christians in Kurdistan and in a few villages in Syria, and Hebrew spoken by the Jewish community of Israel, the area is Arabic in character.

BEDOUINS MJ4

132 graphic-climatic characters[1] Regions with hot, rainless summers
133 and cool, wet winters where cultivation is possible and enormous expanses of desert with extremes of high temperatures and almost complete dryness where nothing but rough grasses, hardier shrubs can grow. The amount of annual precipitation will make the difference between the desert and sown, it is ultimately the climatic conditions which will determine where and when cultivation is possible and what types of crops may be selected. The dividing line between the arid desert and the cultivated land is not a rigidly defined boundary. Generally there is a gradual transition from the sown to the barren desert, steppe land[2] as a rule constituting the intervening belt. The width of the semi-desert or steppe land is not identical in all the regions, and it is not static. Throughout the ages it has varied in response to human factors.[3]

133 The steppe is the permanent domain of the nomads who breed
361 sheep and goats, and the camping area of the camel Bedouin during the hot summer months. Life in the desert is intolerable.

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1. For a more detailed description of the common geographic characteristics of the Middle East see Fytai, 1952. As the author deals with the entire area of the Middle East: North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, the Iranian Plateau and Asia Minor, his numerical percentages of desert and sown as well as settled and nomadic people are not necessarily applicable to the more limited region which is considered in this paper.
2. Districts receiving 200 - 300 mm of rain have steppe character, while tracts whose annual precipitation remains below this figure may be regarded as desert. Cf. Bonne, 1948, p. 149.
3. The shifting boundary line between desert and sown is not the result of changing natural conditions like climatic changes as it has been variously suggested.

Saudi Arabia BEDOUINS MJ4

166 up for the sake of economic self-improvement.

178 The nomad who has settled creates a vacuum on the fringes of the desert which is filled by other desert tribes destined to undergo the same evolution, and thus the process of sedentarization goes on indefinitely.

CHAPTER IX

Survey of Recent Developments that Affected Bedouin Society

Saudi Arabia

● 133 Except for a few fertile oases, the vast area of Saudi Arabia consists entirely of arid desert and steppes which are green only for a short period in the winter. Arabia is the cradle and the classic country of the Bedouin.

656 The rule of Ibn Saud has been the turning point in the
166 history of Central Arabia. In his drive to found a powerful state, Ibn Saud realized that he must settle the Bedouin within his frontiers if the political structure he created was to last. Citizens, united in purpose and attached to the soil, and not roving nomads, constitute a reliable element which can assure permanency to a state organization.

656 To overcome the traditional tribal disunity, Ibn Saud inspired
186 the Bedouin with the doctrines of Wahabi puritanism which gave them a consciousness of unity. The Ikhwan (brothers, Wahabi confraternity), founded by Ibn Saud in 1912,[1] is the modern revival

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1. 1912 is the date usually given for the founding of the Ikhwan. cf. Royal Institute, 1932, p. 85
According to Arnold Toynbee, however, the Ikhwan was founded in 1910. cf. Royal Institute, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 282

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

69 *dirah* a small township as a sign that the whole tribe had embraced
341 Wahhabi-ism, and abandoned its old ignorant and roaming existence.

133 The terrain included in the Mutair tribal *dirah* consists of part of the
312 sandy *Dahana* region in the south, the rocky and broken *Sutwah*
288 and *Wijja* regions in the centre, and the steppe-like tablelands of the *Majdair—Qara'a-* and *Musawar* regions in the north.

The whole *dirah* is a choice and good one, and *'arfaj*, *nasi* and *hamdh*, the mainstay of camels and most perfect of all grazing for these animals, are to be found in plenty when the rainfall is good.

This Mutair *dirah* is approximately 120 miles broad by 180 miles long, and may be taken as a typical example of an average tribe's homeland. There are, of course, other tribes who own larger and more extensive areas, but then scarcity of water and poorer grazing has compelled them from earliest times to seize and hold these bigger blocks of land. For in actual fact a tribe does not want a larger tract than is sufficient for its needs. So if a tribe's country is rich in water and all forms of grazing, all it requires is an area as big as that of the Mutair.

341 The tribes surrounding the Mutair, who own *dirahs* similar to theirs,
69 are as follows:

The 'Awazim and 'Ajman on the east and south-east.

The Sbei and Sahul on the south.

The Harb, Shammar and D'hafir on the west, and Kuwait territory on the north, which in olden times, and before boundaries of western conception were introduced, all belonged to the Mutair, except for the narrow coastal strip which was included in the 'Awazim *dirah*.*

69 A tribe does not, of course, remain always isolated in its own *dirah*.
221 If rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it naturally stops at home, but if rains fail it must migrate to places where grazing exists, and so overflows into the territories of its neighbours. It cannot, of course,

* It should be realized that there are two other great groups of the Mutair tribe, stretching from Qasim in the centre of Arabia to near Medina in the Hijaz. They are known as the Bani 'Abdillah Mutair, and Mayman, and in numbers and strength are perhaps superior to their cousins the 'Awa and Rodh described above. The whole tribe, of course, is one, and though the Bani 'Abdillah have their own powerful Shaikhs, they will all follow the standard of Al Duwish the hereditary Shaikh who resides at Artawiyyah.†

† For the names of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Shammar Shaikhs see Appendix II. A map of the Mutair Tribal *dirah* will be found at the end of the book.

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MII Saudi Arabia
Bedouin M24

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
6.7 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

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22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

of their wanderings approaches close to Baghdad, Kerbela, and 619
An-Nejef. To the south, in seasons of sufficient rain, they pasture 131
their herds on the tract of Al-Hejera; but when rain is scanty they 101
move westward and thence northward around the southern and 221
western edges of Al-Wudiyan. Thence, crossing Wadi al-Ghadaf, Wadi al-Hazimi, and Wadi Hauran (near Ar-Rutba, now a military outpost of 'Iraq) they reach their northern limits at the base of the mountains Abu Rijmen and Jebel Bishri between As-Sukhne and Deyr az-Zor. Within this *dira* lie the boundaries of the pasture districts of other tribes. In the north the Fed'an range as far south as 'Aqlat Shuab (where their great chief Turki ibn Mheyd lies buried), and the Sba'a go south to Wadi al-Ghadaf. The Fed'an and Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amarat, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders. The territory of the Ruala, also related by blood to the 'Amarat, overlaps that of the latter in Al-Wudiyan and Al-Hejera; and on the south Al-Hejera is also occupied by the Shammar (Fig. 2). In addition, the 'Amarat share part of their *dira* with 'Aqeydat, Dleym, and Khaza'el (Fig. 3), tribes of the second rank, despised by the strong Bedouins of noble blood, with whom, however, they are occasionally allowed to migrate.

Relation to Natural Features

Since very early times three great natural features have borne 133
a close relation to the territorial subdivision of the major nomadic 162
nations of northern and central Arabia. The first is a well defined depression that cuts across the entire peninsula from the Red Sea at Al-Wejh to Basra and is marked by the irregular lines of Wadi Humdh to the west and of Wadi Ruma' and its continuation, Al-Baten, to the east. The watershed between these two systems of wadies lies east of Khaybar in Jebel Abyadh. The ancient Bedouin tribes occupying areas north of this depression are now represented also in Syria and Mesopotamia, but those with pastures south of the depression appear to have remained in central Arabia.

The second great natural feature is the *Nafud* sand desert and its principal outliers, Al-Lahbe and Ad-Dhana. The sands of the last reach south across Wadi Ruma' and, extending between Hufhuf and Riyadh, finally connect with the boundless southern sands of the "Empty Quarter." These *nafuds* have always constituted natural limits for the migrating nomads and their herds. During winter and spring they are healthful country: out of the sands, moistened by the rains, springs up a fragrant pasture growth, and the bushes sprout forth life-giving leaves and flowers; but at other seasons all is a desolate waste. On rare occasions the nomad nations whose normal ranges lie far north in Syria return to this cradle of their race. The northern

22:Rafwan 9-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

133 group of the Weld 'Ali, for instance, in certain winters wander with
162 their powerful allies, the Ruala, southward to the neighborhood of Teyma', returning north again after their mares and camels have foaled.

133 The third great natural feature is the chain of hills (Ar-Rawaq,
619 Abu Rijmen, and Jebel Bishri) which stretches in an almost straight line from Damascus to Deyr az-Zor on the Euphrates. Sheep-
162 breeding Bedouins are found north of these hills, camel breeders to
233 the south. The sheep breeders occupy a steppe-like rolling country,
178 rich in pasture which lasts into the beginning of summer. Settled areas are nowhere far distant to east and west, and the tribes occupying these steppes will undoubtedly be the first to establish permanent settlements. As far north as Tel el-Abyadh near the Turkish frontier the writer has noticed members of the Fed'an intermarrying with settlers of that region. Mijhem ibn Mheyd, chief of the Fed'an, owns many villages in Syria, and several thousand of his Bedouins are even now at work in the fields, although the majority prefer tending live stock to plowing. The Tayy, one of the purest, most aristocratic Bedouin tribes from central Arabia, are now found in Mesopotamia, far north near Nisibin, where they seldom fold their tents, pack them on camels, and carry them to new pasture grounds. Half of their tents are "permanently" fixed, with reed and clay walls supporting the goat's-hair canvas. Indeed, the Tayy have become a degenerate people!

The Bedouins with the largest pasture circles (those bordering on the Nafud) will probably survive longest as true nomads. These are the great camel breeders, the Ruala and some of the Shammar, who hold the vast tracts of Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan between the Nafud and the northern line of hills.

Political Changes

178 If the problematical political frontiers between the British and French spheres of influence in northern Arabia are maintained, changes may be expected in the migration territories of the Bedouins. The following, in my opinion, might well take place. The tribes whose territories are now cut by the 30th parallel would split, part of them remaining in Ibn Sa'ud's domains and the rest migrating to the
721 north. The continuance of yearly warfare (for the most part in the
178 spring) between the Zana Muslim (Ruala and Weld 'Ali) and other 'Aneze tribes would finally result in an agreement that would assign to the Ruala who remain in Syria the entire Hamad and western part of Al-Wudiyan. The rest of Al-Wudiyan would be given to the 'Amarat, and the steppe country north of the hills to the Fed'an and Sba'a. First the Fed'an and then the Sba'a would gradually become

St Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

St Harrison D-4 (1922-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

to his masters in making possible a feast and a taste of meat for a large number. From camel's milk is made a sort of cottage cheese which is kneaded into little cakes much the shape and size of children's mud pies. These are plentifully mixed with hair in the process of manufacture and are baked in the sun almost to the consistency of bricks. They will keep indefinitely and form a savory addition to the diet in time of scarcity.

Occasionally the Bedouin will capture a *dhabb*, or armored lizard, and rejoice exceedingly at the kindness of Providence. Or he may succeed in catching a desert rat, or *jerboa*. In either case there will be meat to eat that night. On rarer occasions he may succeed in shooting a gazelle, and then there will be a real feast in his tent. But even at the best there is probably no community in the world that lives constantly so close to the starvation line as the Bedouin.

As a host, however, the Bedouin has no peer. The unaffected joy that is shown at the opportunity of entertaining a guest may well serve as a model for those of us who come from the more practical and unfriendly West. To sit in a Bedouin's tent and enjoy his hospitality is a pleasure to be remembered, even if the small amount of meat served with the rice be so tough that biting a piece in two is impossible, to say nothing of chewing it properly.

The very poor may sometimes flee from the demands of hospitality, but once asked they may not deny entertainment to any one. In the desert the desperately poor Bedouins avoid settling in the region of a recognized caravan track. To be compelled to entertain many guests would almost mean starvation for them, but they never refuse if a guest appears. The only alternative is to re-

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 54

cleverly guided with his thighs and hands, and by his voice making her walk or gallop. 224 857

An hour before sunrise we rode into the steppe, waking to a glorious morning. I was mounted on a spirited mare, very fast and of great endurance. Over three hundred armed beaters from the widely scattered tents of the Tai' Bedouins had ridden out the previous day to the foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, there to cut off the retreat of the wolves into the northern mountains. Bands of gazelles and many bustards and other fowl fled before us. But we left them untouched, as we were after other game. 224 [136]

Only when the left wing of our riders roused two wolves did we give chase.

Wolves do not break cover and "go away" as foxes do, but there were other things to which one had to give attention in this hunt. Moles and burrowing mice had undermined the ground and more than half of our horses "took a toss" as they stepped into the hidden holes.

We galloped about twelve miles, and four or five wolves had been put up by the beaters. Our horsemen followed them tirelessly. I came so close to one animal that I could almost have touched his fur with my outstretched lance. My horse followed the runaway with the ardour of a bloodhound. I had therefore to give my undivided attention to the dangerous ground and repeatedly turned the mare aside, sometimes in the very nick of time, to prevent her floundering into one of the sandy burrows.

The slender lance rested perfectly balanced in my hand. My wolf slackened speed somewhat and my mare

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

Sheykh Tai' threw several handfuls of sand over the spilled blood—for so desert custom demands. Blood is *haram*, that is, "forbidden." Opening the jaws of the dead animal and pointing to the wicked fangs, he said: "Thou and I are kinsmen for the traces which thou leavest behind are the same as mine." (We are both robbers, he meant—like all despised Bedouins.) 224 826 [784]

Later in the day, as we galloped on, we sighted in the distance what at first we took for some of our mounted hunters driving wolves towards us. But they did not move. 224

I thought I could recognize riderless horses, watching us with raised heads. But Sheyk Tai' laughed and cried out to me that they were neither horses nor horsemen, but wild asses. I would not believe him at first, for the animals seemed too high in the leg. [136]

Sheykh Tai' pointed out to me that the troop had a leader and this became apparent when the shy creatures ran off. We did not follow, and they disappeared into the clear distance of the Sinjar Mountains.

Fleeting shadows cast from above now hurried across the plain before our horses. I knew them of old from raids in the inner part of Arabia. They were the "Sharers of the Prey."

Shading my eyes with my hand, I looked up to the sky, where on motionless pinions the great vultures were sailing. They knew well the purpose of our ride; and they were sure of their feast of dead wolves. A widespread cloud of dust rose on the horizon and moved towards us. These were the beaters, whose semicircle stead-

1 - [of a wolf killed in a hunt--Analyst]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI 1
Bedouins M34

THE RAINS

The rains may arrive any time between the 1st October and 3rd November, and usually set in with a series of thunderstorms. Great and wild is the rejoicing when Kuwait first perceives, borne strongly on the breeze, the smell of the first rain on parched-up sand. I have described in Chapter III the scene of excitement when men, women and children rush out into the rain and collect the precious water into every possible utensil. Camels groan extra loud to testify their pleasure, and sheep set up a pandemonium of baa-ing. The city folk, normally dependent for their water on the Shatt al 'Arab, 100 miles away, act like their Badawin brethren, and endeavour to catch into every form of utensil the water running off their house-tops. B 132 K 132

An annual visitor now makes its appearance in the desert. This is the *bint al mattar* (Daughter of Rain), a small plump-bodied spider, brilliantly scarlet in colour and with a body like velvet. It appears apparently from nowhere as soon as the first rain has wet the ground. B 136 K 136

The next arrivals in Kuwait are old Badawin men bearing sprigs of green grass which they have brought to show their beloved Shaikh, with congratulations such as, "*ya tawil al 'amr* (O thou with long life) God has given good rain at So-and-So, there has been *sail* (the expression used to convey that water-channels have flowed), and so many hand-widths of rain have fallen (meaning the depth into the soil which the rain has penetrated), we come to show you the green grass ('*ashab*) that has come up". As bringers of good news they get, of course, suitable presents. B 137 K 137

This is followed by other news brought in from various parts that *khabras* (bakeets) have formed at So-and-So, and will last for so many days.

Last of all comes news that the *hubara* or lesser bustard have made their appearance. From the shaikh downwards, out go all lovers of the chase, and hundreds of birds are brought into the town and to the various Badawin encampments as food. They are assuredly an additional gift of God. B 136 K 136

If rain falls in October, truffles and mushrooms, great delicacies to every Badawin, appear in the following spring, and form the staple food of the tent-dweller and his family for weeks on end. Truffles B 137

A. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Ad I Kuwait
Bedouins 6154

CHAPTER XXVIII

Hawking

223 From the very earliest times hawking or falconry has been looked upon among Arabs as the sport of kings. It was probably introduced into Europe direct from Arabia, after the early Crusades, and certainly came into Spain with the Arab invaders. There is little doubt, I think, that the sport spread with Islam to Persia and even to far-off China, though the reverse process has been suggested by persons who have studied the subject.

Hawking is mentioned by the earliest Arab chroniclers, and many stories are told of how the ancient ruling house of Al Arair, the hereditary shaikhs of the Bani Khalid in Hasa and Nejd, encouraged the sport and preserved game for hawking's sake.

Northern and North-Eastern Arabia are to-day the home of the sport in the peninsula, for it is in this area that the first annual migra-
[224] tion of the lesser bustard, or *houbara*, takes place. The *houbara* is the principal game hunted with hawks, though hare and even gazelle also give fair sport.

● 136 The *houbara* appears on the eastern and north-eastern seaboard of the Persian Gulf about October in each year, and birds continue to come till about April, when they gradually disappear again to cooler climes.

The local Arab says they come from the highlands of Persia, but more probably they come in the first place from Central Asia, and migrate south through Persia, to avoid the intense cold. Certainly Persia, Iraq, North-West India, Baluchistan and Eastern Arabia all see the migrating bustard.

A very few remain behind in Arabia each year and breed locally, but these are rare. I have myself seen a couple of *houbara* eggs (15th March, 1935) which were found 40 miles south of Kuwait.

223 From Zubair down to the Trucial Coast of Oman, the *houbara* season is looked forward to with the greatest keenness. Princes, Amirs, great shaikhs, petty shaikhs, and every tribesman who can scrape

A Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins 1424

CHAPTER XXXIV

Locusts

Truly blessed are those countries and states which know not the Locust, nor have experienced his visitations. 731

When the word locust crops up, the average person thinks of the plagues of Egypt, and recalls vivid descriptions in the Old Testament. He pictures a mighty swarm of flying grasshoppers which settle on fruit trees, hedgerows, vegetable gardens and wheat fields, and after taking their fill, pass on. This is not an entirely false picture, but the reality is far worse. In a country like Arabia visitations are comparatively common, and one locust year is invariably followed by a second, third, and possibly a fourth. Locusts destroy not only all living bushes and available green grass, each blade of which is vital to life in a desert country like the Arabian peninsula, but cause untold hardship to townsmen and villagers. Sheep die in hundreds after a visitation because there is no more green or dry grass left for them to feed on. Though I speak with particular feeling for the Arabia I love, the locust problem is not confined to that country. Locusts annually devastate large tracts and districts of North Africa, Central and South Africa, Baluchistan, India, Persia, Iraq and Turkey.

The insect's home seems, however, to be Africa, and as far as Arabia is concerned, the general route followed by these pests in migration would seem to be from Abyssinia to Yemen in the first place. Thence the swarms apparently select one of two routes—one swarm going to Baluchistan and India via the South Arabian seaboard, and the other moving up into the Hijaz, Najd, North-Eastern tracts of Arabia, and on into Iraq and Persia. There are naturally many subsidiary migrations, but in the main as far as Arabia proper is concerned, I think—though I speak with diffidence—the theory of swarms coming over from Abyssinia and then dividing into two main streams, is fairly near the truth. This is the theory generally accepted among desert Arabs. 136 825

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI 1
Bedouins M24

Accompaniments of Rain

Chap. XX

THE RAINS

The rains may arrive any time between the 1st October and 3rd November, and usually set in with a series of thunderstorms. Great and wild is the rejoicing when Kuwait first perceives, borne strongly on the breeze, the smell of the first rain on parched-up sand. I have described in Chapter III the scene of excitement when men, women and children rush out into the rain and collect the precious water into every possible utensil. Camels groan extra loud to testify their pleasure, and sheep set up a pandemonium of baa-ing. The city folk, normally dependent for their water on the Shatt al 'Arab, 100 miles away, act like their Badawin brethren, and endeavour to catch into every form of utensil the water running off their house-tops.

An annual visitor now makes its appearance in the desert. This is the *bint al mattar* (Daughter of Rain), a small plump-bodied spider, brilliantly scarlet in colour and with a body like velvet. It appears apparently from nowhere as soon as the first rain has wet the ground.

The next arrivals in Kuwait are old Badawin men bearing sprigs of green grass which they have brought to show their beloved Shaikh, with congratulations such as, "*ya tawal al 'umr* (O thou with long life) God has given good rain at So-and-So, there has been *sail* (the expression used to convey that water-channels have flowed), and so many hand-widths of rain have fallen (meaning the depth into the soil which the rain has penetrated), we come to show you the green grass ('*ashab*) that has come up". As bringers of good news they get, of course, suitable presents.

This is followed by other news brought in from various parts that *khabras* (lakelets) have formed at So-and-So, and will last for so many days.

Last of all comes news that the *hubara* or lesser bustard have made their appearance. From the shaikh downwards, out go all lovers of the chase, and hundreds of birds are brought into the town and to the various Badawin encampments as food. They are assuredly an additional gift of God.

If rain falls in October, truffles and mushrooms, great delicacies to every Badawin, appear in the following spring, and form the staple food of the tent-dweller and his family for weeks on end. Truffles

L Dickson G-8 (1929-47) 1951 M1 1 Kuwait M1
Bedouins M31

with *hadaya* are verily, like the manna of old, Allah's reward to those who have endured the summer heat.

On the warm rains follow the new green shoots, and almost in a matter of hours, the yellow desert takes on a pale green hue. This rapidly develops till the advent of the December cold winds, when further growth is retarded until February and March. Then and only then does everything rush up into bloom, and flowers begin to cover the whole countryside. Nevertheless, the grass of October and November comes up sufficiently high to allow sheep to graze on it, though not without difficulty. This for the moment is all the Badawin asks.

WINTER

The period between the October rains and spring proper is known as *shita*, and lasts from about 15th November to the 15th of February. The cold now becomes intense, and the north-west winds cut to the marrow. Badawin men and women who can afford it go about in woollen top-boots. Similarly *farwahs* (fur-lined coats) are worn by the well-to-do from the shaikh downwards. The poor Badawin has a bad time, however, for his body, inured to the recent great heat of summer, can ill adjust itself to the biting cold. His threadbare summer cloak is all he has, and he therefore feels the cold even more than he did the heat.

To the European the cold of the Arabian winter and especially of the hinterland acts as a wonderful tonic. The desert air has a champagne effect about it, and nights in the desert are glorious experiences. As January draws nigh a series of frosts occur, usually about ten in number. At night the temperature in the hinterland drops to 29° F. and under, and water-skins freeze solid: an almost unbelievable change from the all too recent summer. If a north-west wind blows it can be very cold indeed on these frosty nights and nothing but an all-night fire will keep the sleeper alive.

I have visited the Karakoram and the Pamirs in my time, and have spent two winters at Gilgit, yet the cold of the Arabian desert seems to surpass anything I ever felt in those high altitudes. The explanation no doubt is that the Arabian summer saps a man's strength and leaves him ill prepared to fight such intense cold.

12: Thesiger 7-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MII Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MI4

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

132 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
312 stand the land in which they live—a harsh, unforgiving land which conditions their lives so that they, too, are hard, hard in body and mind. They live in the desert—that is to say, in country which, judged by ordinary standards, is waterless. This applies equally to the barren, broken limestone mountains near the southern coast, to the flat, featureless gravel plains, and to the sands of the Empty Quarter itself, where the mountainous dunes, some of which are 700 feet high, run one behind the other for hundreds of miles. There are, of course, some wells in this desert, but they are usually few and far between: the Sa'ar country has two permanent wells in it, Manwakh and Zamakh; the Manahil country has three or four. Thus in an area the size of Norfolk there might be two wells. I have myself twice travelled four hundred miles between wells. I admit that this is exceptional, but Badu have raided across these very stretches of desert, riding out and back again without touching at a well. You can think what this means when you realize that this distance is twice as far as from Dover to Edinburgh, and that these Arabs travelled at a speed of three miles per hour, relying only on the water which they could carry with them without foundering their camels, and that the camels themselves did not get a drink until they returned a month later.

137 It seldom rains in this desert; in many parts it has not rained for five
221 years, and I have been in places where not a drop of rain has fallen for twenty-five years. By Badu standards a couple of hours' heavy rain in the
132 year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
253 depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances. Most of this vegetation is not green, but desert plants like the succulent yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
233 acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the
262 Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

Sc Harrison D-4 (1812-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouins M34

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NOMAD BEDOUINS

facing p. 24

St Harrison D-4 (1913-1934) 1934 MI Middle East
Bedouin M34

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BEDOUIN WOMEN

facing page 30

12. Glubb G-3 (1930-1948) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1

B 609 576 J 609 I decided, in spite of my reception, to stay for the night in the Beni Sakhr tents, both in the hope that more intimate acquaintance would overcome this inauspicious beginning and also to learn more about the Beni Sakhr, a tribe which I had never met before. The shaikh in the car drove off after lunch, and by the time we had had dinner and were sitting in a circle round the fire, the atmosphere had become more cordial.

B 192 J 192 Sitting over the coffee-pots, I noticed a long, slim, dark-complexioned youth, with those fine features which distinguish a certain type of Nejdi nomad, and which were in contrast to the fairer complexions and thicker build of the Beni Sakhr. When an opportunity offered, I enquired about his origin, and was told that he came of the tribe of Mutair. My work in southern Iraq had brought me into contact with this tribe, though usually as enemy raiders, and I knew the names of their leaders and the geography of their country. The boy's face glowed with pleasure when he heard once more the names of his tribesmen and the news of their latest raiding exploits. He then told me his story.

B 921 J 921 He had joined a large raiding party which had attacked Trans-Jordan the year before, and which included several war banners of Mutair. A Beni Sakhr camp had been surprised and overwhelmed at dawn, and many killed. During the battle, he was hit by a bullet and fell unconscious from the back of his camel. When he recovered consciousness, he felt very cold. He looked around him. It appeared to be shortly after dawn, but the sun had not risen yet. He was stark naked and lying on the ground, with corpses and dead animals strewn around. A short way from where he lay were some black bedouin tents, from which a few wisps of smoke showed that the occupants were already awake. Shivering with cold, dazed and weak, he staggered towards the nearest tent. A man was kneeling in the tent with his back to him, blowing up the embers of a fire.

B 576 When the wounded boy was some ten paces from the tent, the man looked round. With a savage cry he sprang to his feet, matched a rifle and ran towards him. But in his excitement he fumbled with the bolt and safety-catch. The naked Mutairi staggered past him and embraced the tent pole. "I am under the protection of this house," he cried. The Sakhri threw his rifle

Origin of the Sulubba

In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.

In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs, some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shamsur is the Shaikh of the Munir Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aithif is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

[illegible] Theodore T-3 (1944-47)(1948 MII Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MO4

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p 394 (A)

25: Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

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(Above) One of the small black Arab men picked near Mamsaidi well. This type belongs exclusively to sand-dwelling tribes and is never met on the rugged or plain areas. Beside the boat stands an African, who wears the long pointed shoes of a Western Arab; in front, placed upside-down, is a leather trough from which his camels are watered. Round the Mamsaidi encampment roamed Arab children, a lively lot, even in winter months, when the dawn mist is in-tense, the little girls wear (left) only a fringe round their hips. The children are fed mainly on camel's milk. With Bedouin a bread made of millet ground from the seed ordinarily eaten of the bird cage

P 896 (B)

(Left) *Tribesman from the coastal region of the Tenere.* (Right) *Tenere beduin, with eyelids darkened with antimony powder (kohl)*

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p.70 (1)

Re-drawing MI4
Muaiqing

Donkey Riders

619 101 233 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Mimnafq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawiyah lying east of Samawa.

492 101 233 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Suhubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

715 459 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawfil al Dhafir and Tawfil al Mumir, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq-Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba-Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarin, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Azzan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 713 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarin and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

29: Glubb--1 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

THE SULUBBA AND OTHER IGNOBLE TRIBES OF SOUTHWESTERN ASIA

by

J. B. Glubb*

114 * Political Officer in Trans-Jordan. These notes were received at Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, during 1935--H.F.

SULUBBA

101 The origin of these people remains obscure. 144 None of the Arab historians of the early Islamic conquests appear to mention them, which seems to disprove the theory that they are remnants of an old conquered race. The hypothesis suggesting descent from the Crusaders seems to be a modern European fantasia based solely on the resemblance between their tribal name and the Arabic word for a cross.

101 144 172 Musil (1), in his "Arabia Deserta," states

1. Alois Musil, Arabia Deserta, p. 233.

101 that the Sulubba believe that they originated
149 from the Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf,
173 but I have not heard this story. The few Sulubba I have asked usually replied that they came from an old people who were not Moslems. I imagine, however, that this was merely conjectural; I would not attribute these answers to ancient tradition. Two Sulubba once surprised me by saying that they were descended from Crusaders! But on pressing them for the origin of their statement, they admitted that they had been told so by a French officer in Syria!

101 The Sulubba are to be found in an area extending roughly from Damascus to Mosul in the north, down to Jauf, east of the Nefud, Hail, Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, the Tigris above Baghdad, and Mosul.

101 They are scarcely ever found in Trans-Jordan
144 west of the Wadi Sirhan; I believe that they do not exist in the Hejaz or in the western half of Arabia. This distribution might reinforce the legend of their origin from Hasa Province on the Persian Gulf, from which they might well have emigrated north to the more fertile lands in Syria or Iraq, but would have been unlikely to have emigrated to the Hejaz, which is less fertile than the Hasa itself.

563 The Sulubba have long been regarded by the
46 Beduins as a subject race. Many of them work as
72 tinkers for the Beduin tribes and perform other menial duties. They have never taken part in the wars and feuds, which have occupied the greater part of the Beduins' lives for centuries. A Sulubbi, like a woman, was a creature with whom it was too inferior to fight. The Sulubba maintained a strict neutrality in raids, and, for fear of being beaten, told all raiders what they knew of the nature of the country and the movements of their enemies.

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

204 On occasion when supplies are plentiful the Badawin
146 eat copiously, because the time and scale of the next meal may be
147 uncertain. In general, the standard of nutrition of the Badawin is low—in the opinion of some, below the level necessary in other regions to sustain life. As a result, the Badawin are small, even stunted, and lightly built, though their physical powers and endurance are great. Life is, however, very hard; and by forty, particularly in the case of women, old age has begun. Fifty years is a long life for a nomad.

721 One means of supplementing the deficiencies in arid areas is by raiding. Amongst Badawin the *rhazw* (*razzia* or *rezzou*) is a recognised activity amounting almost to sport, but it also fulfils a definite economic function. The effects of a bad season are mitigated, as when rains have failed in the desert, the Bedu has a choice of taking what he requires by force from other people, or of starving. The word 'sport' has been used, because although fundamentally a serious matter, Badawin raids are conducted under certain conventions—almost, one might say, rules.[1] Rapid, unlooked-for coups, using cunning and guile, are most favoured: bloodshed is as far as possible avoided, though goods, womenfolk, and children become the property of the victors under a kind of slavery. Successful leadership in tribal raids
[359] is the means by which personal reputation and power is built up: King Ibn Saud, originally a dispossessed desert nomad, has gained absolute power in Arabia through successful tribal encounters on an increasingly
721 large scale. Badawin raids may be directed against other tribes, but
651 frequently, toll is levied on agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert. Less able to resist, and with more at stake than the nomad, settled cultivators sometimes remain under permanent tribute to Badawin tribes, and supply a quantity of needed foodstuffs to their overlords. The name *khawa* (tribute of friendship) is applied to such transactions. Raiding is now declining, because of increasing control by local governments, but in addition to the political problem presented in controlling outbreaks, there is the economic factor of providing alternative occupation to ensure a livelihood.[2] Though declining, the practice is still not extinct. For as recently as 1946, J. C. Crowfoot could write, 'Arabs are now raiding each other in Fords and Chevrolets'.

[1] There are only three sources of amusement or distraction in Badawin life: conversation round a coffee hearth, family life, and raiding.

[2] Cf. the decline in population of the Barbary coastlands since the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean. There, precisely the same economic factor was involved.

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

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147 uncertain. In general, the standard of nutrition of the Badawin is low—in the opinion of some, below the level necessary in other regions to sustain life. As a result, the Badawin are small, even stunted, and lightly built, though their physical powers and endurance are great. Life is, however, very hard; and by forty, particularly in the case of women, old age has begun. Fifty years is a long life for a nomad.

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12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1945 MG1 Jordan

492 desert like a bird is a European illusion. The bedouin, it is true, will make his camel gallop in a battle. Good riding camels will travel at a jog-trot for considerable distances. But a journey of several hundred miles is chiefly performed at a walk. The camel covers long distances owing to its powers of endurance and the hardihood of its rider. Twenty hours' riding a day at five miles an hour makes a hundred miles, and four hours' rest will often suffice the bedouins.

These long hours of slow movement are sometimes an intense weariness. The country traversed is often featureless or only slightly undulating plains. The saddle, a wooden framework with a goat-skin and saddle-bag thrown over it, soon rubs sores on the thighs of the beginner.

492 132 The worst enemy of the inexperienced camel rider is the heat and glare, especially near Iraq or on the shores of the Red Sea, for the uplands of the hinterland are cooler. On our crossing of the Syrian desert, however, we suffered not from the heat but from the cold. Not a tree or a cliff was to be found to break the violence of that cutting north wind, which seemed to howl around us day and night. It blew round our legs as we sat shivering on our camels, it bore away our voices so that we could not hear one another speak. It filled our stale bread and sticky dates with sand when we dismounted to eat.

609 Occasionally this dumb and hopeless misery was forgotten in a wild alarm, a glimpse of raiders, a swift flight down little valleys. Once topping a small ridge, we came in sight of a group of camelmen riding towards us at a range of only a few hundred yards. Qasim, who had the raider's eye for country, raced down into a little hollow on our right. Keeping in low ground, we hit our camels sharply and dashed on at top speed. Suddenly our leader pulled up, jumped off, hobbled his camel and ran forward up a low ridge. We followed his example as best we could, and flung ourselves on the ground a few yards from him, loading as we did so. The other party had not seen us, and by raising my head slightly I could see them riding along, unconcernedly talking together. They were within close range now. The gear on their saddles and the fact that they were driving a camel laden with sacks proved that they were not raiders. Qasim suddenly stood up

S: Harrison D-4 (1912-1934) 1934 M1 Middle East
Bedouin H34

parently meeting with no great obstacle on the way. In five minutes everybody is filled to repletion. Pounds of meat have been consumed and bushels of rice. The side dishes are empty. Enormous wooden bowls of buttermilk are brought in and the meal washed down with great draughts of this favorite Arab drink. It is not remarkable that after a feast everybody expects to take a nap. So ends the festivity and the Bedouin settles down once again to his meager and poverty-stricken existence in the desert.

Life as a nomad shepherd brings the Bedouin into naked and constant contact with nature. He is out of doors almost all of the time, and his tent with its rents and holes hardly serves to separate him from the outside world to any significant degree even when he is inside. The sun over him by day and the moon and stars by night, the long stretches of sand and the rough rocky plains, the sand storms which are the terror of the desert, the fierce heat of the summer and the frosts of the winter, all of these are his constant companions. He learns to know the wilderness as few know it. The tracks of the various animals in the sand are to him an easily legible history of the happenings of several days back. Thus he lives not simply in contact with nature but rather immersed in it. The desert may be cruel, but he pines away if transplanted. His life may be hard, but he wants nothing else.

Yet strangely enough, in spite of his intense love for the desert and its freedom, all the beauties in nature around him fall on blind eyes as far as the Bedouin is concerned. Even the desert sunset and the moon-lit sand dunes apparently stir no responsive chord in his heart. It is as if all such things had been stripped off

St Martins D-4 (1912-1924) D24 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

and cast away as useless encumbrances in the stern fight for life. He is the victim of his environment in that he suffers so desperately from poverty and want. His clothes hang in tatters and rags; his tent is cold in winter and hot in summer; his food is reduced nearly to the limit of bare subsistence. Most of his children die because of the unsuitable food, the hard conditions of life and the ignorance of the parents. The dirt and disorder in which he lives beggar description. Out of this soil springs one of the freest and most unconquerable spirits in the world, but even so it is impossible to believe that its finest development is attainable under such handicaps. The terrible thing is not that the condition in which he lives distresses his sensitive spirit, but precisely that it does not distress him at all. The Bedouin may claim to have conquered poverty. He stands forth uncrushed by its heaviest load, but his indomitable spirit has nevertheless paid a price, and a heavy price, for that victory.

Bedouin life, however, in spite of this terrible poverty and lack of the amenities that we are accustomed to regard as necessary even to existence, has in it many characteristics that we of the luxurious and effete West might emulate with benefit. Throughout the earth and almost throughout history, men have dreamed of equality. France ran with blood a hundred and thirty years ago because of man's search for it. Russia is red with the same struggle now. Men talk about it and dream about it wherever men see visions and dream dreams. In inland Arabia men practise it, and there is a charm in the dirty, poverty-cursed, arid desert that will be searched for in vain throughout the pampered and self-satisfied world outside. His sense of equality with all the world is the breath of life to a nomad Arab, and his spirit stands

A. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Mt I Kuwait
Bedouins 1934

CHAPTER XXVII

Desert Guides and Trackers

622 On 27th November, 1935, I visited and had a long talk with Shaikh
619 Mutluq al Musailim, the paramount chief of the Rashaida, in his camp. Among other things he admitted that his tribe was related to the great Humaim group lying east of Madina. This is the powerful group whose paramount shaikhs are Ibn Barik and Ibn Nuzmas, and which as a whole is an "inferior" tribe.

485 He maintained that his people, the Rashaida, possessed without exception the finest guides throughout Arabia. He had men, he said, who could guide a stranger without any preparation from Kuwait to

(a) Damascus	(f) Ebha
(b) Amman	(g) Najran
(c) Wejh	(h) Wadi Dawasir
(d) Madina	(i) Riyadh and its environs
(e) Mecca	(j) Hasa and Qatar

485 The best guide in all Arabia was, in his opinion, Ibn Hadhabba of
428 his tribe, now employed by Bin Sa'ud on his permanent staff. Ibn
151 Hadhabba was one of a family of that name, all of whom, even the women, seemed to be endowed with the same skill. The gift was born in these men, he said, not acquired in any way, and was akin to the sort of fifth sense an animal possessed. It mattered not if the sun shone or not by day, or if the sky was overcast at night, the Rashaidi could find his way anywhere. He never forgot a desert feature once seen, however small and insignificant.

On the other hand, Shaikh Mutluq admitted freely that his own tribe were not trackers. The palm in this science went easily to the Al Murra tribe of South Hasa and Jabrin. Tracking, or *ma'arifat al jarra* as it was called, was entirely different from the science of guiding or *ma'arifat al dalila*. The latter implied perfect knowledge of ground with a perfect eye for country, stars, etc., the former was more un-

L Dickson G-5 (1919-47) 1941 M2 1 Kuwait
Reference 1474

canny, and consisted in an almost animal faculty for following up the 1,95
tracks of man, camel, horse or sheep, and describing from the tracks 1,78
the exact type of person or animal that had left its spoor. For instance, 1,51
it was easy for a Murri, he said, to say whether the tracks of a single single camel were those of a white camel (*wadha*), or a brown camel (*hamra*), or a black camel (*samda*), and still easier to say if it was male or female, in calf or not.

The Murra skill was so great, contended Shaikh Mutleq, that in 1,86
following the tracks of a human female a tracker could say whether 1,51
the person was married or single, and whether she was pregnant or not.

I have myself observed some very remarkable examples of Murra skill, and have been told numberless others by men like H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, who would have no reason to exaggerate. The Murra tribe are related to the 'Ajman, and both claim descent from Yam, the ancestor of the Bani Yam of Najran in North-East Yaman. Possibly their origin is Himyaritic. All three tribes are considered *sharif* tribes, and in appearance are all more or less alike. They have broad foreheads, eyes set wide apart, and chin running into a sharp small point. This is especially the case with the women. The apparently weak chin is, in the case of the man, usually hidden by a finer beard than is common among other Badawin.

The following is a personal experience. In February 1920 I was 1,53
riding from Hufuf to Ojair in Hasa by a rather more circuitous and southern route than that usually used, as I wanted to examine the nature of certain ground. I had been the guest of Bin Sa'ud in Hufuf for some seventeen days. My escort consisted of twelve of Bin Sa'ud's heaves under a youth called Bani. This fine young lad told me that he had just arrived in Hufuf from Riyadh for the first time in his life, and therefore had to depend on others' knowledge of the country. Half way to the coast we met an enormous herd of Murra camels with numerous baby camels slowly grazing in a northerly direction. The country was dune country and we did not see a soul, though no doubt all our movements were being watched by a hundred eyes.

Presently Bani suggested a drink of camel's milk all round. No sooner said than done. A she-camel was easily caught, milked into a panikin of wood (*jiddi*), and we all had a delightful drink. Coffee followed and we sat down for a twenty minutes' rest. Presently a

1b Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

151 721 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Jonaba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 577 609 574 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival. But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is rooted out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 264 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how [271] quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet 576 no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when [486] everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he 577 would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

canny, and consisted in an almost animal faculty for following up the 485
tracks of man, camel, horse or sheep, and describing from the tracks 828
the exact type of person or animal that had left its spoor. For instance, 151
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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

'● 153 small Murra girl appeared from nowhere, aged probably seven or eight, and demanded to know why we milked her father's camel without permission. As we teased her and bandied words, her father suddenly appeared from behind a large sand dune. He approached silently, and coming up to us he gave the usual *salám 'alaikum* and got the usual reply. Without another word he looked us all slowly up and down, then moved up to Báni, our leader. *Kaif int?* he said, *Wa kaif hál al wálid?* (How are you and how is your father?) "Quite well, may God give you peace," was the reply, "but whence know you my father, and how doest thou know I am his son? I have never been in Al 'Ahsa (Hàsa) before, nor do I know you to my knowledge." Without the slightest show of surprise the Murra said quietly, "True, but your father is called Shaja'an, isn't he? I knew him some twenty-five years ago, probably before you were born. But I do not forget a face, and I know you to be his son from your perfect resemblance to him." A truly remarkable feat of memory. The stolid Murra never guessed that he had caused surprise.

I came across a good example of Rashaida memory for country in 1932.

One day I was hunting with Shaikh Ahmad of Kuwait in Sa'udi Arabia, some 150 miles in the interior and in the Qara'a region south of the Musannat ridge. We had been chasing a certain covey of *hubara* in a car for some hour and twenty minutes and had followed up the subsequent kill by pursuing a runaway hawk who was out of hand. Our twists and turns had confused me completely as to direction. The sun was right overhead, and the plain was dead flat as far as the eye could see, without a recognisable feature anywhere, while the grass underfoot was *nassi* everywhere. We had halted for lunch, and I called up the shaikh's chief hunter Nazzal, a Rashidi noted for his knowledge of the desert. "O Nazzal," said I, "Can you tell me where Kuwait lies, and how far off we are?" Without a pause he replied, "There is Kuwait over that bush, and it is exactly five days' journey for a camel-rider taking things easy, and riding about eight or nine hours a day". I called up other Rashaida hunters and they independently all gave the same answer, though I questioned them separately. I then asked Nazzal where the North Star was. Again he pointed to another bush, and said, "Over there, O Abu Sa'ud". Upon this I

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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pulled out my compass, and found he was entirely correct as regards the north point, and by setting my map proved also that he was exactly right as far as the direction of Kuwait went. I was then able easily to fix my position in the wide Qara'a region, and found we were just about 150 miles from home. To me this was rather remarkable, but my companions laughed at me and my surprise, saying the test was not a difficult one, in fact it was no test at all, for they all knew the ground we were standing on almost to a yard, and in proof of their statement they chorused, "Exactly quarter of a mile away from here in a north-westerly direction is a piece of good truffle ground, where we always find truffles during the rainy season". "I'll show you what I mean," said Nazzal, "there should be some there now." He jumped into one of the cars, and drove off at speed. In ten minutes he was back with seven choice truffles. "I thought I was right," he said. "We are close to the place where I found So-and-So's watch, after he had lost it a whole year before. He dropped the watch when we were taking part in a raid." Nazzal then described how the man had dropped the watch as his party were beating a rapid retreat, and remembering the place had visited the spot a year later when the 'Ikhwan danger had gone, and found his watch just near where the truffles grow.

I ask the reader to remember that we were in absolutely flat prairie country covered with a sort of short hay, and with only an occasional bush here and there, and we were 150 miles from the nearest town, namely Kuwait. I thought the incident very remarkable.*

* Other excellent stories of the amazing cleverness of trackers of the Al Murra tribe will be found in Chapter I of *The Arab at Home*, by Dr. Paul Harrison, of the American Arabian Mission, Dutch Reformed Church, all of which I can vouch for.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

forth scornfully triumphant over the worst that environment can do to him. There is no division of labor in the desert. Every man has the same occupation and is pursued by the same gaunt specter of starvation. Every man breathes the same atmosphere of the great free desert and shares the same conceptions of God and His terrible omnipotence. How could men be otherwise than equal when they all live in the same desert and worship the same God? The hypocrisies and pretenses of caste and rank cannot live long in that country where God is so great and so terrible and so omnipotent and where men at the best are helpless insects in His hands.

The Arab is perhaps the most incorrigible individualist that the world affords. He regards any abridgement of his liberty as intolerable. His desert is a land of freedom. Everybody does what is right in his own eyes with perhaps less restraint than anywhere else in the world. To one who is familiar with the Orient, perhaps the most significant fact to be noted in Arab society is the complete absence of the caste system. The Arab knows nothing about caste. His sheikh, who has the power of life and death over him, the Bedouin regards as on precisely his own level. He expects this sheikh to rule well, to have a heavy hand for offenders, to maintain relations with neighboring tribes, to protect the poor from the rapacity of the rich. If the sheikh does not do all these things, he will join cheerfully with his comrades in assassinating him and will submit with equal cheerfulness to whomsoever may be his successor. He would be not at all nonplussed if asked to be ruler himself; quite possibly he might fill the office with credit. All this he knows, as does his sheikh. The result is a society where there is almost no feeling of superiority and inferiority,

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do, they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel, gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word 156
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. 771
Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away. Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the wind-blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as thoroughbreds.

000 ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very
●156 jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

221 463 511 Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more intimate with the desert than the real Beduins, are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far away in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

563 721 While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves
[661] from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

231 511 The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels, used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

156 609 conditions, singly or in combination, cause the attitude of individuals or groups to differ in degree. As a general rule nomads who range habitually on the fringes of alien civilized areas are more dangerous to encounter than those habitually withdrawn in the wilds. Thus, the northern and western constituents of the great Anazah group are less safe to visit than the Shammar. Other contingent circumstances may make particular groups yet more hostile—if, for example, they range near the political frontier of two alien powers, as do the eastern Sinaitic groups; or in a difficult mountainous country, like the Huweitāt and Huteim east and north of Akaba; or where shelter and water can be obtained in hidden rocky recesses, as among the Beni Sakhr in the southern trans-Jordan region; or in insalubrious low-lying tracts such as the Yemen Tihāmah, or the southern part of Hasa, or the eastern part of the south coast, which account for the evil repute of the Zaranik (*Dharāniq*), the Ahl Murrah, and the Qara tribes respectively.

Certain of the inland tribes, however, have reputations as bad or worse, and in their case one must look for peculiar causes. The ill fame of some groups of the Harb, for example—of one group especially, the 'Auf sub-tribe of the Masrūh section—is probably due to temptation long put in their way by the pilgrim routes, where these pass through a lean region debated between two powers. The repute, again, of the Qahtān, reckoned by the popular voice the most savage of Bedouin groups, may be accounted for by their seclusion and isolation along the northern fringe of the impenetrable Southern Desert. It is possible, however, that in both these instances report is worse than fact—in the one, because it is the well-known pilgrim route that has so often suffered, in the other because the northern Bedouins, who chiefly inform European minds, [266] know very little about the group in question. It is common talk, for example, that some of the Qahtān tribes are cannibal. On investigation, this imputation is always passed southward to the next group, till it finally fades away into *terra incognita*.

One word of caution, however, must be uttered about such cut-and-dried tribal reputations. They have not, in some cases, been always the same. The Huteim, for instance, who have a bad name for robbery now, used to be esteemed among the most inoffensive of nomads—almost on a par with the despised but universally tolerated Sulubba. Some one familiar with the desert talk of the moment should always be consulted before the desert itself is entered.

609 577 621 The least suspicious and most trustworthy Bedouins are, naturally, those of the largest and best-knit tribes, especially such as form part of a federation under the central authority of one of the

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

565 but rather an unaffected equality among all members of the community and a good fellowship and free association on that basis which is one of the most beautiful
562 things in the world. The women share this freedom, and are engaged with the men in practically every activity that is useful in keeping the wolf from the door. Men and women fight side by side for a naked existence, and there is no submission to anything or anybody, except to God above.

562 It is a hard life, but the desert is a maker of men.
•157 Women may express their feelings, their joys and their griefs, but men are expected to remain silent and self-controlled, and magnificent Stoics some of them are. An
758 old patriarch came to the Bahrein Hospital bringing for
855 treatment his only son, the pride of his life and the joy of his heart. They had come a long distance, two weeks' journey. The old man had the light of a father's pride in his eye and the shadow of a father's anxiety was there, too.

"My boy has been sick for some time. I have brought him here for you to cure."

My heart sank at the boy's appearance. "Does he cough?"

"Yes, he coughs a great deal. That is the trouble."

"Does he cough up any blood?"

"Yes, he has done that several times."

It gave me almost the sensation of physical faintness that one feels when in an elevator that is shot down rapidly, to see that fine old man standing there and to know what we would have to tell him, but we examined the boy carefully first. There were large cavities in both lungs. He was far beyond all hope. The whole faculty of Johns Hopkins could not have helped him. "My

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

hands and feet in a man,—in fact, his whole appearance was arresting. 622

For a Bedouin, he had an unusually pale complexion, set off by a brilliantly black beard and raven locks. He preferred to dress almost entirely in black. His Arab head-cloth, sandals, and soft camel-hair cloak were black, as well as the wide shawl wound round his waist. Even his mare was black, a rare thing, for most Bedouins hold black horses in disfavour. Headstalls, halter, saddle, and saddle-cloth—all were black, relieved only by delicate silver embroidery and a few silver ornaments. His silver-hilted sword, too, was carried in a black scabbard. 622 291 [825]

Sheykh Tai' was vain. He loved arms and horses, but above all he adored his little son, Farhan. According to Ali, he had not much affection for his wives, who were reputed to be beauties; but he was proud of them as he was of all his possessions—his great herds and extensive lands. 622 157

The Tai's Bedouins kept relatively few camels, but large numbers of sheep and goat, which suffer much from the depredations of wolves in winter and spring. Sheykh Tai' told me that these nimble-footed robbers from the inaccessible retreats of the Turkish Mountains had come down again into the snow-free lowlands. They had already attacked exposed Bedouin camps and caused great damage, although the watchful herdsmen had been continually on guard. 233

Sheykh Tai' was, like Nimrod, a "great hunter before the Lord", and liked nothing better than to be riding abroad. On the eighth evening after our arrival, he 224

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

000 man back to Aleppo, with his "wild ostrich", happy and contented.

Here, too, rain had fallen and transfigured the arid,
• 157 yellow wastes into lush green meadows. From the small band of Shammar, our guide borrowed riding-camels for our further journey, and we reached the camp of Mishal ibn Faris on the following day. Of Mishal the Arabs say that "no cloud can be compared with him for generosity." I, too, must say that I have seldom met so unselfish and kind-hearted a man.

Outside his large tent we drew up and dismounted. How many guest fires must have been lighted under this smoke-blackened roof, which had sheltered three generations!

574 The elderly *sheykh* stood on the threshold and bade
609 me welcome with the sacred formula of the wilderness,
[576] the assurance of peace, "Salam Alayk."

I responded in the manner of the desert: "God keep thee well." Then, Mishal ibn Faris took with his own hand the headstall from my mare and hung it on the main post of his tent. He had wanted to know me, he said, as soon as he had heard that a stranger, who loved Arab horses, was visiting the Tai'.

I thanked him for his pleasant and friendly invitation. In his way of addressing me there was more than ordinary politeness. From now on, whether with them in person, or far away, I had the freedom of his tribe.

157 Mishal ibn Faris, the great Shammar *sheykh*, esteemed
554 from one end of the desert to the other for his staunch righteousness, had a peaceful and moderating influence on Bedouin politics, both in Mesopotamia and Syria. "A

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

man without a single enemy", Arabs have called him 157 534
to me.

I was Mishal's guest for several weeks. In the company 231
of his son Naif, I was able to look over a large number 435
of Arab horses amongst the different Shammar clans. One two-year-old Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion of purest blood pleased me exceedingly. One day I enquired of the *sheykh's* secretary if he thought it possible that Mishal would sell this stallion. It had indeed come to my ears that Mishal had refused an offer of eight hundred gold pounds from the French Remount Service. From my experience, I knew that really thoroughbred Arab horses were quite rare and therefore exceedingly expensive. Considering the stallion's breeding, the French offer certainly did not appear too high, when one remembers that foreign military commissions and breeders have paid in the desert anything up to three thousand pounds gold for blue-blooded stallions.

I asked the scribe to submit my offer to his *sheykh* up
to one thousand pounds gold. I also declared myself [431]
ready to make the customary presents to the *katib* (secretary) and to the slave who had looked after the stallion from birth.

That same day I sat with Mishal and his son Naif and 574
their friends until late into the night. By the light of 231
the campfire I showed them photographs of Arab horses, 572
among them the stallions and mares which I had bought from the stud of Lady Anne Blunt's daughter in England, for the ranch in California.

"Is it known to thee," asked Mishal, "that Lord Blunt and my father Faris formed a blood brotherhood fifty

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

517 (*dhabi*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves
224 on fresh *leben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war,
262 then of course this utopian existence is at once changed, and the tribe
722 moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared
for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining
[202] and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come
into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks
before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were
able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and
622 assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on
its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp.
His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

622 No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was
157 the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not neces-
183 sarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the
family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-
paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the
shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan
or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father
and become shaikh after him must prove:

that he has the necessary courage;
that he has powers of leadership;
that he has *hadh* or luck.

777 The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership
622 in plenty if *hadh* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman
157 wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in
peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is
bound up in this word *hadh*. The great Bin Sa'ud, the present Lord
of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with
a large quantity of *hadh*, or so says and believes every Badawin of
Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot
be compared with the all-embracing Luck.

622 The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

516 Dirty he and his wife always are, but theirs is the dirt of the field, a thing totally different from the dirt of the town. He never washes his clothes till they are about to drop off, and then he replaces them. He and his good wife are covered with body lice, and reek of camel manure and other choice odours, but the important parts of the body are kept clean, and the wife bathes her hair once a week in she-camel's urine, and thus rids her head of vermin for a few days.

157 Both the Badawin and his women are envious to a degree, and cupidity is the breath of life to them. Both are as full of *hasad* and *tama'* (envy and cupidity) as anyone in this world could be, and they never tire of saying that others around them suffer from these vices but never they themselves. *Hasad* takes the form of backbiting at every opportunity, and disparaging the efforts and good name of anyone who happens to be better off. His *tama'* is proverbial and has caused him to be dubbed by certain Westerners "the arch parasite of world society". True it is that you can make a Badawin man or woman do pretty well anything in this world except (and here I speak for the desert only) sacrifice his or her honour, by the offer of money.

Yet with all these faults I have found the Badawin and his wife to be the most lovable and delightful of all people, just primitive Adams and Eves, like their ancestors.

771 The true Badawin is a deeply religious man, and his hard life in the desert with its perpetual dangers to man and beast increases his sense of nearness to and dependence on his Maker. The grim scenery which surrounds him, the wide sandy deserts, the blood-colour of blazing sunsets, the deep yellow-black of the dust storms, a very incarnation of monstrous evil, and last but not least the devilish flicker of the witch's oven, as it trembles above the ground, with its cruel sister the ever-deceiving mirage, all tend to convince him that the One and Indivisible God is near him always and if only he be a true Musulmán will help him when peril is about. The thought of God is always with him, and the name of Allah is perpetually on his lips. He prays ceremonially five times a day. He can and will do nothing without invoking God's aid. After his duty towards God, comes duty towards his neighbour, and to a lesser extent towards himself. His whole code can be summed up in the following few sentences:

[188] 577

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

577

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his tent neighbour (*qasir*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*dhiáfa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafiq*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wejh* and *dakhála*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*chessib*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, [721] and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyah*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all 157 charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of [855] teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yargud wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male 562 society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate 834 families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most 521 dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked 558

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do,
they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel,
gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word 203
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, 156
they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that
happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so
that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian
Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the
borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too
precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will
often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be
hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their
own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived
in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals
which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot
even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the
desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that
lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten
bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian
he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. 771
Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than
pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them
without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their
religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed
the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded
that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I
asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he
answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away.
Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the
desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the windblown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood
with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as
thoroughbreds.

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJl Sand: Arabia
Bedouin Mi-

181 thoroughbreds. No race prizes lineage higher, yet they are the most
554 democratic people in the world and the most individualistic. Among
them there is real equality. To certain families, by virtue of their descent,
177 they accord certain privileges, but as a courtesy, not as a right, and Badu
577 sheikhs command respect only as long as they merit it. The traditional Arab way of life, fast vanishing to-day in contact with the West, owed much to Badu concepts, for the villagers and townsmen of Arabia, who form by far the greater part of her population, live close to the desert and were profoundly affected by it until motor-cars and aeroplanes removed for ever the need for camel journeys. Most of them are, indeed, of Badu origin, for the desert tides have always stranded the weak and broken upon the fringes of the Sown. Everywhere the Arabs have, at all times, judged honour and chivalry and hospitality by the standards of the tribesmen. Their love of liberty, their freedom from prejudice of class and caste, and their enthusiasm for poetry have come to them from the desert.

157 It is impossible to assess the character of the Badu, for among no other
577 race have so many contradictory qualities been fused together. I myself
81 have witnessed their courage and self-reliance, their endurance and pride of race, and I remember their patience, generosity, and unselfishness. But often I have been exasperated by their avarice and wearied by their endless
[935] importunities. No Badu thinks it shame to beg, and usually he will look disparagingly at the gift which he has received and grumble, "Is this all
[937] that you are going to give me?" Grasping and avaricious, they will talk unceasingly of money and argue heatedly for days about a dollar, then they will slaughter a camel worth 150 dollars to feed a stranger. Loyal to each other, they are yet without regard for human life and will knife an unarmed herdsboy with a jest. Cheerful and easily amused, they are generally good-tempered, though passionate when roused and quick to resent an injury.

166 I have often wondered as I rode across the desert what the future, and even the immediate future, holds for my companions and their kinsmen. The discovery of oil on the Persian Gulf is going to affect them profoundly and make it impossible for them to continue in their old ways, even if they would. I think myself that the oilfields will empty the desert. This movement of tribes from the Yaman and the Hadhramaut towards the north and the north-east is a movement which has been going on for thousands of years. It probably started even before the great migration of the Qahtan tribes, when, overwhelmed by calamity in their homes round Marib, some of them pushed across the deserts and occupied Oman. In recent years tribes such as the Awamir, Ruashid, and Manahil have left their homelands in the steppes to the north-east of the Hadhramaut and moved out into the sands to escape from the incursions of more powerful
166 tribes pressing on them from the west. Having accustomed themselves to
177 life in the sands, they have penetrated ever further and further into the Empty Quarter. In the past twenty or thirty years as conditions have become more settled in the north, due to the extension of Ibn Saud's influence over the powerful Murra tribe, they have grazed their herds round the Liwa oasis and in the sands near the Trucial Coast. Now the money to be earned on the oilfields along the Gulf is drawing the Badu

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

511 paid into the bargain. Family ties and a certain restlessness draw some of
166 them back into the desert, but, as I have said, desert life is becoming more and more difficult and may soon become altogether impossible.

177 The hardy Badu tribesmen, the best stock in Arabia, may become, as a
315 result of circumstances outside their control, a parasitic proletariat squatting in the fly-blown squalor of shanty towns on the outskirts of the oilfields in some of the most barren and inhospitable country in the world. I do not wish to suggest that the oil companies will not take adequate care of their workers and provide them with the best possible accommodation. Many of the Badu will certainly find employment with these companies; many of them have already shown considerable aptitude as drivers and mechanics, but it is uncertain whether as a race they are capable of the sustained effort required on an oilfield. At any rate, there will be great numbers who are unadaptable, inept, or physically incapable of finding work, and there will be the women and the children. Stranded in these salt-impregnated wastes, which can produce nothing but oil, and deprived of their old mobility, they may be unable to adjust themselves almost overnight to these new conditions and so become demoralized. Tribesmen who have never seen a car or an aeroplane or even a European will find themselves suddenly working with Englishmen and Americans who have met their first Arab ten days before. Lads who have never seen an unveiled woman are going to come in contact with European women, not only unveiled, but, in their eyes, undressed. At first they will think our dress indecent, many of our customs revolting, and our lack of religion
[157] appalling. The virtues of the desert nomads are, however, enforced by their circumstances, not by a natural preference for the ascetic way of life. In their own surroundings they are forced to be continent and self-restrained, but by nature they are self-indulgent and indolent. Their nomadic way of life, their tribal loyalties, their old interests, and the conventions which have governed their lives, will soon be swept away. Bored and disillusioned, they will, I fear, fall an easy prey to the vices and diseases of
[186] town life. They have always regarded themselves as the aristocracy of Arabia. They have taken a pride in surviving when others would succumb, and it is this pride in his manhood which the nomad expresses when he boasts, "I am a Badui." In the future they may easily drop to the bottom of the social scale, below those whom they know to be their inferiors in every way but that of adaptation to urban conditions.

A problem which confronts the rulers of Arabia is how to avoid pauperizing the nomads who will inevitably drift to the oilfields in ever-increasing numbers, and whose birth-rate is likely to rise considerably once they have settled there. It will indeed be tragic if they become the slum-dwellers of an industrialized Arabia. Poverty has been their constant lot, but it was a poverty shared by all. Now they will see Europeans and Arabs living in luxury in air-conditioned houses and provided with all the amenities of modern life. They will see wealth beyond their wildest dreams poured into the hands of a few; the Sheikh of Qatar, for instance, who until recently was the ruler of a few impoverished fishing villages and whose father sold headcloths in the market-place for a living, is now receiving royalties from an oilfield which may be one of the richest in the world.

411 hand and all wore the distinctive carnelian-
[15] studded dagger, and one and all impressed
me as virile, reckless and uncontrolled, but
701 humorous and friendly. While we sat among
621 them talking there was a sudden stir, for they
had noticed a dozen mounted Arabs approaching rapidly across the dunes. Then someone recognized one of the camels and they relaxed. These camels were stretched out and travelling very fast, yet were urged to even greater efforts by the wild yells of their riders. They were the scouts, sons of sheikhs and the very pick of the tribe, who set out each dawn to scour the surrounding desert, keen-eyed for the tracks of strangers. Lithe, hard-bodied and alert, these lads rode their splendid beasts with effortless mastery. They had heard the firing and, thinking the camp attacked, had ridden back to help.

621 Scattered upon the dunes around us were
592 small black tents, round which naked infants romped, while dark-clad women moved about gathering sticks and tending herds of goats. Sometimes a family changed its site, for, though fear of raiders had imposed upon them the need to keep together, their restless nomad instincts drove them to constant movement within the wide confines of the camp. Such short migrations provided an interesting sight as they moved slowly past. The children drove the camels, laden with tents, cooking-pots, watering-troughs and ropes, the simple requirements of their life; while the Bedu mothers and the virgin beauties of the tribe rode in the slow swaying camel-litters.

574 That evening they feasted us on meat and,
after the camel herds had drifted in at dusk, brought us great frothing bowls of milk, the nectar of the Arabs. The night was filled with the haunting sounds of an Arab camp—the ceaseless restless moaning of camels, the barking of dogs, the rise and fall of Arab voices from their gathering-places round the fires, and sometimes the distant harmony of song.

312 Next morning when the sun was warm we drove our camels across the sandy plain to water at the well, which is situated close under high limestone cliffs on the northern
401 edge of the valley. A few Arabs had already
312 arrived and were fastening their pulleys to the scaffolding around the well. It is over 200 feet in depth and stone-lined, a monument to some forgotten people in the dim past. At the deep wells in the Najd the Arabs use their

p 348 (B) [TEXT CONTINUES ON P 400(A)--ANALYST

29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
724 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
563 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
157 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

837 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
548 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

221 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
[10] the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

Canaanite invasion of Syria, the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, and the Hebrew invasion of Palestine are also to be explained by similar antecedent events in Arabia. 167 175

The distribution, grouping, character, and resources of the several tribes are the subject of a subsequent chapter (III); and their relation to particular localities will be stated in the special chapters on the different provinces. 000

It would be beyond the scope of this Handbook to give a detailed description of Bedouin society; and mere generalities about it are of little service. It is perhaps, however, worth while to say something about those features and customs of Bedouin life which most directly affect the reception and entertainment of strangers, and should, therefore, be known before contact. Dictated by similar necessities, these are more or less common to all tribesmen. For all the rest, study of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* cannot be too strongly recommended. Pretty well everything that needs to be known about Bedouin life can be found there by a patient reader.

Arabia is 'a land of ancient violence'. For this state of things geographical conditions are largely responsible. Only in very few, rare, and narrow districts is it possible to derive from the soil, not a superfluity, entailing wealth, leisure, and consequent civilization, but anything better than hand-to-mouth existence in full sight of starvation. Agriculture is impossible in three-quarters of the total area, and man must live on peripatetic food pastured on such thin and evanescent vegetation that a single family has to keep on the move in order to live. Water again, the prime condition of existence, is to be found for the most part only very occasionally in deep wells, or rain-pools, and this under a subtropical sun. Scanty sources have to be guarded with the most jealous exclusiveness. The regions over which these conditions prevail usually offer few or none of those natural features which serve elsewhere to protect or conceal; and in their vast extent and distribution they impinge so generally on the few fertile districts, or so often encircle these, that hardly any part of Arabia is altogether unaffected by the inevitable social features of life on steppe and desert. 181 511

The most obvious of these features is suspicion. Every man is treated as a potential enemy, till he shows evidence to the contrary. He is kept at a distance until his person or his authority can be recognized. Therefore, in approaching Bedouins, it is as prudent to go slow and give them time as in approaching a sentry in a war-area. Disregard of this advice will result in fight or flight, according to circumstances. While all Bedouins are instinctively suspicious of, and hostile to, the unknown, various 157 609

The Will of God

The Badawin, like every Arab or true Muslim, believes that every-
771 thing comes from God, both good and evil. This belief permeates his whole life; hence his stoical calm and resignation when he is faced suddenly with death, loss or ruin.

"God gave, God has been pleased to take away", is an expression continually on his lips.

This piety and resignation to the will of God is one of the most striking traits in the desert man's make-up, and I confess has affected me deeply on more than one occasion, as the following little story will show.

169 My wife and I became very friendly with a certain 'Ajman family in 1930. They roamed about the hinterland of Kuwait and North Hasa, and camped almost every summer on the wells of Abu Halaifa, thirty miles south of Kuwait, or alternatively at Shu'aiba, another ten miles further south. The head of the tent was of the Al Mahfuth branch of the 'Ajman, and was a fine handsome old man of rugged countenance, about sixty years of age. He had four grown-up sons* and one daughter. The daughter, Sarah, was one of the most charming and attractive Badawin girls we had ever met in the Kuwait desert. She was married to a shaikh, Fahad al Fa'aran, a member of the Hithlain or ruling clan of the 'Ajman.

Her husband, a rebel against Bin Sa'ud, had fled to Iraq as a fugitive in 1929, and little Sarah kept house for her father. We often used to visit Sarah's tent, and when no strange men were about, she invariably spread her scarlet bedding or *lahâf* in the women's portion of the tent for us to sit on. She, her father and we, used to discuss desert affairs over a cup of coffee which Sarah invariably handed round herself. Her brothers we rarely saw, as they spent most of their time with the camels.

Sarah had an only boy called 'Abdullah, a pretty trusting little child of two. One day, during the absence of my wife in England, 'Abdullah fell sick with a deadly sickness. I used to go and see him almost daily and did what I could for him, but the child grew worse. When he was fighting for his life it was wonderful to see the love, care and anxiety that both grandfather and mother showered on the child. He was the world to them both, and Sarah used silently to weep as I stood by trying to persuade the boy to drink some soothing medicine

* Two of these died in 1934 and 1935 respectively.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

which would alleviate the fever. As the child's strength declined, the 159
silent grief of the mother was a sore thing to see. I tried hard to persuade her to take him to the doctor in Kuwait, but in vain. One morning according to my custom I came to visit the sick child. As 761
I approached Sarah's tent, Sarah came out to greet me dressed in her best festive garments. Smiling and dry-eyed, she invited me as usual into her portion of the tent. Her father was away. I sat down, suspecting something, I knew not what, but I said nothing. Sarah made coffee and brought it to me to drink. She even joked and told an amusing story. Presently I said "Where is little 'Abdullah? How is he?" Poor Sarah with a great effort choked down a sob and pointed to a small heap of earth not twenty yards from the tent. "There he lies," said she, "half an hour ago I laid him to rest; God gave him to me, and God has taken him, thanks be to God."

Just then Sarah's father came up, and when I expressed my sorrow and sympathy to him, he laughed loud and gruffly and said, *Al hamd ul'Illah* (the praise be to God). "He will give us another, and perhaps many more. We 'Ajman are fighting men, and God in his mercy does as he pleases, we must always laugh at death, whether it comes by sickness, or by bullet." The whole picture left an indelible mark on my mind and it will be long before I forget the dry-eyed sorrowing Sarah.

The poor girl lost her husband a year later—he divorced her because 159
he couldn't return from Iraq. Little Sarah eventually went to Najd and Riyadh, and there married one of Bin Sa'ud's principal *fiddwis* or guards. She wrote and told me a year after, that she had got another little boy. My diary records also that in October 1933 she presented her husband with a little girl. In 1936 I heard through her father that smallpox had carried off one of the children. Poor Sarah.*

PRAYER

The Badawin is very punctilious about his prayers. Whether in 788
camp or on the march, he solemnly prays five times a day according

* Sarah came up to Kuwait from Riyadh in February 1938, and once again we saw our old friend. She came with her father and showed us her new baby boy. She said she had a girl of four also, whom she had left in her tent in the desert.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

619 owned a few acres of arable land, tilled by riverain fellahîn. These his son in-
622 herited, together with the Turkish title. It was one of the boldest strokes of Ottoman make-believe, but it could not give the nomad Seyh the remotest resemblance to a Turkish Effendi.[41]

We have to conclude that there is no one paramount chief among the 'Anazah tribes. The two most important 'Anazah chieftains are Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân and Fahad Ebn Haddal on the borders of 'Irak and the Syrian desert respectively.[42]

STATISTICS

161 We have little knowledge about their numbers in ancient times. We may relate what Burckhardt says when he travelled amongst them:

> From some Damascus pedlars, who had passed their whole lives among the Bedouins, I learned particulars which induce me to state the force of the Aeneze tribes alone mentioned (viz: El Besher) (their brethren in Nedjed not included) at about ten thousand horsemen, and perhaps ninety or one hundred thousand camel-riders; a number rather over than under rated.[43]

And elsewhere he states:

> To detail all their minor branches or yowayeha, would be to give an index of all their families, every large family with its relations constituting a small tribe in itself. It is difficult to ascertain the numbers of each tribe, from a prejudice which forbids them to count the horsemen; as they believe like the eastern merchants, that whoever knows the exact amount of his wealth may soon expect to lose part of it.[44]

Modern travellers have checked and left us more particulars with regard to statistics of the 'Anazah tribes. The whole tribe was estimated by Lady Anne Blunt, in 1879, as follows: 1. Fedân—4,000 tents; 2. Sebâa—4,000 tents; 3. Ibn Hâddal—4,000 tents; 4. Hesénneh—500 tents; 5. Roála or Jelâas—12,000 tents; 6. Wélled Ali—3,000 tents; 7. Sirhân—?; 8 and 9. Erfuddi and Towf—?.[45] Habib Chiha estimated them at 97,000 tents.[46] During the First World War (1914-1918) the 'Anazah of Syria were estimated by the Intel-

41 *Letters of Gertrude Bell*, p. 41.

42 Cf. Rawan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, pp. 115-116. Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân became head chief of the ar-Rwala tribe and its satellites at the death of the Emir Nuri Eben Sa'lân, his grandfather, which occurred July 1, 1942 (*Palestine Post*, July 3, 1942).

43 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

44 *Ibid.*

113 45 Anne Blunt, *The Bedouins of the Euphrates*, pp. 190-192; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 346.

46 Habib Chiha, *Le province de Baghdad; son passé, son présent, son avenir . . . et une étude inédite sur les tribus nomades de la Mésopotamie* (Caire, 1908), p. 243.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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ligence reports of the British Army at 70,000 souls.[47] According to Gertrude Bell, /161/

the 'Anizah in the Syrian desert and Jazirah may amount to a quarter of a million souls; the computation, it must be understood, is based on the slenderest data, no attempt to number the tents of the Bedouins having been so much as proposed.[48]

The number of the nomads in Syria were estimated in 1930 by the French authorities to be 279,898, that live and migrate on an area of 120,000 square kilometres.[49] According to *Annuaire du monde Musulman* (1929), the 'Anazah tribes of Syria are estimated to be the following: (1) the ar-Rwala—14,000 souls, united with the Muhallaf—6,000; the Wuld 'Ali—7,000; the al-Fed'ân—14,000 (13 clans); as-Sba'a—7,000 (3 clans).[50] According to Commandant Victor Müller, total tents of the 'Anazah tribes in Syria are estimated by him to be 11,100 (1931).[51] According to official estimates of the French authorities in Syria in the year 1930 there were 9,010 tents.[52] According to official estimates of the said authorities the Bedouins in Syria were estimated in the year 1926 to be 250,000 in rough numbers;[53] in the year 1927, 200,000 souls.[54] In the year 1928, we have a more detailed enumeration of the Bedouin population inhabiting the Syrian desert and the borders of the tilled country; and in the year 1929, it is estimated at 125,000 pure nomads and 100,000 semi-nomads.[55] Müller adds statistics that clarify the location of the Bedouins in Syria: Pure nomads—13,950; Mouvance of Deyr az-Zor[56]—13,850; Mouvance of Alleppo—7,835 souls; Mouvance of Damascus—5,400 souls; Gebel ad-Drus—1,000 souls; together a total of 41,435 tents, with a population of between 250,000 to 300,000.[57] The *Report* of the Commission entrusted by the Council of the League of Nations with the study of the frontier between Syria and 'Irak, published in the year 1932, mentions the following important figures:

the Aniza Fid'an (3,000 to 4,000 tents), who in summer are to be found sometimes in the Alleppo district and sometimes in northern part of the Euphrates valley;

47 *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53.
48 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p. 41.
49 *Rapport sur la situation de la Syrie et du Liban* (1930), p. 176.
50 Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, p. 438.
51 Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 147-149.
52 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-33.
53 *Rapport sur la situation de la Syrie et du Liban* (1926), p. 23.
54 *Idem* (1927), p. 14.
55 *Idem* (1929), p. 76.
56 Deyr az-Zôr: town and sanjaq, Syria; Arabic *L.*
57 Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 149.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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the Sba (3,000 tents), who winter to the east of the Jebel Aniza and advance as far as the Gaara region itself; and the Ruwalla (4,000 tents).[58]

No census was made among the Bedouins and it is clear that real statistics are lacking nowdays.

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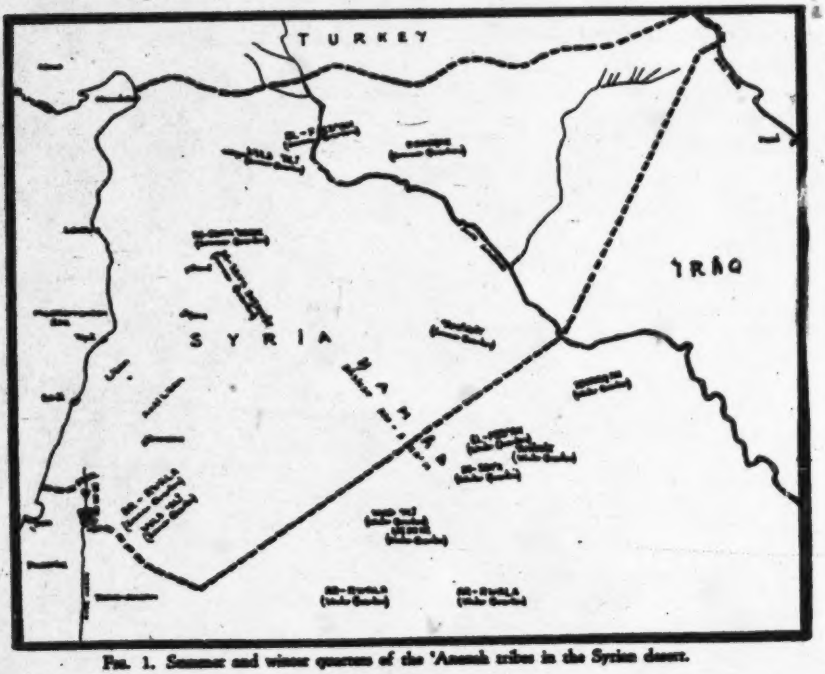

FIG. 1. Summer and winter quarters of the 'Anezah tribes in the Syrian desert.

MIGRATION PROBLEMS

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At the present time the district covered by their wanderings include the whole Syrian plain, and reaches to the north as far as the latitude of Aleppo, and they are also found in the Beka'a,[59] to the south as far as the Sammâr hills, and east-

58 *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc.*, p. 27.

59 Cf. L. Dubertret and J. Weulersse, *Manuel de géographie: Syrie, Liban et Proche Orient* (Beyrouth, 1940), part 1: "La péninsule Arabique," pp. 15-16.

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162, 166, 101, 619, 643, 622, 361, 438

/For information on the settled tribes of the Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut in 1920, the territory occupied, the paramount rulers and tribal chiefs, brief history, their settlements, means of livelihood, etc., see 30: Great Britain, MJ1 Saudi Arabia, category 116, pp. 509-546./

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ1
Bedouin MJ4

SA 136 to be seen all along the way. One large variety is about a foot and a half long, and its meat is esteemed a great delicacy by the Bedouins, who call it "the fish of the desert." Many smaller lizards are found, and a few birds. There are also tracks of a wolf to be made out occasionally, but that is a rare occurrence, as is also the sign of a fox. The lizards may be able to dig down far enough in their holes to reach damp soil, but certainly the gazelles must get their necessary water from the few plants that remain succulent and fresh in the summer months.

B 162 312 233 361 And there are people who live in that desert, not travelers only, but permanent residents. They live there not merely during the spring when there is a little rain, but the year around. How can men live in a country like that? The well is the answer. The little green vegetation to be seen in the spring when the meager rains come soon dries down, and the inexperienced eye of the stranger would scarcely find it. Nevertheless, it is sufficient for goats and camels and perhaps sheep to graze upon if wells can be found in addition where they can be watered every evening. So it happens that the most precious things in Arabia are the wells. Caravan routes may be crooked, but the reason is never far to seek. For three or four days camels can travel without a drop of water, but eventually they must drink like all the other animals in the world. Some parts of the desert which are richest in vegetation are quite deserted as far as human beings SA are concerned, and the reason is the same. In the sum- [132] mer when the thermometer may occasionally reach 135° at noon, it is no use to discover an area covered with abundant dry fodder. It is the well that is the essential thing. Wherever water can be secured, [illegible] men 000 can live. It is not such a life as would be p[illegible]r in

361 Whatever categories the various observers introduce for the stratification of Bedouin society, the chief criteria are:

a. the radius and duration of the annual migrations

b. the type of livestock on which the pastoral economy of a group is based

c. the extent of attachment to the soil.

Nomad society in the Arab Middle East includes groups which are separated by centuries of evolutionary development. On the one side we have the true desert Bedouin who breeds camels exclusively, has a wide radius of migration and no attachment to the soil and on the other side we find the almost settled semi-nomad whose regular agricultural activities have led him to cultivation and a subsequent limitation of animal husbandry.

Demographic facts and figures

162 Demographic statistics of the Middle East are available only for Turkey, Egypt and Israel (Palestine). Population figures for Arabia, Iraq, Syria and Jordan are computed on the basis of estimates and cannot be considered reliable. In 1947 censuses were taken for the first time in Iraq and Syria, but the accuracy of these reports may be seriously questioned.

The nomadic element constitutes about one third of the population in the Arabian peninsula and about one tenth in Iraq and Syria.[1] This latter estimate must exclude semi-nomads in an

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1. Review of Economic Conditions, 1951, p. 8

advanced stage of settlement as it seems to be generally agreed[1] 162 that in Iraq the nomads of all types constitute more than 50 per cent of the total population. The number of nomadic and semi-nomadic inhabitants of Syria is estimated at about 500 000 or about 15 per cent of the population.[2] In Jordan there are about 40 000 true nomads and 120 000 semi-nomads.[3] In 1931 there were 66 553 nomads in Palestine[4] of whom 47 981 wandered in the Negev.[5] Since the establishment of the State of Israel the nomad population of the Negev has been substantially reduced. Early in 1951 only 17 500 could be counted,[6] the rest had left the Negev during the Arab-Israel war. A small number of Bedouin were camping in 1949 close to the Syrian and Lebanese borders.[7]

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1. Jameli, 1934, introduction
   Jawad, 1945, pp. 14 - 15
2. Royal Institute, 1950, p. 384
3. Konikoff, 1946, p. 18
4. Census Report of 1931
5. ibid
6. Elston, 1951, p. 21
7. Al-Hamishmar, May 25. 1949

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East M1
BEDOUINS MJ4

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Population Table

Country	Total Population		Bedouin Population
The Arabian Aden Colony Protecto	732 000	1)	
Bahrein	110 000	1)	
Kuwait	170 000	1)	
Qatar	20 000	1)	
Saudi Arabia	6 000 000	1)	
Trucial Oman	80 000	1)	
Muscat and Oman	830 000	1)	
Yemen	4 500 000	1)	
	12 442 000		4 000 000
Iraq	4 799 000	2)	2 500 000
Syria	3 435 000	3)	500 000
Jordan	800 000		160 000
Israel	1 554 000	4)	17 500
	23 001 000		7 177 500

The Nomads constitute approximately 31 per cent of the population in the area under discussion.

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1. Review of Economic Conditions, 1951, p. 43
   There has never been a census in any part of the Arabian peninsula. The total population of Arabia is usually estimated at 6 - 7 000 000, cf. Royal Institute, 1950, p. 81
2. Census of 1947
3. Review of Economic Conditions, 1951, p. 43
4. New York Times, December 1, 1951, quoted from Government of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics.

656 186 of the Wahhabi movement which originated in the 18th century.

X 166 656 The Bedouin members of the Ikhwan were induced to sell their camels and settle down to an agricultural existence. Settlement was carried out by giving to the tribesman land, money and technical aid.

● 162 X 166 656 Sedentarization has always been an important part of Ibn Saud's domestic policy. In 1928 there were already over 100 Ikhwan settlements in the Nejd. Artawiya, the oldest of the Ikhwan colonies, came into existence in 1912 and had by 1928 a population of about 10 000. In Ameen Rihani's list of 100 odd localities there are mentioned 34 settlements with an approximate population of 6 000 - 12 000. Dukhnah, a colony of the Harb tribe, has about 15 000 people.[1] In a few years Ibn Saud has thus succeeded in converting a great number of Bedouin into settled citizens.

656 425 In 1948 the government of Saudi Arabia declared its new national policy of granting state land to any citizen ready and willing to put it under cultivation.[2] In Arabia settlement is an artificial enterprise because it involves Bedouin, who from the economic point of view could continue their pastoral life for centuries yet. Of course, Ibn Saud is guided more by the political problems which the Bedouin present to his state structure than by economic necessity.

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1. Rihani's study of Ibn Saud contains a list of new settlements built by the tribes of Nejd under the influence of the Ikhwan. Each colony is given with its quota of fighting men. This figure is one third of the male, or one sixth of the total population. cf. Rihani, 1928, pp. 118-119
2. Afif I Tannous, 1951, p. 15

423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1951 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on State Domains by the rich landowning families, and it was alleged that in the Jezirah tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing away land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights.[1]

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holding tends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged as long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Mandatory Palestine

162 361 Since World War 1 there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 981 out of the 66 551 nomads of Palestine[2] were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Terabin, Tayaha, Azazma,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1951
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

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CHAPTER VIII

Marriage and Divorce

MARRIAGE

582 A Badawin is not allowed to marry:

The divorced wife of his son.
His son's widow.
His wife's mother.
His brother's daughter.
His sister's daughter.
His foster sister.
A girl of a tribe that is considered inferior to his own, such as 'Awazim, Sana, Sulubba. (See Chapter VI and Appendix XIII.)

Inferior Badawin, of course, intermarry at will with other inferior tribes.

[162] The marriage laws among the Badawin tribes of Arabia are simple in the extreme and effectually settle the problem, so acute in the West, of what to do with the excess female population. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that in Arabia, owing to the interminable wars and intertribal hatreds that exist, women are and have always been greatly in excess of the men.

In the first place, marriage and divorce are extremely easy. Every youth on first reaching the age of manhood expects his parents to find a mate for him. Similarly a husband must be found for a girl the moment she reaches puberty.

684 First-cousin marriage is the invariable rule. A girl belongs of right
582 to the son of her father's brother (*ibn 'ám*) unless he expressly renounces his right to marry her. Even in this case she may not marry without his permission. If the girl breaks this rule or her parents prevail on her to marry someone else, her rightful lord will murder her if he can. This is the cause of most of the tribal killings of women, especially in Iraq.

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APPENDIX I

DIVISIONS OF MUTAIR, 'AJMAN, 'AWAZIM, RASHAIDA, SHAMMAR AND 'ANIZAH TRIBES 101

TOGETHER WITH THEIR SHAIKHS, NUMBER OF TENTS, STRENGTH, AND CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

MUTAIR (Singular MUTAIRI)

The Tribe is divided into three main groups:

(A) AL DUSHAN (Ruling or Shaikhly Clan).
(B) AL 'ILWAH.
(C) AL BURAIH.

Paramount Shaikh—AL DUWISH (from Shaikhly Clan of AL DUSHAN). [622]
Present incumbent (1937)—BANDAR BIN FAISAL BIN SULTAN AL DUWISH. [162]
Fighting strength—May be taken at 6,000, though inner Najd figures are very doubtful.

Habitat—In winter the Dushan Mutair 'Ilwa and Aulad Wasil sections of the Buraih as opposed to Aulad 'Ali and Bani 'Abdilla (who are purely inner Najd sections) range from the Dahana sand belt *in the south* up to Kuwait *in the north*, and more or less keep to the eastern side of the Bátin. They avoid the 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribal country in the coastal region of Hasa province, and claim that the great well areas of Subaihiyah, Tawil and the environs of Kuwait fall within their grazing areas and have done so from time immemorial. In summer above-mentioned groups camp on the well-known wells at Artawiyeh, Qarya, Hafar al Bátin, Safa, Qara'a, Wabra, Jariya Ilya, Jariya Sifla. 619 221 101

Religion—Sunni MALIKI (late 'Ikhwan). [795]

(A) The DUSHAN or Ruling Clan, has no subdivisions but only certain leading families. 619 101

(B) The 'ILWAH MUTAIR group, subdivided into the—
(1) AL MUWAHA and their subsections.
(2) AL THAWIAUN and their subsections.
(3) AL JIRLAN and their subsections.

(C) The BURAIH MUTAIR group is likewise subdivided into the—
(4) 'AULAD WASIL and their subsections.
(5) 'AULAD 'ALI and their subsections.
(6) BANI 'ABDILLA and their subsections.

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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of their wanderings approaches close to Baghdad, Kerbela, and 619
An-Nejef. To the south, in seasons of sufficient rain, they pasture 131
their herds on the tract of Al-Hejera; but when rain is scanty they 101
move westward and thence northward around the southern and 221
western edges of Al-Wudiyan. Thence, crossing Wadi al-Ghadaf, Wadi al-Hazimi, and Wadi Hauran (near Ar-Rutba, now a military outpost of 'Iraq) they reach their northern limits at the base of the mountains Abu Rijmen and Jebel Bishri between As-Sukhne and Deyr az-Zor. Within this *dira* lie the boundaries of the pasture districts of other tribes. In the north the Fed'an range as far south as 'Aqlat Shuab (where their great chief Turki ibn Mheyd lies buried), and the Sba'a go south to Wadi al-Ghadaf. The Fed'an and Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amarat, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders. The territory of the Ruala, also related by blood to the 'Amarat, overlaps that of the latter in Al-Wudiyan and Al-Hejera; and on the south Al-Hejera is also occupied by the Shammar (Fig. 2). In addition, the 'Amarat share part of their *dira* with 'Aqeydat, Dleym, and Khaza'el (Fig. 3), tribes of the second rank, despised by the strong Bedouins of noble blood, with whom, however, they are occasionally allowed to migrate.

Relation to Natural Features

Since very early times three great natural features have borne 133
a close relation to the territorial subdivision of the major nomadic 162
nations of northern and central Arabia. The first is a well defined depression that cuts across the entire peninsula from the Red Sea at Al-Wejh to Basra and is marked by the irregular lines of Wadi Humdh to the west and of Wadi Ruma' and its continuation, Al-Baten, to the east. The watershed between these two systems of wadies lies east of Khaybar in Jebel Abyadh. The ancient Bedouin tribes occupying areas north of this depression are now represented also in Syria and Mesopotamia, but those with pastures south of the depression appear to have remained in central Arabia.

The second great natural feature is the Nafud sand desert and its principal outliers, Al-Labbe and Ad-Dhana. The sands of the last reach south across Wadi Ruma' and, extending between Hufhuf and Riyadh, finally connect with the boundless southern sands of the "Empty Quarter." These *nafuds* have always constituted natural limits for the migrating nomads and their herds. During winter and spring they are healthful country: out of the sands, moistened by the rains, springs up a fragrant pasture growth, and the bushes sprout forth life-giving leaves and flowers; but at other seasons all is a desolate waste. On rare occasions the nomad nations whose normal ranges lie far north in Syria return to this cradle of their race. The northern

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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133 group of the Weld 'Ali, for instance, in certain winters wander with
162 their powerful allies, the Ruala, southward to the neighborhood of Teyma', returning north again after their mares and camels have foaled.

133 The third great natural feature is the chain of hills (Ar-Rawaq,
619 Abu Rijmen, and Jebel Bishri) which stretches in an almost straight
162 line from Damascus to Deyr az-Zor on the Euphrates. Sheep-
233 breeding Bedouins are found north of these hills, camel breeders to the south. The sheep breeders occupy a steppe-like rolling country,
178 rich in pasture which lasts into the beginning of summer. Settled areas are nowhere far distant to east and west, and the tribes occupying these steppes will undoubtedly be the first to establish permanent settlements. As far north as Tel el-Abyadh near the Turkish frontier the writer has noticed members of the Fed'an intermarrying with settlers of that region. Mijhem ibn Mheyd, chief of the Fed'an, owns many villages in Syria, and several thousand of his Bedouins are even now at work in the fields, although the majority prefer tending live stock to plowing. The Tayy, one of the purest, most aristocratic Bedouin tribes from central Arabia, are now found in Mesopotamia, far north near Nisibin, where they seldom fold their tents, pack them on camels, and carry them to new pasture grounds. Half of their tents are "permanently" fixed, with reed and clay walls supporting the goat's-hair canvas. Indeed, the Tayy have become a degenerate people!

The Bedouins with the largest pasture circles (those bordering on the Nafud) will probably survive longest as true nomads. These are the great camel breeders, the Ruala and some of the Shammar, who hold the vast tracts of Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan between the Nafud and the northern line of hills.

Political Changes

178 If the problematical political frontiers between the British and French spheres of influence in northern Arabia are maintained, changes may be expected in the migration territories of the Bedouins. The following, in my opinion, might well take place. The tribes whose territories are now cut by the 30th parallel would split, part of them remaining in Ibn Sa'ud's domains and the rest migrating to the
721 north. The continuance of yearly warfare (for the most part in the
178 spring) between the Zana Muslim (Ruala and Weld 'Ali) and other 'Aneze tribes would finally result in an agreement that would assign to the Ruala who remain in Syria the entire Hamad and western part of Al-Wudiyan. The rest of Al-Wudiyan would be given to the 'Amarat, and the steppe country north of the hills to the Fed'an and Sba'a. First the Fed'an and then the Sba'a would gradually become

22:Rasawan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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102 131 *Figure 2. Shammar and Related Tribes.* Northern Shammar, Handbook, p. 78. Tuman, N. N., p. 32 (according to Handbook, p. 80, these are listed as a subtribe of the Aslam). Aslam, N. N., p. 33. 'Abde, N. N., pp. 32–33. Sinjara, N. N., pp. 31–32. Zefir, Handbook, pp. 81–83.

Other Major Tribes. 'Umur, P., p. 24. Beni 'Atiyye, N. H., p. 235. Beli, N. H., p. 211. Jeheyna, Handbook, p. 63. Harb, Handbook, pp. 64–67. 'Ateyban, Handbook, pp. 67–69. 'Ajman, Handbook, pp. 85–87. Muteyr, Handbook, pp. 83–84.

Figure 3. Tribes of the Second Rank. Jbur, M. E., p. 83. Hadediyyin, P., p. 151. Sha'ban: 'Afaxle subdivision, M. E., p. 186; Welde subdivision, M. E., p. 188. 'Aqeydat, M. E., pp. 73–74. Dleym, M. E., pp. 143–144. Beni Tamim, M. E., p. 139. Zoba', M. E., p. 127. Khaza'el: Beni Selame division, M. E., p. 107. Fua're, P., p. 37. Sleyb: Al'Isa subdivision (the Sleyb are scattered over northern Arabia; some of their subdivisions and areas are indicated in A. D., p. 231). Kuakbe, A. D., p. 16. Beni Sakhr, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 112–119. Shararat, A. D., p. 136. 'Imran, N. H., p. 79. Huetat ibn Jazi, N. H., pp. 6–7; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 51–54. Huetat ibn Jad, N. H., p. 69; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 54–55. Huetat at-Tihama, N. H., p. 129; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 48–49. Humeyda, Handbook, p. 59; A. P., Vol. 3, p. 103. 'Amarin clan, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 58–59.

Figure 1, 'Aneze Tribes

101 102 1. The inhabitants of Hama' and Homs entrust their flocks to the 'Ayde and Hsene groups of the Weld 'Ali. The sheykh At-Tayyar of the Weld 'Ali owns houses in Homs. Sheykh Hmed, and Al-Buer (see A. D., pp. 390–391).

● 162 2. North of Al-Barde are good lowland spring pastures of the Sba'a.

619 3. Near 'Aqlat Shuab is buried Turki eben Mheyd, Fed'an chief (A. D., p. 62).

4. Near Al-Baghdadi is a garden belonging to Ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe.

131 5. The lowland of Ar-Roza "is in cultivation and belongs to the head chief Fahad ibn Dreym ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe. His fortified farm, Al-Qseyr, is at the southeastern edge of the fields, and he maintains a small house at the spring of Al-'Esele" (A. D., p. 359).

6. The 'Amarat camp between Al-Felluje and Baghdad in August and September; later they go to Kerbela.

7. The family of Ibn Hadhdhal have houses at Kerbela and Rezaza (see A. D., p. 258).

8. Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan are the winter pasture grounds of the Ruala in years of sufficient rain; if the rains do not suffice they go to the eastern borders of the Nafud or to the vicinity of Teyma'.

9. "From the end of June until the end of August the Ruala pasture in An-Nuqra." This summer pasture is called *maqiz*. After September they leave for Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan (A. D., p. 408).

10. The people of Nasib pay tribute to Nuri ibn Sha'lan, head chief of the Ruala, when the Ruala return from Nejd in June (A. D., p. 353).

11. Libben is visited in lean years by the Ruala.

12. Some Muahib of the Qmusa subdivision of the Sba'a tribe camp with the Beni Sakhr; others with the Beli (see Figs. 2 and 3).

13. Route taken by the northern Weld 'Ali to their southern relatives on the Ruala *dira* (pasture districts).

14. The Huetat sometimes camp with the Ruala in this region.

15. In times of peace the Âl Dughman clan of the Ruala camp in this vicinity (see N. N., p. 12).

16. The well of Hebeke in the district of Al-Hazl or Al-Hzul once belonged to Ibn Bneyye of the Âl Sha'lan family of the Âl Mur'az clan of the Ruala (A. D., p. 15; N. N., p. 13).

17. Al-Ma'aniyye belongs to the 'Anese, not to the Shammar (N. N., p. 32).

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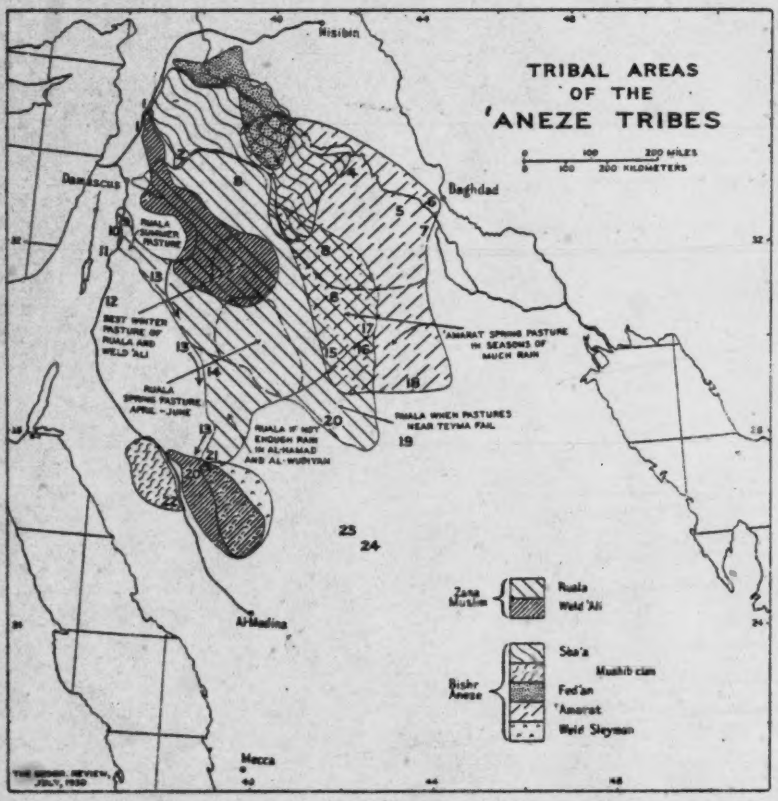

FIG. 1

18. The Hejera is the spring pasture grounds of the 'Amarat, Sinjara Shammar, Zefir, and even of the Muntifeq in seasons of plentiful rain.
19. Teysiyyet 'Aneze at one time belonged to the Dahamshe branch of the 'Amarat (A. D., p. 52; N. N., p. 26).
20. The southern Weld 'Ali and the Âl Mur'az clan of the Ruala join when the pastures southwest of Teyma' fail and go together into Al-Labbe and Al-Hamad (see A. D., p. 180).
21. When there is not enough rain in Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan the Ruala go to the vicinity of Teyma' and the northern Nafud. When they leave, their enemies (for example, Shararat, Weld Sleyman, Hteym, and Beni 'Atiyye) may take their place (A. D., p. 143).
22. "The best valleys upon both sides the Harra, next el-Hejr, are sown all years by some of the Moahib Aarab. Their harvest up, they strike the hamlets of tents, and with their cattle go forth to wander a while as the nomads" (Doughty, Vol. 1, p. 234).
23. Samira was formerly in the *dira* (territory) of the Ruala; the Harb and Beni Salem (Weld Sleyman) were taxed here by Ibn Rashid (Doughty, Vol. 2, p. 301).
24. Ibn Rashid taxed the Weld 'Ali at Al-Fuara (*ibid.*).

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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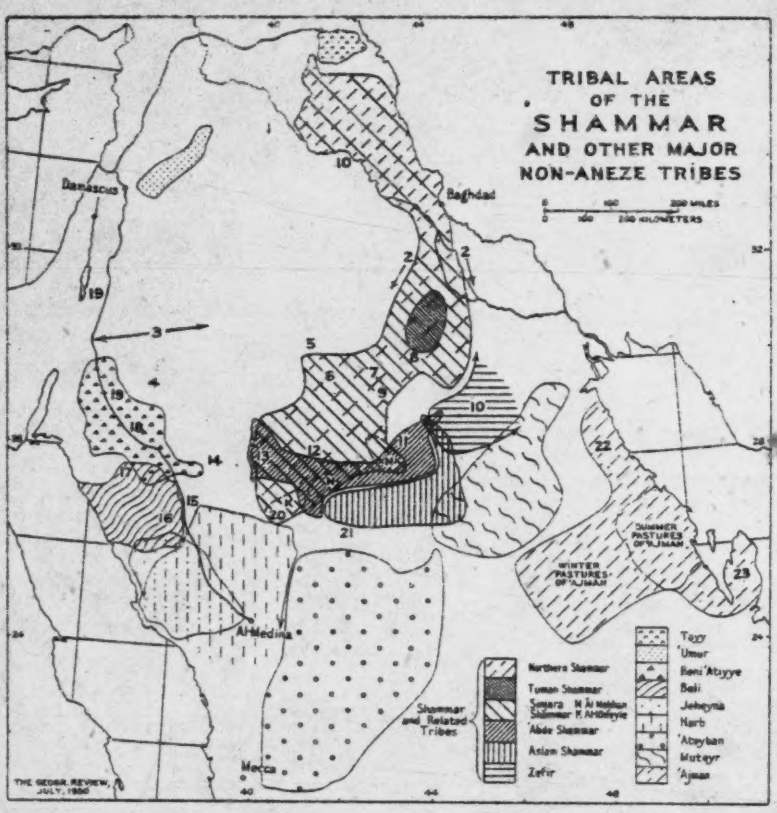

FIG. 2

FIGURE 2, SHAMMAR AND RELATED TRIBES

1. The Northern Shammar trade at Deyr az-Zor and have their agent (*wuqil*) there.
2. In certain years when the winter pastures are good the Northern Shammar migrate to Nejd.
3. The country between Ma'an and Wadi Sirhan after April is war territory between the Huetat and their enemies, the Shararat, Beni Sakhr, and Shammar (see N. H., p. 14).
4. Until the rain pools have dried up (end of April) the Huetat ibn-Jazi encamp near the mountains Al-Hamar and Al-'Afar in territory which belongs to the Shararat (N. H., p. 13).
5. Shammar are sometimes found in the vicinity of Al-Bueytat (see A. D., pp. 214–215).
6. Early summer camping grounds of the Sinjara Shammar.
7. Al-Hazl (Hzul): summer camping place of the Sinjara Shammar.
8. Cairn marking the grave of Bender, a chief of the Zmeyl clan of the Tuman tribe (N. N., p. 193).
9. See Fig. 1, note 18.

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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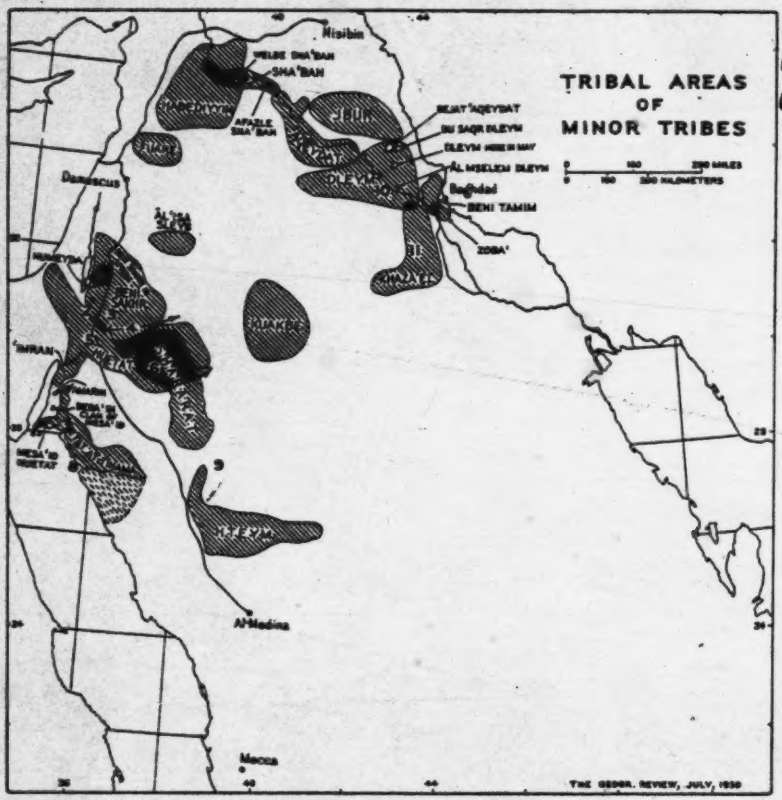

FIG. 3

10. The principal center of the Zefir, kinsmen of the Shammar, is near the Persian Gulf, but they have been known to raid as far north as 'Ana.
11. Al-Khazra: "There are upwards of eighty wells at Al-Khazra, from eight to ten fathoms deep. They belong to clans of the 'Abde tribe [of the Shammar] who pitch their camps by them in the hot summer" (N. N., p. 27).
12. Umm al-Qulban: "The eight huts of this hamlet belonged to [the Shammar emir] Ibn Rashid, who, with Fahhad al-Qfe'i as supervisor, used to rear mares there" (N. N., p. 147).
13. The Shammar claim as their "home" the land east of Misma.
14. See Fig. 1, note 21.
15. See Fig. 1, note 22.
16. See Fig. 1, note 12.
17. Al-Jau forms the best winter encampment of the Beli and their enemies (N. H., p. 214).
18. The Beni 'Atiyye trade in Tebuk; and their head chief, Ibn 'Atiyye, has property there (see N. H., pp. 152, 161).
19. The Beni 'Atiyye send men in July to Kerak, Tafile, or Madaba to sell their camels there and buy barley (N. H., pp. 155–156).
20. The 'Amud clan of the Shammar "number about five hundred tents and usually

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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camp on the southwestern border of the 'Eja mountains." They were "at one time subject to the reigning family of Âl Jarba, who have emigrated to Mesopotamia together with their clans. The 'Amud have remained in their original homeland and joined the Sinjara" (N. N., p. 94).

21. See Fig. 1, note 23.
22. *Dira* of the Beni Khaled, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.
23. *Dira* of the Beni Hajr, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.

FIGURE 3, TRIBES OF THE SECOND RANK

1. Humeyda: The "Beni Hameydy," said by Doughty (Vol. 1, p. 26) to be "possessors of the most excellent strains of Arab horses, and in this fresh and plain country there is always plenty of wild pasture."
2. "The Beni Sakhr and the Huetat have no strictly defined frontiers, and when in the territory of the settlers both tribes often lay claim to the same settlements and exact payment from the same settlers. This proceeding generally results in skirmishes" (N. H., pp. 13-14).
3. See Fig. 1, note 12.
4. See Fig. 2, note 3.
5. After the end of April the Huetat ibn Jazi camp in this vicinity.
6. See Fig. 2, note 4.
7. See Fig. 1, note 14.
8. "The head chief Abu Tqeqa [of the Huetat at-Tihama] generally resided in the settlement of Zbe'" (N. H., p. 129).
9. See Fig. 1, note 21.
10. Two-thirds of the 5000 inhabitants of Hit come from the Dleym tribe (M. E., p. 27).
11. Al-Khzera: the property of Zaher, chief of the Moghara clan of the Khaza el tribe (A. D., p. 369).

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/The map following p. 502 should be assembled according to the plan given below:

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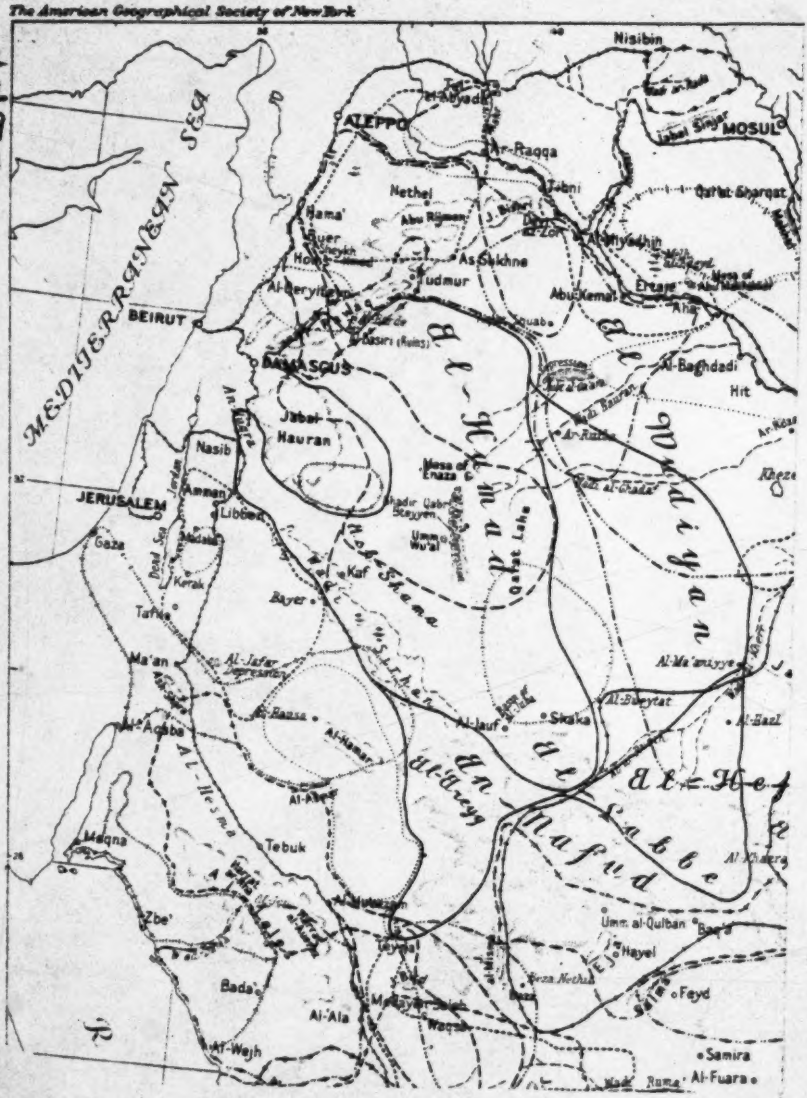

following p 502 (a).

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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The Geographical Review, Vol. XX, No. 3, 1930, Pl. 7

following p. 502 (b)

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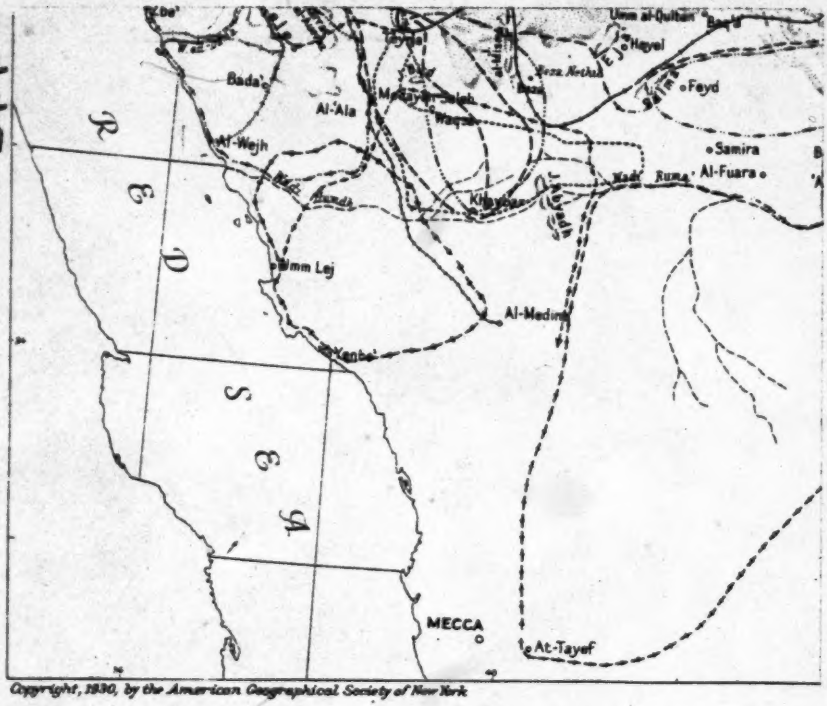

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following p 502 (c)

22: Raswan/ 1-5 (ca. 1911-1930) 1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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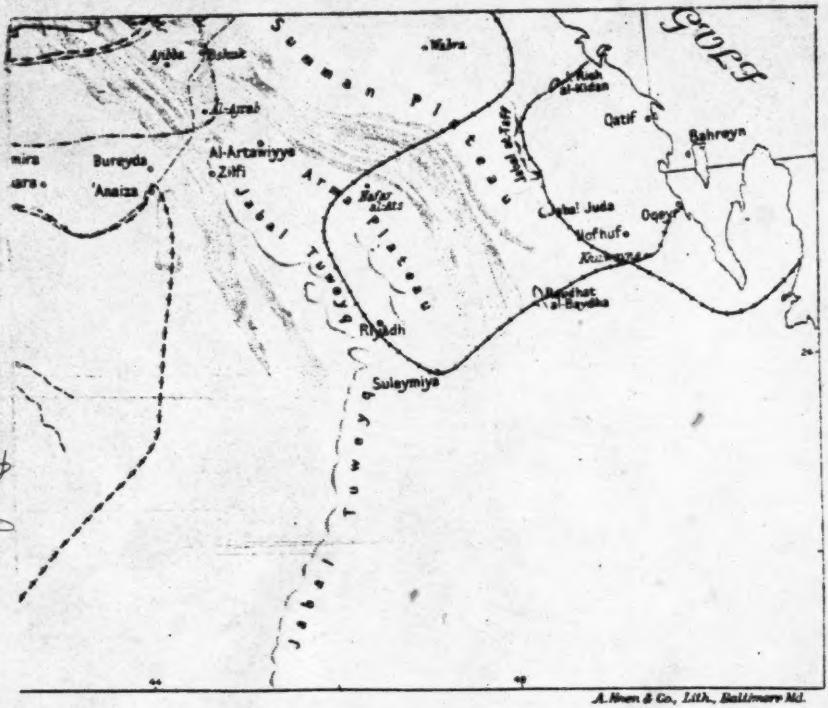

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following p 502 (d).

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CHAPTER II

SOCIAL SURVEY

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Population

The population of Arabia cannot be estimated with any approach to accuracy. It is usually guessed to be from five to eight millions. The lower of these figures is probably nearest to the truth. If we allow two and a half millions of settled and nomadic folk to the whole Red Sea slope from Midian to Yemen (the last-named, with Asir, holding two-thirds of the total); one and a half to the southern districts and Gulf littoral, inclusive of Hadhramaut (Oman alone has about half a million); half a million to all the Central settled districts together; and one million Central nomads, we are probably over the mark.

B

Nomadic Folk.

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The physical conditions of most parts of the peninsula constrain the majority of inhabitants (where any there are) to a nomadic life; and this, owing to the virtual impossibility of increasing the food-producing area anywhere, must be their lot permanently, unless they emigrate. Emigration, in any case, is constantly taking place, as a result of the high natality which has been attributed in Chapter I to the inhabitants of the Central steppes and oases: and it makes the peninsula a great source of disquiet to all neighbouring lands. The surplus population usually remains for some time within the peninsula, gradually accumulating and tending to form new nomadic groups, which try to establish rights to wells and pasturage already occupied. At last, the action of some tribe or tribes, or sheer want, forces them out, with all their predatory habits and defective experience of settled life, towards the borders of Egypt, Syria, or Mesopotamia.

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In historic times, for example, the settlement of the NW. African littoral by Arabs is known to have been due to a forcible expulsion of surplus population from the peninsula, carried out by certain of the stronger tribes. The overflow of the Shammar into Mesopotamia and of the Anazah tribes into the Hamād are also instances in point. As for earlier times, the Semitic invasions of Babylonia, the

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CHAPTER XIII

Morality

587 There is no immorality, as we know it, among the desert tribes. There is, of course, plenty of marrying and giving in marriage, and as I have said, divorce is so easy that a woman often has six or seven husbands in her lifetime, and a man always as many wives as he can
548 afford, provided he confines himself to four at a time. Prostitutes are
837 unknown among the Badawin, and adultery is punishable with death.

572 Friendships between men and women, on the other hand, exist, and are recognised, especially if the parties are of the same tribe and are related, for example my friend Shaikh Thuwairan Abu Sifra of the Mu'aha section of the Mutair, was a friend of Muthi, wife of Falah bin
369 'A'amir, also of the Mu'aha. Every Badawin, of course, is aware that
548 immorality exists in the big towns, and this is one of the main reasons why he despises the townsman.

Unfortunately a Badawin man up from the distant desert sometimes finds his way to the prostitute quarters when he visits towns
[164] such as Mecca and Madina, Jiddah, and Kuwait. This has resulted in the spread of syphilis and venereal disease among the tribes.

In Wahhabi-land proper (i.e. Sa'udi Arabia, excluding the Hijaz), no prostitute is tolerated even in the towns, let alone among the tribes, but I am told that there is nevertheless a good deal of clandestine immorality.

831 It is curious but true that if you discuss the question of morals with
672 well-informed Najd Badawin, they will always tell you that certain great shaikhly families of the desert, especially in the north, have always had rather loose morals, while certain others stand out for their good morals and generally high tone. For instance, the well-known shaikhly house of Al Sha'alan (Ruwala) as well as that of the Hawaitat, Bani Sakhr (both Trans-Jordan), and Shammar Jarba (Iraq), are all said to be pretty lax where women are concerned, and conversely Al Hadhal (Amarat), the Dushan (Mutair) and the Hamidda ('Utaiba)

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are never washed. The Badawin mother uses *kuhl* or antimony to keep the trouble away, also a concoction resembling red ink watered down, which is smeared all over the infant's eyes. Continual sore eyes often result in the lashes growing inwards, and then only operation by a qualified surgeon is of any use (The American Mission Hospital at Kuwait deals with hundreds of eye cases annually among infants). [See also note at end of this chapter, "Curing Sore Eyes."]

(*b*) *Worms* or snakes (*dáb*, plural: *dibban*) as the Badawin call them, are in most cases the result of drinking impure water. Symptoms are anæmia and fits of giddiness. This disease does not cause the parents much anxiety.

(*c*) *Scabies of head* is fairly common among Badawin children, and sundry concoctions of clarified butter, charcoal, etc., are tried as a cure. A visit to a hospital is the only hope. The scabies is said to go away by itself when the patient reaches fifteen years of age.

(*d*) *Whooping cough* (*Abu Hamaiyir*) is quite common during the spring and autumn months, and usually runs its course.

(*e*) *Smallpox* (*Jidri*).—This is the most dreaded disease among the Badawin, yet even if they are near the towns it is difficult to persuade them to get vaccinated. The Badawin segregates anyone attacked with smallpox and puts the patient in a tent alone and a quarter of a mile distant from other tents. He also inoculates the patient from the serum of another smallpox victim. This more often kills, but also definitely effects cures at times.

(*f*) *Measles* (*Hasbak*).—A common complaint, rarely fatal. A child with measles must only eat a limited amount of certain foods. It must not be allowed to smell any other kind of food. Even a whiff of such "scent" may kill the child, or so its mother believes.

Ordinary stomach-ache in a child is usually treated by branding.

Circumcision sores.—These are sometimes very grave, and are caused by dirt and flies. The Badawin is usually circumcised at seven years and in the month of July, when it is very hot and many flies are about (see Chapter X).

DISEASES OF GROWN-UP MEN AND WOMEN

Apart from the children's diseases, to which grown-ups are equally subject, the following are peculiarly common to adults:

(*a*) Consumption or Phthisis.
(*b*) Syphilis.

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(*c*) Cataract, Tracoma, Conjunctivitis.
(*d*) General stomach disorders.

164 The ravages of the first two diseases are serious among the Badawin of Arabia. (*a*) *Consumption* is primarily due, I think, to malnutrition, to sharing the same coffee cup with others and the prevailing habit of covering the head completely with the quilt or *lahâf* when sleeping at night in winter. The Arab has the further unhealthy habit of sleeping under the same *lahâf* as his wife, each breathing the other's breath throughout the night. This bad custom is universal, and a wife would be sorely wounded if her husband were to sleep on a separate couch or under another *lahâf*.

Another possible cause of consumption may be the quantity of dust and sand the average man and woman breathes during the course of the year, especially during the summer months, when by day and night dust lies heavy over the camps and sandstorms are of almost daily occurrence.

(*b*) *Syphilis*, known as *balash* among the Badawin, and *fringi* (the Franks' disease) among townsmen, is said to have been rare in Arabia some years back, but it is certainly common among the great Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Shammar, all important tribes of North East and North Central Arabia to-day. Philby talks in one of his books of the rareness of the disease in Najd, which I think was correct some years back. On the other hand, both Dr. Dame and Dr. Mylrea, of the American hospitals in Bahrain and Kuwait, have assured me that from the number of Badawin patients that they now treat for the disease the scourge must be very widespread indeed.

It cannot be doubted that the sea-coast towns have given the disease to Najd proper, and this has been encouraged of late by the large motor traffic between Mecca and Riyadh, for which Bin Sa'ud has been responsible.

There is little doubt too, I think, that the Turks introduced the disease into the province of Hasa prior to 1912, though some of it must have also come from Bahrain.

757 164 The following is the common Badawin method of treating these two diseases.

Consumption is known as *diq*, *sil*, *maraudh al khabith*. As soon as a person develops a cough with continuous low fever [it is curious

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how much more often women and girls seem to get the disease than men), the relatives take the patient and place two straight small brands on the left wrist opposite the thumb like this | |. If this does not bring about an improvement in fifteen days or so, two more brands, similar to the above, are placed on the right wrist. Lastly, if no improvement is seen the bottom of the tongue is similarly branded. This operation is terribly painful, it causes the mouth to swell up, and for days the patient cannot speak at all. After this no more is done for the affected person. If she or he dies, well, it is *maktúb 'alai* (it is written that his time has come).

I have seen many sad cases of apparently hale and hearty lasses, beginning with a slight cough, developing a worse and finally dying within the space of a month. They rarely appear to think they are going to die, and cheerfully offer you coffee from the cups they daily drink from. I recollect the tragic death of Wadha bint Murait and wife of 'Abdullah al Junaifir in 1932 very clearly, and shall never forget the end of that very sweet and attractive young wife. We did all we could for her, but it was no good. A similar and equally distressing case was my wife's 'Ajman girl friend Ghazaiyil, wife of 'Abdullah al Ghalaifus. She left us to die in Hufuf in 1933.

One of the first difficulties these poor folk are up against is that they have not the wherewithal to go on a strictly milk diet, which, I believe, is one of the first essentials when treating phthisis. The poorer Badawin cannot simply afford to buy a couple of milch goats or sheep out of the season, and even in the cold weather they are lucky if they can raise one goat which gives milk.

Syphilis.—While the townsman knows more or less how to treat this disease, and can to-day get neosalvarsan and bismuth treatment if he chooses to go to the various mission hospitals in the coast towns of the Gulf, the unfortunate Badawin for the most part neglects the disease, and passes it on to his wife and children.

An outstanding example of how whole families can be afflicted with the scourge is the case of the Al Shuqair clan of the Al Muhammad branch of the Dushan ruling family of the Mutair. Practically the whole clan has inherited the disease, and other Badawin fight shy of having anything to do with them. One of the leading members of the family, Shaikh Majid al Asgar, though far gone in 1933, was at last

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167 persuaded to come into Kuwait for a course of treatment. He checked
164 the disease in himself, I believe, but immediately passed it on to his wife and to his son, Mutluq, a fine young lad. Another shaikh, Faisal al Shuqair, came into Kuwait for treatment in 1935. The affliction of Al Jazi's son, Bandar, who is deaf and dumb, can most certainly be traced to the family infection.

According to the Shaikh of Kuwait, who has frequently discussed these questions with me, by far the most dreaded disease of all is smallpox. The appearance of this terrifies the Badawin to an extraordinary degree, and the tent that has contracted the malady is placed far apart from the others, and no one is allowed to go near it or to leave it. Food and water is placed for the occupants by friends some 300 yards off, and the inmates of the tent come and take it. On the other hand, the Badawin seems to have no dread at all of consumption, syphilis or any form of social disease. He seeks no cure unless in an advanced stage of infection.

(*c*) *Cataract of the Eye, Conjunctivitis, Trachoma.*—As in the case of small children, eye diseases form a large part of the Badawin's daily troubles.

Cataract appears to affect the aged to a common degree, and I think may largely be put down to the fine particles of dust which strike the retina; from early childhood he has to endure sandstorms of a type not dreamed of in the West.

The gallant mission doctors deal with a great many of these cases. But unfortunately Persian and other quack doctors in Kuwait and other towns of Arabia do a terrible amount of harm, and many cases of total blindness result from their efforts.

The fact that such quacks are Muslims, and also that they always preach, "No results, no payment", seems to appeal to the Arab.

The disease appears to be worse in the towns than among the nomad population.

Conjunctivitis and *Trachoma.*—These are terribly common especially among the young women of the towns, and the mission doctors at Kuwait and Bahrain do much relief work in this connection.

(*d*) *General Stomach Disorders.*—All varieties of these are common, and may be put down to the Badawin habit of bolting food, and eating enormous quantities when they do get a chance to allay their hunger, say at a shaikhly feast, etc.

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Attitude to Sickness

Drinking muddy water or infected water is another cause, especially among those who go off to the Haj. It is pitiful to see the numbers of men and women who return from the Pilgrimage with dysentery, colitis, and so forth. 757 164

Constipation, of course, is very common.

It must be clearly understood that only the fringe of this interesting subject has been touched upon, but enough, I hope, to show that the most crying of all needs in Arabia to-day, and especially among the Badawin, is good medical attention, hospitals in cities and travelling motor clinics, which can move about among the nomad population and treat them in their homes. The medical branch of the American mission (Dutch Reformed Church) for long established in the Persian Gulf, has done wonders, but much, much more is required.

One of the most interesting features of the Badawin's attitude towards sickness, and especially wounds and sores, is his firm belief that certain pleasant smells or scents have a directly harmful effect on the progress towards recovery. It is in consequence a common sight to see Badawins entering the town of Kuwait, etc., with their nostrils stuffed up with dirty pieces of rag, inserted in the form of "plugs". A sufferer religiously keeps these in his nose until such time as he can escape out of the town again. The "smell of a woman", as he calls it, is a particularly dangerous form of scent to a wound, etc. 751 753

If a man is recovering from smallpox, on the other hand, it is believed that certain human smells, and certain foods, have a highly beneficial effect on the convalescent. He does not, however, know what this food is, or what particular person's odour will help him, so he goes out to receive visits of all the women in the neighbourhood, and is given every possible change of diet, in the fond hope that he will accidentally light on the right thing to effect a cure. This treatment was tried for Nazzal al Rashidi's illness in 1932. 751 757

In my various wanderings among the Badawin, I have always carried a few common medicines, notably of a purgative kind. These have always proved useful. Aspirin too I have found invaluable, as strange though it may seem sun-headaches appear to be fairly common among tribal folk, especially among the women.

Simple Fractures are dealt with fairly satisfactorily by the Badawin. He understands the use of splints, and usually before putting the 752

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Appendix XV

APPENDIX XV

THE TRIBAL "WAR CRY" (NAKHWA)

721 The following are a few war cries of the more important Tribes of Arabia.
192 (a) The House or Clan of the Al Sa'ud. "Al Auja", "Ana Akhu Nura", "Ana ibn Mijrin".

(b) The House of Al Subah. "Ana ibn Salim", Ana akhu Mirriam".

(c) The Shammar Tribe. "Sanayis", (common to the whole tribe).

(d) The 'Ajman Tribe. "Mu'anta al Haddán, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Mafrus al Hadid, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Sifar safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhala", "Safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhaila".

(e) The Mutair ('Ilwa) "Ilwa, Hal Raddat".
(Jiblan) "Khayal al Sabha",* "Al Jibili".
(Muwaha) "'Awlad al Muwaihi", "Al Batha",† "Ana ibn Madwash".‡
(Wasil) "'Awlad Wásil", "Ar Rahman wa ana ibn Wásil".
(Bani Abdilla) "'Awlad 'Abád".
(Al Sa'aran) "Al Ashwa",§ "Ana ibn Ali".
(Al Sahabba) "Khayal Sabhat Mushabi".

(f) Awazim. "Atwi", "'Awlad 'Atta" (elided to "Alladatta").

(g) Rashaida. "Al Daaiji", "Murr al Dalála Da'aiji", "Khaiyal Sabhat Da'aiji".

(h) Harb. "Ana ibn 'Ali".

(i) 'Utaiba. "Ahl al 'Atiyah, wa ana ibn Ruq".

(j) Sbei. "Al 'Arfa Sbeiy".

(k) Dhafir. "Al Garwa, Suwaiti", "Sabha Tammah".

* Name of a hill in Najd used as a rendezvous.
†Name of Al Durwish's own camel.
‡ The name of a famous ancestor.
§ Pet name of a she-camel.

Note on (d) above.—The "Nakhwa" common to Ajman and Murra, which may be termed a rallying cry or appeal to fight, is "Ayál Marzuk."

APPENDIX XVI

BLOOD OF THE BIRZAN SECTION OF MUTAIR

A FURTHER NOTE

164 Shaikh Sabah al Nasir, discussing the question on May 11, 1950, made the
757 following statement:
826 1. Rabies was unknown in the Hasa, Riyadh, and Rub' al Khali part of Arabia, and appeared to be confined to northern border of Sa'udi Arabia, South Iraq desert and Kuwait.

Appendix XVI

2. Three years previously (1947), a pack of wolves, some forty-seven in number, affected with rabies, attacked the inmates of many Harb tents in Ajibba region south-west of Hafar al Batin. The pack bit ninety-two persons. The King sent out troops in cars who destroyed the wolves. Eighty-seven of the bitten persons were given Birzan blood to drink; five did not drink. The eighty-seven survived and are well to this day. The odd five all developed rabies after fifty days and died. Shaikh Sabah gave other instances proving efficacy of Birzan blood if drunk in time by bitten persons. 164 ● 757 826

3. A Birzani retainer who was called up by Shaikh Sabah made the following statement.

   (a) I am pure bred on my father's and mother's side since 1,500 years ago. I am in demand when a case of rabies occurs among the Badu.

   (b) When I am called in to give my blood, I cut a small artery in my wrist. The charge for this is 1 Rial. Afterwards the patient who has drunk my blood waits forty days. If all is well then he pays me Rs. 500 or a she-camel costing that amount. For not till then does he know if he has been cured or not.

   (c) It is very necessary to drink a Birzani's blood within twenty days of being bitten. After that it may be too late, although in rare cases a longer time has been known to elapse and no harm has come to the bitten person.

   (d) To know if a wolf, dog, fox has rabies, the heart should be cut open and if inside are found white maggots, then undoubtedly the animal has got rabies. If there are no maggots then it is not mad.

   (e) I have given over three hundred coffee cups of my blood to persons bitten by mad dogs or wolves.

   (f) A human developing rabies, hates the sight of water, barks and whines. His brain remains fairly clear. Some of those affected cry out "I'm going to bark" or "I'm going to bite", but not all.

   (g) No one ever recovers if he develops rabies. He is put out of his misery by being taken away behind the tents and a handful of ashes are placed on his head. This causes immediate collapse and death. Why is not known.

   (h) The Prophet Muhammad who had a great kindness done him by a Birzani, said to him, "I ask God to grant that to you and your descendants be given the power of curing a person bitten by a mad dog, wolf, etc., by drinking your blood". Since that day this power of effecting a cure has been divinely granted. But the blood must be drunk within twenty days, and the donor must be of absolute pure descent on both sides.

The above story proves, among other things, that rabies was known to exist in the Prophet's time.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Arabs M 10

CHAPTER XL

Sickness and Disease

GENERAL

The notes below are in no way intended to be in the nature of a medical treatise. A 753

Amongst Arabs sickness generally is put down to one of two things:

(*a*) The evil eye or witchcraft.
(*b*) The hand of God.

A book could be written on the subject of this Evil Eye and Witchcraft. Among the Shi'ah tribes of Iraq (non-Badawin) every kind of charm* (usually in the form of a paper scroll containing a verse from the Qur'an done up in leather bag) is worn by men and women against the danger. Should a person fall under the spell of another versed in witchcraft, many methods are in use for exorcising the evil spirit and freeing the patient.

Ordinary maladies are unfortunately dealt with in the crudest fashion, as will be seen below.

Bites of snakes, according to the Arab, are best dealt with by applying tourniquets, wrapping the patient in the pelt of a newly skinned goat and rubbing concoctions of herbs on the bitten spot. A 752

Among Iraq tribes a *Sulaimaniyah* stone (cat's eye) is supposed to extract all pain and poison, if applied to a scorpion sting. A 757

Pains in head, stomach and back are dealt with by branding; cold in the chest—by branding on the chest; children's stomach-ache—branding with a hot tent needle all over the abdomen.

There is a great deal of sickness and disease among the Badawin, mostly traceable to lack of nourishment and to poor water. Life is very hard and dangers are always present, and for both men and women the span of life is normally short. B 165

* Badawin tribes proper, especially if mixed with Wahhabism, look upon charms as wrong.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

151 823 [511] and cast away as useless encumbrances in the stern fight for life. He is the victim of his environment in that he suffers so desperately from poverty and want. His clothes hang in tatters and rags; his tent is cold in winter and hot in summer; his food is reduced nearly to the limit of bare subsistence. Most of his children die because of the unsuitable food, the hard conditions of life and the ignorance of the parents. The dirt and disorder in which he lives beggar description. Out of this soil springs one of the freest and most unconquerable spirits in the world, but even so it is impossible to believe that its finest development is attainable under such handicaps. The terrible thing is not that the condition in which he lives distresses his sensitive spirit, but precisely that it does not distress him at all. The Bedouin may claim to have conquered poverty. He stands forth uncrushed by its heaviest load, but his indomitable spirit has nevertheless paid a price, and a heavy price, for that victory.

165 181

000 Bedouin life, however, in spite of this terrible poverty and lack of the amenities that we are accustomed to regard as necessary even to existence, has in it many characteristics that we of the luxurious and effete West might emulate with benefit. Throughout the earth and almost throughout history, men have dreamed of equality. France ran with blood a hundred and thirty years ago because of man's search for it. Russia is red with the same struggle now. Men talk about it and dream about it wherever men see visions and dream dreams. In inland Arabia men practise it, and there is a charm in the dirty, poverty-cursed, arid desert that will be searched for in vain throughout the pampered and self-satisfied world outside. His sense of equality with all the world is the breath of life to a nomad Arab, and his spirit stands

Bedouins MJ4

162, 166, 101, 619, 643, 622, 361, 438

/For information on the settled tribes of the Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut in 1920, the territory occupied, the paramount rulers and tribal chiefs, brief history, their settlements, means of livelihood, etc., see 30: Great Britain, MJ1 Saudi Arabia, category 116, pp. 509-546./

113, 166 Bedouins MJ4

[For information pertaining to the organized resettlement of the Bedouins as agriculturalists in the Middle East, see M1 Middle East, 68: Neubart, entire source.]

233, 166, 492 Bedouins MJ4

[For information pertaining to the Shammar and their pastoral activities, migrations, animal transportation, and the like, see 12: Glubb, MGl Jordon, category 116, pp. 19-22.]

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
Jordan BEDOUINS MJ4

The Bedouin settlement policy of the Transjordan Government

Since 1931 it has been the policy of the government to create 166* favorable conditions for settlement, rather than to sponsor and 654 carry out definite sedentarization projects. The governmental 657 policy of encouragement was implemented by financial aid and technical assistance to the tribes, and by bringing education to the Bedouin areas.

After the two successive years of severe drought (1931 and 65 1932) the Beni Sakhr were granted in 1935 a governmental subsidy 166 of LP 250 to encourage cultivation on tribal land.[1] In 1934 the 241 administration gave the Howeitat LP 1 000 to start agriculture in the area between Ma'an and Shobeis.[2] In 1935 they were granted another LP 900 for the same purpose.[3]

Besides the meager financial help the tribes were given 654 technical advice and assistance. In 1934 the government planted 166 1 600 palm suckers in the experimental garden at Bagoora in the Jordan valley and 600 in the oasis at Azraq for the instruction of the Bedouin.[4] To encourage citriculture 4 500 citrus trees were grafted from the Bagoora station and distributed among the nomads who had evinced an interest in agriculture.[5] The Department of Agriculture guided and helped the Bedouin to plant these trees. Desert schools were started in 1935, one permanently established 658 at al-Jaffer in the Ma'an district which is the central location

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1. Report, 1935, p. 307
2. Report, 1934, p. 261
3. Report, 1935, p. 307
4. Report, 1934, p. 262
5. Report, 1937, p. 382

181 554 177 577 thoroughbreds. No race prizes lineage higher, yet they are the most democratic people in the world and the most individualistic. Among them there is real equality. To certain families, by virtue of their descent, they accord certain privileges, but as a courtesy, not as a right, and Badu sheikhs command respect only as long as they merit it. The traditional Arab way of life, fast vanishing to-day in contact with the West, owed much to Badu concepts, for the villagers and townsmen of Arabia, who form by far the greater part of her population, live close to the desert and were profoundly affected by it until motor-cars and aeroplanes removed for ever the need for camel journeys. Most of them are, indeed, of Badu origin, for the desert tides have always stranded the weak and broken upon the fringes of the Sown. Everywhere the Arabs have, at all times, judged honour and chivalry and hospitality by the standards of the tribesmen. Their love of liberty, their freedom from prejudice of class and caste, and their enthusiasm for poetry have come to them from the desert.

157 577 81 It is impossible to assess the character of the Badu, for among no other race have so many contradictory qualities been fused together. I myself have witnessed their courage and self-reliance, their endurance and pride of race, and I remember their patience, generosity, and unselfishness. But often I have been exasperated by their avarice and wearied by their endless [935] importunities. No Badu thinks it shame to beg, and usually he will look disparagingly at the gift which he has received and grumble, "Is this all [437] that you are going to give me?" Grasping and avaricious, they will talk unceasingly of money and argue heatedly for days about a dollar, then they will slaughter a camel worth 150 dollars to feed a stranger. Loyal to each other, they are yet without regard for human life and will knife an unarmed herdsboy with a jest. Cheerful and easily amused, they are generally good-tempered, though passionate when roused and quick to resent an injury.

166 I have often wondered as I rode across the desert what the future, and even the immediate future, holds for my companions and their kinsmen. The discovery of oil on the Persian Gulf is going to affect them profoundly and make it impossible for them to continue in their old ways, even if they would. I think myself that the oilfields will empty the desert. This movement of tribes from the Yaman and the Hadhramaut towards the north and the north-east is a movement which has been going on for thousands of years. It probably started even before the great migration of the Qahtan tribes, when, overwhelmed by calamity in their homes round Marib, some of them pushed across the deserts and occupied Oman. In recent years tribes such as the Awamir, Ruashid, and Manahil have left their homelands in the steppes to the north-east of the Hadhramaut and moved out into the sands to escape from the incursions of more powerful 166 177 tribes pressing on them from the west. Having accustomed themselves to life in the sands, they have penetrated ever further and further into the Empty Quarter. In the past twenty or thirty years as conditions have become more settled in the north, due to the extension of Ibn Saud's influence over the powerful Murra tribe, they have grazed their herds round the Liwa oasis and in the sands near the Trucial Coast. Now the money to be earned on the oilfields along the Gulf is drawing the Badu

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves. 433
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 511
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badui often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 577
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 461
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com- 315
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

511 paid into the bargain. Family ties and a certain restlessness draw some of
166 them back into the desert, but, as I have said, desert life is becoming more and more difficult and may soon become altogether impossible.

177 The hardy Badu tribesmen, the best stock in Arabia, may become, as a result of circumstances outside their control, a parasitic proletariat squat-
315 ting in the fly-blown squalor of shanty towns on the outskirts of the oilfields in some of the most barren and inhospitable country in the world. I do not wish to suggest that the oil companies will not take adequate care of their workers and provide them with the best possible accommodation. Many of the Badu will certainly find employment with these companies; many of them have already shown considerable aptitude as drivers and mechanics, but it is uncertain whether as a race they are capable of the sustained effort required on an oilfield. At any rate, there will be great numbers who are unadaptable, inept, or physically incapable of finding work, and there will be the women and the children. Stranded in these salt-impregnated wastes, which can produce nothing but oil, and deprived of their old mobility, they may be unable to adjust themselves almost overnight to these new conditions and so become demoralized. Tribesmen who have never seen a car or an aeroplane or even a European will find themselves suddenly working with Englishmen and Americans who have met their first Arab ten days before. Lads who have never seen an unveiled woman are going to come in contact with European women, not only unveiled, but, in their eyes, undressed. At first they will think our dress indecent, many of our customs revolting, and our lack of religion
[157] appalling. The virtues of the desert nomads are, however, enforced by their circumstances, not by a natural preference for the ascetic way of life. In their own surroundings they are forced to be continent and self-restrained, but by nature they are self-indulgent and indolent. Their nomadic way of life, their tribal loyalties, their old interests, and the conventions which have governed their lives, will soon be swept away. Bored and disillusioned, they will, I fear, fall an easy prey to the vices and diseases of
[186] town life. They have always regarded themselves as the aristocracy of Arabia. They have taken a pride in surviving when others would succumb, and it is this pride in his manhood which the nomad expresses when he boasts, "I am a Badui." In the future they may easily drop to the bottom of the social scale, below those whom they know to be their inferiors in every way but that of adaptation to urban conditions.

A problem which confronts the rulers of Arabia is how to avoid pauperizing the nomads who will inevitably drift to the oilfields in ever-increasing numbers, and whose birth-rate is likely to rise considerably once they have settled there. It will indeed be tragic if they become the slum-dwellers of an industrialized Arabia. Poverty has been their constant lot, but it was a poverty shared by all. Now they will see Europeans and Arabs living in luxury in air-conditioned houses and provided with all the amenities of modern life. They will see wealth beyond their wildest dreams poured into the hands of a few; the Sheikh of Qatar, for instance, who until recently was the ruler of a few impoverished fishing villages and whose father sold headcloths in the market-place for a living, is now receiving royalties from an oilfield which may be one of the richest in the world.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1
BEDOUINS MJ4

18

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL SURVEY

Population

S
161 The population of Arabia cannot be estimated with any approach to accuracy. It is usually guessed to be from five to eight millions. The lower of these figures is probably nearest to the truth. If we allow two and a half millions of settled and nomadic folk to the whole Red Sea slope from Midian to Yemen (the last-named, with Asir, holding two-thirds of the total); one and a half to the southern districts and Gulf littoral, inclusive of Hadhramaut (Oman alone has about half a million); half a million to all the Central settled districts together; and one million Central nomads, we are probably over the mark.

B
Nomadic Folk.

162 The physical conditions of most parts of the peninsula con-
167 strain the majority of inhabitants (where any there are) to a nomadic life; and this, owing to the virtual impossibility of increasing the food-producing area anywhere, must be their lot permanently, unless they emigrate. Emigration, in any case, is constantly taking place, as a result of the high natality which has been attributed in Chapter I to the inhabitants of the Central steppes and oases: and it makes the peninsula a great source of disquiet to all neighbouring lands. The surplus population usually remains for some time within the peninsula, gradually accumulating and tending to form new nomadic groups, which try to establish rights to wells and pasturage already occupied. At last, the action of some tribe or tribes, or sheer want, forces them out, with all their predatory habits and defective experience of settled life, towards the borders of Egypt, Syria, or Mesopotamia.

B
167 In historic times, for example, the settlement of the NW. African
175 littoral by Arabs is known to have been due to a forcible expulsion of surplus population from the peninsula, carried out by certain of the stronger tribes. The overflow of the Shammar into Mesopotamia and of the Anazah tribes into the Hamād are also instances in point. As for earlier times, the Semitic invasions of Babylonia, the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

Canaanite invasion of Syria, the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, and the Hebrew invasion of Palestine are also to be explained by similar antecedent events in Arabia. 167 175

The distribution, grouping, character, and resources of the several tribes are the subject of a subsequent chapter (III); and their relation to particular localities will be stated in the special chapters on the different provinces. 000

It would be beyond the scope of this Handbook to give a detailed description of Bedouin society; and mere generalities about it are of little service. It is perhaps, however, worth while to say something about those features and customs of Bedouin life which most directly affect the reception and entertainment of strangers, and should, therefore, be known before contact. Dictated by similar necessities, these are more or less common to all tribesmen. For all the rest, study of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* cannot be too strongly recommended. Pretty well everything that needs to be known about Bedouin life can be found there by a patient reader.

Arabia is 'a land of ancient violence'. For this state of things geographical conditions are largely responsible. Only in very few, rare, and narrow districts is it possible to derive from the soil, not a superfluity, entailing wealth, leisure, and consequent civilization, but anything better than hand-to-mouth existence in full sight of starvation. Agriculture is impossible in three-quarters of the total area, and man must live on peripatetic food pastured on such thin and evanescent vegetation that a single family has to keep on the move in order to live. Water again, the prime condition of existence, is to be found for the most part only very occasionally in deep wells, or rain-pools, and this under a subtropical sun. Scanty sources have to be guarded with the most jealous exclusiveness. The regions over which these conditions prevail usually offer few or none of those natural features which serve elsewhere to protect or conceal; and in their vast extent and distribution they impinge so generally on the few fertile districts, or so often encircle these, that hardly any part of Arabia is altogether unaffected by the inevitable social features of life on steppe and desert. 181 511

The most obvious of these features is suspicion. Every man is treated as a potential enemy, till he shows evidence to the contrary. He is kept at a distance until his person or his authority can be recognized. Therefore, in approaching Bedouins, it is as prudent to go slow and give them time as in approaching a sentry in a war-area. Disregard of this advice will result in fight or flight, according to circumstances. While all Bedouins are instinctively suspicious of, and hostile to, the unknown, various 157 609

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin 1854

spacious[1] chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

[1] than the desert -- Analyst

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

168 if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort
361 of existence.

461 But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard
463 and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to
552 his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate
231 enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky
461 or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates,
565 and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level
166 as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

184 Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the des-
611 ert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out
755 of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Limitation of Sanctuary

NOTE ON DAKHÁLA

In discussing the law of *dakhála* with Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra, head of the Rukhman section of the Mutair on 6.2.39, the latter told me that in the matter of *dakhála*, the Mutair, Qahtan and 'Utaiba granted *dakhála* to any member of their own tribe who asked for it, for a set period of twelve months, and the *dakhil* could wander about with entire safety in his particular tribe for this period and could go anywhere without danger of molestation provided he did not go beyond the confines of the tribal *dirah*. 609 171

The 'Ajman, he said, had the same rule, but the *dakhil* must not leave the vicinity of the tents or tent of the person affording him *dakhála* and should camp alongside him as his *qasir* or tent neighbour, thus getting double protection.

The Shammar, Dhafir, Harb and 'Awazim tribes on the other hand granted *dakhála* only for three days and three nights, and then were obliged to help the *dakhil* make good his escape to a safe place or person indicated by himself. This rule, he said, was also followed by nearly all the riverain tribes in Iraq.

He asserted that a woman had no *wajh*, and so could not grant *dakhála* to any person unless her husband was absent from his tents. In such circumstances she could give refuge to a man making his *dakhála* to her. [562]

Lastly he told me that a Mutairi breaking another Mutairi's *dakhála* (i.e. harming his *dakhil* in any way) entitled the man giving the *dakhála* to raid the aggressor's tents seven times, kill as many men as he could of the aggressor's family, and kill as many camels as he could with full impunity and with no ill consequences to himself. (*Illu il haq i sabbahu saba marrat.*) 628 609

A point to note here is that he may not carry off camels, but must kill them, lest he be accused of cupidity when just vengeance is what he seeks.

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
571 leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
either end of the rope which runs over the
pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full
the other descends empty. Men and women
draw together on the well-ropes, four or five
to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel
herds arrived and the serious work of watering
began. Great leather troughs supported on
crossed wooden hoops were set up by each
family around the well. Soon there was no
room for more watering parties, and late-
comers had to wait their turn. The buckets
rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs
about which the thirsty camels pushed and
thrust while their calves frolicked around.
Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran
in and out among them, driving away camels
which did not belong to them, and restraining
the more impatient of their own. Others
scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite
beasts, while they sang them their watering
songs to induce them to drink deep. When
they had drunk they were couched nearby, to
be watered again later in the day, before
being driven back to pasturage. Round the
well-mouth women filled their water-skins,
which then lay swollen and quivering upon
the ground, guarded from the trampling feet
of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad
only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined
freely in the constant jests and laughter.
Among them was a tall girl of startling
beauty. She had come down to the well early
in the day, carrying a water-skin and accom-
panied by her young sister. The centre of a
happy laughing group of lads, she dallied
here till the evening.

574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink
49 coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet
differed from them in their dress and way of
life. They wore indigo-dyed loincloths and
wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion
among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin
Ma'aruf wore clad like the Northern Arabs in
long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell
nearly to the ground. They were returning
to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days'
[341] journey to the south. Plantations of sorghum
312] and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
guarded by numerous stone-built forts and
609 watch-towers, which look out across the deso-
late rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited
by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of
the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for
treachery.

P. 120 (A)

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4

T 492 171

saddle depicted by Nachtigal the fore and the aft trees being connected by two horizontal or oblique sticks instead of two crossed sticks at each side (Le Coeur 1930, p. 175). This saddle type is also depicted from the Tebu by Moberg and Fuchs (Moberg 1953, p. 182; Fuchs 1961, p. 39), and I have myself seen a saddle like this among camel-owning Fulani at Niamey on the Niger. A related saddle type with fore and aft trees at each side connected with two horizontal sticks, is depicted by Heuglin from North-east Africa (Heuglin 1877, I, p. 26). It is perhaps the common saddle type in and around the Beja country.

B 492 171

The saddle corresponding to the *sebeyat* or *skhewit* type of the Northern Tuareg is known by the Arabic word *hauar* among the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while among the Arabs of North Africa the word *hauar* is generally used for women's saddles of the same fundamental construction. Pack saddles of *sebeyat* or *skhewit* type are known to the Arabs of Algeria as *hawj*. However, such saddles do not seem to be common among Arabs of Algeria, where I have never seen them, though they are probably used by Arabs of Upper Egypt and in Sinai (cf. Murray 1935, p. 116).

In Arabia saddles constructionally resembling the *sebeyat* or *skhewit* type are extremely common. They are used as pack-saddles and also for riding. There seem to be three distinct Arabic names for them:— (1) a sadle known as *sdad* (or *shadad*) and characterized by particularly high pommels; it is used mainly as a riding saddle (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 35 ff., Fig. 9–11; Musil 1928b, p. 350 ff., Figs. 37, 44; Euting 1906, p. 394 ff., Ill. p. 393, 397; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (2) a saddle known as *mizawar* constructionally of the same type, but having no high pommels; it is very much like the *sebeyat* or *skhewit* type described from the Northern Tuareg (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 61 f., Fig. 23; Musil 1928b, p. 354, Fig. 41; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (3) a saddle known as *rahit* of very much the same type as the *mizawar* saddle but of a somewhat heavier construction (cf. Musil 1928b, p. 354; Euting 1906, p. 398, Ill. p. 394). The two last mentioned saddles are mainly pack-saddles but they are also used for riding. The distribution of the saddle types *sdad*, *mizawar* or *rahit* in Arabia seems to be as follows:—

The Syrian Desert; the tribes *Sha'a* and *Rawala* (cf. Boucheman 1934 & Musil 1928b quoted above).
Hedjaz; *sdad* (Musil 1926, Figs. 30, 84, 85, etc.).
Nejd; *sdad* (Musil 1928a, Figs. 8, 22, 28, 62, 63); *mizawar* or *rahit* (Musil 1928a, Fig. 15).
Irak; *sdad* (Musil 1927b, Figs. 1, 19, 33, etc.).
Kuwait; *mizawar* or *rahit* (Rankiner 1913, Fig. 21; Dickson 1949 quoted above).
South Arabia; *sdad*; the tribes of *Murra*, *Sa'ar*, and *Hawah*. Riding saddles of the *sdad* type are not found east of Dhofar (Thomas 1932, p. 268).

It would appear that a riding saddle of the *sdad* type is depicted in a 9th century B.C. relief at Tell Halaf (cf. Dossal 1958, p. 2, pl. I Fig. 2).

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The common pack-saddle among the Northern Tuareg is the *diskt* (cf. p. 74 f., Fig. 55). This saddle type, as mentioned, is not made by the Tuareg themselves, but normally by sedentary *Ikewatin* of Tidikelt where palm material is abundant, more rarely by blacksmiths who make the construction of wood, and not from the ribs of date palms. The *diskt* is the common saddle type all

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4

B The Elaki is the common saddle type all

492 over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *hawtyya*, the word
● 171 also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Sha'a* and *Rawala*) (Bouchemen 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Nejd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *hedjîje*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *hedjîje* or *hawtyya* is not mentioned from Kuwait by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al falawi*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al falawi* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *hawtyya* or *hedjîje* type the more so because riding saddles for camels

B and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory
[114] that the riding saddle of *al falawi* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *hawtyya* or *hedjîje* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.190.80), from the Reguibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Ida w Aïsh* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 92).

T Saddles of the *hawtyya* or *hedjîje* type (*ehaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the
492 Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *ardi*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fixed each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Denneh* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of these consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

T The *ehaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the
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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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619 wander into the lands of a hostile tribe, so it has to keep up alliances
221 with tribes who are on good terms and will allow it to graze over their *dirahs* when forced to do so. Hence it follows that groups or confederations of tribes are formed, friendly to each other and hostile to other similar groups. These groups, with their corresponding alliances, are often of century-old standing and serve a most useful purpose. They have, moreover, stood the test of war, drought and trouble. Examples of such groups are given below, and all Arabia may be said to be parcelled up into similar protective alliances.

(*a*) Harb—Mutair (Ilwa)—'Ajman tribes.
(*b*) Bani 'Abdilla (Mutair)—'Utaiba.
(*c*) Dhafir—Shammar and 'Awazim.
(*d*) 'Ajman—Murra—Najran tribes (a blood federation).*
(*e*) The various 'Anizah groups of the north, such as Dahamsha, Fida'an Amarat, Ruwala, Sba'a and Zana Muslim.

619 When the Central Government is strong, like the present Sa'udi regime, then tribes are made to keep the peace and behave themselves,

701 * The 'Ajman claim to be able to turn out over 10,000 fighting men is obviously exaggerated. Their full fighting strength is probably about 8,000. They once claimed to be able to muster 2,000 mounted men, but that is not so to-day.

726 The 'Ajman have several *sakhwas* or war cries, of which the three commonest are—"Garás al hadid wa ana 'ibn al 'Ajám", "Sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh" and "Sufar sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh"—meaning "Cutter of iron, and I am the son of the 'Ajman", "Death cleared all and I still survive" and "Death is whistling and I am still surviving".

The 'Ajman tribe when about to join battle have a custom of tying up their side locks (*gurus*) over their heads in a tall knot, which they bind round with a *red* cloth. They call the head-effect thus caused "Al Ganaza".

619 The 'Ajman, whom some authorities would connect, and I think rightly, with the
[178] Qahtan, state that they are descended from the Shurafa of Najran, and claim with the Murra to have one ancestor, Yám. They certainly look upon the Murra as their blood brothers and each will help the other always. Should either the Murra or 'Ajman desire the help of the other against a common enemy, it is customary to send a messenger to the other tribe on a camel with *a red scarf or scarlet rope* bound round its neck. The messenger cries aloud to those he wants to rouse the words '*Aiyál Marzuk!*, the sacred call of the descendants of Yám, and all know what the signal means—even if 'Ajman and Murra were themselves fighting against each other, a not uncommon occurrence, they would at once fraternise and combine against the common foe.—(Authority Shaikh Fuhaid al Fahad al Hithlain 30.6.38). Their tribal strength and undoubted war prowess makes their alliance valuable and their enmity a serious danger; but in politics they are a shifting and inconsistent factor, being as they themselves have been known openly to profess, "the friends of those who treat them best".

175 During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatif, the 'Ajman were constantly recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their shaikhs, and they inflicted several serious defeats on the army of occupation.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Little Hussa bint Salim al Muzaiyin learnt her prayers at the age of 788
twelve, and at thirteen and a half prayed regularly five times a day. Her mother Amsha was equally careful about her prayers, and even went so far (when I was once alone in camp) as to visit me privately and try to convert me. When my wife went to England later, she repeated her talks in this connection, naïvely promising to find me one, two or even three little Badawiyah girls as wives if I joined the Faithful. "You are one of us now," she said, "become a Muslim and be happy, our girls are good, and it is pleasant to live in the desert and have your own children for ever around you." When I said to her "What would Mrs. Dickson say?" the answer came back swiftly, "She will never mind, provided you let her remain the Shaikhah and put the little Badawin brides under her orders. We all do it and understand our place, and the greatest happiness in the world is for man to possess woman."

THE ORIGIN OF THE "CALL TO PRAYER"

My old friend Haji 'Abdullah al Fadhil told me the following story 173
at Kuwait on 9th January, 1934. He said he had got it from the *hadith* 788
(tradition) of Muslim and Bukhari, and that I could therefore accept it as true.

In the early days of the Prophet, and when Islam had just begun to take hold, no one had yet thought how to gather the people to prayer, and there was no method laid down for calling the people together. The problem, however, had to be faced, and the leaders began to talk about it. At an important meeting on the subject, some suggested a bell such as the Christians used, others suggested the blowing of a horn as was the custom among the Jews. Yet others suggested the gong, in vogue among Hindus and others.

Just then Omar came in and said he had had a dream, and in his dream he had been told that the best plan was for a man to get up, take up his post in a prominent position, and call the faithful to prayer in the words "'Allah-u-Akbar", etc. His suggestion was listened to with interest, and was being discussed from every point of view, when 'Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet came in and said he had had a dream similar to Omar's.

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The First Call

173 The coincidence was so remarkable that the elders present decided
788 that Omar's suggestion was quite the best one they had heard. They accordingly referred the matter to the Prophet, who decided in favour of Omar's and 'Ali's method.

The Prophet then called Billal, his freed slave, and having instructed him how to call the Faithful to prayer, Billal mounted a house-top and gave the first call to prayer that was ever sounded. The *'adhan* has remained unchanged from that day.

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the events of Awaina I foreswore him and lost him for ever, just as you lost your son. I have never seen him since."

Said the Viceroy, "Write, O 'Aid, and tell your son that you his father have been cast into prison and that Ibn Jiluwi has sworn to kill you unless the weapons of Fahad are returned to his father forthwith. If they are returned all will be well, and you will be released."

'Aid did as ordered, and was duly cast into prison. A month later the sword, revolver and dagger of Fahad were duly sent in to the Viceroy. With harshness and treachery surpassing even that of Fahad, 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi sent for the aged and white-haired 'Aid and ordered his head to be struck off, and hung over the main gate of the *kát* at Hufuf: "Thou dog. I did not promise you your life if the weapons of my son were forthcoming. I said you would be released, and so I propose giving you release from this world."

A month after the murder of Dhaidan, I saw Hzam al Hithlain in Kuwait. He was an important 'Ikhwan leader and very fanatical. His abuse of Bin Sa'ud was strange and terrible to hear. He told me that his chief's murder had decided all the 'Ajman to go into rebellion. He showed me the bloodstained letters of Bin Sa'ud, ibn Jiluwi and Fahad, which he had himself extracted from the Dhaidan's pocket. Blood from the throat wound had trickled down the dead man's chest into the breast pocket, but the letters were still quite legible.

After having had coffee in Husain's tent we must needs go into Murait bin Hawaila's tent for another round of coffee. Among others we met there 'Abdulla bin 'Aid al Mikhyal, the man who slew Fahad bin Jiluwi in Hasa for his treachery to Dhaidan al Hithlain, and the main cause of the 'Ajman joining in the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30. He smilingly protested that he was innocent of the deed, but his friends chorused aloud, "Not he, a man does not come back with the sword and revolver of Fahad in his hand but knows something about the death of Fahad".

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TWO FAMOUS 'AJMAN SISTERS, SHAGHA AND WADHA, DAUGHTERS OF HZAM AL HITHLAIN

(This story was told me by Shaikh 'Uwaiyid Al Mutraqqa al Harri, Shaikh of the Diyahin (Mutair) on 21st April, 1935, and confirmed by

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Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra of the Mutair, and by Shaikh Khalid al Hithlain of the 'Ajman a few days later.) 173

Shagha married Sultan al Duwish, and became by him the mother of the famous Faisal al Duwish of the Mutair, the conqueror of Madina for the present king. Before her marriage, Shagha is said to have had a dream, in which she gave birth to an iron *mishd'ab* stick.* On telling her father Hzam al Hithlain and her mother, they asked for details of the dream. The girl, frightened, said that as the iron rod in her dream came away from her, it grew a fiery "red hot" colour and started emitting great sparks, which beat on and burnt up the tents of her people the 'Ajman. Her father, knowing something of dreams, comforted her, and said that her firstborn would be a son, and a famous man, and that he would be a thorn in the flesh of the 'Ajman, yet a friend in time of need. 173 787

A year later she married Sultan al Duwish, Shaikh of the Mutair, and gave birth to Faisal al Duwish, than whom no tribal leader in Arabia has been greater or more famous. All his life Faisal, the son of the 'Ajman lady Shagha, spent his time alternately raiding the 'Ajman and making peace with them. The tribe reverenced and admired him because of his mother, and hated him because his father was an enemy and a Mutairi. To the day of his death in 1932 the 'Ajman called him the "iron camel stick" who scourged their tribe, and proved his mother's dream to have been prophetic. 173

Wadha became the mother of Sa'ud al 'Arafa, by 'Abdul 'Aziz bin Faisal bin Turki al Sa'ud (first cousin of His Majesty the present King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud). Hence Sa'ud al 'Arafa's preference for his mother's tribe, and the saying that he is the real Shaikh of the 'Ajman. He is the husband to-day of Bin Sa'ud's famous sister Nura, and lives perpetually by the King's side, for owing to his mother's blood the King fears him, and with reason, if we read the history of the Araif.

'AJMAN LIGHTHEARTEDNESS

The following trivial incident is typical of the merry lighthearted-ness of the 'Ajman. 522

* A *mishd'ab* is the camel-stick used by every Badawin.

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eighty summers. "Here she is, here she is," says old Junaifir, "though 522
somewhat old she is a perfect cook, and we keep our best girls for such as you." "La, la" (no, no), "O Junaifir," cries out my wife, tumbling to the joke, "my husband Abu Sa'ud likes *bints*, not old women. What about bint Murait the lovely one, my husband will surely take her?" (bint Murait was the prospective supplanter of Shagha, outed for the promise of the rifle). More roars of laughter from inside and outside the tent, and cries of "That is one for you, O Abu 'Abdulla, well scored Um Sa'ud". The above incident is recounted with apologies to illustrate the cheeriness and joviality of the 'Ajman, all of whom above other Arabs seem to enjoy a joke.

Two hours later, the wife, my daughter and I were in the women's quarter of the tent of Hamad bin Mishwat. Hamad was away, but his brother Sa'ad acted as host. Sa'ad's wife was enormously fat, but full of fun. Whilst showing off her daughter Maneira wife of Hamad, she asked if we English liked fat or thin girls; "betwixt and between", said I guardedly. "Then Nura my second daughter is what you must like." Nura is duly produced, Maneira's younger sister, a rather lovely girl. "Now, O Abu Sa'ud," said the fat one, "what about her?" I greatly admired her, to Nura's delight especially, and suggested that she might with advantage leave her husband and come and be my wife. Roars of "Do you hear that, Um Sa'ud?" (Mrs. Dickson). "Abu Sa'ud wants to take my Nura for a second wife, but we shall never allow her to be taken over your head (*'ala ras ich*)." My wife made suitable rejoinder.

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ORIGINS OF THE 'AJMAN

Two days later a visit was paid us by Shaikh Salim bin Udhain's 173
wife and daughter Metha. Both had been exiles in Mahrudh bin Hadhal's tents in the north for close on four years. They had just returned from the Waddiyan with Muhammad ibn Udhain, who was returning to Bin Sa'ud to make his peace.

The next day I held a *majlis* and discussed with 'Ajman greybeards the origin of the 'Ajman, and questioned them as to what tribes in Southern Arabia were allied as coming of the same stock. I learnt the following (30th April, 1935).

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173 (1) One and all discarded what they called the commonly believed and foolish story of Kisra (Chosroes) having colonised Hasa with war prisoners, who later became the ancestors of the 'Ajman. They could not say where the story had originated, but were emphatic that it was untrue.

(2) One and all of the leaders and old men (including Salim al Udhain, the aged Musra Shaikh) declared that the story of their Najran ancestry was the only correct one. This was proved also by many of their old songs and verses, composed over a thousand years ago, and handed down from father to son. These clearly showed, they said, that the mysterious Yam was their founder, and that from him also had sprung the Murra, the Manasír, the Manahir, the Awámir, the Rashid, the Saiar (of Hadhramaut and Dhufar), also the Karab, and many also of the Yaman tribes proper. They, the 'Ajman, the greatest of the Yam descendants, invaded (according to their ancient sagas) the Persian Gulf littoral in the days when the Araiar house of the Bani Khalid ruled Eastern Arabia and modern Hasa. In fact, this took place in the day of the famous Araiar ruler who made the touching of a *hubara* egg punishable by death.

A VISIT TO THE CAMP OF AMIR HAIF BIN HAJRAF (HEAD OF THE SULAIMAN SEPT OF THE 'AJMAN) 25TH MARCH, 1935

574 My last visit to Amir Haif's camp was interesting for various reasons, but especially because of the way they were doctoring a valuable hawk, which had had its head badly cut in a fight with a *hubara*.

We (my wife, myself, my daughter and 'Addas the hawk-eyed Rashidi hunter of the Shaikh of Kuwait) arrived at about 10 a.m. at the Amir's camp on the eastern edge of the Shaqq, and in the depression known as Khaur al Hajlan.

My wife brought enough silks and satins to satisfy the needs of the Amir's ladies, some seven in number (including sisters and daughters), and after distributing them, and giving other silks to the two wives of Anaizan al Munaikhar on a visit from Najd, we had lunch. A good spread it was too, set out in 'Ajman fashion. The Amir made an excellent host, and entertained us right royally.

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After lunch we heard all about the hawk incident. The bird had been branded between the eyes much as *salúqi* dogs are branded by the Badawin for distemper. The wound made by the *hubara* was on the top centre of the head, and was as large as a sixpence, the brand was the size of a threepenny bit and was placed just in front of the other wound. The hawk looked very sorry for itself, but Amir Haif assured me it would get quite well and "recover its courage". He said he was known to be an expert falcon doctor, and everyone knew that what he said would turn out as foreshadowed. I cordially hoped it would. 223

After lunch we met Nahar al Mutalaqqim and his brother 'Abdulla (known as 'Ubaid from the dark colour of his skin, and his rather thick lips). Both were the Shaikhs of the Al Mutalaqqim sept of the 'Ajman, and great warriors. 173 [551]

'Ubaid told me that he had been one of the famous twenty paladins* (two of Sbei, one Qahtani and seventeen of 'Ajman) who under the leadership of Bin Sa'ud, Muhammad his brother, and 'Abdulla ibn Jiluwi had captured Riyadh and killed Ajlan, the Bin Rashid Governor, as he bolted back into the *kút* or fort of Riyadh. "Ah, Abu Sa'ud, those were great days, and it was worth a whole man's life to have seen them. It was Bin Jiluwi who hurled his dagger at the fleeing Ajlan and missed him,† and it was Bin Jiluwi's hand that seized Ajlan's leg as he tried to enter the wicket gate, and brought him to the ground, but it was 'Abdul 'Aziz's sword which struck off Ajlan's head, as he lay on the ground struggling with Bin Jiluwi. I can even now see Bin Sa'ud preparing for the sortie from Ajlan's lady's house, on the other side of the square. How cool and calm he was. He had discarded his *agál* (head rope) and tied his *kaffiyah* over his head and round his neck, and had followed it by carefully tying his long sleeves round the back of his neck.

And what a woman was Ajlan's wife. She was found in deep sleep, and it was Bin Sa'ud who touched her and woke her up. *Minu, minu?* (who is it, who is it?), was all she said. On being told by Bin Sa'ud

* According to Bin Sa'ud's story related as recently as November 1937, 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim was not among the famous twenty, but was among his supporters who awaited outside Riyadh among the palm groves.

† The mark of Bin Jiluwi's dagger which stuck in the great door of the fort after missing Ajlan can be seen to this day in Riyadh.

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173 that it was he, instead of screaming or crying as most women would have done, she merely replied, *Wa na'am ya Abu Turki, wa na'am.* Later indeed she showed more of her pluck, by trying to kill 'Abdul 'Aziz by an evil spell.

On our return journey, and at the end of a pleasant day, we stopped some 'Awazim milch camels by the wayside, and had a drink of milk each. 'Addas disgraced himself by drinking five pint bowls of milk straight off and without a pause. The baby camels were delightful in their friendliness, and nosed their little faces into ours in most affectionate manner—nor were the mothers in any way frightened or anxious.

A CHAT WITH RÁSHID BIN FAHAD

823 During one of my many pleasant journeys among the 'Ajman tribe, I met on 10th May, 1935, an interesting person called Ráshid bin Fahad of the Al 'Arja section of the 'Ajman. I found him in the tent of Anaizan ibn Munaikhir.

Ráshid told me many stories of the Murra tribe and their life and said:

(*a*) Among other things he had been south of Jabrin to Magainama wells (see Philby's *Empty Quarter*), and on to Um al Hadida and even south of that place, and

(*b*) He had heard of *walking stones* (see Philby) but had only seen a few once. This was when he was on a raid with the late Dhaidan al Hithlain, Shaikh of the 'Ajman. His leader and many others had examined the stones carefully, and said they were inspired by Jinns. What they saw were pebbles about the size of a pigeon's egg lying with others on gravelly ground. These pebbles had clearly been dragged or rolled some six feet along the ground, as their tracks showed clear behind them. Only a few selected stones had done this, the others had clearly never moved—so it could not have been a strong gale. Besides, he said, a wind would have obliterated the tracks.

(*c*) He had heard the Murra people talk of singing sands, but had never heard them himself. The Murra had told him the noise was the work of Jinns, who also made other noises in the desert like children crying, and more often than not sounds of pestle and mortar (coffee making), as if a camp was near. Ráshid emphasised that the pheno-

: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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charge at the hide, unable to see whence the shot had come but sensing 539
the direction. As the hunter stood up, the oryx with his head down impaled him on his long horns and carried him away. Although nearly fainting with agony he had the presence of mind to hold on very tight with both hands round the belly of the animal, for he knew that if he once fell over on one side or the other his head would be dashed against the ground as the beast galloped off. He was powerless to kill the oryx as both his dagger and gun had dropped from him when the animal rushed him, and he had no other weapon.

The story is an old one and believed to be true. It is known to all Shammar tribesmen and is said to have taken place near Hail about one hundred years ago.

Told by 'Abdulla el Othman al Rashid of Buraida

ABRAHAM AND ISHMAEL

Coming home one day from a hawking expedition in the autumn 173
of 1937 with Mirshid ibn Twala of the Shammar tribe, I was discussing 186
the Palestine troubles with him, and asked why it was that the Arabs hated the Jews.

"O Abu Sa'ud," said he, "God has told us that the Jews are an accursed people whose witness is not acceptable. They were always against every Prophet sent them, notably Moses and Jesus, and when finally Muhammad the last of the Prophets was sent them by God, did they not try and murder him also on three occasions?

"Yes, Abu Sa'ud, they are a cruel and stiff-necked people and always were so, but we Badawin hate them particularly for the way Abraham's wife intrigued against Hagar the mother of Ishmael, and cruelly expelled her into the waterless desert. She intended that Hagar should die there of thirst, but God saved her and her son, our ancestor.

"Abraham was later filled with remorse and spent the latter years of his life trying to find his son Ishmael, having been told by God that he was still alive and would receive great blessing. Your Book and the Jewish Taurat says nothing about this nor how Abraham found him and then was ordered by God to take him up into the high mount of 'Arafat and there sacrifice him. No, the accursed Bani Israel (Jews) were not going to have it that way, they were going to

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173 have it that Isaac was the one preferred of God, and they cooked the
186 Scriptures, so that their descendants and you Christians to this day believe that Isaac was the son whom Abraham was bidden to sacrifice."

173 "Tell me the story, O Mirshid," I said, "for I have not heard it."

539 "It happened in this wise, and I will make it short, for the whole tale is very long. It will show you, however, that Abraham in the end made up for the wrong he did to Hagar the mother of Ishmael, and proved that Ishmael was in truth the dearer of his two sons, and was the one favoured of God. And don't forget that Ishmael was the ancestor of half the great Arab race. The other or Southern half are descended from Qahtan (Yokdan) the son of Set (Seth), and an older branch of Abraham's ancestors. The descendants of Qahtan accepted Ishmael and his descendants though they called them 'Arab al Musta'ariba, or Arabs who became Arabs as opposed to their own proud title of 'Arab al 'Ariba or those who were Arabs from the first.

"When Hagar was driven into the desert to die with her baby boy, Abraham had migrated to the south as was his annual custom and as all Badawin even to this day move, in search of grazing. He was at the time not far from where the town of Mecca stands to-day. There was of course no Bait Allah (House of God) in those days. Well, as the unfortunate Hagar was about to die of thirst, she grieved greatly for her offspring—and in frantic agony left her baby in a sandy water-course, and started running about near two small hills which were at hand, praying to God all the while to save her child.

"The two hills later became known as Safa and Marwa, and are now inside the precincts of modern Mecca. God heard her prayer, for on staggering back exhausted to see if her child were still alive, she found a small *thamila* (pool) of water lying in a hole in the sand that had been excavated by her child's legs as it lay kicking in the sand. She dug further and more water oozed into the hole, and she drank long and deeply. She was saved and her prayers had been answered. That *thamila* is to-day the famous well of Zam Zam which lies inside the precincts of the Harám or Holy Place in Mecca. Later Hagar was found by certain Arabs of the locality and was cared for and became one of them.

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Bedouins MJ4

Ishmael's Wives

Chap. XXII

"In the course of time Ishmael grew up and Hagar was gathered to her fathers, and never saw Abraham again. 173 539

"Ishmael then took unto himself as wife a girl of the tribe which had befriended his mother, and he built her a small mud and stone home near the water that had saved his and his mother's life. From there Ishmael would wander forth with the camels and sheep that he had now acquired, and would return in the evening to his wife. He also was a great hunter.

"It came to pass when Ishmael was about one score and five years of age that the aged Abraham, having once more moved with his flocks and camels to that region, was ordered by God in a dream to look for his son Ishmael the son of Hagar, as he was surely alive. Abraham had always yearned for the lost Hagar and greatly rejoiced at the news. He accordingly left his camp daily to see if he could find his son. One day God guided his footsteps and brought him to Ishmael's little house. Ishmael was away but his wife, seeing an aged man, and obviously a shaikh from his finely caparisoned camel, which he was making kneel in front of her house, went out and invited him in. Abraham entered and sat down, but was given only a drink of water, for the wife explained that she had no food in the house. This was untrue, for she had in fact some milk and dates in her larder but did not want to waste them on a stranger. Abraham felt within him that the house was that of his long-lost son, but said nothing, and at length rose to go. As he mounted his camel he said, 'O woman, when thy husband returneth tell him to cleanse the threshold (*'atiba*) of his house'. With that he was gone.

"When Ishmael returned in the evening and heard about the visit of the aged stranger and what he had said to his wife, he was wroth and said, 'Woman, thou didst not do well, in thou didst fail to honour the guest and give him of all thou hadst; Verily thou art the threshold of my house, and it shall be cleansed'. With that he put her away and sent her back to her people. Not long after Ishmael took unto himself another wife, and two years later Abraham again presented himself at his house in the same way as before.

"Again Ishmael was absent, this time a-hunting. Ishmael's wife welcomed the stranger in, tended him kindly and gave of all she had in the house. Again Abraham rose to go, and as he mounted his camel

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

173 he said, 'O woman, tell thy husband to guard the threshold of his
539 house, for it shall be blessed with a great blessing for this day's work'.

"When Ishmael returned from the chase and heard the story, he too rejoiced and said, 'I smell the smell of my father, verily it is he who hath been with thee. Blessed also art thou, O wife, for thy children shall be known throughout the ages for their hospitality to strangers. This shall be the sign unto the world that the children of Ishmael have been blessed and are the favoured of God.'

"Then Ishmael rose up and searched for his father Abraham and finding him after some days, he made himself known to him. And Abraham rejoiced exceedingly that he had found his son.

"Now the age of Ishmael was twenty and seven summers. Now it came to pass after these things that Abraham one day dreamed a dream. He then called his son Ishmael and said unto him, 'My son, I saw in my sleep that I have to take thee up into yon high mountain, prepare therefore an ass for me to ride on, and do thou follow me'. On the journey and as Ishmael followed some way behind his father, Iblís (the devil) in the form of a benign old man stepped from behind some rocks and spake to him thus: 'My son, follow not the footsteps of that wicked old man going before thee, for assuredly he will kill thee on the top of that mountain, turn thee back that thou may be saved'. But Ishmael cursed the old man and drove him away, casting seven stones after him. Now the place where Ishmael stoned the tempter Iblís, is known as Muna to this day, and is marked by three pillars which all good Muslims stone during the Pilgrimage. The name of the mountain is known also as 'Arafat or the 'mountain of witness' to this day, and is visited by thousands of Muslims when performing the Haj.

"When Abraham and Ishmael reached the top of the mountain Abraham said unto Ishmael: 'My son, I saw in my sleep that I have to sacrifice thee'. Then the son said to his father: 'My father, thy will is my will, but tie the cords very tight to keep me from trembling, and remove my garments lest some of my blood spatter on them and I shall thus lose merit, and lest my wife grieve when she sees them. Also sharpen the blade well, and pull it quickly across my throat so that death may be easier, for verily death is a very hard matter. And when you come back to my wife, give her my salaams, and if she

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

so desires give her my shirt, perhaps it may comfort her a little.' 173
Abraham said, 'My son, you help me to do what God hath com- 539
manded me to perform'.

"Then Abraham did as his son requested, and after he had bound him he bent down and kissed him, weeping all the time. Ishmael his son also wept till the tears ran down his cheeks.

"Then Abraham put the knife to his son's throat, but it did not cut.

"It has been said that God had put a sleeve of brass round his son's throat.

"Then Ishmael said: 'O my father, turn me on my face, for when you see my eyes you are sorry for me, and pity takes hold of you and keeps you from doing that God has commanded you to do'.

"So his father did this, but when he put the knife to the back of the neck, it turned over, and a voice called to him, 'Faithfully done, O Abraham, thou art my servant indeed'.

"Then Abraham turned round and found a ram entangled by its horns in a nearby bush, so he sacrificed it in place of his son Ishmael.

"And it came to pass that after sojourning awhile with his son Ishmael and his wife who had joined him, Abraham returned to his own country, but Ishmael remained in the land of his adoption."

The above story appears to have been taken from a very old book 173
known as *Qisas al Anbiyā* or Stories of the Prophets, written cen- 538
turies ago, though I have no reference book which gives its date. Suffice it to say that the writer wrote many tales regarding events of the Old Testament, and almost all the knowledge the Badawin of Arabia has of ancient Biblical history comes from this book.

It has been said that educated Muslims do not pay much attention to the *Qisas al Anbiyā*, though I do not like to think this is the case.

It is interesting to learn from this book that among early Muslims there was a difference of opinion as to whom Abraham was going to offer up. The Qur'an does not definitely give the name. Some persons of prominence thought it was Isaac and not Ishmael, while others even held that it was Joseph. The tradition that for a long time, and until the Ka'bah was burned in the days of Hajjaj, there hung on its walls a *pair of ram's horns*, made the author of the *Qisas al Anbiyā* decide that it must have been Ishmael.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

ORIGIN OF 'AWAZIM TRIBE

173 The 'Awazim claim to be related to the Bani Attiya of North Hijaz, as both claim descent from one *Atta*, and call themselves *Aulád Atta*. But I think this to be a mere coincidence, nothing more, and although the 'Awazim of Hasa certainly come from North Hijaz, they are of Hutaim stock, and will usually admit this.

The war cry of the 'Awazim tribe is *Aulád Atta* corrupted into *Aladatta*, and it is amusing to hear an 'Awazim child quarrelling with another and shouting out *Aladatta*.

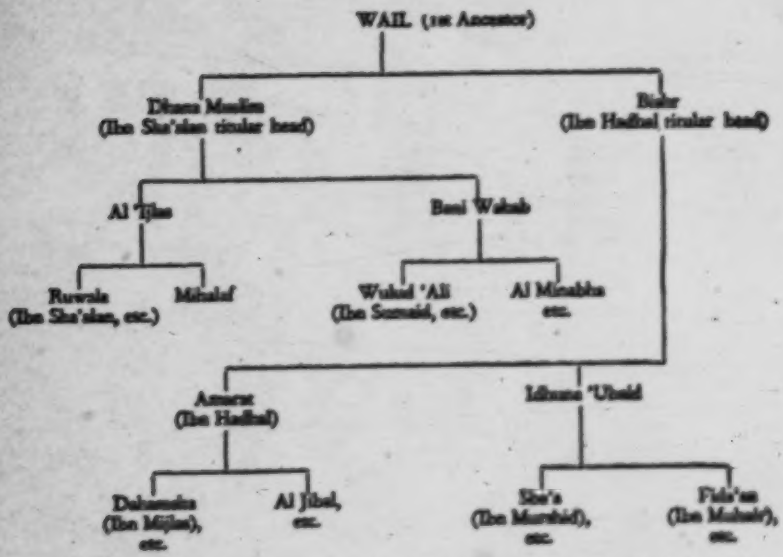
l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Appendix I

619
101
173

The 'Anizah Tribe

(Origin and main sections)



The Wahad Sulaiman tribe claim descent from Wail and so call themselves 'Anizah, but there is some doubt about this.

Notes on the 'Anizah Tribe

1. The parent tribes of the whole of the 'Anizah are said to be the FAQIR (or FAJIR), plural FUQARA, and the 'AIDA.

The former to this day ranges the country between TAIMA and KHAIBAR in North-West Arabia, and the latter the country lying between Madain Salih, Dar al Hamra and Al 'Ula.

2. The various 'Anizah sections as we know them to-day in the Syrian desert first moved up northwards to their present *diraks* about A.D. 1600 and in successive waves, the whole migration taking some 180 years.

The different sections are said to have carried out the move in the following order:

FIDA'AN.	SRA'A.
H'SINNA.	RUWALA.
AMARAT.	etc.

As the great Northern Shammar tribe was already in possession of the Syrian desert, these had to be driven out by the oncoming 'Anizah. With such success was this done that the Shammar were eventually forced across

Appendix II

619 the Euphrates into the country south-west of Mosul, where they reside
101 to-day under the name of Shammar Jarba (Shaikh Ajil al Yarwar).*

173 3. The town of KHAIBAR is the earliest-known centre of the 'Anizah tribe, and to this day its two main "quarters" are called Al Bishr and 'Ijlan.

619 4. The 'Anizah tribe is the greatest of all Badawin tribes as regards strength and the numbers of their camels. They have a pretty story that their ancestor Wail chanced on the right moment in the Night of Destiny (Lailat al Qadr) the 27th of Ramadhan (Fast Month), when God will always fulfil the prayers of men. Placing one hand on his she-camel and the other on a certain part of his own person, he prayed that her seed and his own should be fruitful and multiply: God heard his prayer with to-day's wonderful results.

It is said that the 'Anizah to-day number 37,000 males, and their camels approximately one million.

721 5. The 'Anizah between themselves are always at war, but will combine
619 against any foreign aggressor. For example, the Amarat—Sba'a—and Fida'an are at enmity with the Ruwala and will combine against them. Similarly the Dahamsha, though of Amarat origin, do not fight the Ruwala (because of an ancient grievance against the Ibn Hadhal, then the tinular overlords).

[638] 6. The great external enemy of the 'Anizah are the Shammar, whether found in the north or in the south. This is a hereditary feud.

7. The Hawaitat tribe, lying south-west of the 'Anizah country between Wejh and the Amman border, are also enemies from old time, but are not strong enough to worry them much, hence there is a sort of perpetual truce between them.

APPENDIX II

000 BADAWIN SHAIKHS WE HAVE KNOWN INTIMATELY

'Anizah	Fahad Beg al Hadhal (dead) *Mahrooh al Hadhal*	Amarat group.
	Nuri as Sha'alan Farhan ibn Mashur (dead) Fawaz ibn Nawaf as Sha'alan	Ruwala group.
Dhafir	Hamud as Surwait (dead). Hantush as Surwait. Jada'an as Surwait. Jali ibn Juraiyid.	

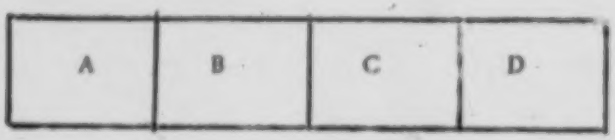
* Now Shaikh Mag ibn Ajil.

1: Dickson

MI1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

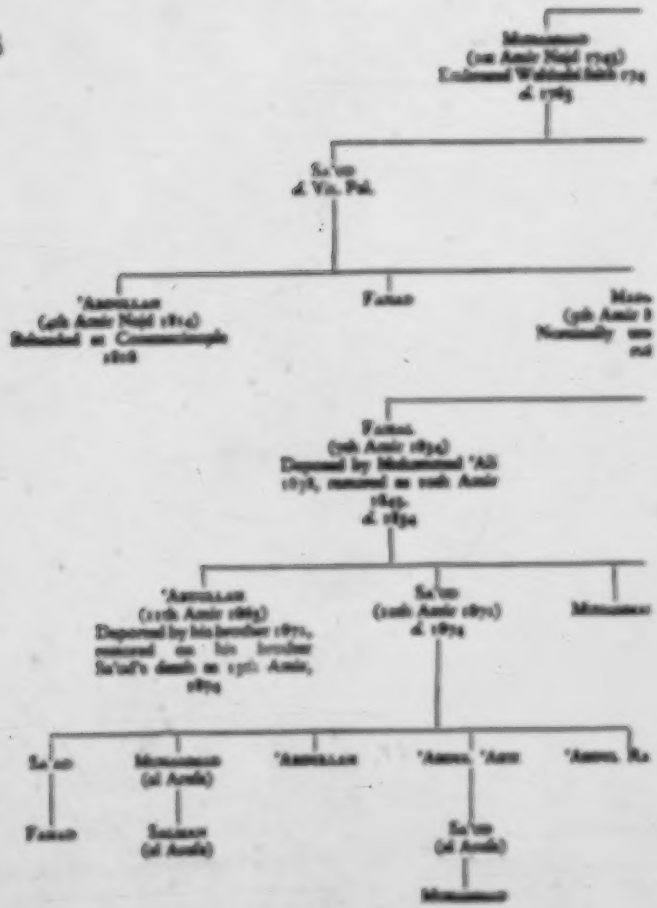
173

[The end chart (1) of the Al Saud pedigree should be assembled according to the following plan.]



Bedouins MJ4

178



* To show how closely connected the present Ruler of Nejd, Ibn 'Abdul Lateif, the late aged Qadhi of Riyadh, and great learning which Ibn Sa'ud possesses, and the religious services 'Abdul Rahman, brother of 'Abdul 'Aziz; in other words, he

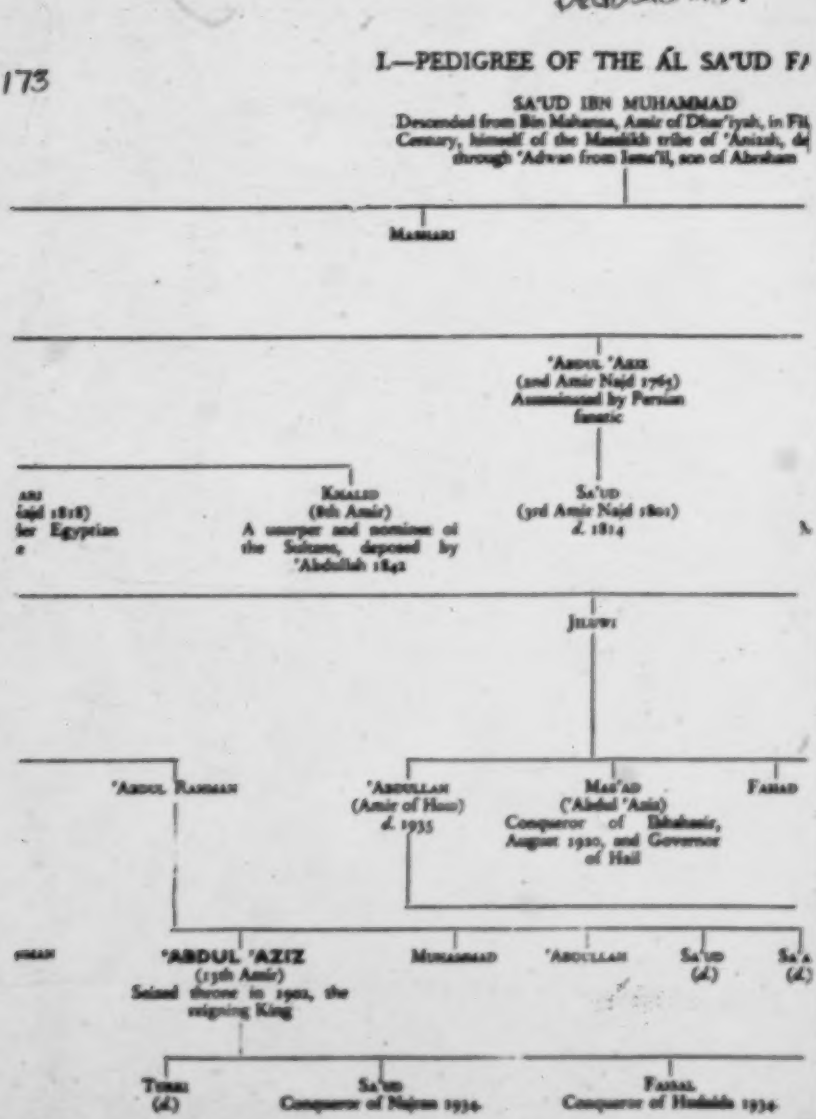
End chart I (A)

1: Dickson G-6 (1929-1947) 1951 MTI Kuwait

Bedouins MT 91

173

I.—PEDIGREE OF THE ÁL SA'UD F/



left finally to with the descendants of Muhammad Al 'Abdul Wahhab, the founder of the Wahhabi doctrine
grandson of original Muhammad ibn 'Abdul Wahab. The present Ibn Sa'ud was extremely intimate with
a which he has preached to the Ikhwan, which did not originate with the old 'Alim. The latter was the
nearest his first cousin both on his father's and mother's sides.

End chart I (B)

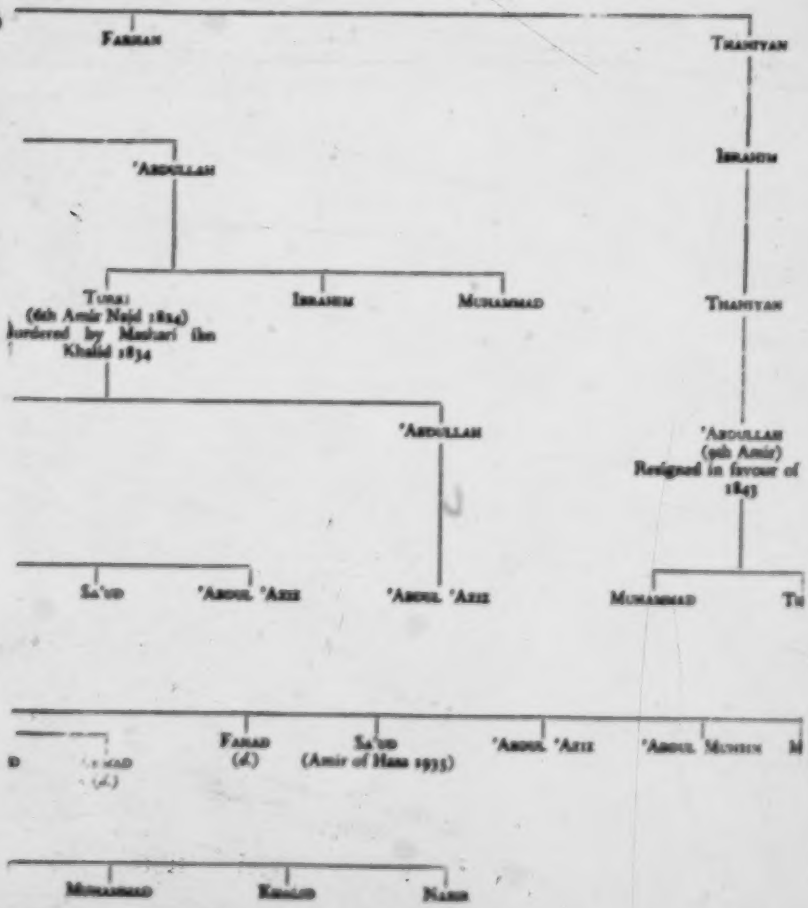
1: Dickson G-6 (1929-1947) 1951 MI: Kuwait

Bedouins MJ4

AMILY

ounds
riving

173



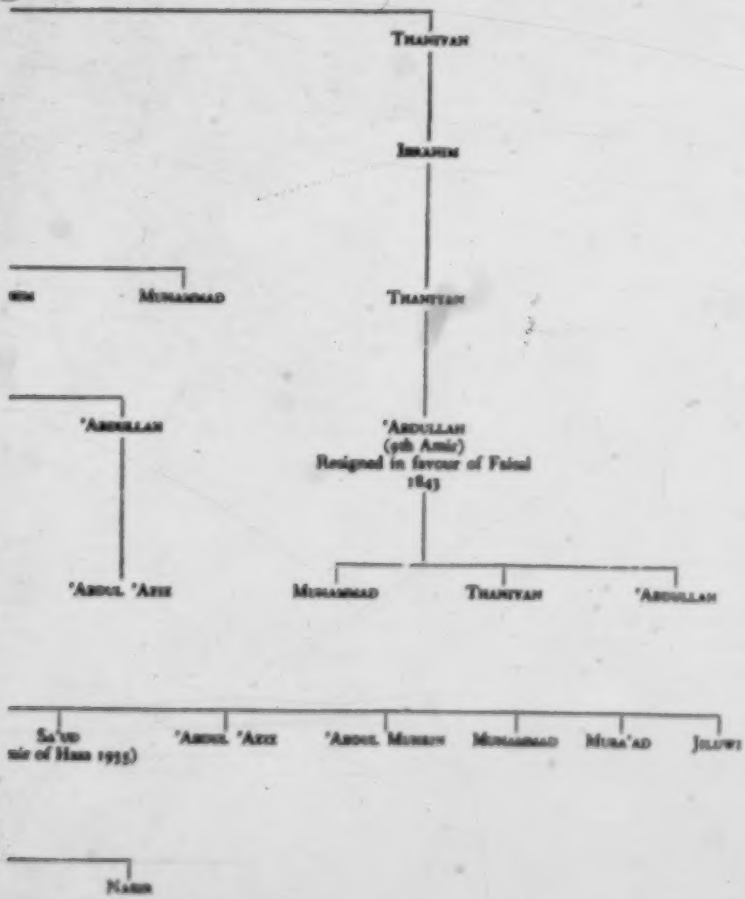
ve, it is of interest to note that the brothers 'Abdul 'Aziz, Muhammad, Sa'ud, each married a daughter of Shaikh 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdul Latif, and wrested the latter almost like a wrestlr sister. There is little in th "Genealogy" as whom first Bin Sa'ud was. Faisal, the third son of Bin Sa'ud, married the daughter of Mul

End chart I (2)

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MII Kuwait

Bedouins MJ4

173



rs 'Abdul 'Aziz, Muhammad, Sa'ud, each married a daughter of 'Abdullah
rested the latter almost like a second father. There is little in the Shari'ah
Faisal, the third son of Bin Sa'ud, married the daughter of Muhammad al

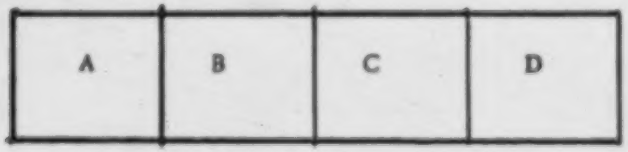
End chart I (D)

1: Dickson

MI1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

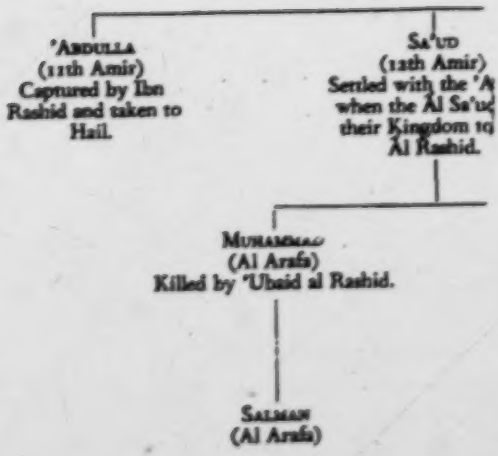
173

[The end chart (II) of the family of Al Saud should be assembled according to the following plan.]



1: Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MI1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

173



End Chart II (A)

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MI1 Kuwait

Bedouins MJ4

173

II.—FAMILY O

SHOWING WHERE THE *AL ARAFA* BRAN

S

Mu

'Abdul 'Aziz

Sa'ud (the Great)

Muhammad

jman
lost
the

'Abdul 'Aziz
m. Wadha bint Hzam al
Hithlain ('Ajman)

Sa'ud
(Al Arafa)
m. Nura, sister of King
'Abdul 'Aziz

Muhammad

'ABDU
(Pres
(13th

Turki
d. 1917
of smallpox

Sa'ud
(Heir Apparent)

F
(Vic
H

* Said to have attempted to murder the Heir Apparent, Sa'u

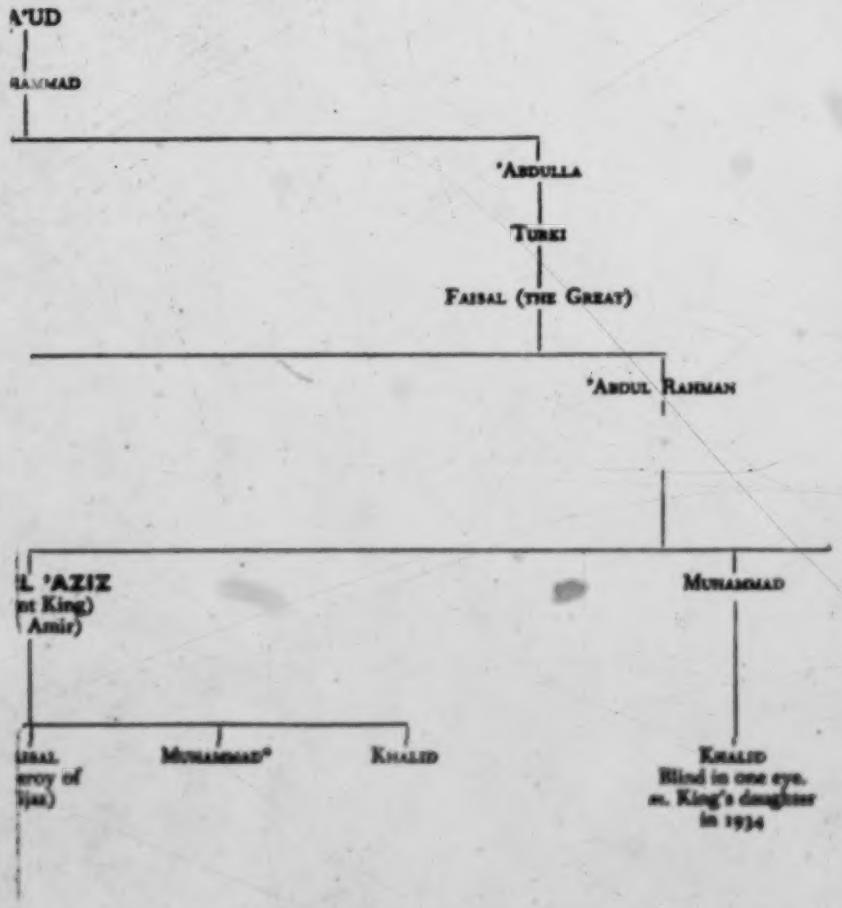
End Chart II (8)

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MI1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

● 173

: THE ÁL SA'UD

'CH CAME INTO THE LINE OF SUCCESSION



d, in 1929 whilst in his bath. He shot a slave mistaken.

End chart II (c)

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MI1 Kuwait

Bedouins MJ4

• 173

'ABDULLA

SA'AD
(d.)
Killed in 'Ajman Wars. Man who shot him supposed to be one of the Mutalaqqim now in Kuwait.

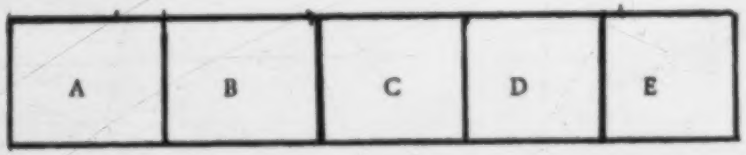
End chart II (D)

1: Dickson

MI1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

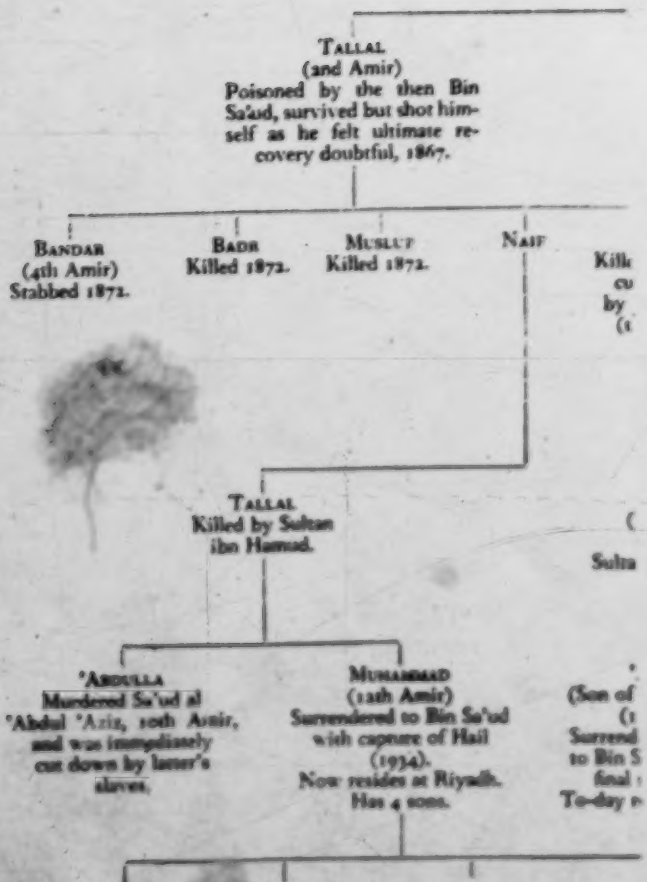
173

[The end chart (III) of the family tree of Al Rashid should be assembled according to the following plan.]



1: Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MI1 Kuwait
Bedooins MJ4

• 173



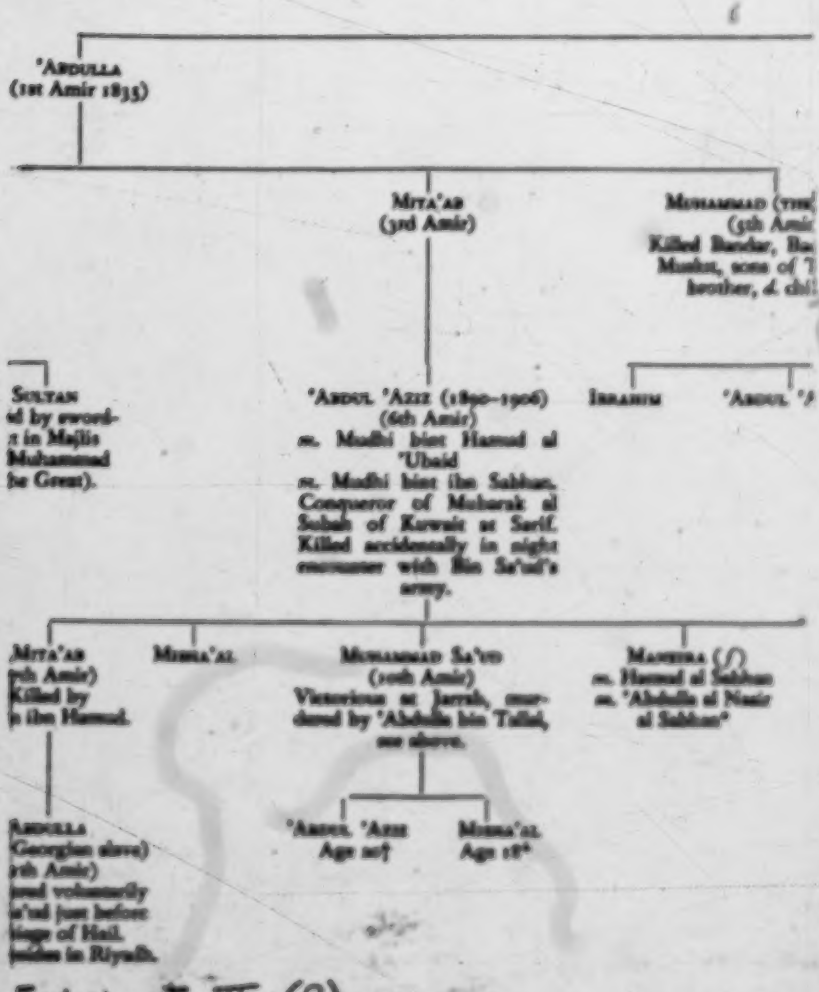
End chart III (A)

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MI1 Kuwait.

Bedouins MJ4

173

[NOTE.—The Rashid Dynasty came from the Al Ja'far
ibn Rashid, the Ibn 'Ali family, also of the Ja'afa



End chart III (B)

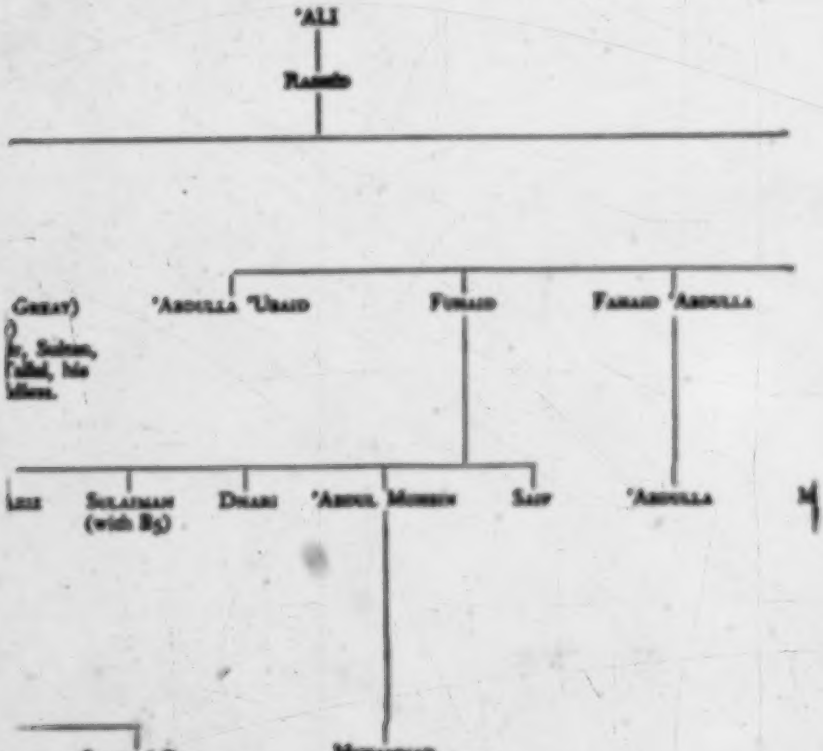
1: Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MI1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

173 III.—FAMILY TREE OF THE AL RASHÍD

RULERS AND AMIRS OF HAIL AND JABAL SHAMMAR

Circa 1835–1924

section of the Abda clan of the Shammar tribe who are themselves descended from Qobeir, section of Abda section, were in power. These ruled in Hail as vassals of the Al Sa'ud who

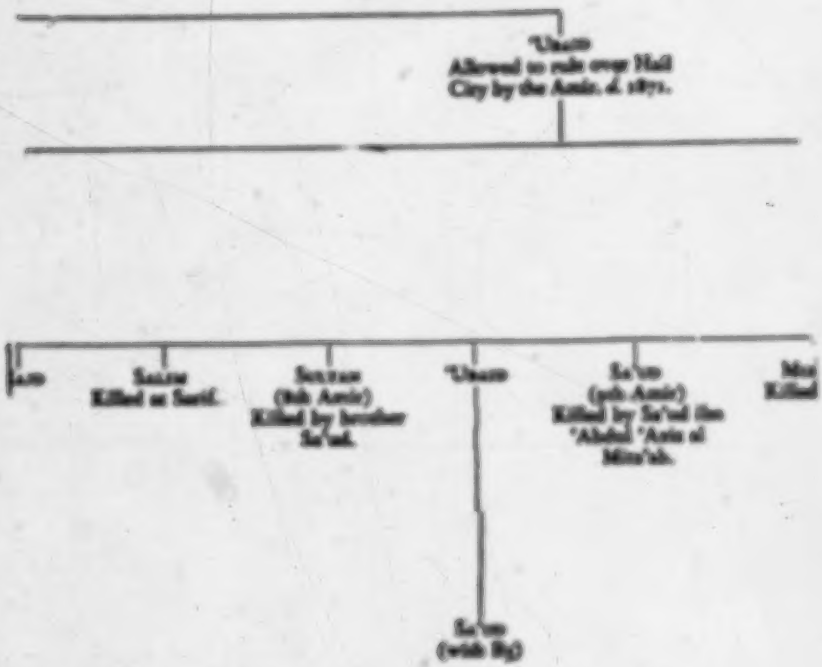


* The Al Sabhan are a genealogical of Al Sa'ud section of Abda Shammar as Rashid Rulers for Wahabiyya, hereditary. The family married the To-day (1938) latter stood high in own much property in their own

End chart III (c)

173

[Before the rise of the ibn Amir, 'Abdulla
ibn Jiluwi was paramount in Central Arabia.]



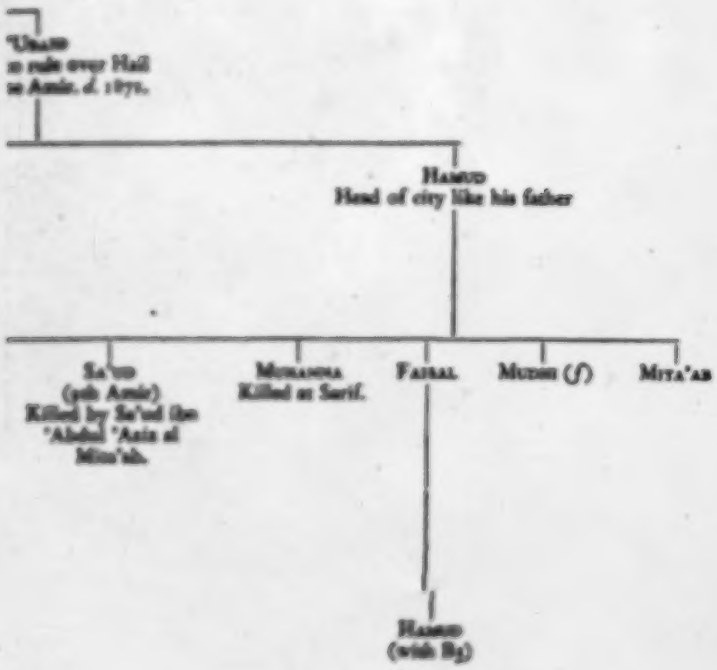
ne family of Hail (Abu
ne.) They are responsible
Tuwaiq and Sudairi-
, were further strengthened,
Ibn Sa'ud's throne, and
ne at Hail.

§ The mother of these two Sa
(daughter of Ibn Shuraim, a Shuai
quently married Ibn Sa'ud, produ
Ibn Sa'ud bore two sons, Lamir, eng
brothers, sons of Sa'ud al 'Abdul
the King's favour to-day.

Ead chart III (D)

Lt Dickson G-6 (1929-1947) 1951 MII Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

173



† The mother of these two boys, known as Al Fahada (daughter of Ibn Shamlan, a Shammar tribal shaikh), subsequently married Ibn Sa'ud, present king of Sa'udi Arabia, to bore him two sons. Latter, together with their two former mothers, sons of Sa'ud al 'Abdul 'Aziz al Rashid, are high in a King's favour to-day.

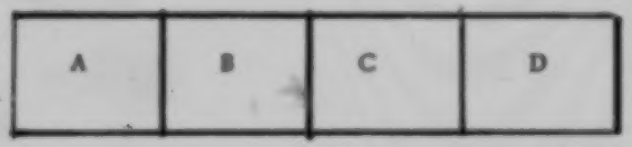
End chart III (E)

1: Dickson

MI1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

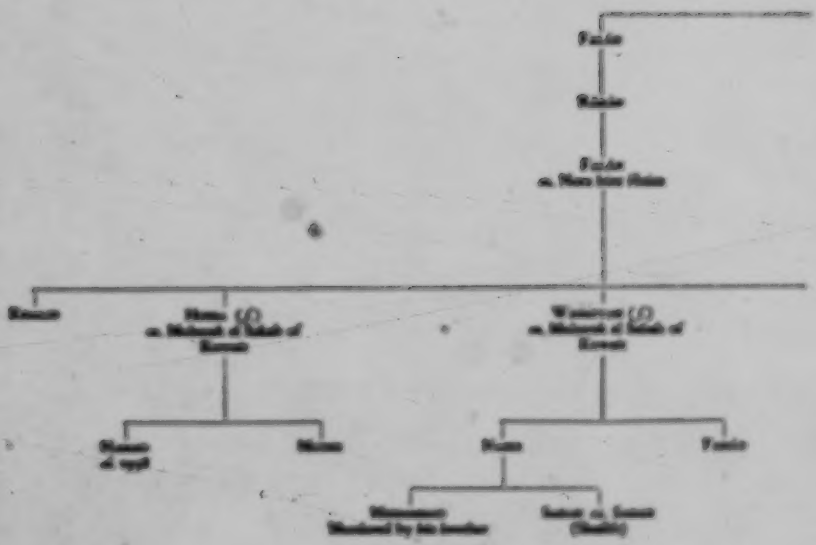
173

[The end chart (IV) of the pedigree of Al Hithlan should be assembled according to the following plan.]



Bedouins MJH

● 173

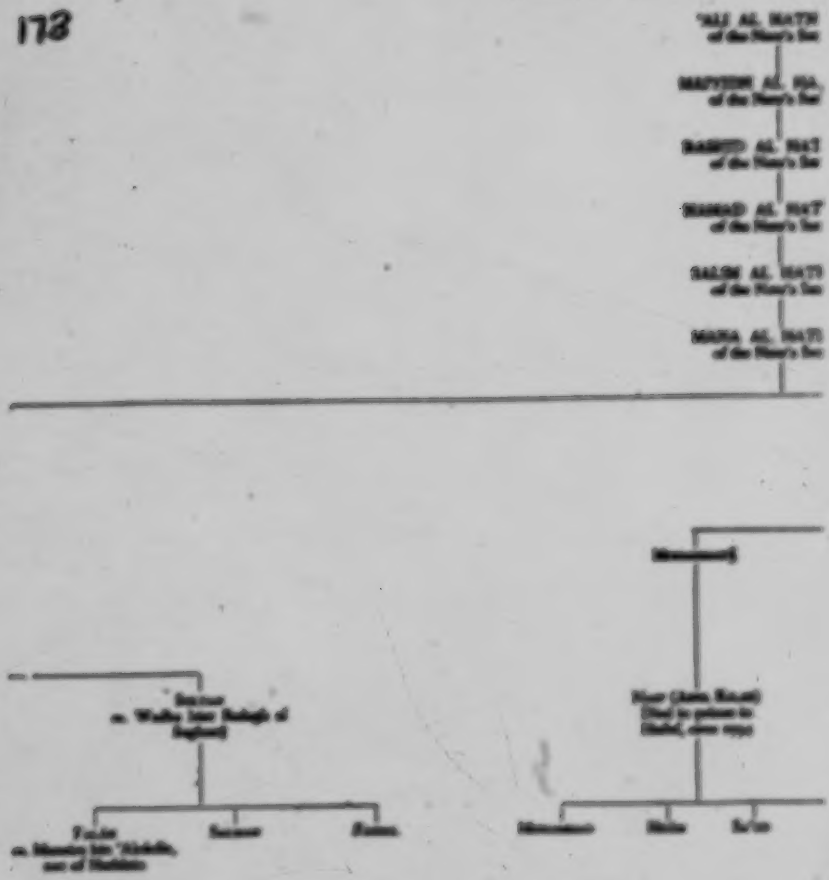


End chart IV (A)

IV.—PEDIGREE OF THE AL HA

PARAMOUNT SHAIKH OF THE 'AJM

• 173

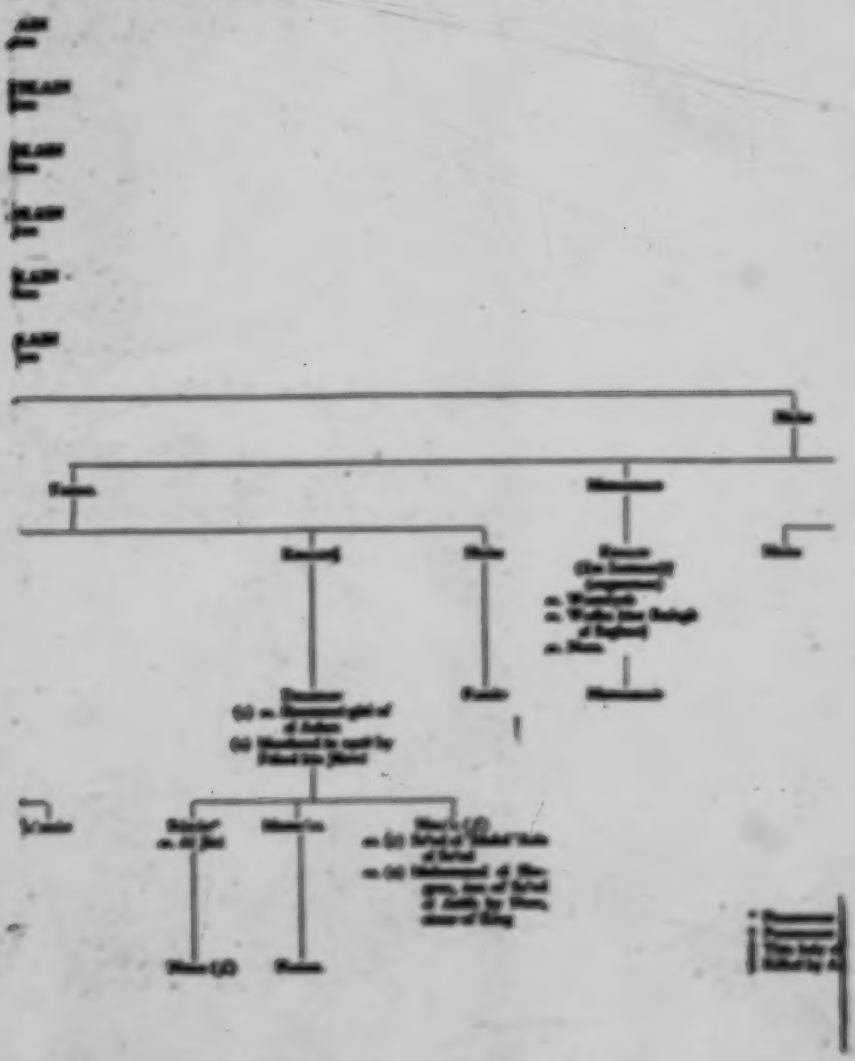


End chart IV (a)

Bedouins N34

173

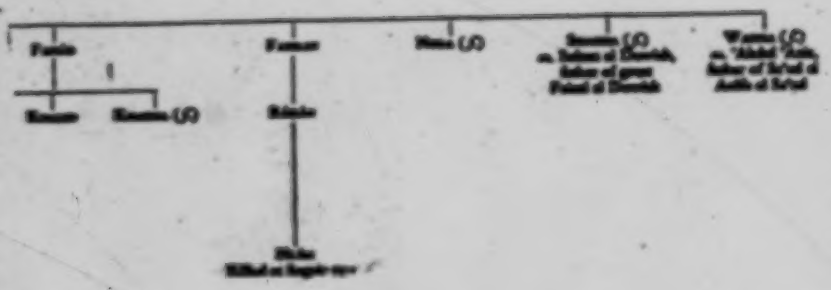
THEAIN (or BETHEAIN)
OF TRIBE OF N.E. ARABIA



End chart IV (c)

Bedouins MJ4

• 173



End chart IV (D)

1: Dickson

MI1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

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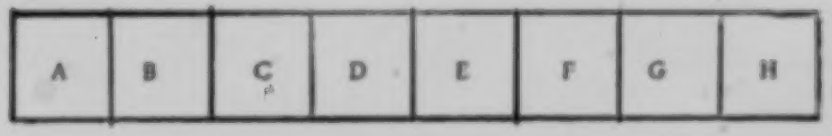
[The end chart (V) showing the shaiks of Mutair should be assembled according to the following plan.



Iz Dickson G-6 (1939-1947) 1941 MZI Kuwait
Geology N 34

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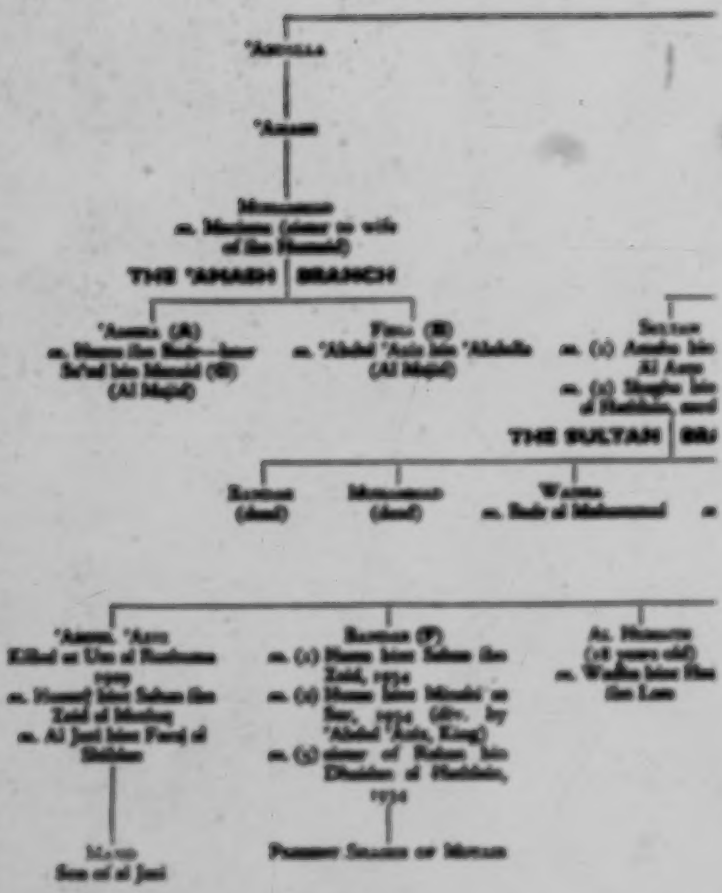
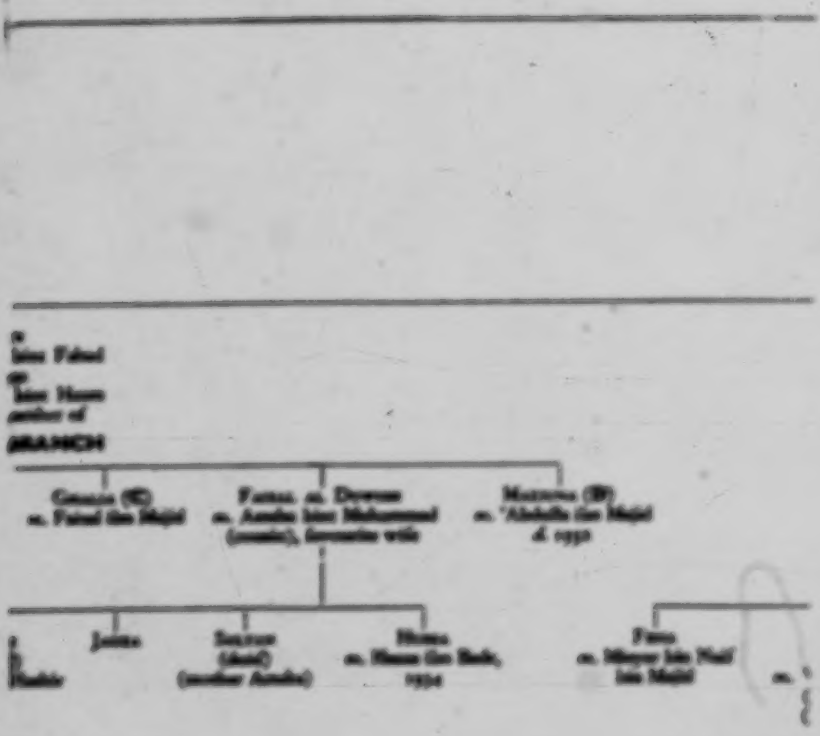


End chart V (A)

175



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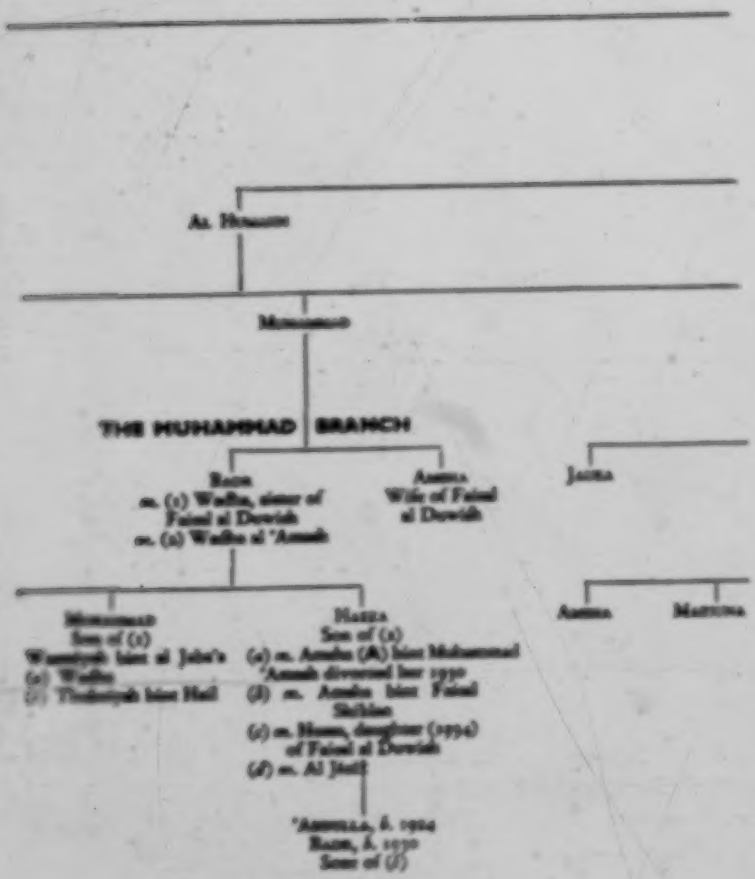

End chart V (c)

Lt Dickson G-4 (1929-1947) 1961 MII Kuwait Bedouins MJ4

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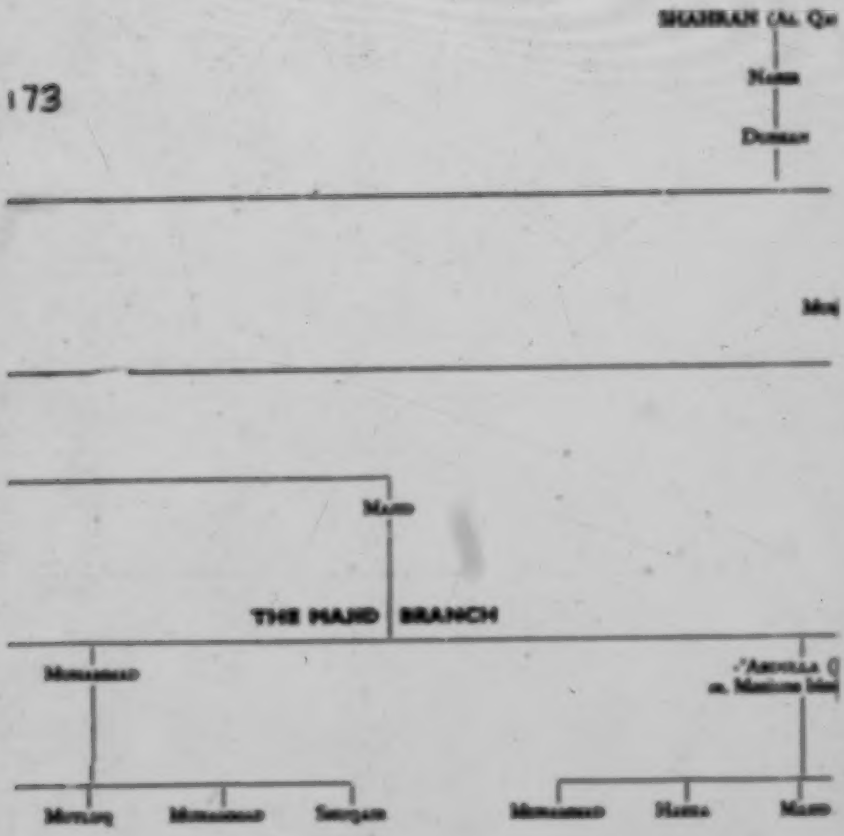
V.—TREE SHOWING NAMES OF SHAIKHS

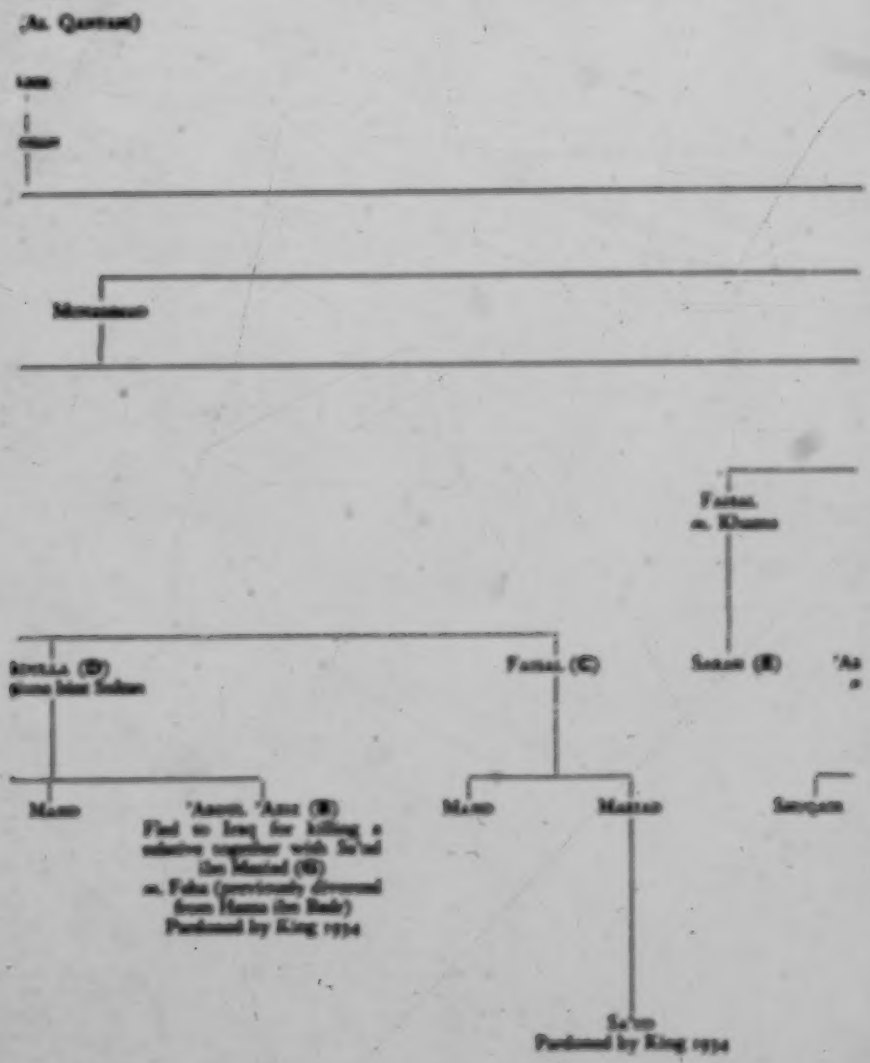
(Date 1955)



End chart V (D)

173

IKHS (DUSHAN) OF MUTAIR ('ILWA)



End chart V (E)

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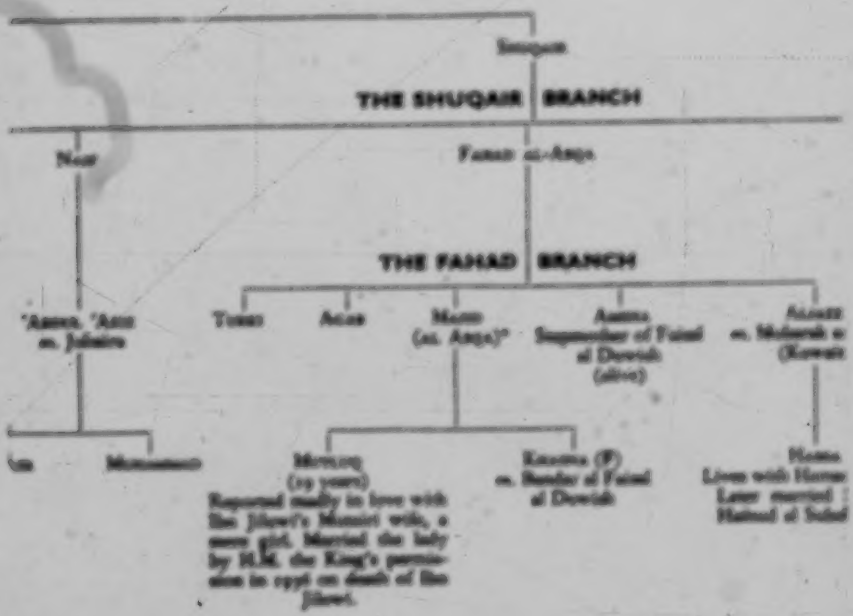
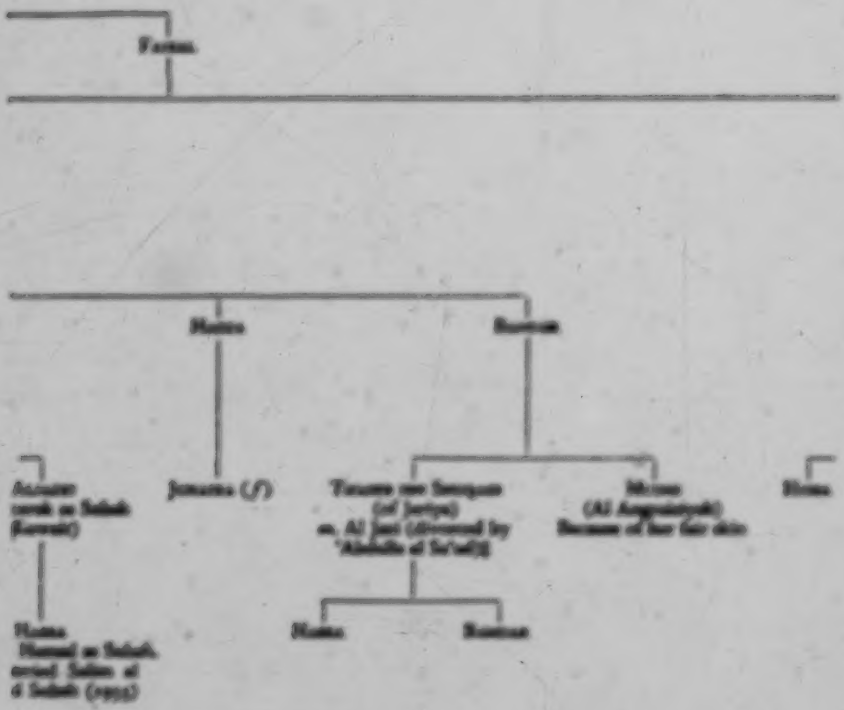


End chart V(F)

173



End chart V (B)

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Lower diagonal and unmarked Shows the Rule.

End chart V (H)

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

104 622 Eben Me'gel are encamped here"; "the ḫawm of Eben Gendal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as "That is the ḫawm of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the ḫawm of the Fregg," will never be heard. When the late Prince Eben Se'ūd spoke of gemā'at, he was thinking of the various tribes who obeyed his orders and who would hasten to his assistance. Gemā'a is almost the same as ḫawm.[26] The rank of chief[27] is hereditary in a definite house, ʕāʾila.[28] It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities; nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses may persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted, either of their own free will or under compulsion, and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes, is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as Seyḫ al-bēt, while affairs of war are left to a man from a different kin. Such a leader is known as Seyḫ al-ḫēl or Seyḫ al-ḥarb. If he succeeds in subduing the enemy and concluding a favorable peace, several clans may become attached to him. They obey him in peace. There cases were in which the hereditary head chief generally succumbs and his house acknowledges the supremacy of the previous military commander, who then becomes Seyḫ al-bēt as well.[29]

69 122 173 According to tradition the head chief of all the Rwala was originally descended

26 Musil, *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 50-51.

27 The ar-Rwala give the name of Seyḫ and also Seyḫ to their head chief. The head chief declares war and concludes peace. Cf. *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, etc., pp. 7-9; Miller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 202-208; Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, *The New Iraq: its Problem of Bedouin Education* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1954), pp. 27-29; Leo Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Bawader: Ihre Rechtsverhältnisse, Sitten und Gebräuche, aus dem Archiv des Orientes* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 29-31: "Eben Rauḥ das Gewissen 'Azīz al-'Azīz in Bawader"; Tawfīq Ashkenazi, *Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du nord* (Paris, 1938), pp. 51-53.

28 Generally the word ʕāʾila denotes the name as head or chief, its meaning being wider than that of ahl. Fariḫ is the name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor. A Fariḫ is also wider than an ahl. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word ʕāʾila, which is often interchanged with the article ʕāʾila, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwaḥi, a member of the ar-Rwala tribe. Cf. Musil, *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 49-50; Ign. Goldziher, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 50, pp. 113-117; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 248; Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung*, etc., part 1, pp. 68-111; part 2, pp. 183-229.

29 Musil, *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 50-51.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

from the kin of the Ka'ṣa's. Sa'lān was the son of worthy parents. Although he had no property of his own, he had charge of the camel herdsmen of the al-Mur'ān kin in the capacity of a fellāwi, free born servant. The herds grazed in the environs of a certain settlement in Nejd. The Ka'ṣa's once stole flocks of sheep and goats from the settlers and drove their camels into their fields. The settlers rushed out, captured the herds of camels, and hid them in the enclosed palm gardens. The Rwala surrounded the settlement, but they could not break down the defence, and the settlers threatened that the captured camels would die of hunger if the Rwala did not abandon the blockade. Accordingly the head chief of the Rwala made an offer of peace to the elder of the settlers. The elder declared that he would not negotiate except with his acquaintance Sa'lān and that he would not give up the camels except to him. The representatives of the Fregg and Rīhīlān pleaded with the chief to give Sa'lān the seal ring, and this was done. Sa'lān went to the elder and came to terms with him. The settlers returned the captured camels. All praised Sa'lān and said that he was a gentleman. Sa'lān remained in the settlement and did not return the ring to the head chief. The settlers, the Fregg, and the Rīhīlān supported him, and after four years he overthrew the head chief and himself guided the destinies of all the Rwala. A struggle for priority ensued between the head chief Eben Sa'lān with his Rwala and chief al-Sreyfi of the Kwalbe. The latter belonged to the Kahejan division of the 'Anazah. Originally they camped in Nejd. Under their chief al-Sreyfi they advanced to the territory of the Rwala and encamped to the east of al-Gowf.[30] They wished to act and rule in complete independence, but the Rwala declared that they must acknowledge the Rwala supremacy or else withdraw. Thereupon the Kwalbe joined with the Sarrāḥīn and Zafīr[31] and undertook a great raid upon the tribes obeying Eben Sa'lān. They were led by the seven sons of al-Sreyfi. The Kwalbe and Sarrāḥīn wished to avenge their great

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30 al-Gowf: oasis, northern Nejd; Arabic *J* or *G* – Gowf al-'Amir. Gowf al-'Amir, the ancient Dūmat al-Gandal, a great oasis and suburbs in the south of the Syrian Desert and on the border of the Nefūd. *Gowf* signifies a hollow or low ground. The Sons of Gowf are greatly esteemed in all north-western Arabia and in the lands beyond the Jordan for their skill in metal and marble-working (inlay mosaics and paints). There is a salt traffic from the neighbourhood of Gowf to the Hawrān, whither there come every year many poor Gowfīn to labor for the Druses. Cf. Huqueh, *The Penetration of Arabia* Gowf (North), pp. 18, 34, 104, 157 ff., 162 ff., 170, 173, 247, 250 ff., 254, 256 ff.; Gowf (South), pp. 31, 34, 193, 200, 201, 210, 214. On the occupation of Gowf by Eben Sa'lān and the abandonment of the oasis by the ar-Rwala consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, etc., p. 19. Gowf is mentioned by T. E. Lawrence in the First World War as Nuri Eben Sa'lān's capital (*Revolt in the Desert*, p. 79).

31 On the tribe of Az-Zafīr consult Alois Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 24; *idem*, *Northern Nejd*, p. 189; Gibb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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69 defeat, and in the following year marched against the Rwala. This time it was
617 to be finally decided who should command, and therefore the Kwalba marched
173 with their families, tents, and flocks, and established a war camp, mazah, and Haw'a (or al-Hawa) to the east of the settlement of Skâka.[30] The Rwala had previously occupied all the wells for a considerable distance around. The Kwalba, together with the Sammâr, made several attacks on the encampment of the
[72] Rwala, but each time they were repulsed. The Rwala, who were commanded by a war-chief ('azîd al-harb) Fheyd ibn Ma'ddhal, never attacked but so pressed their adversaries closer and closer that they were unable to obtain water anywhere. Then the elders of Kwalba sent a messenger to Fheyd with a request for peace, and offered the Rwala half their herds. Fheyd agreed and peace was concluded. This bloody war is known as Mazah az-Zrem, "Battle-camp of the Two Sacrifices." The Sammâr, the allies of the Kwalba, did not accept the peace and threatened them with war. Al-Sreyfi then decided that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Rwala and would join them entirely. His daughter Kut married Fheyd and his Kwalba encamped together with the Rwala.[31]

Still it is important to note what Burckhardt says of the Sayh of Wâdi 'Ali, who in his time had their winter quarters on the Hagg road as far as Kal'at Zerkâ;[32] according to him "their shaikh, is named al Teyar: he occupies the first rank among their chiefs, and is therefore styled Abou al Amam, or 'Father of the Armed'."[33] According to Lawrence, "Nûri Shaalan, the great Emir of the Rwala, who after the Shaqîf[34] and Ibn Saud[35] and Ibn Rashîd[36] was the fourth figure among the precarious princes of the desert."[37]

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31 Bâdîhân: M has numbers of Gaudi, Arabia M.

32 On the wells of ar-Rwala consult Musil, *Manners and Customs* etc.; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, pp. 194, 271, 276, 278, 288, 340; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 201, 205, 330; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, etc., pp. 19-20; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 14-16; Miller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 113; *The Military Handbook*, etc., p. 39; Guyot-Bolsée, *Die Beduinen*, vol. 1, pp. 82-130.

34 Kal'at az-Zerkâ, close to the spring of that name (Tower-Jordan).

35 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

36 Hussein Shaw 'Ali (1856-1931): last king of the Hagâz (1916-1924) and founder of the modern Arab Hâshimite dynasty; Grand Sharîf of Mecca (1908-1916) as a result of the Young Turk movement. In the World War he first sided with the Turks; later, on advice of his son Faisal and of Colonel T. E. Lawrence, he joined the Allied cause.

37 'Abd-al'Azîz Ibn'Abd-ar-Rahmân al-Faisal Ibn-Sa'ûd (b. 1887): King of Saudi Arabia (from 1932); born Riyadh, son of 'Abd-ar-Rahmân, Wahabi sultan of Nagd. In World War I he sided with the British against the Turks; invaded and conquered (1925-1927) the Hagâz, leading abdication of King Hussein and his son 'Ali; proclaimed himself King of Hagâz (1926); changed his title from Sultan of Nagd to King of the Hagâz and Nagd; by decree (1932) he proclaimed the official name of Hagâz and Nagd as Kingdom of Saudi

29: Glubb--1 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

THE SULUBBA AND OTHER IGNOBLE TRIBES OF SOUTHWESTERN ASIA

by

J. B. Glubb*

114 * Political Officer in Trans-Jordan. These notes were received at Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, during 1935--H.F.

SULUBBA

141 The origin of these people remains obscure. 144 None of the Arab historians of the early Islamic conquests appear to mention them, which seems to disprove the theory that they are remnants of an old conquered race. The hypothesis suggesting descent from the Crusaders seems to be a modern European fantasia based solely on the resemblance between their tribal name and the Arabic word for a cross. 6

101 Musil (1), in his "Arabia Deserta," states

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1. Alois Musil, Arabia Deserta, p. 233.

29: Glubb--2 G-S (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

that the Sulubba believe that they originated from the Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf, but I have not heard this story. The few Sulubba I have asked usually replied that they came from an old people who were not Moslems. I imagine, however, that this was merely conjectural; I would not attribute these answers to ancient tradition. Two Sulubba once surprised me by saying that they were descended from Crusaders! But on pressing them for the origin of their statement, they admitted that they had been told so by a French officer in Syria!

The Sulubba are to be found in an area extending roughly from Damascus to Mosul in the north, down to Jauf, east of the Nefud, Hail, Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, the Tigris above Baghdad, and Mosul.

They are scarcely ever found in Trans-Jordan west of the Wadi Sirhan; I believe that they do not exist in the Hejaz or in the western half of Arabia. This distribution might reinforce the legend of their origin from Hasa Province on the Persian Gulf, from which they might well have emigrated north to the more fertile lands in Syria or Iraq, but would have been unlikely to have emigrated to the Hejaz, which is less fertile than the Hasa itself.

The Sulubba have long been regarded by the Beduins as a subject race. Many of them work as tinkers for the Beduin tribes and perform other menial duties. They have never taken part in the wars and feuds, which have occupied the greater part of the Beduins' lives for centuries. A Sulubbi, like a woman, was a creature with whom it was too inferior to fight. The Sulubba maintained a strict neutrality in raids, and, for fear of being beaten, told all raiders what they knew of the nature of the country and the movements of their enemies.

68: Neubert S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
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CHAPTER II

Nomadic Society

Transformation of Settled Peoples

● 174 The Biblical figures of Cain the agriculturalist and Abel the shepherd symbolize the two distinct social groups of the Middle East, the settled and the nomadic.

Since the beginning of history the sedentary and roving elements of the population have represented two hostile camps, fighting and despising one another. In spite of frequent warfare, the mutual contact between the two societies resulted in evolutionary processes of transformation, the nomad gradually settling down to an agricultural existence and the cultivator occasionally taking up or resuming nomadic habits.

X 166 While at present the transition is as a rule from nomadism to sedentarization, we know of cases in history where settled people have become nomads. This latter point must be emphasized because the statement has been made[1] that "there does not appear to be a case where a tribe has reversed the process, settled people becoming nomads." This statement is contradicted by several authorities on tribal life in Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan. Commandant Victor Miller observed[2] that the Jebbour in the Hasaetche area in Syria seem to have lost interest in cultivation and reverted back to nomadism. The Mandatory Report of 1937 also states[3] that certain tribes of the Rafa-Rafa region,

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1. Kirkbride, 1945, March-April
2. Miller, 1932, p.
3. Report, 1937, p. 106

221 wandering area. The radius of migration is determined by:

a. the strength of the tribe

b. the supply of water and grazing areas within the strength.

c. the amount and type of livestock reared by the group

d. the relationship of the tribal unit to the soil

Weaker tribes are not free to move over extended areas for fear of being exposed to attacks by more powerful tribes. Their wandering territory is limited and usually in the vicinity of the cultivated land.

221 233 The true desert Bedouin of Arabia, pre-occupied exclusively with camel-breeding,[1] is in a position to cover great distances due to the mobility of the camel. As sheep and goats enter the economic life of the Bedouin, the radius of migration has to be reduced since the unit has to remain close to watering places.

Further restrictions occur when occasional cultivation forces the nomad to stay in the vicinity of the land which he has tilled.

Historical migrations

174 Besides the wanderings of the nomads in annual cycles to satisfy the grazing needs of their herds and flocks, there were in history great eruptions which occurred sporadically[2] and

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1. The definition of a true Bedouin is according to Tawrin Ashkenazi: a nomad who is engaged in camel-breeding exclusively and who traces his descent from certain tribes recognized as true Bedouin (cf. Ashkenazi, 1948, p. 236). The Bedouin looks down on the sheep and goat nomad who is bound to sources of water. The restrictions and migratory radius are according to Bedouin psychology an interference with personal freedom. At present, exclusive camel-breeding is rare except in Arabia.
2. Arnold Toynbee has set up 600 year cycles for the occasional nomadic eruptions. (cf. Toynbee, 1939, pp. 398 ff.)

swept at times whole continents.

In the Arab world there were the large-scale migrations which occurred under the inspiration of religious founders or reformers such as Mohammed and Abd-el Wahhab. The tribes became the missionaries of great social and political movements.

It seems quite possible that even at the bottom of these widespread migrations and invasions of neighboring countries lay economic factors. A few successive seasons of deficient rainfall and subsequent famine in the Arabian desert will make the overpressure existence of the Bedouin impossible and force unusual migrations.

According to the theory of Gautard[1] followed by modern critical scholars, the Arabian Islamic expansion had underlying economic causes. Arabian Bedouin were commoned to a holy war by arousing their desire for the booty to be taken from the enemies.

Islamic expansion constituted a series of waves of migrations carrying the surplus population of the barren Arabian peninsula to the fertile regions on its borders.

The North has always attracted the ever-hungry Bedouin of the Arabian desert, the movement only gained momentum in the era of early Islamic conquerors.

It is certain that exceptionally inclement weather conditions with subsequent famine in the desert caused in the 18th and beginning of the 19th century the large-scale migrations of the powerful

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1. Gautard, 1925-27, pp. [illegible]

174 Shammar and Roualah groups from the Arabian desert into the more fertile steppes of Transjordan and Syria.

CHAPTER IV

Tribal Society and the Modern Arab State

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Semitic society, characterized by specific social, political and economic concepts, is incompatible, and hence often in conflict with the state and its institutions.

Social

Bedouin society is tribal, based on blood relationships, not recognizing any other ties. Its social customs are the result of adaptation to hard life and desert wandering. The concepts of "people" and "nation" are foreign to the nomad whose social outlook is limited to his tribe.

Political

"The characteristic socio-political trait of the nomadic tribe is the lack of political organization or political institutions."[1] The political body is the tribe, around is loosely centered by the sheikh and the Council of Elders. Unwritten desert law and custom are the judicial authority. The authority of the State is not recognized.

Economic

The pastoral economy sets the nomads apart from the majority OF THE POPULATION ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE.

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1. Patai, 1952

M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS HJ4
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of the population engaged in agriculture.[1]

The nomads are only concerned with their social, political and economic orders settled society interests them only negatively, as objects of raid and plunder. The nomads of the Syrian desert have a deeper understanding for the happenings in the far-off Arabian desert than for the life in Damascus in the vicinity of which they may be encamped. Hence the general indifference of the Bedouin to all ideas and movements that originate in the Arab Cities.

The modern Arab states of the Middle East, sensitive about their sovereignty, thus had to come into conflict with the tribal elements within their political boundaries. They felt that the stability of the administration was undermined as long as the tribes could not be reached by tax-collectors, census takers, and could not be subjected to military conscription and state jurisdiction.

Since the political partitioning of the Syrian desert after the First World War it has become increasingly difficult to exercise effective control over the tribes. For four centuries the Syrian desert was continuously in the hands of a single power, the Ottoman Empire. Inefficient as the Turkish administration may have been, its ubiquity placed it in a position to impose its authority on a recalcitrant tribe, which at present can easily escape the jurisdiction of one state simply by slipping across the nearest frontier.

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1. In the Middle East livestock-breeding and agriculture are two distinct economies, the former practiced by the nomads, the latter by the fellahin.

166 following military invasions is to a considerable extent the
178 outcome of social contact.

In another part of this paper it will be shown how planned, external stimuli such as government interference, are affecting Bedouin settlement, but the following pages will discuss the phenomenon of the spontaneous internal, socio-economic change.

174 Tribes in the service of the early Islamic conquerors and the Umayyad princes began to settle down as they became garrison troops in the conquered territories and ultimately the military administrators of the provinces. They established themselves in the vicinity of the villages and cities in order to keep an eye on the subject people. In the great adventure of conquest the Bedouin mode of life went overboard. A different climate may have forced the nomads to change over to breeding other types of livestock. Cruder weather conditions may have obliged them to abandon the tent for more solid living quarters. In spite of the Bedouin's scornful attitude towards the settled people the next step was usually a growing interest in the agricultural society around them and a gradual imitation of its habits and activities.

On the whole it can be observed that while in the Arabian Desert Bedouin society seems incapable of undergoing any change whatsoever, in the steppe near cultivated areas it is destined to decay and disappear. [1]

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1. Montagne, 1947, pp.112-113

The conditions of land tenure in Arabia are obscure. Most of 423
the land is still utilized by the nomadic tribes for grazing their flocks. When the settlers are assigned land, it is not clarified who holds the title, the state, the tribe or the individual cultivator.

Although Arabia is still predominantly pastoral, the nomadic 361
character of the population is being rapidly changed as the result 166x
of government action and under the impact of increasing contact with the West.

Iraq (Mesopotamia)[1]

Iraq has a history of sedentarization that goes back to the 174
19th century when the Turks began to take steps towards reducing 166x
the nomads to a sedentary agricultural existence.

Up to 1869 it was the Bedouin policy of the Ottoman authorities to crush or settle the tribes, to break or conciliate their leaders.[2] Government action, however, was not accompanied by any concrete plans of providing for the Bedouin alternate means of maintenance.

Midhat Pasha, who became Wali of Baghdad in 1869, approached the issue more constructively. He viewed tribal settlement as an agrarian problem. Bedouin cultivation was encouraged by the sale of state-land on reasonable terms. Midhat Pasha felt that only settlement can permanently solve the tribal problem. He was con-

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1. Certain parts of former Mesopotamia like Deir ez-Zor belong to modern Syria. When an instance of nomad settlement in the Deir ez-Zor area refers to times previous to the establishment of modern Iraq it was included in this chapter although the locality may be now Syrian territory.
2. Ireland, 1938, p. 90

BEDOUINS M34 174 166

viewed that once tied to the soil the Bedouin would change their mode of life and become orderly subjects of the Sultan.

The efforts to effect sedentarization had a certain amount of success in the district south of Baghdad where small tribes began to till the soil.[1] Progress was also made among the powerful Muntefik tribesmen of whom Lady Blunt tells that they have "recently become industrious fellahin."[2] If Lady Blunt's account is correct, the Muntefik represent the exception rather than the rule. The other large tribes, particularly the Shammar and Anezeh could in no way be persuaded to engage in the "distasteful" occupation of tillage.

Of the Sha'a (a tribe of the Anezeh confederation) whom Adam Pasha, the Mutesarrif of Deir ez-Zor,[3] forced to settle in the Euphrates valley, it is told[4] that as long as the soldiers kept an eye on the Bedouin, they remained in the villages. When the troops left, the settlements were abandoned and nomadic existence resumed. The Bedouin policy of the Ottoman government during the 19th century consisted of attempts to settle the Bedouin and to detach the shaikhs who were the rallying point of anti-administration forces from an exclusively tribal setting and win them over to the government. Encouragement of settlement did not show an appreciable amount of success. The tribesmen could not be

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1. Blunt, 1879, pp. 376 seq.
2. Ibid.
3. In Ottoman times Deir ez-Zor was an independent sanjaq, unattached to any vilayet and hence not accountable to a Vali, the Mutesarrif was directly answerable to the Sulten.
4. Blunt, 1879, pp. 376 - 377

174 induced to take up agriculture, the hard lot of the village
166 cultivator and the traditional attitude of contempt for settled life were the chief drawbacks.

Midhat Pasha had made a constructive approach, but his settlement policy failed because the traditional behavior of the Bedouin was not taken into consideration and the land grants were made to the sheikhs and not to the individual tribesmen.[1] This became often the cause of much trouble and dissatisfaction. The disturbances which occurred at the turn of the century and after in the Muntafik area, were attributed to the fact that all the arable land of the tribes became concentrated in the hands of a few powerful sheikhs who oppressed their fellow tribesmen.[2]

On the other hand, the attempt to drive a wedge into the tribal organization by detachment of leadership from the rank and file began slowly to bear fruit during the 19th century. Powerful sheikhs were given land, annual subsidies and honorific titles. It was the hope of the administration that the tribal leaders would become the heads of agriculture communities and loyal supporters of the central government. In the beginning this policy was frustrated by the sheikhs who were not yet willing to abandon tribalism.

But in the latter part of the 19th century tribal leaders in Iraq began to evince a growing interest in cultivation. Grain

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1. Ireland, 1938, p. 92
2. Ibid. p. 93

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had become a profitable cash crop and many sheikhs were induced to change from stock-breeding to cereal-growing which was more lucrative.[1] Not a declining desert economy, but the desire for money was the cause of the change.

After the revolution of 1908 the Young Turks re-affirmed the policy of settling the nomads on land. The Vali of Baghdad was instructed to formulate a scheme for the settlement of the tribes.

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The sheikhs were divided in their attitudes, a great number definitely hostile to the policy of the government, others, bought by gifts of land and titles, ready to co-operate.

The Young Turks, anxious to assert their exclusive political power and authority, had tried, wherever possible, to crush the influence of the powerful sheikhs. Hence their hostility to government-sponsored settlement schemes.

The British Mandatory Government was not concerned with settling the nomads. When the British came to Iraq, it became their ground Bedouin policy to rebuild tribal organization under competent sheikhs. They set about to strengthen the power of the sheikhs whose authority over the tribesmen had been partially broken by the Young Turk administration. Landholdings of the tribal leaders were protected, large subsidies and tax exemptions granted.

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WHILE BRITISH TRIBAL POLICY WAS RESTRICTED TO GIVING BEDUINS

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[1] Warriner, 1948, pp. 103 seq.

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Transjordan (Jordan)

Since the Bedouin invasions of the seventh century Transjordan has been a country of nomads. According to statistics the majority of the people are settled, but in reality even the sedentary population of Transjordan is to a certain extent tribal-nomadic and the inhabitants of the towns and villages south of Ajloun[1] share with the Bedouin their language, customs and tribal organization. 361

Not all the nomads of Transjordan are of Bedouin origin, many of them having descended from settled fellahin who gradually adopted Bedouin patterns of living. This unique phenomenon, not found to such an extent in any other region of the Middle East, is not limited to the Moslim community. Christians, settled in the towns of Salt, Kerak and Madabah, found it necessary or convenient to form themselves into nomadic tribes and take up a pastoral mode of existence.[2]

The pages of Transjordan history during the 19th century are filled with the inter-tribal wars which were fought between the Adwan and Beni Sakhr. The Beni Sakhr captured all lands of Eastern Belqa and forced the Adwan back to the Jordan valley. They left the fellahin to continue the cultivation of the land in return for an annual tribute.[3] The tribesmen returned to 174

1. With the exception of places like Amman where most inhabitants are newcomers.
2. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 184
3. Ibid., p. 237

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174 their nomadic life in the desert, raising camels, sheep and goats.

The first to become interested in agriculture was Sheikh Sultan ibn Fais. Although he personally remained a wandering nomad with his Beni Sakhr tribesmen, he attended to the supervision of his estates at Umm el-'Amed, north east of Mehdiah.

361 Pere Jaussen reported in 1908[1] that already at that time
241 small tribes[2] of Gilead, the Jordan valley, Balqa and northern Moab were engaged in agricultural work.

423 Most of the cultivable tracts of the tribal land had already
425 prior to the First World War become the private property of the sheikhs who acquired those lands simply by occupying them[3] as they belonged to nobody. Another method of increasing land-holdings was by encroachment on adjacent fields and putting them under cultivation. By this latter system a large territory, originally belonging to the Adwan, was acquired by Sheikh Sultan and his sons.[4] After World War I many sheikhs purchased Giftlik land[5] from the government on favorable terms.

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1. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 273-6 and pp. 240-55
2. All the tribes of Transjordan are small when compared with the powerful Iraqi and Syrian tribes such as the Ruala (4 250 tents) or the Shu'a (3 400 tents) cf. Fisher, 1950, p. 116. The Beni Sakhr, the largest tribe of Transjordan, has about 1 140 tents.
3. They set foot on a certain terrain, belonging to nobody (ارض سبوبة) and declared it personal property (ارض سبوبة) by virtue of occupation.
4. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 136-7
5. Giftlik is the land which had belonged to the Turkish Sultan and become government property after World War I.

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tribes like their own and despising the rest of the world. They are the *'Arab al 'aribe* and with their co-equals the *'Arab al Musta'ribe*.* 619 565

These 'Arab or pure desert Badawin divide themselves into:

(*a*) Superior or Sharif tribes.

(*b*) Inferior or non-Sharif tribes; everyone knowing and accepting the origin of his neighbour without question.

Of these the former are *'Atiik*, i.e. pure in origin and blood, and claim descent from the Patriarchs Qahtan and Ishmael. The latter are not *Atil*, i.e. are not of pure descent.

The following are the best known of the Sharif Arab tribes of Arabia proper:

'Anizah, Shammar, Harb, Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Bani Khálid Bani Hájir, Al Murra, Qahtan, 'Utaiba, Duwasir, Manasir, Bani Yas, Shei, Qawasim, Hawaitat and Bani Tamim (not found as a whole tribe to-day).

The 'Anizah especially consider themselves to be the aristocrats of the desert, though the others do not always admit their superiority.

The following well-known present-day Arab Rulers claim descent as follows: [643]

His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud—'Anizah (Masalikh section).
His Highness Ibn Sabah of Kuwait—'Anizah (Amarat section).
His Highness Ibn Khalifah of Bahrain—'Anizah (Amarat section).
His Excellency Ibn Thani of Qatar—Bani Tamim.

Also the noble family of the Al Sa'adun, former Rulers of the Muntafiq (present head His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha) claim direct descent from the Quraish tribe, as well as being descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.†

The following are some of the Inferior or Non-Sharif tribes of Arabia proper:

* Arab historians have it that YARAB, the son of QAHTAN, who lived some centuries before Abraham, was the father of the ancient Arab peoples, and gave his name to Arabia. Hence the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, are known as "*Arab al Musta'ribe*" (those who became Arabs) in contradistinction to the Arab who calls himself *'Arab al 'aribe* (Arab of the Arabs), to distinguish himself from the later comers. 174

† The Sa'adun indeed claim that they are the purest of all descendants of the Prophet, in that they have never throughout their history given their daughters outside their clan, nor married with non-Sa'adun women.

Origin of the Sulubba

566 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-
619 Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.
[142] In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a
[361] large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

512 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his
575 people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are
565 in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs,
619 some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shemmar is the Shaikh of the Munir Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aibid is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

291 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

585 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of
619 the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba
174 are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

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in which the Crusaders were wounded, and were carried off into slavery by the desert Arab, and that the present-day Suhubba are their descendants. Shaikh 'Abdullah will quote to prove his point, B 565 619 174

(a) The fact that the "cross" is the symbol of the Suhubba.
(b) That the plural of their name "Suhub" is clearly the same as the Arab name for the Christian cross which is known as *Salib*, the word *suhub* being merely a diminutive form of *Salib*.

There is perhaps something to say for the theory, but it would be dangerous to form conclusions pending the collection of more data about these interesting people. In particular would it be interesting to collect extensive anthropometric measurements. B

The Suhubba women are accused of having (i) the power of casting the Evil Eye (*'ain*), (ii) special knowledge in preparing poisons and love potions for those who want them (*sapwa*), and (iii) above all of being versed in the devilish love of witchcraft (*sakar*). B 565 754

(i) The first accusation is probably due to the fact that many young Badawin men have lost their heads over pretty Suhubba girls and have had to flee their tribes. (ii) and (iii) are probably fairly true accusations, for they certainly claim to have the power of making one person love another, as well as of divination. On the other hand they are a useful target for the public, if something evil happens to a prominent person. "It must be a Suhubba woman who has cast a spell on so-and-so", they say. B [186]

The Suhubba must not be confused with the Kauliyah or Gipsies. These latter are to be found all over Iraq and its borders, and are, I think, without doubt one and the same as the Romany Gipsies of Europe and England. They dress like Badawin and live in small ME 563

Tribe Etymologies

Chap. XLIV

A GOOD WATCH-DOG

To make a Badawin dog fierce and a good watch-dog, his ears are 231
cut off when young. A piece is then cooked and given him to eat. This, according to the Arab, turns him into a good watch-dog and especially a good barker by night. (See Chapter IV.)

THE NUMBER ELEVEN

A curious thing about the 'Awazim tribe is that they never will use 801
the word *ahada 'ashar* for *eleven*. They always say *'ashra wa wahad* (ten and one). The rest of the numerals they name as other Arabs do. I have not yet been able to find out the reason for this avoidance of eleven.

Kuwait, October 30, 1935.

HOW AN 'AJMAN WOMAN SAVES HER CHILDREN

Among the 'Ajman, if a woman's children are dying apparently 761
without reason, a piece of the ear above the lobe is cut off from the latest born infant, placed inside a date, and given to the mother to eat. The child is then known as *Al Jida'* (the cut-off one).

Maneira bint 'Iyda al Fa'aran al Hithlain, wife of Hamad al Mishwatt, had had this done. She showed me her ear on 16th August, 1935.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME DHAFIR, THE GREAT DESERT TRIBE SOUTH OF THE EUPHRATES

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The name means a "collection of many oddments", and is derived from the same ROOT as:

Tadhafaru—they were plaited together.
Dhafar—to plait.
Dhafayir—a woman's plait.

Similarly we have Muntafiq from *intifaq*, a coming together.

NOTE.—This describes exactly how these two great tribes were originally formed. They grew out of a collection or confederation of a number of small desert units in the first instance, and of a number of marsh tribes in the second, under Sa'adun leaders.

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834 necks to passers-by. Their moral code, however, is high, and quite different in this respect from some of their Iraq riverain neighbours, the settled Ma'adan or marsh tribes.

HISTORY OF THE MUNTAFIQ*

174 The tribal league, which may be said roughly to occupy the Euphrates
619 from Chabaish to Darraji and the Shatt al Gharraf as far north as
[677] Kut al Hai, is known as the Muntafiq. The link between the units of which it is composed is of the loosest kind, being no more than a common recognition of the paramount authority of the Sa'adun. This family, which claims descent from the Prophet and is therefore related to the Sharif of Mecca, emigrated from the Hijaz to Mesopotamia in the early part of the sixteenth century. According to local tradition, the southern borders of the 'Iraq were held towards the close of the 'Abbasid period by two large tribal groups, the Bani Malik (in the dialect pronunciation Bani Malich) in the Shamiyah, under Ibn Khussaibah and the 'Ajwad further north on the Gharraf, under the Al Wathal. The name of the first ancestor of the Sa'adun who approached their territories is generally given as Shabib. It is said that his son Mani, took to wife a daughter of the ruling house of the Bani Malik and was presently involved in a feud between that tribe and the 'Ajwad. The scale turned in favour of the latter. The Bani Malik were defeated with considerable loss in a battle in which Mani was himself killed, and forced to make their escape into Najd, taking with them Mani's son, Shabib, who was the grandson of their own shaikh. After three years of exile, they were reinforced by some sections of the 'Utaiba, one of the most powerful tribes of Central Arabia, and felt themselves strong enough to take revenge upon their rivals. Legend relates that Shabib ibn Mani came up to spy upon the camping grounds of the 'Ajwad, whom he found at the wells of Safwan, a well-known watering-place on the borders of what is now Kuwait territory. On his way back he took note of the stages of his journey and returned to Najd with a careful report of every halting-place, Wird, 'Azib, Fallahah, Qirb al Ma (water; waterless, sown land, near

* The word is correctly written with a *qaf*, Muntafiq [not Muntafik], from *'intifaq*, agreement. Pronounced *Mintafiq*.

174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
69 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shuraifat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khuzaibah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Jazirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

69 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
101 groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

619 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
101 and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore
233 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawiyah type (Shawawi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the [342] [241] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed villages by the rivers to till the fields.

k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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619 wander into the lands of a hostile tribe, so it has to keep up alliances
221 with tribes who are on good terms and will allow it to graze over their *dirahs* when forced to do so. Hence it follows that groups or confederations of tribes are formed, friendly to each other and hostile to other similar groups. These groups, with their corresponding alliances, are often of century-old standing and serve a most useful purpose. They have, moreover, stood the test of war, drought and trouble. Examples of such groups are given below, and all Arabia may be said to be parcelled up into similar protective alliances.

(*a*) Harb—Mutair (Ilwa)—'Ajman tribes.
(*b*) Bani 'Abdilla (Mutair)—'Utaiba.
(*c*) Dhafir—Shammar and 'Awazim.
(*d*) 'Ajman—Murra—Najran tribes (a blood federation).*
(*e*) The various 'Anizah groups of the north, such as Dahamsha, Fida'an Amarat, Ruwala, Sba'a and Zana Muslim.

619 When the Central Government is strong, like the present Sa'udi regime, then tribes are made to keep the peace and behave themselves,

701 * The 'Ajman claim to be able to turn out over 10,000 fighting men is obviously exaggerated. Their full fighting strength is probably about 8,000. They once claimed to be able to muster 2,000 mounted men, but that is not so to-day.

726 The 'Ajman have several *nakhwas* or war cries, of which the three commonest are—"Garás al hadid wa ana ibn al 'Ajám", "Sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh" and "Sufar sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh"—meaning "Cutter of iron, and I am the son of the 'Ajman", "Death cleared all and I still survive" and "Death is whistling and I am still surviving".

The 'Ajman tribe when about to join battle have a custom of tying up their side locks (*qurun*) over their heads in a tall knot, which they bind round with a *red* cloth. They call the head-effect thus caused "Al Ganaza".

619 [173] The 'Ajman, whom some authorities would connect, and I think rightly, with the Qahtan, state that they are descended from the Shurafa of Najran, and claim with the Murra to have one ancestor, Yám. They certainly look upon the Murra as their blood brothers and each will help the other always. Should either the Murra or 'Ajman desire the help of the other against a common enemy, it is customary to send a messenger to the other tribe on a camel with *a red scarf or scarlet rope* bound round its neck. The messenger cries aloud to those he wants to rouse the words '*Aiyál Marzukl*, the sacred call of the descendants of Yám, and all know what the signal means—even if 'Ajman and Murra were themselves fighting against each other, a not uncommon occurrence, they would at once fraternise and combine against the common foe.—(Authority Shaikh Fuhaid al Fahad al Hithlain 30.6.38). Their tribal strength and undoubted war prowess makes their alliance valuable and their enmity a serious danger; but in politics they are a shifting and inconsistent factor, being as they themselves have been known openly to profess, "the friends of those who treat them best".

175 During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatif, the 'Ajman were constantly recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their shaikhs, and they inflicted several serious defeats on the army of occupation.

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but strong numerically, and stronger still in their hereditary hold upon the land they occupy.

The Muntafiq league under the Sa'adun remained until the time of Mid-hat Pasha, in 1871, almost independent of Turkish rule. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, however, they seem to have paid tribute to the Turks. The first mention of this tribute is in 1747, when the Resident at Basra reported that the Muntafiq were in rebellion against the Turks because of the tribute imposed on them. In 1769 they again rebelled under their shaikh 'Abdullah on account of arrears of the tribute which the Turks had attempted to exact. In 1776 the Muntafiq helped the Turks to defend Basra against the Persians under Karim Khan, but were defeated and presumably submitted to the Persians during the three years of the Persian occupation, which ended in 1779. In May 1787 the Sa'adun Shaikh Thuwaini entered Basra with a large force, took possession of the town and the Turkish fleet and imprisoned the Musallim, but was expelled from Basra by the Pasha of Baghdad in October 1787.

Between 1797 and 1802 the Muntafiq formed the chief bulwark of Basra against the Wahhabis. In 1798 they marched with the Turks into Hasa against the Wahhabis, and in 1801 the Shaikh Thuwaini, already mentioned, led an expedition against the Wahhabi capital, but was murdered not far from Kuwait.

Between 1810 and 1817 the Muntafiq seem to have been in open rebellion against the Pasha of Baghdad. In 1813 'Abdullah Pasha of Baghdad marched against the Muntafiq chief, Humud al Thamir, but was defeated near Basra, captured and put to death. Upon this the Sa'adun greatly extended their power and ruled up to Samawah. Da'ud Pasha of Baghdad attempted about 1817 to break up the tribe by nominating a rival chief in opposition to Humud, but the intrigue failed, and after the deposition of Da'ud Pasha in 1831 Humud's son, Majid, regained the old independence and ascendancy of the Sa'adun. In 1850 the Muntafiq districts were torn by feuds in which the Turks feebly interfered, Faris ibn 'Ajil being finally recognised as the principal chief.

From this time onward the Turks began getting a firmer hold over the Muntafiq by constantly changing the shaikhs and setting them one against the other, increasing on the occasion of each change the tribute

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175 619 payable by the tribe. Thus between 1851 and 1853 the nominal tribute was increased from 200,000 to 310,000 *Shamis*, and the regular system of farming out the country by auction to the shaikhs seems to have begun. In 1863 the Wali of Baghdad, Namiq Pasha, attempted to break the tribal power by taking away altogether the Muntafiq lands south of Qurnah, together with the Hai lands, and turning the Sa'adan chief into a regular Qaimmaqam whose powers were to be much diminished and restricted to Suq al Shuyukh. A Turkish Muhasibju was put in to rule the country with him. The chief, Shaikh Mansur, rebelled against these restrictions and tried to engineer a general Arab rising against the Turks, on the express ground that the Turks were attempting to interfere in the internal administration of the tribes. The Wali was forced to withdraw from his new policy, but it was noted by the Resident at Baghdad that, if the Turks had had the strength and perseverance to carry it out, it would have been approved by the Muntafiq tribes, who had suffered much oppression at the hands of their chiefs.

In 1864 and 1865 the two principal chiefs, Shaikh Fahad and Shaikh Mansur, were still in a state of veiled rebellion against the Turks, owing to the attempts of the latter to break up the tribal system. Shaikh Mansur finally took refuge with the Dhafir, while his brother, Nasir, was in 1866 granted the lease of the Shaikship, having outbid Shaikh Fahad. Shaikh Nasir was received into special favour by the Turks and he seems to have fallen under the influence of the Great Wali of Baghdad, Mid-hat Pasha, who about 1871 induced him to abandon the position taken up by Shaikh Fahad and Shaikh Mansur, and to welcome Ottomanising influences among the Muntafiq. This was the first downward step, and Nasir Pasha, great as his name is (he founded Nasiriyah), seems really to have been the betrayer of the Muntafiq to the Turks. An attempt at a regular Turkish land settlement was made. The Sa'adun were bribed into accepting the change, by being converted into regular landowners from their position as tribute-receiving chiefs. The tribes lost their status as landowners and became tenants, and the whole of the arable land of Nasiriyah and Suq al Shuyukh was parcelled out, by Tapu registration, then for the first time introduced, between the Sa'adun and the Turkish Crown.

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Muntafiq Rebellion

Chap. XLV

In 1872 Shaikh Nasir was employed by the Turks in settling the newly conquered districts of Hasa and Qatif, and as a reward for these services he was appointed Wali of the newly constituted Wilayat of Basra in 1875. He proved too powerful, however, owing to the conjunction of the Waliship with the Chiefship of the Muntafiq, and was exiled to Constantinople about 1877.

In 1881, while Nasir was a prisoner in Constantinople, the whole of the Muntafiq tribes rose in rebellion, partly it seems owing to collisions between them and the Turkish troops stationed at the newly built cantonment of Nasiriyah, and partly because attempts were being made by the Turks to enforce the new land settlement and to make the tribesmen pay landlord's dues to the Turkish Crown and to the Sa'adun. This rebellion was never properly put down, but the Turks seem to have given up collecting the new land taxes and to have given considerable power to Falih Pasha, eldest son of the deported Nasir, who thereupon resumed to some extent the Ottomanising policy of his father.

In the meantime the Muntafiq became divided in allegiance between Sa'adun Pasha, son of Shaikh Mansur (who was thus nephew of Nasir and first cousin of Falih), and Falih himself. Apparently at the time Falih was regarded as the Ottomaniser and Sa'adun as the exponent of the old tribal principles. Sa'adun Pasha, in consequence of his hostility to Turkish influence, was at this time a friend of the Shaikh of Kuwait. He maintained himself against Falih mainly by plunder and robbery. He first came into prominence in 1900 when he raided Ibn Rashid in order to please the Shaikh of Kuwait. Ibn Rashid threatened reprisals on Kuwait, and marched to attack Kuwait territory. He was confronted by the forces of Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait and of Sa'adun Pasha, with some Turkish troops, and was finally persuaded to withdraw, on the promise that Sa'adun Pasha would be hunted down.

Sa'adun Pasha thought that he had been deserted by Mubarak in the course of these negotiations and he and Mubarak seem never to have been on good terms again. In 1903 he caused a great disturbance among the Muntafiq by practising extortion on the Jazirah tribes, presumably those which owed allegiance to Shaikh Falih. A small Turkish force was sent against him and was massacred by him with

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175 619 its Colonel at Shatrah, but in 1904 he was taken back into favour of the Turks.

Between 1904 and 1908 the Muntafiq continued to divide their allegiance between the two cousins, Sa'adun Pasha and Falih. In the spring of 1908 Falih died, leaving no son of any age or force of character to succeed him, so that Sa'adun became clearly predominant in the tribe. In 1908 Sa'adun seized the opportunity of the revolution and came out as a strong supporter of the Committee of Union and Progress. He was therefore favoured by the officials, while Falih's family was thrust into the shade. Sa'adun's championing of the cause of the Committee gradually brought him into conflict with Saiyid Talib of Basra who, after flirting with the party of Union and Progress, had begun to promote the opposing Arab movement. Confident in the support of the Union and Progress officials, Sa'adun Pasha began to exercise great tyranny among the Muntafiq; he put many of the minor shaikhs to death,* and extended more and more his system of blackmail and extortion. Finally in 1910 Názim Pasha, Wali of Baghdad, adopted the policy of governing the whole of the Muntafiq country through Sa'adun Pasha, whom he practically appointed Mutasarrif of Nasiriyah. He supported him unreservedly and would listen to no complaints against him. Great discontent against Sa'adun Pasha, fomented by the party of the sons of Falih Pasha, developed among the tribesmen who, in March 1911, took advantage of his defeat in an expedition against the Dhafir to rise against him. The whole country was in an uproar, and in June 1911 a Turkish Commission was appointed to enquire into the cause of the rising. It appeared that one of the main causes was that Sa'adun Pasha, acting as a Turkish official, had attempted to carry out the Turkish policy of disarmament among his own tribesmen. This had naturally made him intensely unpopular. The Commission, however, was understood to "attribute the Muntafiq troubles to the fact that the arable lands of the tribe are in the hands of a few powerful shaikhs, who oppress their fellow-tribesmen and keep them at variance, and that the proper remedy is a thoroughgoing partition of the lands". This was a rare instance of penetration on the part of a Turkish Committee of Enquiry,

* Notably five Budur tribal shaikhs near Batha above Nasiriyah Town, under very treacherous circumstances.

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and there is little doubt that they had hit the right nail on the head. 175 619 At the bottom of all the Muntafiq troubles is an agrarian difficulty, such as has stirred men's minds from the time of Tiberius Gracchus to the time of the Irish Land League.

Sa'adun Pasha with his son, 'Ajaimi, had been seeking to maintain himself in the neighbourhood of Nasiriyah against his rebellious tribesmen. But on the assembling of the Committee of Enquiry, the Turks withdrew all official support from him, and, entirely reversing their policy, sought to enter into direct relations with the tribesman and to prepare the way for an individualistic regime and for the last step in the smashing of the tribal system. Saiyid Talib, Naqibzadah of Basra, who had not yet appeared in open opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, nor openly espoused the side of the Falih family against Sa'adun, was sent by the Turks to try and get hold of Sa'adun Pasha. He managed to decoy him on board the gunboat *Marmaris* near Suq al Shuyukh and immediately took him off in confinement to Basra and handed him over to the Wali, leaving 'Ajaimi and Sa'adun's other sons at large. This act of treachery on the part of Saiyid Talib was never forgiven by 'Ajaimi and threw him permanently on to the side of the Committee of Union and Progress and against the side of the Arab Party under Saiyid Talib, in spite of the mean way in which Sa'adun Pasha had been treated by Turkish officialdom.

In July 1911 Sa'adun Pasha was sent in confinement to Baghdad and was thence removed in August 1911 to Aleppo, where he died suddenly on 25th November, 1911, as was officially reported, of "apoplexy and heart failure", but as was generally believed of poison. 'Ajaimi remained at large in the neighbourhood of Nasiriyah as an outlaw.

During the interval between Sa'adun Pasha's capture and death the sympathies of the whole Muntafiq tribe (including even his enemies, the Falih family) seem to have veered round in his favour, presumably because he was no longer in the position of an Ottoman official but was obviously out of favour with the Turks.

After the death of Sa'adun Pasha the Muntafiq country was administered from January to November 1912 by a Military Mutasarrif Farid Bey, who was a staunch adherent of the Committee of Union and

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Progress and was therefore on friendly terms with 'Ajaimi. 'Ajaimi, as already explained, was on the side of the Committee out of hatred of Saiyid Talib, the betrayer of his father, who was now drifting more and more into opposition to the Committee and was intriguing with 'Ajaimi's cousins and rivals, the members of the Falih family, Mizyad Beg, 'Abdullah Beg and others. In October 1912, when a reactionary movement against the Committee was threatened in Constantinople, a telegram was sent by one of 'Ajaimi's relations to say that 'Ajaimi was ready to march on Constantinople to frustrate any attempt at reaction. In the same month 'Ajaimi attacked and robbed his cousin, Mizyad Beg (probably with the connivance of the Mutasarrif, Farid Pasha), of a very large sum, and came into conflict with Mizyad's brother, 'Abdullah Beg.

The Committee of Union and Progress had been temporarily overthrown in November 1912 and Saiyid Talib was paramount at Basra and in favour with the Wali, who was a creature of Kiamil Pasha. 'Ajaimi was declared an outlaw, owing to his attack on Mizyad; the Falih family was received into full official favour, and the Committee partisan, Farid Pasha, was removed from his post at Nasiriyah. 'Ajaimi, irritated by these events, threatened an attack on Basra in November 1912, and there was a panic in the town, which Saiyid Talib had helped to put in a position of defence. 'Ajaimi was, however, dissuaded from pressing his attack and retired.

In January 1913 the Committee resumed power by a *coup d'état* culminating in the murder of Nazim Pasha and the removal from office of Kiamil. The partisans of the Committee were immediately installed in power in Basra and 'Ajaimi once more found himself on the side of the Turkish officials, while Saiyid Talib was in opposition. Finally in June 1913 Saiyid Talib stood forth at Basra threatening open rebellion against the Turks. The Committee then evolved the scheme that 'Ajaimi's old friend, Farid Pasha, should be sent from Baghdad to be Military Commandant of Basra, and if possible arrest or kill Saiyid Talib, while 'Ajaimi with his tribesmen should help against Basra from the desert. 'Ajaimi's hands were set free by a reconciliation patched up by the officials of Samawah between him and the Dhafir tribe. He advanced against Basra and Saiyid Talib's assassination was expected at any moment. But Saiyid Talib suddenly

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got in the first blow and had Farid Pasha assassinated in open day in 'Ashar. 'Ajaimi then retreated, and is said to have complained subsequently that he had not been properly supported by the Turks.

During the whole of 1913 the Muntafiq country remained in disorder. 'Ajaimi was now apparently officially recognised as Shaikh of the Muntafiq, but was unable to control the tribes. He worked in concert with Ibn Rashid against the Dhafir. In April 1914 the Wali visited Suq ash Shuyukh and saw 'Ajaimi and a new plot seems to have been concocted against Saiyid Talib, who had meanwhile been growing in power at Basra. In May 1914 adherents of 'Ajaimi began to drift into Basra, and Saiyid Talib was once more in danger of assassination, but he took so firm an attitude that the Wali banished 'Ajaimi's adherents from the town. He remained hanging about not far from Zubair until war broke out in November 1914.

The tribes have never acquiesced in their degradation from landowners to tenants, nor have the Sa'adun been able to enforce to the full the rights they acquired from the Ottoman Government. With the weakening of the central authority since the beginning of the constitutional era in 1908, and the general deterioration in local administration which followed on the Italian and Balkan wars, the official sanction for which the Sa'adun bartered their old tribal prerogative has proved a broken reed. For several years before the British Occupation the tribes had refused to pay rent, and their attitude is one of extreme unwillingness to be drawn back into the state of subserviency which was imposed upon them. At the same time the prestige of the Sa'adun chiefs, combined with the sedulous preaching of the Jihád by pro-Turkish Saiyids, and the yet stronger inducement offered by the immediate rewards of war, whether they took the form of loot or of Turkish subventions, brought the Muntafiq league out against us in 1914. The work of pacification began with the occupation of Nasiriyah and Suq al Shuyukh in July 1915, and in spite of the proximity of hostile influences, made fair progress, but no final settlement of the Muntafiq district can be reached until the rival agrarian claims of Sa'adun and tribesmen have been adjusted.

During the rebellion of 1920–21 against the British, the Muntafiq to their honour remained quiet. With the introduction of the Arab Government under King Faisal I, the Muntafiq at first were loyal

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co-operators with Government, both tribesmen and Sa'adun thinking the Government would favour them. Latterly the Sa'adun saw Government turn against them and showed bitter resentment at the change from British to 'Arab administration.

To-day under the Arab Government of Iraq the Muntafiq tribes are keeping fairly quiet (though they did try an abortive rebellion in the Suq al Shuyukh district in 1935), mainly because the Iraq Government have come out into the open and are pursuing the old policy of the Turks, which was to support the tribesmen against the Sa'adun, their hereditary shaikhs. Whether in the long run they will succeed remains to be seen.

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Appendix XVIII

APPENDIX XVIII

"HISTORY OF THE MUNTAFIQ"

Ref. Chapter XLV, p. 553, line 12.

Mr. C. G. Campbell, an authority on the Muntafiq tribes of the Euphrates, has unearthed valuable and interesting evidence to show that the Muntafiq as allies of the Turks were not defeated and forced to submit to the Persians in 1776 during the three years' occupation of Basra by Shah Kerim Khan Zend (1776–1779), as stated by the author, but on the contrary themselves administered a crushing defeat on the Persian Army near Basra in October 1778 at a place called ARJA. A note to the above effect, furnished by Mr. C. G. Campbell on April 22, 1950 is given below:

The evidence for believing in a Muntafiq victory at ARJA, ARGIA or YARA (near Basra) known to me is:

(a) *Arab tribal sources* (which regard the battle as the greatest Muntafiq victory of all times).

(b) *Persian History* which admits that Ali Mohomed Khan suffered a severe defeat and his own death at the hands of the *Arab Tribes*. Ali Mohomed Khan was the officer left in command at Basra by SADUQ Khan who was the Persian general who captured Basra. The Persian version says that after Mohomed's defeat and death, Saduq Khan returned to Basra and managed to retain the city by adopting a conciliatory attitude, etc., but abandoned the town immediately on the death of the then Shah, KERIM KHAN ZEND, in 1779 (13th Safar, 1193 A.H.).

(c) *Eversfield*, an English traveller and ex-army officer, who visited the battlefield (Arja) five months after the battle, whilst on his way to England by the direct route to Aleppo, via Basra and Baghdad, the Persians being still in occupation of Basra at the time. Quoting from Eversfield's journal, Mr. C. G. Campbell records the following entry.

"March 16th, 1779. . . . In the month of October last (1778) a battle was fought on the field called ARGIA at which place we expected to halt in 3 hours time, and to learn the reason of the slaughter there committed by means of the rashness of Ali Mohomed Khan, the Persian general. . . . At 2 o'clock in the afternoon we reached the plains of ARGIA, which were as extensive as the eye could carry, but an arm of the Euphrates makes a half circle of 3 miles inland, on the upper banks of which, the Muntafiq Arabs and Persians fought, the former consisting entirely of horse to the number of 8,000, the Persians of 6,000 horse and the same number of foot, besides 18 large Gallivats. The attack was begun by a violent onset of the Persians, whose horses once set in a full gallop cannot without

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Appendix XIX

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difficulty be turned, the Arabs, on the contrary, have great management of theirs, and who having thrown their long darts (spears) quickly turned the heads of their horses and galloped away, which the Persians mistaking for flight, pursued with great eagerness, until the Arabs had led them into a swampy ground, when they faced about and attacked the pursuers in their turn. This masterly evolution so disconcerted the Persians that they attempted an immediate retreat, which from the nature of the ground and the ungovernable state of their horses, they so illy effected, that 3 men only (and they much wounded) reached Bussora (Basra) to relate the fate of their unfortunate comrades, all of whom, that day on the field of ARGIA, were cut to pieces by the victorious Arabs. The Gallivats when they perceived the destruction of their army, sailed away down river. . . .

. . . ."We walked over the battlefield, and found it entirely strewn with the bones of the slaughtered Persians. What appears surprising is, that the Arabs lost only twenty men in this engagement. We left this dreadful scene at four o'clock and about five o'clock passed a very handsome town, belonging to the Turks, called ARGIA. . . ."

"(A journal kept on the journey from Bussora to Baghdad; over the little desert to Aleppo, Cyprus, etc., etc., in the year 1779. By a gentleman, late an officer in the service of the Honble. East India Coy. Horsham. Printed by Arthur Lee, and sold by J. & C. Rivington, St. Paul's Churchyard. MDCCLXXXIV)".

Author's Note.—There is no sign to-day of any village or town on the banks of the Euphrates bearing a name resembling ARJA or ARGIA.

APPENDIX XIX

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Ref.: the community known as "AQAIL" or "AGAIL" (see middle of p. 112, Chapter VI).

The following additional information is given about this interesting class.

"It is not correct to number the AQAIL (or AQAILAT) among the inferior or Non-Sharif tribes of Arabia, for as explained in the note at foot of p. 112, they are not a tribe in any sense of the word. They are a camel-buying community with headquarters in Baghdad, Damascus and Qasim. Any Badawin can become an AQAILI whether he be of an inferior tribe or of a Sharif tribe. Hence among the AQAIL or AGAILAT community as they are called, we find many families of irreproachable Sharif Arab stock, as well

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1
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CHAPTER II

SOCIAL SURVEY

S

Population

161 The population of Arabia cannot be estimated with any approach to accuracy. It is usually guessed to be from five to eight millions. The lower of these figures is probably nearest to the truth. If we allow two and a half millions of settled and nomadic folk to the whole Red Sea slope from Midian to Yemen (the last-named, with Asir, holding two-thirds of the total); one and a half to the southern districts and Gulf littoral, inclusive of Hadhramaut (Oman alone has about half a million); half a million to all the Central settled districts together; and one million Central nomads, we are probably over the mark.

B

Nomadic Folk.

162 The physical conditions of most parts of the peninsula con-
167 strain the majority of inhabitants (where any there are) to a nomadic life; and this, owing to the virtual impossibility of increasing the food-producing area anywhere, must be their lot permanently, unless they emigrate. Emigration, in any case, is constantly taking place, as a result of the high natality which has been attributed in Chapter I to the inhabitants of the Central steppes and oases: and it makes the peninsula a great source of disquiet to all neighbouring lands. The surplus population usually remains for some time within the peninsula, gradually accumulating and tending to form new nomadic groups, which try to establish rights to wells and pasturage already occupied. At last, the action of some tribe or tribes, or sheer want, forces them out, with all their predatory habits and defective experience of settled life, towards the borders of Egypt, Syria, or Mesopotamia.

B
167 In historic times, for example, the settlement of the NW. African
175 littoral by Arabs is known to have been due to a forcible expulsion of surplus population from the peninsula, carried out by certain of the stronger tribes. The overflow of the Shammar into Mesopotamia and of the Anazah tribes into the Hamād are also instances in point. As for earlier times, the Semitic invasions of Babylonia, the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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Canaanite invasion of Syria, the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, and the Hebrew invasion of Palestine are also to be explained by similar antecedent events in Arabia.

The distribution, grouping, character, and resources of the several tribes are the subject of a subsequent chapter (III); and their relation to particular localities will be stated in the special chapters on the different provinces.

It would be beyond the scope of this Handbook to give a detailed description of Bedouin society; and mere generalities about it are of little service. It is perhaps, however, worth while to say something about those features and customs of Bedouin life which most directly affect the reception and entertainment of strangers, and should, therefore, be known before contact. Dictated by similar necessities, these are more or less common to all tribesmen. For all the rest, study of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* cannot be too strongly recommended. Pretty well everything that needs to be known about Bedouin life can be found there by a patient reader.

Arabia is 'a land of ancient violence'. For this state of things geographical conditions are largely responsible. Only in very few, rare, and narrow districts is it possible to derive from the soil, not a superfluity, entailing wealth, leisure, and consequent civilization, but anything better than hand-to-mouth existence in full sight of starvation. Agriculture is impossible in three-quarters of the total area, and man must live on peripatetic food pastured on such thin and evanescent vegetation that a single family has to keep on the move in order to live. Water again, the prime condition of existence, is to be found for the most part only very occasionally in deep wells, or rain-pools, and this under a subtropical sun. Scanty sources have to be guarded with the most jealous exclusiveness. The regions over which these conditions prevail usually offer few or none of those natural features which serve elsewhere to protect or conceal; and in their vast extent and distribution they impinge so generally on the few fertile districts, or so often encircle these, that hardly any part of Arabia is altogether unaffected by the inevitable social features of life on steppe and desert.

The most obvious of these features is suspicion. Every man is treated as a potential enemy, till he shows evidence to the contrary. He is kept at a distance until his person or his authority can be recognized. Therefore, in approaching Bedouins, it is as prudent to go slow and give them time as in approaching a sentry in a war-area. Disregard of this advice will result in fight or flight, according to circumstances. While all Bedouins are instinctively suspicious of, and hostile to, the unknown, various

In our days sedentarization is the product of the nomad's contact with settled society during the regular periods of his encampment on the outskirts of the cultivated land. 166x 177

At present, the tribal population of Syria, Iraq, Palestine (Israel) and Transjordan (Jordan) is in all stages of transition to a sedentary existence. A. S. Kirkbridge has outlined[1] the various stages that the Transjordan nomad passes on his journey to the settled life of an agriculturalist. With insignificant changes the description of the steps can be made applicable to the process of sedentarization as a whole. 166x 178

Stages of Sedentarization

1. The true desert Bedouin, raising mainly camels,[2] lives in a world where nature makes cultivation impossible. He migrates in accordance with the existence of water and grazing and supplements his meager income by raiding if conditions permit. He despises the villagers. 166x 221 434 361
2. In spite of the contempt that the Bedouin have for the settled peasants they come to realize that the fellah lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a better diet, compared to the standards of the nomad. 609 434
3. The next step is the occupation of cultivable land by the nomadic tribe. Agriculture is practiced only as a 166x 361 241

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1. Kirkbride, 1945, March-April
2. Kirkbride does not discuss the Bedouin that came from Arabia subsisting exclusively on camel-breeding. Since practically all Transjordanian nomads have crossed the first stage, the conversion of exclusive camel economy to mixed pastoral economy of sheep and camel-breeding.

178 [493] It is not a rarity to see an automobile under the tent of the
622 sheikh, even when he still wanders and camps with his tribe. Gradually the chiefs establish luxurious residences, equipped with all the comforts of modern living. At this stage the sheikh will spend most of the time away from the tribe, favoring the social, economic and political activities of the sedentary population.

177 An instructive example of the changes in the social status
622 of the powerful sheikh is the case of the Rwala. The Rwala
178 tribesmen still belong to the few remaining true Bedouin. Their former Sheikh, Emir Nuri al-Sha'lan, however, showed already before World War 1 his preference for a house to a tent. His grandson Fawaz, the present Emir of the tribe, was in his youth a genuine Bedouin, but later his mode of living became thoroughly westernized.[1)]

619 The tribesmen will not remain unaffected by this development.
178 For a while they try tenaciously to preserve the nomadic mode of
566 existence, but sooner or later they will become the exploited tenants and share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

566 During the Mandatory regime the absentee landlords lost
622 much of their grip on the cultivators, but the tenants of the tribal sheikhs are still in a virtual state of serfdom. In some cases the tribal chief still has complete authority over the

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1. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 108

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Social transformation of the Bedouin

When the Bedouin settle down, they gradually adopt the 177
fellah's mode of living. As their contact with village and city 178
increases, they become familiar with modern implements, matches, oil-lamps, etc.

The Ghawarneh of Northern Palestine, for example, live like 241
peasants engaged in intensive cultivation.[1] They grow rice, 166x
maize and peas. The women are occupied with mat weaving, the 178
men join them in this work during the slack season in the fields. 511
They still dress like Bedouin, and most of them live in huts. There are stone houses in which the family chiefs dwell.[2] After settlement, Bedouin customs and habits give way gradually to those of the fellahin.

In the Khiam-Fima refugee camp (southern Syria) there are Arab refugees who claim to be members of tribes that lived until recently in Upper Galilee, around Lake Tiberias, near Nazareth and Safed. In July 1949, an inquiry was conducted among the members of the camp concerning tribal habits and health conditions.[3] The members of the tribes were agricultural folk, some small traders and artisans. A part of them used to live permanently in stone 342
houses, others dwelt in houses during the winter months, in tents 166x
during the harvesting season. In a number of tribes only the wealthy had houses, the poorer members lived permanently in tents. Most of the tribal people were settled, one group for only 50 to 70 years.

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1. This was the situation prior to the Arab-Israeli war of 1948.
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 46
3. Cotwell, 1950

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

443 stallions from various Bedouin tribes in the Euphrates.

Their kind is found everywhere in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Almost invariably the *Akhayl* hail from Anayza and Buraida, two large oasis-towns of Kasim in the heart of Arabia.

[437] During spring they[1] travel among the nomad Arabs and barter rice, coffee, sugar, arms, munitions, and gold [493 for camels and colts. Bedouins have only begun to sell •177] mares since the arrival of the automobile, which has displaced the horse for raiding purposes.

These traders travel unmolested throughout Arabia and they pay the *sheykh* of the tribe from which they purchase animals a small sum for the privilege of pursuing their business. Each trader has his own special tribe which he visits every year.

721 On the second day, when we came on some rain water left in the rocky hollows of a *wadi,* we decided to rest awhile and let our mares drink their fill. We had hardly dismounted when two strange Bedouins on horseback suddenly appeared. Ali jumped on his mare's back at once, and deserting me and our animals, galloped away in the opposite direction from which the Bedouins had come, obviously seeking cover.

"A *ghazu!*" he yelled, as he rode away.

The two strange Bedouins were armed. They were obviously not traders, as Ali had immediately perceived. More horsemen appeared and they began to fire at Ali and myself. My "Powerful" protector, ducking low over his horse's neck, made a comical picture. The hostile [291] Bedouins were Fid'an, as I knew from their striped shepherd's cloaks. To defend ourselves was useless, as we

1-[The Akhayl or camel and horse traders--Analyst]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

contact with a much superior force of irregular Kurdish and Badawin cavalry who forced us to retire. 704 725

After conducting a steady retreat for a distance of some eighteen miles, we were about to skirt Barjisiyah wood, when our force was suddenly charged in flank by 'Ajaimi al Sa'adun and some thousand Muntafiq mounted men, who, unknown to us, were hiding in that particular wood.

As we were up to that point retiring on a very wide front in line of squadrons at two hundred yards' interval, each squadron covering the movement to the rear of its neighbour by dismounted fire action, our force was too widely extended to change front and present a suitable face to the flank charge, and for a time the direst confusion and chaos existed.

Fortunately for us, an infantry column had come out to assist our retreat, and was entrenched close by. It saved the situation. Otherwise, many of us would not be living to tell the tale, for to give 'Ajaimi and his men full credit, his charge was magnificent, and went right through our force, quite in accordance with the best tradition of cavalry tactics. As it was, our worsted force was driven right on to the friendly infantry trenches, and great was the Badawins' surprise to see themselves suddenly confronted at almost point-blank range by a long line of British bayonets comfortably ensconced in trenches. These turned what looked like a probable *débâcle* for us into a defeat for the enemy, and by their withering fire forced 'Ajaimi's men to beat a precipitate retreat, which was successfully turned into a headlong flight by accurate salvoes from a hidden battery.

Though the ordinary Badawin rides barebacked, the shaikhs and 492 those who can afford it use for comfort a light cloth saddle, known as a *ma'araga*. This has no stirrups and is little more than a padded numdah strapped on to the horse's back.

The *ma'araga* is quite short from front to rear, just allowing a man sufficient room to seat himself.

MODERN WEAPONS, AND THE MOTOR CAR

As already mentioned, stallions or males are not wanted in Arabia, 177 and are sold as soon as possible for draught or pack purposes in the 231

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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177 sea coast towns and in those countries still using *arabdnas* or horse-
231 drawn carriages. The market for horses is I fear going to get much worse as motor transport develops in the Middle East. The demand for horses is already so restricted that the Badawin of the interior has now started the miserable practice of killing off his male foals at birth. I am told (1935) by various shaikhs of the interior that this practice has become almost universal. It no longer pays the average Badawin to keep a horse till it reaches three or four years of age, for if he is lucky enough to find a buyer then he will only get Rs.80 to Rs.90 for his animal. As I write in 1935 a second-class (average) Arab horse in the bazaars of Kuwait fetches only about Rs.40 (about £3). Fortunately, Arab horse-racing still flourishes in places like Bombay, Poona, Baghdad and Cairo, and this will for some years to come insure a steady market for the best class of Arab horses. This, however, will only preserve to the world a small percentage of the best animals, and will not save the second-class or average horse.

231 Apart from the woeful killing of males at birth, I had it on the
704 authority of His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud himself in 1932, that Arab
713 mares are also on the high road to extinction since the introduction of the small-bore magazine rifle as a war weapon among the tribes of inner Arabia. As he pithily put it, "In the olden days when tribe fought tribe with spear and sword, the mares, which were always ridden in battle, came to little harm, for man sought to kill his opponent man, not his steed. To-day the fighter, whilst still a thousand yards from his enemy, is greeted with a rain of well-aimed bullets which slays infinitely more animals than riders."

231 Bin Sa'ud also told me that he was fully alive to the danger of the Arab horse becoming extinct, and in order to remedy matters had started five stud farms in Sa'udi Arabia all under his royal patronage. He added that he meant to try hard to better the situation, but was not optimistic.

In 1935, as I write, it is most pleasing to see that the King is still pressing on with this good work, and any one going to Riyadh from Iraq and taking with him one or more good mares, is given a special welcome and receives a good price for his animals. More important still is the help the King affords to his own tribesmen, who happen to have fallen on bad times and cannot afford even to keep their mares

THE BADU OF SOUTHERN ARABIA

By W. P. THESIGER, D.S.O.

114 Lecture given on September 28, 1949, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: To-day Mr. Thesiger is going to talk to us about the countries around the Red Sea, with which he has been acquainted since childhood. He was born in Abyssinia. Before the recent war he was with the Sudan Civil Service. In 1940 he was sent to Abyssinia and volunteered for service there with the Ethiopian Patriot Force, in which he was awarded the D.S.O.

Later he was sent on special duty to Damascus and was able to resume his Arabic studies. Since the war he has carried out several remarkable trips to explore the heart of the area known as the "Empty Quarter," and he is now going to tell us about the most recent of these.

101 178 184 I AM going to talk about the Badu of Southern Arabia; that is to say, the camel-owning nomads who live in and around the Empty Quarter. I wish to make it clear that I am talking about the Badu, or Baduin, and not about Arabs who cultivate or live in towns, for there is all the difference in the world between them. I do not suppose that a sophisticated young town Arab would be flattered if you referred to him as a Badui, though it is surprising how many of them do proudly claim Badu origin, and I do know that no Badui would like to be called a townsman or cultivator. At first sight the Badu of Southern Arabia appear to be very different from those of the north, but I believe that this difference is largely superficial and due to the clothes which they wear. I do not think that either a Sa'ari from the deserts just north of the Hadhramaut or a Wahibi from South-Eastern Oman would feel himself much out of place in an encampment of the Rualla. On the other hand, I think that a townsman from Aden or Muscat would always be conspicuous in Damascus. I wish also to make it quite clear that I am describing conditions in Southern Arabia and not in Arabia as a whole. In the past Badu life was everywhere much the same, harder in some places and easier in others. The last quarter of a century has, however, seen the most revolutionary changes in the north. There Ibn Saud has imposed his iron will upon the tribes. He has subjected the nomad to the rule of the settled Arab, stamped out raiding, and taxed the Badui as well as the cultivator. The same process has been carried out in Trans-Jordan, in Syria, and in [177] Iraq. It was largely the use of the motor-car which made it possible to bring the Badu under control, for that robbed them of their age-old inaccessibility. Previously they had only to retire into the desert to be safe from pursuit, but now they are at the mercy of a motorized patrol, unable to get away and with nowhere to hide.

178 619 Cars have, however, not yet penetrated into the southern desert, and there the old life still goes on. I do not suppose, except that the Badu are now armed with rifles, that their way of life has greatly changed since the times of Abraham. In the south they are still dominant and even unchallenged. It is true that before they enter the valley of the Hadhramaut

181 thoroughbreds. No race prizes lineage higher, yet they are the most
554 democratic people in the world and the most individualistic. Among
them there is real equality. To certain families, by virtue of their descent,
•177 they accord certain privileges, but as a courtesy, not as a right, and Badu
577 sheikhs command respect only as long as they merit it. The traditional Arab way of life, fast vanishing to-day in contact with the West, owed much to Badu concepts, for the villagers and townsmen of Arabia, who form by far the greater part of her population, live close to the desert and were profoundly affected by it until motor-cars and aeroplanes removed for ever the need for camel journeys. Most of them are, indeed, of Badu origin, for the desert tides have always stranded the weak and broken upon the fringes of the Sown. Everywhere the Arabs have, at all times, judged honour and chivalry and hospitality by the standards of the tribesmen. Their love of liberty, their freedom from prejudice of class and caste, and their enthusiasm for poetry have come to them from the desert.

157 It is impossible to assess the character of the Badu, for among no other
577 race have so many contradictory qualities been fused together. I myself
81 have witnessed their courage and self-reliance, their endurance and pride of race, and I remember their patience, generosity, and unselfishness. But often I have been exasperated by their avarice and wearied by their endless
[935] importunities. No Badu thinks it shame to beg, and usually he will look disparagingly at the gift which he has received and grumble, "Is this all
[437] that you are going to give me?" Grasping and avaricious, they will talk unceasingly of money and argue heatedly for days about a dollar, then they will slaughter a camel worth 150 dollars to feed a stranger. Loyal to each other, they are yet without regard for human life and will knife an unarmed herdsboy with a jest. Cheerful and easily amused, they are generally good-tempered, though passionate when roused and quick to resent an injury.

166 I have often wondered as I rode across the desert what the future, and even the immediate future, holds for my companions and their kinsmen. The discovery of oil on the Persian Gulf is going to affect them profoundly and make it impossible for them to continue in their old ways, even if they would. I think myself that the oilfields will empty the desert. This movement of tribes from the Yaman and the Hadhramaut towards the north and the north-east is a movement which has been going on for thousands of years. It probably started even before the great migration of the Qahtan tribes, when, overwhelmed by calamity in their homes round Marib, some of them pushed across the deserts and occupied Oman. In recent years tribes such as the Awamir, Ruashid, and Manahil have left their homelands in the steppes to the north-east of the Hadhramaut and moved out into the sands to escape from the incursions of more powerful
166 tribes pressing on them from the west. Having accustomed themselves to
177 life in the sands, they have penetrated ever further and further into the Empty Quarter. In the past twenty or thirty years as conditions have become more settled in the north, due to the extension of Ibn Saud's influence over the powerful Murra tribe, they have grazed their herds round the Liwa oasis and in the sands near the Trucial Coast. Now the money to be earned on the oilfields along the Gulf is drawing the Badu

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves.
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 511
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badui often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 577
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 461
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com- 315
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

511 paid into the bargain. Family ties and a certain restlessness draw some of
166 them back into the desert, but, as I have said, desert life is becoming more and more difficult and may soon become altogether impossible.

177 The hardy Badu tribesmen, the best stock in Arabia, may become, as a
315 result of circumstances outside their control, a parasitic proletariat squatting in the fly-blown squalor of shanty towns on the outskirts of the oilfields in some of the most barren and inhospitable country in the world. I do not wish to suggest that the oil companies will not take adequate care of their workers and provide them with the best possible accommodation. Many of the Badu will certainly find employment with these companies; many of them have already shown considerable aptitude as drivers and mechanics, but it is uncertain whether as a race they are capable of the sustained effort required on an oilfield. At any rate, there will be great numbers who are unadaptable, inept, or physically incapable of finding work, and there will be the women and the children. Stranded in these salt-impregnated wastes, which can produce nothing but oil, and deprived of their old mobility, they may be unable to adjust themselves almost overnight to these new conditions and so become demoralized. Tribesmen who have never seen a car or an aeroplane or even a European will find themselves suddenly working with Englishmen and Americans who have met their first Arab ten days before. Lads who have never seen an unveiled woman are going to come in contact with European women, not only unveiled, but, in their eyes, undressed. At first they will think our dress indecent, many of our customs revolting, and our lack of religion
[157] appalling. The virtues of the desert nomads are, however, enforced by their circumstances, not by a natural preference for the ascetic way of life. In their own surroundings they are forced to be continent and self-restrained, but by nature they are self-indulgent and indolent. Their nomadic way of life, their tribal loyalties, their old interests, and the conventions which have governed their lives, will soon be swept away. Bored and disillusioned, they will, I fear, fall an easy prey to the vices and diseases of
[186] town life. They have always regarded themselves as the aristocracy of Arabia. They have taken a pride in surviving when others would succumb, and it is this pride in his manhood which the nomad expresses when he boasts, "I am a Badui." In the future they may easily drop to the bottom of the social scale, below those whom they know to be their inferiors in every way but that of adaptation to urban conditions.

A problem which confronts the rulers of Arabia is how to avoid pauperizing the nomads who will inevitably drift to the oilfields in ever-increasing numbers, and whose birth-rate is likely to rise considerably once they have settled there. It will indeed be tragic if they become the slum-dwellers of an industrialized Arabia. Poverty has been their constant lot, but it was a poverty shared by all. Now they will see Europeans and Arabs living in luxury in air-conditioned houses and provided with all the amenities of modern life. They will see wealth beyond their wildest dreams poured into the hands of a few; the Sheikh of Qatar, for instance, who until recently was the ruler of a few impoverished fishing villages and whose father sold headcloths in the market-place for a living, is now receiving royalties from an oilfield which may be one of the richest in the world.

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

world. In the past, Arab rulers were always accessible to their subjects, and the most destitute Badui was accustomed to enter the audience chamber of an all-powerful king and address him by name, scorning the use of titles. Now these rulers may be tempted to seclude themselves in offices and to interpose a convenient façade of secretaries between themselves and the importunities of the needy and the oppressed. It is significant of the changes which are taking place that customary banquets are already being replaced by meals at which delicacies brought specially from America by air are served in European fashion. 554 177

Freedom is the birthright of the nomad. If he should be dispossessed, disillusioned, and yet remain as poverty-stricken as he was before, he might readily be induced to believe that Communism offered him a society similar to that which he had lost.

Brigadier S. H. Longrigg: Are the Badu of Southern Arabia—similar to those of Northern Arabia—nomadic within limits? Has each tribal group its well-understood limits of migration in terms of movement and duration, or can they go anywhere? 221

Mr. P. W. Thesiger: That depends to a large extent on the various tribes. The northern tribes are usually very limited in migration: they graze their camels on the salt bushes, which do not die during drought, but they have then to water the camels two or three times a day, and therefore do not move any great distance. The more nomadic tribes, however, will range over one hundred miles questing for the type of desert pasture which springs up here and there after rain. The extent of their migrations often depends on whether there is peace or war between them and their neighbours. If peace prevails they can go into their next-door neighbour's territory; if they are at war they are limited in their movements. Sometimes there is good grazing in the middle of the desert, but no tribe can go there because there happens to be a war between two of the tribes.

One of the tribes I saw on my last journey, the Wahba (one of the biggest of the desert tribes), are very restricted and remain always within their own particular area. Certain of the tribes may range further than others. The widest ranging tribes are probably those living on the sands, whereas those who live on the steppes and round the mountains are much more restricted in their migrations.

The Chairman said: On your behalf I wish to thank Mr. Thesiger for what he has told us. Since he has said that he can stay with us for three months and with the Badu for nine, there is little more than I can add. (Laughter.) I feel sure, however, however, that Mr. Thesiger is absolutely right in that. I can only hope, Mr. Thesiger, that when you go back to Southern Arabia you will enjoy your sojourn there as much as you did on your recent visit, and that when you return to England you will stay a little more than three months with us. 000

The Bedouin Problem

The Bedouin cannot live in the desert without maintaining regular contact with the domain of settled society where he trades the surplus products of his economy for essential provisions. 361 609 621

In the past, the Bedouin have entered the cultivated zone either as conquerors, reducing the peasants to a state of semi-slavery and transforming fertile land into pastures for their herds, or as peaceful guests.[1)]

The conduct of the Bedouin on the outskirts of the settled region is determined by the ability of the government to defend the country and impose restrictive measures on the nomads. Once they accept the idea of compliance with certain conditions, they will soon become semi-nomadic and evolve towards sedentarization.

The substance of Bedouin policy in all the countries of the Middle East is the attempt by the political authorities to subject the nomads to a restrictive code of behavior calculated to protect the settled population, and to organize, facilitate, direct and accelerate their sedentarization. 361 166x

The Crisis in the Bedouin World

In modern times the settlement of the nomads has been regarded as one of the outstanding domestic problems in Arabia and the countries of the Fertile Crescent. The issue has been forced to a head by the crisis which the Bedouin world is under- 361 166x 178

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1. Müller, 1931, pp 18-19

361 going in the wake of profound political, economic and social
X166 changes:
178 a. political

The national governments of the Bedouin-inhabited countries, unwilling to have the tribes under their territorial jurisdiction remain as a separate social unit outside the national community, consider their permanent settlement on land absolutely essential to insure stability and progress. They are aware that, once the nomads become tied to the soil, the tribal system will begin to disintegrate and cease being a "state within a state." By controlling the Bedouin and encouraging their settlement, the administrations are putting an end to the special political status which the tribes enjoyed on the borders of the desert.

b. economic

361 With the conquest of the desert by modern means of trans-
X166 portation the camel-breeding industry of the true Bedouin has
178 been severely hit. Enforcement of public security destroyed
433 additional sources of livelihood, such as the plunder of caravans, inter-tribal raiding and the extortion of khuwa[1] from village communities and weaker semi-nomadic tribes. Extension of cultivation in the area is rapidly limiting the wandering territory of the tribes and thus adversely affecting their traditional pastoral economy.

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721 1. Bedouin raids are usually directed against other tribes or
728 caravans which are attacked and plundered. The toll which is frequently levied on the agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert is called by the name khuwa, protection money.

With the improvements of communication and construction of pipe- 369
lines there has been an ever-increasing mutual contact between the 178
nomads and the settled people of village and town. While tribal sheikhs are the first to come under the influence of modernization, the tribesmen are also gradually adopting the mode of existence of settled society.

CHAPTER 1

Definition of the Area under Consideration

This paper will limit itself primarily to the problem of 361
sedentarization of the nomadic populations in the countries of the 121
Fertile Crescent, that is: Iraq, Syria, Jordan (Transjordan) and Israel (Palestine), an area which distinguishes itself by its Moslem Arab majority,[1] its striking similarities of natural environment and social organization. Saudi Arabia was included in this study because of the inter-relations which exist between the Bedouin of the Arabian and Syrian deserts. Tribes of the Anezeh Confederation wander from Saudi Arabia through Jordan into Syria and back and sections of the Shammar migrate back and forth between Arabia and Iraq.

Desert and Soil

The chief common natural feature of the area is of a geo- 132
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1. With the exception of the Kurdish language used by the Kurds in Syria and Iraq, Aramaic spoken by the Nestorian Christians in Kurdistan and in a few villages in Syria, and Hebrew spoken by the Jewish community of Israel, the area is Arabic in character.

Social characteristics of the people

The population of practically the entire area consists of two distinct social groups, the nomadic and settled elements. Just as the two contrasting physical characteristics of the area, the desert and the sown, cannot be clearly defined, the lines of demarcation between the social groups are fluid as the social structure is constantly in the process of changes. As the transition from the desert to cultivable land is gradual, society can be found in all stages of transformation from purely nomadic to fully settled. The degree of transition varies; in some regions Bedouin society has remained almost unchanged, in others nomadism is practically extinct. M 369 B 178

Changes in the landscape

History of the past and experiences of the present clearly show that the frontiers of the desert fluctuate, at times cultivation being extended into the desert, at times the desert invading the domain of the sown. The ruins which lie in the desert, particularly on its margins, bear witness to the brilliant past of the Fertile Crescent. A richness of culture and an intensity of economic exploitation must have prevailed in localities where today there is no adequate water supply. And yet the remnants of the irrigation works, the multitude of dry wells and cisterns in places which are desert today can be taken as an indication that the area had a much larger population and a more advanced agricultural society in antiquity than at present. The ancient histories of Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Transjordan abound with illustrations M 311 M 174 311

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
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already settled, have resumed their nomadic mode of existence when political conditions permitted it. M. F. Jamali[1] mentions a number of instances where fully settled tribes of Iraq turned semi-nomadic. Joseph Baralavsky[2] concludes that certain families of the Tayaha tribe in the Negev seem to have descended from the settled population of Zoar. A. Konikoff[3] states that economic reasons forced settled families of southern Transjordan to form themselves into tribes and adopt the way of life best suited to desert conditions. Max Oppenheim[4] mentions that the powerful Howeitat tribe of Transjordan descended from merchants and peasants.

Classification of Nomads

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The constant changes of the social structure make a proper classification of Bedouin society extremely complicated.

Bonné[5] divides the nomadic population into the following groups:

a. Desert Bedouin who are the genuine nomads roving over the vast areas lying between the Syrian desert in the north and the center of the Arabian peninsula in the south, and who engage in camel-raising exclusively.

b. Steppe Bedouin who, in addition to camels, also keep large numbers of cows, sheep and goats, and wander in the steppe, nearer the cultivation.

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1. Jamali, 1934, p. 67
2. ברסלבסקי, 1946, pp. 89 - 100
3. Konikoff, 1946, p. 18
4. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 291
5. Bonne, 1948, pp. ~~302~~ 343 seq.

361 c. Semi-Bedouin who occupy a position between Bedouin and
178 Fellahin. They are already engaged in agriculture.
233 While they still live in tents, they ultimately turn to
621 the construction of permanent huts and houses.[1]

Muller introduces the following classifications

1. Nomadic Tribes

361 a. Camel tribes, so called because they engage primarily
233 in camel-breeding although they possess flocks of sheep. They are the true Bedouin of Syria, all belonging to The Aneneh and Shemmar groups.[2] Their mobility enables them to maintain a 600 - 800 kil. radius of migration. They wander in the desert from September till late in June when they return to the border of the cultivated zone in order to trade their surplus livestock and
X [166] purchase necessary supplies. They do not display the least interest in sedentarization.[3]

b. Sheep tribes, so called because they are chiefly preoccupied with intensive sheep-raising. The need for water for their animals restricts their wandering in time and in space. Early in the spring, before the

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1. Muller, 1931, pp. 96 seq.
2. The study of V. Muller is based on his observations of tribal life in Syria.
186 3. This statement was made by V. Muller in 1931. It seems highly questionable that within 18 years the situation among the true Bedouin should have changed so radically to enable Fawaz Sha'lan, Chief of the Ruala, to declare that "all the tribesmen now wanted land" (for settlement) cf. New York Times, September 6, 1949. Even changing circumstances have never had such an effect on the conservative mentality of the Bedouin, and it seems, therefore, that the declaration of Sha'lan, made for political reasons, must be taken with a note of caution.

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
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Another example of this attitude is the statement of General Sir Percy Cox before a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society: "The true Bedouin are attractive people, and I hope they will not be swept away too rapidly with the spread of civilization."[1]

This type of approach has often found its way into official records of the British Colonial Administration. In the Special Report on the Administration of Iraq we find the statement that "the tribe has little to gain and much to lose by settling."[2] The report becomes slightly ridiculous when it refers to the body-lice and the unwashed clothes of the Bedouin as "clean dirt."[3]

Epstein's study, however, must be subjected to criticism on several points. He attributes the progressive impoverishment of the desert Bedouin largely to the decline of the camel market and the tracing of the political boundary lines. While recognizing that not all the Bedouin can be reduced to a sedentary life, he maintains that the problems of Transjordan can be solved only by settlement of the nomadic population. There seems to be an exaggeration in the significance which Epstein attaches to an economic crisis among the Bedouin. Developments clearly show that the nomads are quick in making changes within their pastoral economy, from camel-breeding to sheep-raising, but reluctant to take up cultivation. Although camel economy is disintegrating, this phenomenon in itself does not necessarily lead to a permanent impov-

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1. Glubb, 1935, p. 31
2. Special Report, 1932, p. 185
3. ibid.

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361 x166 178 erishment of the nomads. The economic crisis may be temporary, till adjustments within the nomad economy have been carried out. The need for the camel has declined, but the importance of the sheep and goats has remained unchanged. Sheep and goats supply the people of the area with meat, dairy products and wool.

In fact, the suggestion may be ventured that in the near future the importance of the pastoral economy will considerably increase when the Arab masses will change to a healthier, more balanced diet which presently lacks vital protein elements.

According to Epstein the transition from nomadism to agriculture is made urgent by the unprofitability of camel-breeding, stoppage of raiding(heretofore a source of revenue), and the partitioning of the Syrian Desert. While these phenomena undoubtedly had serious repercussions in the Bedouin world, they do not seem to be chiefly responsible for the disintegration of tribal society and pastoral economy.

CHAPTER VI

233 178 The Camel Economy of the Nomads and Recent Changes

In the past the economy of the Bedouin was principally based on camel-breeding. With the construction of railways in the Middle East and the introduction of the automobile in the desert, the value of the camel declined rapidly and substantially. Prices

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slumped from LP 20 before the First World War to LP 4-5 or even less in the thirties.[1] 233 178

> "Prior to the war there were good markets for Iraq's camels in Syria, Turkey and Persia, in addition to the large numbers required for transport purposes in Iraq itself. Since the war, many railways have been constructed throughout the Middle East and the road systems of all countries have been greatly extended and improved. These roads are now all served by a large and increasing number of motor cars and lorries which have to a great extent taken the place of camel transport, thus practically removing the income to the Bedouins from their sale of camels." [2] 233 178 439

There was in the past a substantial demand for camel's meat, particularly in Egypt. But figures show that the import of camels into Egypt declined sharply since the end of the First World War. The import of camels into Egypt averaged prior to World War 1 (1899-1912) 51 137 per year,[3] in the post-war years up till 1937 only 28 137.[3] Figures and statements of observers indicate that the Egyptian camel market has contracted considerably since the end of the First World War. Although there has recently been a rise in consumption of camel's meat in Egypt,[4] the camel industry has lost its importance.

A classic Bedouin country such as Transjordan exported in 1929

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1. Epstein, 1937, February
2. Special Report, 1932, p. 185
3. Epstein, 1939, p. 177
4. The number of camels slaughtered in public slaughtering houses amounted to:

12 082	in	1944	
22 121		1945	
27 218		1946	cf. Annuaire, 1947, p. 137

233 only 3 437 camels,[1] and within a short time this trade became so
●178 insignificant that since 1937 camel export figures were no longer
439 listed in official statistical abstracts. Although 40 000 nomads of Transjordan are classified as full Bedouin, they cannot possibly live on camel-breeding. The following figures will show the dwindling camel stock in Transjordan:

1927	13 800	2)
1929	33 500	2)
1935	3 400	2)
1943	6 000	2)
1948	2 500	3)

Figures are probably understated as information on animal holdings was furnished for taxing purposes, but they indicate the trend.

The decline of camel trade and the slump in market prices have severely hit the camel-breeding Bedouin. Transjordan was selected as an example, but the same phenomenon is apparent among the nomads of Syria and Iraq.

Changes within the pastoral economy

361 The camel Bedouin coming from the Arabian desert into the
x178 lands of the Fertile Crescent will sooner or later become a sheep
166 nomad. This transformation has been going on for centuries, long before the decline of the camel market made it necessary. The change was in the past an adaptation of the pastoral economy to

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1. Epstein, 1939, p. 180
2. International Yearbooks of Agricultural Statistics for 1931/2 and 1940/41
3. Final Report, 1949, Part II, p. 10

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the natural conditions of the environment, while in recent years it has also been an adjustment to economic circumstances.

The type of animal industry is determined by geographic factors and climatic conditions. In Iraq "in many parts of the alluvial lowlands, terrain is too soft and swampy, so that those animals (camels) are few outside the steppes."[1] Syria, especially the northern part, where rigorous winters frequently occur, is not an ideal region for camel-breeding while in parts of the Arabian desert sheep and goats cannot survive.

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The profitability and the increase of sheep and goat rearing is apparent from the following Transjordan export-trade figures:[2]

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	1937	1939	1941	1943
goats	6 988	7 637	32 638	31 041
sheep	12 064	37 896	56 735	52 487

While the camel trade declined, the sheep and goat business has been constantly rising.

Mr. Epstein states[3] that sheep raising is more lucrative when practiced in permanent settlements which do not have to fear losses incurred as result of inter-tribal raiding. With the establishment of Public Security, however, raids have practically ceased, and the desert has been made secure. Today, throughout the area the animal industry is largely in the hands of the nomads.[4]

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1. Fisher, 1950, p. 362
2. Kouikoff, 1946, p. 112 Table 16
3. Epstein, 1938, p. 228
4. In Iraq the breeding of sheep is practiced almost exclusively by the nomadic population, cf. Royal Institute, 1950, p. 259

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CHAPTER VIII

The Transition of the Nomad to Agriculture

Beyond the adjustments which the nomads were forced to make within their pastoral economy, settlement on land was appreciably accelerated during the past few decades. 166x 178

The transition of pastoral nomads to an agricultural life is an uninterrupted process in the history of the tribes migrating from the Arabian Desert to the fertile areas which border it. But in recent years the pace of Bedouin sedentarization was accelerated under the impact of social, political and economic developments in the Middle East.

Sedentarization of the Tribes, the spontaneous socio-economic change

Waves of Bedouin have constantly broken forth from the desert and become ultimately absorbed in the permanent settlement. The process has been slow and gradual. Without the stimulus of powerful external factors, the transformation from the pure desert Bedouin to the fully settled villager may have taken centuries to complete.

Settlement of the nomads may take place either in the wake of great military invasions such as the campaigns of Mohammed and his successors, the invasions of the Wahhabi princes, etc.; or as the result of their contact with settled civilization in the course of their regular wanderings. Actually, also Sedentar

166 178 following military invasions is to a considerable extent the outcome of social contact.

In another part of this paper it will be shown how planned, external stimuli such as government interference, are effecting Bedouin settlement, but the following pages will discuss the phenomenon of the spontaneous internal, socio-economic change.

174 Tribes in the service of the early Islamic conquerors and the Wahhabi princes began to settle down as they become garrison troops in the conquered territories and ultimately the military administrators of the provinces. They established themselves in the vicinity of the villages and cities in order to keep an eye on the subject people. In the great adventure of conquest the Bedouin mode of life went overboard. A different climate may have forced the nomads to change over to breeding other types of livestock. Cruder weather conditions may have obliged them to abandon the tent for more solid living quarters. In spite of the Bedouin's scornful attitude towards the settled people the next step was usually a growing interest in the agricultural society around them and a gradual imitation of its habits and activities.

On the whole it can be observed that while in the Arabian Desert Bedouin society seems incapable of undergoing any change whatsoever, in the steppe near cultivated areas it is destined to decay and disappear. 1)

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1. Montagne, 1947, pp.112-113

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In our days sedentarization is the product of the nomad's 166X
contact with settled society during the regular periods of his 177
encampment on the outskirts of the cultivated land.

At present, the tribal population of Syria, Iraq, Palestine 166X
(Israel) and Transjordan (Jordan) is in all stages of transition 178 ●
to a sedentary existence. A. S. Kirkbridge has outlined[1] the
various stages that the Transjordan nomad passes on his journey
to the settled life of an agriculturalist. With insignificant
changes the description of the steps can be made applicable to
the process of sedentarization as a whole.

Stages of Sedentarization

1. The true desert Bedouin, raising mainly camels,[2] lives 166X 221 434 361
in a world where nature makes cultivation impossible.
He migrates in accordance with the existence of water
and grazing and supplements his meager income by raiding
if conditions permit. He despises the villagers.

2. In spite of the contempt that the Bedouin have for the 609 434
settled peasants they come to realize that the fellah
lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a better diet,
compared to the standards of the nomad.

3. The next step is the occupation of cultivable land by 166X 361 241
the nomadic tribe. Agriculture is practiced only as a

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1. Kirkbridge, 1945, March-April
2. Kirkbridge does not discuss the Bedouin that come from Arabia subsisting exclusively on camel-breeding. Since practically all Transjordanian nomads have crossed the first stage, the conversion of exclusive camel economy to mixed pastoral economy of sheep and camel-breeding.

X166 supplemental means of livelihood. The tribesmen stay on
361 their fields only to harvest and then to sow next year's
241 crop. Then they migrate with their flocks in search of pastures. But they soon realize the drawbacks of protracted absence:

a. the grain will be eaten by birds and insects before it takes root

b. neighbors will graze their herds on the fields.

Sooner or later the amateur cultivator comes to the conclusion that it will pay him to remain nearer his land.

X166 4. The decision to remain close to the cultivated land
241 implies the first real change in the nomad's mode of living:

a. the radius of migration must be reduced

b. the restriction of movement, in turn, makes it mandatory to reduce the amount of livestock in proportion to the grazing areas within the limited wandering orbit.

c. the fewer the animals, the greater the dependence of the tribe on cultivation.

X166 At this phase the nomads still live in tents. But in
178 raising crops, they adopt more and more the methods of the sedentary neighbors.

437 In the trading of the surplus grain the behavior of the

BEDOUINS MJ4
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nomads is uneconomic. As the tribe is getting set to move right after harvest time, the surplus crop must be sold when the price of grain is at its lowest.

5. The nomads soon realise that it would be more profitable to store the surplus and wait until he can get good prices for it. They hire builders to erect store-houses for them. These are placed in charge of watchmen engaged from the nearest village. 166x 178 251

The disadvantages of this procedure become soon apparent:

a. the hired guards may not be honest

b. a raid may occur during the absence of the tribe. The watchmen would not risk their lives to defend somebody else's property.

The nomad reaches the inevitable conclusion that he must keep his tent all the time next to his storehouse in order to protect his possessions.

6. As the nomad remains in the same place all the time, he sees no point in putting up with the discomforts of life in a tent. When he builds and occupies a house, the transition is completed. 166x 178

The evolutionary process of transformation is not always the same. Kirkbride only describes its external aspects, but it must be realised that the conservative Bedouin clings tenaciously to his tribal traditions which he will not give

166 up for the sake of economic self-improvement.

178 The nomad who has settled creates a vacuum on the fringes of the desert which is filled by other desert tribes destined to undergo the same evolution, and thus the process of sedentarization goes on indefinitely.

CHAPTER IX

Survey of Recent Developments that Affected Bedouin Society

Saudi Arabia

133 Except for a few fertile oases, the vast area of Saudi Arabia consists entirely of arid desert and steppes which are green only for a short period in the winter. Arabia is the cradle and the classic country of the Bedouin.

656 The rule of Ibn Saud has been the turning point in the 166 history of Central Arabia. In his drive to found a powerful state, Ibn Saud realized that he must settle the Bedouin within his frontiers if the political structure he created was to last. Citizens, united in purpose and attached to the soil, and not roving nomads, constitute a reliable element which can assure permanency to a state organization.

656 To overcome the traditional tribal disunity, Ibn Saud inspired 186 the Bedouin with the doctrines of Wahhabi puritanism which gave them a consciousness of unity. The Ikhwan (brethern, Wahhabi confraternity), founded by Ibn Saud in 1912,[1] is the modern revival

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1. 1912 is the date usually given for the founding of the Ikhwan. cf. Royal Institute, 1950, p. 85
According to Arnold Toynbee, however, the Ikhwan was founded in 1910. cf. Royal Institute, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 261

educational needs of the tribes.

This policy aimed at introducing improvements into the Bedouin mode of living without changing it.

Some of the sheikhs made serious attempts to settle the tribesmen on their estates. The Hadidiyin began in the 30's to cultivate on the estates of their sheikh.[1] Rakan, the sheikh of the Sba'a, has been consistently trying to make the members of his tribe engage in agriculture.[2]

Apart from minor successes the attempts of sedentarization were largely premature. While economic changes and a taste for modern living induced a great number of the sheikhs to abandon nomadism and settle down, the majority of the tribesmen preferred to continue their pastoral activities and their traditional migrations. Even economic disasters in the desert did not appreciably accelerate the pace of their sedentarization.

In 1931, for example, the Syrian Bedouin lost 30 - 40 per cent of their animals in the wake of inclement weather conditions.[3] 1931/32 was also a season of exceptional drought when certain tribes lost 50 per cent of their camels and 80 per cent of their sheep.[4] The desert was strewn with animals that died of hunger. The critical situation among the tribes prompted the French Mandatory Government[5] to encourage the nomads to settle down to an agricultural life. Fertile land and implements were freely dis-

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 298
2. ibid., p. 85
3. Rapport, 1931, p. 98
4. Rapport, 1932, p. 91
5. The French High Commission maintained a special tribal service

[I.E. GOVERMENTAL REFORMS.. ANALYST]

mantly settled in the neighborhood of Homs and Hama. The Lemaes, (part of the Sba'a) began agriculture after the First World War.[1] The Hesene who had started cultivation already at the end of the 19th century,[2] are settling down in the villages which they own east of Homs.[3] Several thousand tribesmen of the Fed'an work in the fields belonging to the estates of their sheikh Mejhem, although the majority of the tribesmen prefer livestock-breeding to cultivation.[4] In the Jezirah, in Hauran, in the Homs-Hama-Aleppo region and in other parts of the country tribes are abandoning their nomadic mode of life and begin to engage in agriculture, first as supplementary, then as primary occupation. Ultimately they become fully settled peasants.

361 241 166K

This process has been going on ever since the Bedouin have infiltrated into Syria. In recent years the slow pace of transition was somewhat quickened under the impact of rapidly changing conditions in Syria, but not as the result of economic adversities which plagued the nomads for a season or two. A catastrophe in the pastoral economy will not cause the Bedouin to turn to agricultural pursuits. After the drought years of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Bedouin was desperate, but the abundant season of 1933 made the nomads forget the sufferings of preceding

361 241 166K 178

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 83
2. ibid., p. 84
3. ibid., p. 85
4. Rassam, 1930, p. 496

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241 years. There was not much of a response to the efforts of the
X166 government during 1934 and 1935 to encourage settlement on land.
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Where sedenterization took place it was the social process
X166 of assimilation, stimulated by economic, social and political
178 factors. Where societies meet, the phenomenon of assimilation is inevitable; one section of the social group may be more rapidly affected than the other, but even if no extraordinary conditions arise, the evolutionary process of assimilation and subsequent sedenterization will take its course and ultimately embrace all strata of society.

361 Tribal leadership spearheaded the movement towards sedenter-
X166 ization which by 1935 was sufficiently advanced among the tribal groups of the Aleppo-Homs-Hama region for 14 tribes representing 3 500 tents or 15 000 individuals to be placed by the authorities under a regime of ordinary administration.[1]

423 For those nomads who are at present ready to settle down,
425 the greatest problem is that of land-tenure. Bedouin tribes as a
X166 whole have more land at their disposal than they can possibly exploit by agricultural cultivation. The area inhabited by the nomads is not less than 10 693 000 hectares.[2] However, when the tribesmen are willing to take up agriculture, they find that all the tribal land has become the property of the sheikhs.

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1. Rapport, 1936, pp. 26-27
2. Salem, 1950 p. 355

Jaberat, Remajra and the Saidiyin. Until recently these nomads were chiefly engaged in sheep and goat rearing, while camel-breeding has been progressively abandoned. 361 233

Already in the 1930's all the Beersheba tribes were in an advanced stage of the process of transition to permanent settlement. While before the First World War the Negev Bedouin depended almost exclusively on stock-breeding, in 1931 42 868 of them claimed cultivation, and only 5 113 animal rearing, as their chief source of livelihood.[1] 166x 233

This development was the result of a series of economic factors: the decline of the camel market,[2] successive years of drought and famine in the Negev,[3] the increased value attached to land in the wake of Zionist land purchases and the ready market that agricultural produce found in the growing Jewish settlements. 178 166x

Many Bedouin began to attend to cultivation in a more regular fashion although they remained for the time being semi-nomads wandering with their flocks except for the seasons of sowing and harvesting. 361 241 166x

The sheikhs and more prominent members of the tribes began 342

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1. Report of 1931 census of Palestine
2. This loss was largely compensated by breeding other types of livestock.
3. More than half of the years 1874 - 1909 were seasons of drought. The war years 1914-18 constituted a continuous period of famine the severity of which the Negev had not experienced prior to the war. aft

עארף אל-עצרף193, ע' 150-151

658 for the southern tribes of Transjordan. The second desert school follows the movement of the northern tribes, classes being alternately held at Muqqar and at Azraq, both in the Amman district.[1]

x166 In general it must be stated that the creation of suitable
656 conditions for tribal settlement was attempted on a scale which
241 was wholly inadequate, the chief obstacles being the lack of a concrete policy and the financial means to implement it. Nevertheless, in Transjordan, the majority of the nomads are actually ready to settle down if the opportunity is given them. Larger tribes such as the Howeitat and Beni Hasan are increasingly practicing agriculture as their main occupation. Smaller tribes, living in northern Kerak, have always held cultivation in high esteem.[2] Tribesmen from Belqa are engaged as agricultural laborers on the estates of the Beni Sakhr,[3] although most sheikhs of the Jordan tribes have their lands worked by permanent tenants, fellahin who come from the Nablus and Hebron areas of Palestine.[4]

178 Summary of the Bedouin settlement movement in the area
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a. spontaneous socio-economic change

The internal, sociological change among the nomads is the ever-operating phenomenon of assimilation to the settled society which they contact.

How the transition gradually occurs among the tribes

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1. Report, 1938, p. 351
2. Janssen, 1908, p. 243
3. Epstein, 1938, p. 233
4. Polisk, 1942

JORDAN BEDOUINS MJ4

coming in from the desert and moving northward, can be observed in the geographic distribution of the population of Transjordan. The Southern Ma'an district and the parts east of the Hejas railway are the domains of the Bedouin. Southern Balqa and the entire Kerak district are inhabited by semi-nomads, already settled on the land, but still living in tents and retaining their tribal organization. In Ajloun and the northern part of Balqa the settled villager predominates. 178 166x 131 166x

b. external factors and planned change 166x

Bedouin settlement on land considerably progressed under the impact of:

a. development of the area with subsequent limitation of pasture lands

b. the measures of the governments

c. the examples of the sheikhs and their attempts to settle the tribesmen

CHAPTER X

Tribal Land and the Role of the Sheikh in Bedouin Settlement Since the 19th Century 421 425

With the introduction of the Land Registration Law of 1859 most of the tribal land in the Ottoman Empire became the property of the sheikhs.

The individual tribesmen as well as the settled villagers

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land reform on which successful tribal settlement will ultimately depend, but as the land-owning families exercise control over the indigenous administrations, the prospects for sweeping changes do not seem bright. 421

Transformation of the Sheikh

With the process of sedentarization the tribal sheikh undergoes a profound political and social transformation. 166x

In the traditional tribal society inter-tribal political activities were confined to disputes over water and grazing rights. Since the 19th century sheikhs have become involved in big power politics. Bedouin history since the First World War abounds with cases of tribal chiefs being pre-occupied with the political issues of the country. At present the tribal leaders constitute a very active element in the parliamentary life of Syria and Iraq. While the sheikhs of the Transjordanian tribes have in the past not taken a prominent part in the political activities of their country, they have taken sides in the main controversial issue of anglophile government circles versus pan-Arab, anti-foreign Nationalists. Mithal Pasha, the sheikh of the Beni-Sakhr, was the avowed friend of the Mufti while Hamad el Jazi, the sheikh of the Howeitat was an active supporter of Abdullah.[1] 578 622 664

The social changes which the sheikh undergoes are considerable. His household becomes substantially enlarged by addition of a great number of slaves, specialists in various tasks. The wives of the sheikh have chamber maids at their disposal. 622 178

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1. Oppenheim, 1943, pp. 182-183

178 [493] 622 It is not a rarity to see an automobile under the tent of the sheikh, even when he still wanders and camps with his tribe. Gradually the chiefs establish luxurious residences, equipped with all the comforts of modern living. At this stage the sheikh will spend most of the time away from the tribe, favoring the social, economic and political activities of the sedentary population.

177 622 178 An instructive example of the changes in the social status of the powerful sheikh is the case of the Rwala. The Rwala tribesmen still belong to the few remaining true Bedouin. Their former Sheikh, Emir Nuri al-Sha'lan, however, showed already before World War 1 his preference for a house to a tent. His grandson Fawaz, the present Emir of the tribe, was in his youth a genuine Bedouin, but later his mode of living became thoroughly westernized.[1]

619 178 566 The tribesmen will not remain unaffected by this development. For a while they try tenaciously to preserve the nomadic mode of existence, but sooner or later they will become the exploited tenants and share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

566 622 During the Mandatory regime the absentee landlords lost much of their grip on the cultivators, but the tenants of the tribal sheikhs are still in a virtual state of serfdom. In some cases the tribal chief still has complete authority over the

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1. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 108

241 731 that were willing to engage in agriculture after the economic catastrophes of either the early 30's or the late 40's, because this tribal group is not yet ready for settlement. Similarly in Syria, as has been pointed out above, the calamitous season 1931/32 did not appreciably accelerate sedentarization. While the experienced Bedouin will take livestock losses and subsequent starvation in the desert as a matter of course, the novice cultivator will not face a harvest failure with the same equanimity. X166 731 In 1936 many Transjordan nomads had taken up cultivation for the first time, but the loss of their crops discouraged them so much, that they returned to the desert.[1]

241 X166 178 Profound changes are, nevertheless, taking place in the mentality of the Bedouin. As a result of tribal disintegration many nomads have become increasingly interested in sedentary life. When the nomad sees the sheikh, alienated from the tribe, enjoy luxuries beyond his dreams, he may also want to improve his standard of living and enjoy the "comforts" of the settled villager whose existence is prosperous compared by the Bedouin's standard of life. Pride may keep the nomad from working on the land, but nevertheless there are now hundreds of Iraqi and Syrian villages inhabited by people who were formerly nomads. Some of them still maintain tribal customs although they have been settled for a long time and severed the relations with their original tribes.[2]

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1. Report, 1936, p. 349
2. El-Shihaby, 1950, pp. 278 seq.

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Social transformation of the Bedouin

When the Bedouin settle down, they gradually adopt the 177
fellah's mode of living. As their contact with village and city 178
increases, they become familiar with modern implements, matches,
oil-lamps, etc.

The Ghawarneh of Northern Palestine, for example, live like 241
peasants engaged in intensive cultivation.[1] They grow rice, 166x
maize and peas. The women are occupied with mat weaving, the 178
men join them in this work during the slack season in the fields. 511
They still dress like Bedouin, and most of them live in huts.
There are stone houses in which the family chiefs dwell.[2] After
settlement, Bedouin customs and habits give way gradually to those
of the fellahin.

In the Khiss-Finn refugee camp (southern Syria) there are
Arab refugees who claim to be members of tribes that lived until
recently in Upper Galilee, around Lake Tiberias, near Nazareth
and Safed. In July 1949, an inquiry was conducted among the
members of the camp concerning tribal habits and health conditions.[3]
The members of the tribes were agricultural folk, some small traders
and artisans. A part of them used to live permanently in stone 342
houses, others dwelt in houses during the winter months, in tents 166x
during the harvesting season. In a number of tribes only the
wealthy had houses, the poorer members lived permanently in tents.
Most of the tribal people were settled, one group for only 50 to
70 years.

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1. This was the situation prior to the Arab-Israeli war of 1948.
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 46
3. Cotwell, 1950

Economic

361 233 178 241 The Pastoral economy of the Bedouin[1] has been seriously affected by the rapid development of the area. Former pasture lands are increasingly brought under cultivation with subsequent restriction of tribal grazing areas.

Although an exaggerated significance has been attached to the effects of the declining demand for the camel, this factor has dealt a severe blow to the economy of the true desert Bedouin who subsisted in the past exclusively on camel-breeding.

Social

178 621 Tribal society has progressively disintegrated as the result of the sheikh's emergence as a big landowner. The interest which tribal leadership displays in agricultural life, is bound to influence the thinking and acting of the tribesmen. Sooner or later, they will follow the examples set by their sheikhs and settle down.

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1. The statement of Alfred Bonne that "the term Bedouin economy is a contradiction in itself" and that "this economy is no economy in the accepted sense of the word" (Bonne, 1948, p. 346) may be exaggerated because the nomads make a valuable contribution to the economy by:
   a. profitably utilizing the scanty patches of grass that grow for fleeting moments over widely separated stretches of desert area, a resource which would remain otherwise exploited
   b. by supplying the people of the area with their needs of meat, wool and dairy products
   c. producing for local industry and export trade items like wool, skins, hides, and live animals and their edible produce.

BEDOUINS MJ4

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As a member of a well-knit patriarchal society the individual Bedou enjoyed a relative sense of security, and his precarious existence in the desert was made possible by tribal solidarity and experienced and devoted leadership. With the dissolution of the traditional ties the Bedouin may ultimately come to realize the benefits that will accrue to him as part of a new social order, that of the settled community.

Political

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The administrations of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Israel have been concerned with integrating the nomadic element within their borders in the national community.

Saudi Arabia and Israel have formulated and are carrying out definite settlement policies, while the other governments of the area stimulate sedentarization by the creation of suitable conditions. Inadequate as the measures of the governments may be in themselves, they are bound to show results, once the disintegration of the tribal group is sufficiently advanced.

In order to make Bedouin sedentarization a lasting success, government-sponsored settlement projects must be designed and carried out.

For a long time the issue of "settling the tribes" has been a political slogan in the cities of the Arab countries, but only infrequently have the administrations of Syria, Iraq and Jordan taken concrete steps in direction of Bedouin settlement.

BEDOUINS MJ4

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Welfare Seminar of 1950 cautioned against offering the tribal chiefs large stretches of land on which the mass of the tribesmen would become a class of agricultural laborers.[1]

APPENDIX

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Recommendations for the Formulation of Settlement Policies

There is a definite need for constructive government-sponsored settlement schemes.

It has been recognized that specific problems, presented by old and deeply rooted traditions, must be taken into considerations[2]

a. the element of persuasion and education, the mental adjustment of the Bedouin to the new conditions. Projects of amelioration and irrigation or schemes of free land distribution may aid the fellah and the nomad, but it must be recognized that not all the Bedouin will abandon nomadic life voluntarily, even when offered free land. The traditional contempt for agricultural work must be counteracted by persuasion and education.

b. the need for introducing gradual changes. Successful sedentarization of the nomads cannot proceed more rapidly than their mental adjustment to the new conditions. Where the Bedouin are not gradually prepared for agricultural life, they will become landowners, but not cultivators. They will turn into "tent-dwellers who depend for their living on the rents paid by their fellaheen-tenants."[3]

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1. El-Shihaby, 1950, p. 280
2. Poliak, 1942
3. ibid.

H. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

609 *alaik* (I am your suppliant, I enter upon God's pardon and yours). The person so addressed is bound to protect the suppliant, with his own life if necessary, and is bound always to fight for him, or get him to a place of safety if he is being pursued or is in immediate danger.

HOW DAKHÁLA IS CLAIMED

A man being followed by enemies meets a Badawin girl cutting firewood in the desert, or her mother spinning outside her tent alone, and begs *dakhála*. The girl or her mother is bound to offer protection, and if the danger is near, she will call out for help (*tasih*). Immediaately the whole community will rush (*faẓa'a*) to her aid. The man will be sent to a place of safety. He will not be surrendered.*

[628] A man may enter the house of the brother of a man he has just killed. If he demands *dakhála* he is safe for three days, after that time he must say where he wants to go, and he will be seen safely to his destination. This done, the brother of the man he has killed is free to resume his just blood feud.

HOW DAKHÁLA WORKS

A man is chased for a crime, he rushes into a tent (or house) and begs *dakhála*. The owner of the tent is bound not only to grant sanctuary, but, after feeding the visitor and clothing him, must see him safely to the house, tent or tribe where the suppliant thinks he will be safe. After that the protector's responsibility ends.

So strict is the law of *dakhála* among the Badawin that a man carrying the "cane" (marked with his *wasm*) of a shaikh with whom he has taken sanctuary, may safely travel through the length and breadth of a tribe's territory, even though there may be persons there who have a blood feud with him.

609 178 In countries like modern Sa'udi Arabia, and in the new Iraq where the authorities, following the Persian example, are unfortunately, and I think mistakenly, trying to break down tribal customs, the practice of *dakhála* is unpopular with those who rule, and the police con-

* Jaal the Kenite of Bible fame broke the law of *dakhála* when she slew the sleeping Sisera, who clearly believed himself safe in her tent. She also broke all laws of hospitality, as Sisera had come to her tent and partaken of her food.

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

stantly find themselves thwarted by it. This is a pity, for if properly 609
understood there is nothing shameful or anti-social in the system. 178
It would be wiser for the law to recognise its existence and make use of it and of other time-honoured Arab customs.

In 1933 my friend, Shaikh Lafi ibn Ma'allath of the Mutair (Braih) 641
tribe, a faithful warrior and servant of Bin Sa'ud, was forced to flee to Iraq, because a man pursued by Bin Sa'ud's blockade-police took refuge in his tent, and invoked the law of *dakhála*. When the police threatened to search for the fugitive the stout-hearted shaikh signalled to his followers and fellow tent-dwellers to close around, and said he would resist the man's arrest by force of arms if necessary. Baulked of their prey the police (all townsmen) went away angry and sullen, and reported the incident to Ibn Jiluwi, their master. Lafi, feeling that he had got a breathing-space, and knowing that he would never be forgiven, fled across the border with his cousins, relatives, women, children, thirty tents in all, never to come back. Had the police bided their time, three days, they could probably have followed and made an arrest. Instead, they drove a faithful and loyal servant of the King into exile.

Cases of a similar nature are legion, and do almost more than anything else to promote bad feeling between the tribal elements of Arabia and the local governments.

The root trouble is, of course, the desire of upstart kings and princes, eager to ape the West, to break down all tribal systems, because they think these mark a backward state of society.

Akin to *dakhála* is the conception of *wejh* or *tisyar*. This literally 577
means "face". *Be wejh fulan* (lit. "In So-and-So's face") means under the protection or safe conduct of So-and-So, and is a phrase very commonly heard in the desert. The penalties for outraging a person's *dakhála*, *wejh* or *tisyar* (as the Iraq tribesmen call *wejh*) are very severe indeed; a heavy fine is exacted from any person purposely defying the custom. This fine is called *hashm* or "honour money" [628]
in Iraq. A man surrendering to the police another who has claimed *dakhála* will be relentlessly pursued by the suppliant's relations and will be slain unless he compounds the case by paying *hashm* to the tribe.

The following anecdote of how a British officer was saved by

THE BADU OF SOUTHERN ARABIA

By W. P. THESIGER, D.S.O.

114 Lecture given on September 28, 1949, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: To-day Mr. Thesiger is going to talk to us about the countries around the Red Sea, with which he has been acquainted since childhood. He was born in Abyssinia. Before the recent war he was with the Sudan Civil Service. In 1940 he was sent to Abyssinia and volunteered for service there with the Ethiopian Patriot Force, in which he was awarded the D.S.O.

Later he was sent on special duty to Damascus and was able to resume his Arabic studies. Since the war he has carried out several remarkable trips to explore the heart of the area known as the "Empty Quarter," and he is now going to tell us about the most recent of these.

101 178 184 I AM going to talk about the Badu of Southern Arabia; that is to say, the camel-owning nomads who live in and around the Empty Quarter. I wish to make it clear that I am talking about the Badu, or Baduin, and not about Arabs who cultivate or live in towns, for there is all the difference in the world between them. I do not suppose that a sophisticated young town Arab would be flattered if you referred to him as a Badui, though it is surprising how many of them do proudly claim Badu origin, and I do know that no Badui would like to be called a townsman or cultivator. At first sight the Badu of Southern Arabia appear to be very different from those of the north, but I believe that this difference is largely superficial and due to the clothes which they wear. I do not think that either a Sa'ari from the deserts just north of the Hadhramaut or a Wahibi from South-Eastern Oman would feel himself much out of place in an encampment of the Rualla. On the other hand, I think that a townsman from Aden or Muscat would always be conspicuous in Damascus. I wish also to make it quite clear that I am describing conditions in Southern Arabia and not in Arabia as a whole. In the past Badu life was everywhere much the same, harder in some places and easier in others. The last quarter of a century has, however, seen the most revolutionary changes in the north. There Ibn Saud has imposed his iron will upon the tribes. He has subjected the nomad to the rule of the settled Arab, stamped out raiding, and taxed the Badui as well as the cultivator. The same process has been carried out in Trans-Jordan, in Syria, and in [177] Iraq. It was largely the use of the motor-car which made it possible to bring the Badu under control, for that robbed them of their age-old inaccessibility. Previously they had only to retire into the desert to be safe from pursuit, but now they are at the mercy of a motorized patrol, unable to get away and with nowhere to hide.

178 619 Cars have, however, not yet penetrated into the southern desert, and there the old life still goes on. I do not suppose, except that the Badu are now armed with rifles, that their way of life has greatly changed since the times of Abraham. In the south they are still dominant and even unchallenged. It is true that before they enter the valley of the Hadhramaut

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

133 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
712 stand the land in which they live—a harsh, unforgiving land which conditions their lives so that they, too, are hard, hard in body and mind. They live in the desert—that is to say, in country which, judged by ordinary standards, is waterless. This applies equally to the barren, broken limestone mountains near the southern coast, to the flat, featureless gravel plains, and to the sands of the Empty Quarter itself, where the mountainous dunes, some of which are 700 feet high, run one behind the other for hundreds of miles. There are, of course, some wells in this desert, but they are usually few and far between; the Sa'ar country has two permanent wells in it, Manwakh and Zamakh; the Manahil country has three or four. Thus in an area the size of Norfolk there might be two wells. I have myself twice travelled four hundred miles between wells. I admit that this is exceptional, but Badu have raided across these very stretches of desert, riding out and back again without touching at a well. You can think what this means when you realize that this distance is twice as far as from Dover to Edinburgh, and that these Arabs travelled at a speed of three miles per hour, relying only on the water which they could carry with them without foundering their camels, and that the camels themselves did not get a drink until they returned a month later.

137 It seldom rains in this desert; in many parts it has not rained for five
221 years, and I have been in places where not a drop of rain has fallen for twenty-five years. By Badu standards a couple of hours' heavy rain in the
132 year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
233 depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances. Most of this vegetation is not grass, but desert plants like the succulent yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
233 acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their
262 camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

101 Any non-nomad is automatically ruled out. But there are tens of thousands of nomadic tribesmen in Syria and 'Irak who live in tents and are continually on the move, but who are not Bedouins, for they do not primarily breed camels, but sheep and donkeys.[66] A Bedouin must also be able to trace his descent from certain recognized pure-bred Bedouin tribes. We find, therefore, that a Bedouin, in the strictest sense, is a camel-breeding nomad of certain specified tribes.[67] There are seven or eight principal tribes in northern Arabia. (1) 'Anazah, the most numerous, fill the greater part of the triangle of the Syrian desert; (2) Sammâr, bound 'Anazah on the south, with a branch in northern 'Irak between the Tigris and Euphrates; (3) Mutair and the Az-Zefir lie in the extreme southeast of our area, while Beni-Sahr, the Hwêtat, and Beni Atiyeh occupy the southwest corner. In addition to these, however, there are certain ignoble tribes scattered everywhere among the Bedouins.[68]

178 It is also significant to learn what their social and economic status in Syria, 'Irak, and the Arabian Peninsula was under Turkish rule and before 1914 as well as under British, French, and Saudi-Arabian administration ever since then. Will this completely pure-nomadic stock succeed in preserving their ancient mode of life in the framework of the industrialization of the Near and Middle East? Or, will they be forced to retire to their lairs of old, the Arabian Peninsula, to preserve their traditions? Or, will they be forced by slow process to give up their completely nomadic habits, turn by degrees into semi-nomads and successively to semi-farmers, attached to the soil, until they finally are settled and firmly attached to a permanent abode? And we learn, from the past, that the 'Anazah tribes will not be able to continue for long in their present ancient mode of life, preserving all customs and circumstances of nomad life, because the Near East and Middle East are changing from patriarchal-feudal into progressive, civilized countries with a higher culture and standard of life. This will force a firm and fixed policy with regard to the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes dwelling on the borders and in the deserts to become settled, to make them stop raiding, and give way to a new mode of life. Sovereign states in the Middle East have to initiate a settlement movement to attach them gradually to some fixed abode and to give up their seasonable migrations. The political importance of the Bedouins will therefore become reduced in the future, and the establishment of firm con-

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113 66 Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 13.

67 *Idem*, p. 15.

68 Josef Henninger, *Fortschritte in Arabien* (in *Festschrift St. Gabriel zum 50 jährigen Jubiläum*, Wien-Mödling, 1949), pp. 501-539; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15; Montagne, *Notes sur la vie sociale, etc.*, p. 79.

ZitAshkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

178

tral will destroy many of their most attractive qualities: their sturdy independence, their chivalry, their raids, and their poetry. Already their chiefs are showing signs of taking to politics or agriculture, while their ambitious youths are seeking enlistment and promotion in the police. In northern Arabia—touching on 'Irak, Syria, and Trans-Jordan—the Bedouin will lose his influence and most of his distinctive qualities. In Nejd, where a greater proportion of the population is nomadic, the Bedouin may retain some of his importance rather longer. Imperialist rule will see with pity that the good old raid must cease, and representatives of the imperialist rule "hope they will not be swept away too rapidly by the spread of civilization."[69]

And those Bedouin tribes, who refuse to settle down and exchange their tents for houses, who insist upon wandering and living upon camel- and horse-raising, will have to return to those waste lands and plains whence they emerged hundreds of years ago. But even there progressing civilization will hound them, as even the Arabian Peninsula is slowly advancing in this direction under King 'Abd el-'Aziz Eben Sa'ûd, himself of noble and pure nomadic descent. As long as there are deserts in the heart of settled countries, there will also be nomads, nomads who will threaten the borders of these settled countries and their progress. But now as of old, today as in the days of Byzantine and Persian domination, it is the duty of these progressive countries to ward off this threat, not by armies, but by wisely helping these nomads to satisfy their primitive and slender demands, to try and settle them at least partially on waste land and crown land, and to respect their internal customs and ways of life. Such settlement will strengthen the safety and good order of the open roads and highways and of the borders of sown countries in the Near and Middle East.

Orthographic Note

The proper orthographic forms of foreign words are listed here in the order in which they occur in the text: 128

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[69] The words of General Sir Percy Cox. See Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 31. On the other hand, much pioneering research at first hand must be consulted: Rouvas, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines*, etc., pp. 496-497; de Boucheman, *La sédentarisation des nomades du désert de Syrie* (L'Asie Française, no. 320, May 1934), pp. 140-143; Taha Hussein, *Literary Life in the Arabic Peninsula* (translated from the Arabic by Martin Springling; The Open Court, vol. 46, no. 12, 1932), pp. 838-846. 113

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

133 group of the Weld 'Ali, for instance, in certain winters wander with
162 their powerful allies, the Ruala, southward to the neighborhood of Teyma', returning north again after their mares and camels have foaled.

133 The third great natural feature is the chain of hills (Ar-Rawaq,
619 Abu Rijmen, and Jebel Bishri) which stretches in an almost straight line from Damascus to Deyr az-Zor on the Euphrates. Sheep-
162 breeding Bedouins are found north of these hills, camel breeders to
233 the south. The sheep breeders occupy a steppe-like rolling country,
178 rich in pasture which lasts into the beginning of summer. Settled areas are nowhere far distant to east and west, and the tribes occupying these steppes will undoubtedly be the first to establish permanent settlements. As far north as Tel el-Abyadh near the Turkish frontier the writer has noticed members of the Fed'an intermarrying with settlers of that region. Mijhem ibn Mheyd, chief of the Fed'an, owns many villages in Syria, and several thousand of his Bedouins are even now at work in the fields, although the majority prefer tending live stock to plowing. The Tayy, one of the purest, most aristocratic Bedouin tribes from central Arabia, are now found in Mesopotamia, far north near Nisibin, where they seldom fold their tents, pack them on camels, and carry them to new pasture grounds. Half of their tents are "permanently" fixed, with reed and clay walls supporting the goat's-hair canvas. Indeed, the Tayy have become a degenerate people!

The Bedouins with the largest pasture circles (those bordering on the Nafud) will probably survive longest as true nomads. These are the great camel breeders, the Ruala and some of the Shammar, who hold the vast tracts of Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan between the Nafud and the northern line of hills.

Political Changes

178 If the problematical political frontiers between the British and French spheres of influence in northern Arabia are maintained, changes may be expected in the migration territories of the Bedouins. The following, in my opinion, might well take place. The tribes whose territories are now cut by the 30th parallel would split, part of them remaining in Ibn Sa'ud's domains and the rest migrating to the
721 north. The continuance of yearly warfare (for the most part in the
178 spring) between the Zana Muslim (Ruala and Weld 'Ali) and other 'Aneze tribes would finally result in an agreement that would assign to the Ruala who remain in Syria the entire Hamad and western part of Al-Wudiyan. The rest of Al-Wudiyan would be given to the 'Amarat, and the steppe country north of the hills to the Fed'an and Sba'a. First the Fed'an and then the Sba'a would gradually become

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

settlers, and the 'Amarat might ultimately be induced by the government of 'Iraq to settle in Mesopotamia after the new irrigation projects have been developed. The Ruala would undoubtedly hold out the longest against any such policy, many of them preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to their brothers in central Arabia rather than adopt the life of the settlers. The Weld 'Ali sheep breeders would settle in the neighborhood of Homs and Hama', and the camel breeders among them would remain with the Ruala.

Three hundred years have sufficed to bring the Bedouin tribes who left their central Arabian homeland to the brink of an abyss in which all the romance, beauty, and liberty of their nomadic life will disappear. Whatever one may think about the "backward, medieval, puritanical" rule of Ibn Sa'ud, the domain of this Wahhabi descendant of the Zana Muslim will some day be the last refuge for the few true Bedouin clans that love the old, free, glamorous, roving life better than the stale and degrading existence of the settlers in territories under French or British control.

NOTES ON THE MAPS[1]

Plate V shows tribal boundaries, natural features, and place names. Owing to the confusion resulting from the overlapping of the tribal areas, Figures 1, 2, and 3 have been added representing these territories as differentiated by shading. On these maps reference numbers are given to the following notes explaining certain points of interest in connection with the movements of each tribe. The place names mentioned in these notes will all be found on Plate V.[2]

Detailed tables revealing the internal subdivisions of the various tribes into subtribes, clans, etc., will be found in "A Handbook of Arabia," pp. 45–95, and also scattered through the various volumes of Alois Musil. In many instances these classifications do not correspond. Since the pages on which the tables are found in Musil's publications are not readily determined from the indexes, the following references are included for the benefit of those wishing to make a critical study of the organization of the tribes whose territories are shown on the accompanying maps:

Figure 1. 'Anezeh Tribes. Zana Muslim, including the Ruala and Weld'Ali, A. D., pp. 14–16; Weld'Ali. A. D., p. 84. 'Amarat, A. D., p. 52. Fed'an, A. D., p. 55. Sba'a, P., pp. 55, 91. Weld Sleyman, N. N., p. 95.

[1] On the maps and in the text of this article Musil's renderings of the spelling of place names and tribal names have, in general, been followed. The transliteration, however, follows the English rather than the continental scheme, even in quotations from Musil's works.

[2] The abbreviations are as follows:

A. D., Alois Musil: Arabia Deserta, *Amer. Geogr. Soc. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 2*, New York, 1927.

A. P., *idem*: Arabia Petraea, 3 vols., Kaiserliche Akad. der Wiss., Vienna, 1908.

M. E., *idem*: The Middle Euphrates, *Amer. Geogr. Soc. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 3*, New York, 1927.

N. H., *idem*: The Northern Hejaz, *ibid. No. 1*, New York, 1926.

N. N., *idem*: Northern Nejd, *ibid. No. 3*, New York, 1928.

P., *idem*: Palmyrena, *ibid. No. 4*, New York, 1928.

Handbook, "A Handbook of Arabia," Vol. 1, General, compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, British Admiralty, London, 1920(?).

Doughty, C. M. Doughty: Travels in Arabia Deserta, 2 vols., London, 1888; 3rd edition, 1923.

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life [362] of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, 291 463 his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

433 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work 251 for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 During the last ten years, the desert belong- 198 ing to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism 797 in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst 721

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

369 It is not such a life as would be popular in
181 America, but men live, and women live, and children live there, and love their desert with an unparalleled devotion. Transplanted to a real garden spot of the earth, they weep for a glimpse of their beloved desert.

The love of the desert is a very deep and a very beautiful thing. For political purposes one of these desert chiefs was urged to give up his residence in the open and arid desert and come to live in the town. The greater comfort and luxury to be found in the town were pointed out to him as contrasted with the hardships and loneliness of the desert; but the old chief did not see it that way. "In the town," said he, "I have no doubt that I shall find all the things which you describe, but out here in the desert I have my family and my goats, great distances, and God."

182 In such a country only one type of life is possible, and that is the Bedouin type. Some knowledge of the Bedouin, his environment and its effect upon him is fundamental in any effort to understand the Arab. The nomad tribe is probably the basis from which the other types of Arab life have been developed historically, and these other types can be most easily understood today if studied in connection with the simpler organization of the desert. The most conspicuous difference from our own society lies perhaps in the fact that all members of the community do the same thing. Some are more energetic than others, and on that account own larger herds of camels and larger flocks of goats or sheep, but the occupation of all is the same, and the standards of life differ very little.

619 The Bedouins are divided into tribes, and the larger
622 tribes into sub-tribes. These tribes of Arabia are "communities of will," to use H. G. Wells' phrase, and the in-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

parently meeting with no great obstacle on the way. In 574 five minutes everybody is filled to repletion. Pounds of 264 meat have been consumed and bushels of rice. The side dishes are empty. Enormous wooden bowls of buttermilk are brought in and the meal washed down with great draughts of this favorite Arab drink. It is not remark- [513] able that after a feast everybody expects to take a nap. So ends the festivity and the Bedouin settles down once again to his meager and poverty-stricken existence in the desert.

Life as a nomad shepherd brings the Bedouin into 342 naked and constant contact with nature. He is out of 511 doors almost all of the time, and his tent with its rents and holes hardly serves to separate him from the outside world to any significant degree even when he is inside. The sun over him by day and the moon and stars by night, the long stretches of sand and the rough rocky plains, the sand storms which are the terror of the desert, the fierce heat of the summer and the frosts of the winter, all of these are his constant companions. He 151 learns to know the wilderness as few know it. The tracks of the various animals in the sand are to him an easily legible history of the happenings of several days back. Thus he lives not simply in contact with nature 181 but rather immersed in it. The desert may be cruel, but he pines away if transplanted. His life may be hard, but he wants nothing else.

Yet strangely enough, in spite of his intense love for 161 the desert and its freedom, all the beauties in nature 823 around him fall on blind eyes as far as the Bedouin is concerned. Even the desert sunset and the moon-lit sand dunes apparently stir no responsive chord in his heart. It is as if all such things had been stripped off

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

151 and cast away as useless encumbrances in the stern fight
823 for life. He is the victim of his environment in that
[511] he suffers so desperately from poverty and want. His clothes hang in tatters and rags; his tent is cold in winter and hot in summer; his food is reduced nearly to the
165 limit of bare subsistence. Most of his children die because of the unsuitable food, the hard conditions of life and the ignorance of the parents. The dirt and disorder in which he lives beggar description. Out of this soil
• 181 springs one of the freest and most unconquerable spirits in the world, but even so it is impossible to believe that its finest development is attainable under such handicaps. The terrible thing is not that the condition in which he lives distresses his sensitive spirit, but precisely that it does not distress him at all. The Bedouin may claim to have conquered poverty. He stands forth uncrushed by its heaviest load, but his indomitable spirit has nevertheless paid a price, and a heavy price, for that victory.

000 Bedouin life, however, in spite of this terrible poverty and lack of the amenities that we are accustomed to regard as necessary even to existence, has in it many characteristics that we of the luxurious and effete West might emulate with benefit. Throughout the earth and almost throughout history, men have dreamed of equality. France ran with blood a hundred and thirty years ago because of man's search for it. Russia is red with the same struggle now. Men talk about it and dream about it wherever men see visions and dream dreams. In inland Arabia men practise it, and there is a charm in the dirty, poverty-cursed, arid desert that will be searched for in vain throughout the pampered and self-satisfied world outside. His sense of equality with all the world is the breath of life to a nomad Arab, and his spirit stands

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

422 "Well," I persisted, "the matter does not seem to
425 trouble you a great deal."

"No indeed," with an even broader grin if that were possible. "It does not trouble me at all. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will go and steal somebody else's. Who knows? Perhaps I may have more than I had before."

425 The tribal fights that keep the country in a continual
518 state of turmoil are little more than glorified raids for the sake of plunder. They intensify the poverty of the community, for legitimate trade is handicapped, and this irregular exchange of goods cannot in the nature of the case benefit the whole society, however much it may temporarily enrich individuals. But life without the excitement of these raids seems to the desert nomad a tame and a stale thing, hardly worth living. On the other
422 hand, personal property, such as is kept in tents, is as sacredly individual as it is with us, and its theft is keenly
685 resented. The conception that every man's home is his
609 castle is one of the most fundamental ideas of the Arab, and when the crew of a gunboat many years ago attempted to search the inner quarters of a house in Dibai for firearms, the resulting indignation was so intense that foreigners found themselves unable to enter that district for
422 nearly ten years. The household belongings that the Bedouin keeps in his tent may be poor things but they are very much his own.

181 This life of the desert, with its poverty and hardships and its primitive economic conditions, has nevertheless so worked its charm on the Bedouin nomad that he longs for nothing else. The Bedouin with his intense individualism seems particularly adapted to the desert. He
000 loves its vast distances and its solitude. Anything less

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

168 if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort
361 of existence.

461 But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard
463 and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to
552 his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate
231 enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky
461 or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates,
565 and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level
166 as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

181 Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the des-
611 ert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out
755 of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

dom of books, he has attained to that supreme wisdom which is a secret hidden from most schoolmen. He has learned that the world and all its material blessings are trifles compared to the things of the spirit; that the only things that are important for us to know are how to worship God and how to associate with our fellow men.

It is by the things of the spirit that the Bedouin lives. Take him away from his beloved desert with its poverty and death, its aridity and loneliness, and he will languish although his stomach may be full and his bed soft. Let him breathe the air of the desert's freedom and equality and hospitality, and his cheerfulness is unquenchable, even though his belt is tightened because of hunger and his flocks and herds are dying of thirst. The Bedouin's cheerfulness in the face of adversity is a proverb. His happy-go-lucky spirit bows to the pressure of no adverse material conditions whatever. Perhaps it is because he has so few of the various luxuries of this world to enjoy that he looks on them with such great contempt. Doubtless also his poverty has much to do with the emphasis he puts upon the things of the next world as compared to the affairs of this one. His hopes are centered the other side of the grave. To the Bedouin God is actually the greatest reality in the universe, and the greatest task of life is to please Him. Few men anywhere in the world consider their religion a matter of such vital moment as do the Sunnis, or orthodox Mohammedans, of the Arabian desert, particularly in the inland regions which have been shaken recently by the great *Akhwan* revival. We shall have occasion in later chapters to discuss the religious conceptions and practices of the Arab in more detail, but no description of desert life would be

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia HJ1
Bedouin HJ4

S 369 is greater. The gardener may consider himself hard
466 worked and poorly rewarded. Both of these statements
565 are true. The terms of his agreement with the man who
511 owns the garden are oppressive. He knows very well that his labor is making the land-owner rich while he remains poor. Nevertheless, his lot is vastly more comfortable and he is much more of a polished gentleman than the Bedouin. His wife at least does not wash her hair in camel's urine. The community as a whole, including the artisans and gardeners, has sufficient food and adequate clothes. Compared with desert conditions, people keep
S [342] clean. Whether built of stone or of mud bricks or of date beams and date leaves, their houses are good shelter from the weather, are warm in winter and fairly cool in sum-
S mer. On holidays it is refreshing to see how gaily at-
565 tired they all are. The poorest have a large amount of
517 leisure and can visit their friends and enjoy a pleasant social life.

S 565 This society is confined to members of their own class,
574 but within those limits it is quite as fine and unconstrained
B and free as that of the Bedouin. Indeed, in some ways
181 there is a spontaneity and a good fellowship and a genuine
574 brotherhood that go far beyond anything that the Bedouin knows. The Bedouin is an individualist, and in his home he is seen at his best. His association with friends outside of his own tent, even though they are members of his tribe, is marked by a grave taciturnity that is far removed from the spirit shown when the silversmiths of Hasa have a social evening together or when the date gardeners of Katif entertain a stranger.

S Furthermore, in these oasis towns there are the begin-
22 nings of Arabic art. Arabic penmanship, when done by a master, is real art, and the expert Arab penman is probably the most highly developed artist the place affords

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

622 is highly characteristic of nomadic pastoralists. The chief (sheikh) of the community has considerable personal power, which is tempered only by precedent (the collective experience of the group as a whole) and by the opinion of older members of the tribe. There is little place
● 181 for individuality, or for innovation, and patriarchal communities have kept their ways of life largely unaltered through many centuries. It has been said that if Abraham were to return, he would find little change in the habits of the present inhabitants of the Syrian and

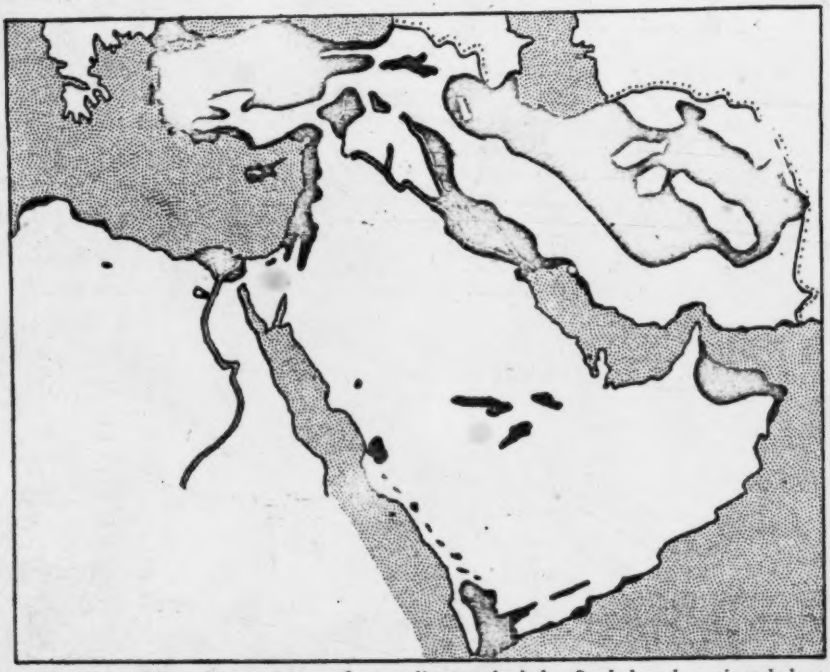

FIG. 20. Nomadism. Areas of nomadism unshaded. Settled and semi-settled occupation shown in black.

Arabian deserts; and, apart from effects following the introduction first of iron in the second millennium B.C.. and later of firearms, life among the Kurds seems scarcely to have varied since their present homeland was first occupied in *c.* 2400 B.C.

619 A sharp limit to the size of social groupings amongst nomads is set by natural resources, which in a given district can support only a relatively small number of people. Thus the unit amongst Badawin is the tribe—a group large enough to profit by advantage of numbers, yet small enough to exist under desert conditions. Family relationship is strong, and perpetuated by emphasis on intermarriage within

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

574 years ago? He, as thou, loved our fast and enduring run-
231 ners, those 'Drinkers of the Wind', which Allah be-
572 stowed on our forefather Ishmael."

Neither the scribe nor anyone else said a word about the stallion, and I dared not ask again; for I imagined that Mishal was particularly fond of this young horse.

574 The day of my departure came. The patriarchal
431 *sheykh* and I exchanged words of formal farewell. Then he led me aside and bade me sit down with him at the farthest tent-peg. After a few minutes of silence, he took two documents from a leather pouch and said: "I have long noticed that thou hast taken the Saqlawi colt to thy heart. He is the best of our breeding, and I am happy to make thee a present of him, that thou mayest always remember our friendship and noble horses. Take the young stallion with thee and mention no thanks nor price, so that this remembrance may live forever unclouded in our hearts."

"The Lord be good to thee, O Mishal ibn Faris," I replied, "for that I am allowed to part from thee with such happy memories."

What more could I say in response to his simple
• [181] words? I knew the Bedouins. To be open-handed makes most of them happy; and further, Mishal was a very rich man. To him "belonged" not only the Shammar in
[423] the Northern Jesirah (Mesopotamia), but he actually owned sixty-nine villages and their cultivated lands on the Khabur River. I could only hope that God would grant me the opportunity some time of showing my heartfelt thanks to Mishal in some special way.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1
BEDOUINS MJ4

followers. I took with me only a single servant and we bought two inferior riding camels for £15 each from a tribal encampment near Ramadi. My expenses were limited to the purchase of these two camels and a cheap suit of Arab clothing.

The most striking attribute of the bedouin of twenty-five years ago was his bold frankness and democracy. Perhaps because he lived in a great open country, he more often than not spoke in a rather loud voice. He was no respecter of ranks or dignities, and addressed everybody by his first name. If he did not know it, he would accost the stranger in stentorian tones with the greeting, "Peace be upon you, O man!" In 1921, when King Feisal of Iraq paid his first visit to Ramadi, a number of tribesmen introduced to him greeted him without ceremony but with perfect urbanity as "O Feisal!"

This absence of ceremony held nothing of unseemly familiarity or bad taste. It was purely naïve. It had never occurred to the Arab tribesman that classes existed. A barefooted bedouin in a ragged cloak would walk up to a king, shake him by the hand and wish him good morning, completely disregarding the merriment or horror of the whispering courtiers.

Before the days of governments, the tribal chiefs fulfilled some of the tasks of administration. They made war and peace on behalf of their tribes; usually, it is true, preferring war. But to the defenceless traveller they provided protection from the depredations of their followers.

The Syrian desert between the Euphrates and the Wadi as Sirhan in Trans-Jordan is entirely occupied by Aneizah. So numerous is this tribe that it has itself split into several subdivisions under independent chiefs, who in those days were not infrequently at war with one another. Of these subdivisions, the Amarat occupied the eastern half of the desert and owed allegiance to Iraq. But the second half of our journey would take us across the area of the Ruwallah, who were subjects of Syria.

I decided to go first to the tent of Fahad ibn Hadhdhal, the great shaikh of the Amarat division of the Aneizah. So noble was Ibn Hadhdhal by descent that he was sometimes called the father of the Arabs. The great tribes of Aneizah had been in occupation of the Syrian desert for less than 200 years, having

migrated from Central Arabia. Before Ibn Hadhdhal, the greatest 622
shaikh in the Syrian desert had been Ibn Jesham, who now lives in poverty on the Lower Euphrates.

It was, indeed, related that an Arab petitioner had once 181
accosted His Majesty King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud by the title of Chief of the Arabs, but that the latter had protested: "I take refuge with God, my son! The Chief of the Arabs is Ibn Hadhdhal." With less than 200 years of rule to their credit, the Sauds were a new family to the Arabs.

When this story was repeated to Ibn Hadhdhal, he interrupted the narrator to object: "I take refuge with God, my son!" said the old chieftain. "The chief of the Arabs is Ibn Jesham." Such was the modest chivalry of these old chiefs, although all of them were at war with one another.

From Ibn Hadhdhal I obtained a letter to Al Nuri ibn Shaalan, 122
chief of the Ruwallah. A retainer of Fahad's, Burjas al Dhafiri, was 628
detailed to accompany us on our journey, to save us from molesta- 485
tion by the Amarat. He could not, of course, protect us from raiders from other tribes. Burjas came from the Dhafir tribe, not the Amarat. He had been obliged to flee from his relatives owing to a blood feud, and had taken refuge with Ibn Hadhdhal, whose trusted retainer he had become. Burjas was so short-sighted that he was almost blind, but he knew the desert perfectly for hundreds of miles. As we rode along, he would cross-question us as to what we could see. "To the north-west, there should soon appear two low round hills each surmounted by a heap of stones, like a woman's breasts." "Can you see on the south a tall grey peak? It is Feridat al Wa'ar."

Burjas, half-blind, carried 200,000 square miles of desert in his 485
mind's eye, and could estimate when every distant landmark would come into view.

We made for the water-holes at Al Molussi, in the hope of 485
hearing news of Ibn Shaalan. The water-holes were in a narrow 609
valley at the foot of a rocky cliff. There was nobody camped on the water. We stopped to drink, when suddenly we were startled by a voice calling: "What are you, O camel riders?"

High above us on the rocky cliff face sat three men, each holding a rifle. Burjas argued with them without revealing our identity,

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ 4

desert country, full of tribes which recognized the authority of no government. Without the assistance of this old man, it might be impossible to proceed. Even so, I felt that I could with dignity wait no longer, and I signalled to my two companions. We rose, walked out of the tent to our camels, and began to adjust the saddles and prepare to mount. But a slave ran out to us and, pulling Ibn Hadhdhal's man by the sleeve, he led him back to the tent. Apparently he persuaded the shaikh that we were harmless, for we were invited back, and Al Nuri himself so far unbent as to say, "You are welcome! We are always glad to see the English!" This appeared to use up his available conversation, and he soon afterwards disappeared. We spent the rest of the day strolling about, talking to the slaves and tribesmen, or sitting amongst bales of cloth and tobacco in the tiny tent of an itinerant merchant from the Iraq desert oasis of Kubaisa.

Al Nuri was a tremendous personality who maintained despotic control over his tribe. His authority was notorious, and the Ruwallah were frequently laughed at by other tribes for their tame submission to such autocracy. One such story related how a man of the tribe, summoned in the tomb by the recording angels to give an account of his actions on earth, replied, "I am only a dead Ruweili, and all claims are settled by Ibn Shaalan." But although a redoubtable champion in action (he had murdered his elder brother in order to make himself shaikh of the tribe), he did not, like most Arabs, possess the gift of conversation.

The authority which Ibn Shaalan wielded over the Ruwallah was probably unique amongst bedouins, and was due to personal fear of this formidable old man. The Arab tribesman will accord theoretical and verbal respect to the old families of chiefs, but he will rarely accord them obedience in practice. He constantly opposes and argues against his shaikh. Not infrequently he loses his temper, creates a violent scene and hastens to strike his tent and move away to join the following of some other chief who will treat him with more consideration. Amongst bedouins freedom always tended to degenerate into anarchy—but free they were—freer perhaps than any other race in the world.

In happy England we have come, for centuries past, to identify our personal liberties with the political independence of our

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
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181 country. Few people in Britain have realized to what an extent personal and national freedom may be divorced, a point so clearly brought out by Gibbon at the head of this chapter. In Turkish days, the Arabs had no political existence, but as individuals they were as free as any men in the world. Their freedom admittedly owed nothing to Turkish generosity. It was due solely to the inability of the Government to control them.

485 609 We slept but one night in the camp of Ibn Shaalan. Next morning we set out once more, having bidden farewell to Burjas, and accompanied by one Qasim ash Shemam, a swarthy villain, detailed to accompany us by Al Nuri. We had scarcely ridden for an hour when we were stopped by two camel riders who overtook us, waving their cloaks to show that they were not hostile, an advisable precaution in those days when the custom of the desert was often to shoot first and ask questions afterwards. They proved to be the nephews of the shaikh, Khalid and Trad ibn Shaalan. In contrast to Al Nuri, they greeted us only with smiles and expressions of welcome, and begged us to spend the rest of the day with them. We protested in vain that we had ridden for only an hour. Half laughing and persuading, half compelling, they turned the heads of our camels, and we soon came upon the big black tent concealed in a small valley in the bare, rocky hills.

There could be no doubt of the warmth of our welcome here. Not only were we obliged to eat and drink almost continuously all day, but Trad pronounced himself dissatisfied with our outfit. It is true that the weather was cold, and the Syrian desert can be bitter when a north wind howls over these barren steppes. First I was obliged to accept some warm gloves, then a magnificent pair of black French boots with pointed toes and buttoning halfway up the calf. I was doubtful for which sex they were originally intended. Sugar, tea, meat, bread and other additions were made to our provisions. It was with difficulty that I resisted the offer of a smart suit of clothes and a better riding camel.

An officer or administrator can rarely obtain a true impression of the people in the district in which he works. To do so, few methods can be better than to travel through the country unknown and poorly dressed, with one or two companions. I was quite unknown to Khalid and Trad, and they were themselves powerful

The Badawin's Diet

511 what the world would call honest methods. Hence if he cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work [4] he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as is the case under Bin Sa'ud's regime to-day), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a "square" meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party.

262 His own food for most of the year consists of only camel's milk and a handful of dates per day. The camel-herd gets even less than this.

291 The Badawin's clothes are on the same scanty scale as his food, a thin cotton *dishdásha* (smock), replaced only when it falls off his back with age, and a threadbare *'abba* (cloak), *kaffiyah* and thin rope *agál* (head cloth and head cord), are all he has to cover his ill-nourished body. Yet all this makes for toughness and hardihood, and the average [132] Badawin seems made of steel. The lack of warm clothing is probably the hardest thing in life that he has to bear, for in winter the temperature often falls below freezing point, and the winds are of ice, and cut the body through and through. I have never in my life felt so cold as in the desert a hundred miles inland of Kuwait when a *yáhi* or *jabali* 262 wind has been blowing in December or January. Yet in spite of the 574 hard life, the Badawin is never in danger of actual starvation or of dying from want. His *ahl* (family) would never permit this, nor would the system of affording three days' hospitality to all and sundry —such a splendid feature of democratic Arabia—allow of a man reaching such straits. A person who is down and out, without a penny to his name, would in reality be far worse off in London than in Arabia, where he could always hope to find a black tent or two to sponge on.

[18] A Badawin's dream and ambition in life is to possess about a dozen 231 camels, next a wife, and afterwards a mare, half a hundred sheep and a *salúqi*—I am, of course, assuming that he starts with a rifle and a *dhalúl* (riding camel). Give the desert man these essentials and he is a made man, for both camels and sheep double themselves in three years. Any male lambs that are born, he kills for food, the females he

151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival. But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious
609 and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give
574 away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and
264 then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how
[271] quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet
576 no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when
[486] everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he
577 would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do,
they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel,
gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word 156
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case,
they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that
happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so
that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian
Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the
borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too
precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will
often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be
hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their
own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived
in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals
which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot
even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the
desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Some-
times, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that
lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten
bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian
he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their 771
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith.
Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than
pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are some-
times lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them
without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their
religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed
the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded
that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I
asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he
answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away.
Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinch-
ingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the
desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the wind-
blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood
with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as
thoroughbreds.

13: Theiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 Mil Saud: Arabia
Bedouin Life

181 554 177 577 thoroughbreds. No race prizes lineage higher, yet they are the most democratic people in the world and the most individualistic. Among them there is real equality. To certain families, by virtue of their descent, they accord certain privileges, but as a courtesy, not as a right, and Badu sheikhs command respect only as long as they merit it. The traditional Arab way of life, fast vanishing to-day in contact with the West, owed much to Badu concepts, for the villagers and townsmen of Arabia, who form by far the greater part of her population, live close to the desert and were profoundly affected by it until motor-cars and aeroplanes removed for ever the need for camel journeys. Most of them are, indeed, of Badu origin, for the desert tides have always stranded the weak and broken upon the fringes of the Sowm. Everywhere the Arabs have, at all times, judged honour and chivalry and hospitality by the standards of the tribesmen. Their love of liberty, their freedom from prejudice of class and caste, and their enthusiasm for poetry have come to them from the desert.

159 577 81 It is impossible to assess the character of the Badu, for among no other race have so many contradictory qualities been fused together. I myself have witnessed their courage and self-reliance, their endurance and pride of race, and I remember their patience, generosity, and unselfishness. But often I have been exasperated by their avarice and wearied by their endless [135] importunities. No Badu thinks it shame to beg, and usually he will look disparagingly at the gift which he has received and grumble, "Is this all [137] that you are going to give me?" Grasping and avaricious, they will talk unceasingly of money and argue heatedly for days about a dollar, then they will slaughter a camel worth 150 dollars to feed a stranger. Loyal to each other, they are yet without regard for human life and will knife an unarmed herdsboy with a jest. Cheerful and easily amused, they are generally good-tempered, though passionate when roused and quick to resent an injury.

166 I have often wondered as I rode across the desert what the future, and even the immediate future, holds for my companions and their kinsmen. The discovery of oil on the Persian Gulf is going to affect them profoundly and make it impossible for them to continue in their old ways, even if they would. I think myself that the oilfields will empty the desert. This movement of tribes from the Yaman and the Hadhramaut towards the north and the north-east is a movement which has been going on for thousands of years. It probably started even before the great migration of the Qahtan tribes, when, overwhelmed by calamity in their homes round Marib, some of them pushed across the deserts and occupied Oman. In recent years tribes such as the Awamir, Ruashid, and Manahil have left their homelands in the steppes to the north-east of the Hadhramaut and moved out into the sands to escape from the incursions of more powerful 166 tribes pressing on them from the west. Having accustomed themselves to 177 life in the sands, they have penetrated ever further and further into the Empty Quarter. In the past twenty or thirty years as conditions have become more settled in the north, due to the extension of Ibn Saud's influence over the powerful Murra tribe, they have grazed their herds round the Liwa oasis and in the sands near the Trucial Coast. Now the money to be earned on the oilfields along the Gulf is drawing the Badu

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves.
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 511
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badui often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181 ●
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 577
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 461
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com- 315
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

Canaanite invasion of Syria, the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, and the Hebrew invasion of Palestine are also to be explained by similar antecedent events in Arabia. 167 175

The distribution, grouping, character, and resources of the several tribes are the subject of a subsequent chapter (III); and their relation to particular localities will be stated in the special chapters on the different provinces. 000

It would be beyond the scope of this Handbook to give a detailed description of Bedouin society; and mere generalities about it are of little service. It is perhaps, however, worth while to say something about those features and customs of Bedouin life which most directly affect the reception and entertainment of strangers, and should, therefore, be known before contact. Dictated by similar necessities, these are more or less common to all tribesmen. For all the rest, study of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* cannot be too strongly recommended. Pretty well everything that needs to be known about Bedouin life can be found there by a patient reader.

Arabia is 'a land of ancient violence'. For this state of things geographical conditions are largely responsible. Only in very few, rare, and narrow districts is it possible to derive from the soil, not a superfluity, entailing wealth, leisure, and consequent civilization, but anything better than hand-to-mouth existence in full sight of starvation. Agriculture is impossible in three-quarters of the total area, and man must live on peripatetic food pastured on such thin and evanescent vegetation that a single family has to keep on the move in order to live. Water again, the prime condition of existence, is to be found for the most part only very occasionally in deep wells, or rain-pools, and this under a subtropical sun. Scanty sources have to be guarded with the most jealous exclusiveness. The regions over which these conditions prevail usually offer few or none of those natural features which serve elsewhere to protect or conceal; and in their vast extent and distribution they impinge so generally on the few fertile districts, or so often encircle these, that hardly any part of Arabia is altogether unaffected by the inevitable social features of life on steppe and desert. 181 511

The most obvious of these features is suspicion. Every man is treated as a potential enemy, till he shows evidence to the contrary. He is kept at a distance until his person or his authority can be recognized. Therefore, in approaching Bedouins, it is as prudent to go slow and give them time as in approaching a sentry in a war-area. Disregard of this advice will result in fight or flight, according to circumstances. While all Bedouins are instinctively suspicious of, and hostile to, the unknown, various 157 609

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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609 northern Hasa; and there are certain districts, containing but few
486 wells, where several tribes, each having a right of watering, cross and recross each other's dīras, without committing thereby acts of trespass, though not without engendering frequent friction. Such, for example, are the steppe west of Jebel Shammar and that north-east of the same district towards the lower Euphrates valley. For the right of crossing a dīra the traveller is expected to pay in money or kind to the chief, who often drives a very hard bargain, but should not be regarded as levying blackmail. After all, in return for the payment, he and his tribe concede protection and allow the traveller to consume some of their very scanty supply of fodder and
621 water. All Arab society is patriarchal. Some one man can answer for each unit, and among the best Arabs for very large units. The traveller's chief danger arises where tribes are small or so broken up that not more than one or two families recognize a chief.

486 There is, however, one recognized exception to this sanctity of
721 dīras, namely, the right of every tribe, or even section of a tribe, to raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, unless
577 barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship. To go
621 out on raid (*ghazwah*) is the young man's chance of proving himself, and to provide him with that opportunity is virtually obligatory on all tribes, except the meanest. The greater chiefs, like their ancient cousins, the Assyrian kings, make an annual practice of the Raid. The farther afield it goes, the greater the glory in a society punctiliously sensitive to public opinion. Raiding parties may, therefore, be met very far from the ranges of their own people, and no district is quite safe from them. They may generally be recognized by their travelling light, without women, and on high-bred camels. The *rafiq* is powerless against them in his own dīra, except possibly through some lucky friendship on his part or the repute of his tribe. But raiding parties are not very particular. They will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attack, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognized part of the game, and entails no slur on the courage of any members of the party.

486 The more the traveller can learn and retain in his mind of the
181 genealogy of individuals and tribes, in a land where pedigrees are very widely known back to a hoar antiquity and inordinately valued,
574 the better for his safety and the impression he will make and leave on his hosts. He should know also, as far as possible, the political grouping of tribes and recent desert history. If, like Doughty, he

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1
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travels *in forma pauperis*, he can avail himself, more than one who takes his own tents and servants, of the protection which Arab usage enjoins a Bedouin to extend to one who has touched as suppliant any part of his tent or belongings or eaten of his food. Strictly the efficacy of the last safeguard expires on the third day, when all that was eaten on the first is supposed to have passed out of the body. It is often worth while to appeal from the men to the women, whose instincts of hospitality, independence, and freedom of action are pleasing features of Bedouin life.

It is worth while to remember that no Bedouin society is wholly self-supporting. Even if it can supply itself with sheer food from its own dira, or some purely Arabian oasis—which it rarely can—it is dependent on the outer world for other necessaries, as well as for any sort of simple luxury. Clothing materials, coffee, tobacco, and, to a great extent, arms and munitions can only reach it from ports, or from the settled districts on the fringes of Arabia. Those, therefore, who control such ports or districts can always exercise an influence upon the desert men, however inaccessible, command their behaviour in the long run, and punish their hostility.

From a military point of view Bedouins make very valueless auxiliaries of trained troops, except as scouts and raiders, or, if long, hot, and waterless stages have to be covered, as messengers.

Settled Folk.

The principal settlements will be dealt with in the special chapters on localities (see Chaps. IV ff.), followed by detailed descriptions of the tribes themselves (see Chaps. XIII ff.)

The ubiquity of nomads in Arabia explains and partly excuses common ignorance about the real extent and importance of its urban and village societies. To say that all the Arabs of the peninsula are Bedouins, or that its society is either nomadic or semi-nomadic, is far from the truth. Not only do the fertile coastal districts in the south-east and south-west of the peninsula contain numerous urban and village communities, rooted to the soil and engaged in agriculture and trade, while the goals of the Pilgrimage, Mecca and Medina, with the port of Jiddah, are considerable towns; but, as has already been pointed out, the three groups of oases in the centre support urban settlements, several of which have over 5,000 inhabitants apiece, besides many agricultural villages, large and small.

It is, however, true that all settled communities in Arabia are affected, in various degrees, by the nomad society, which is never far from them, and often surrounds them. There is much intermarriage between the settled and the unsettled folk: chiefs and

619, 511, 182

/For a brief account of Bedouin Tribes in the Midd
structure, etc. see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, ca

Bedouins MJ4

e East, their way of life, tribal
egory 116, pp. 369-379./

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

369 It is not such a life as would be popular in
181 America, but men live, and women live, and children live there, and love their desert with an unparalleled devotion. Transplanted to a real garden spot of the earth, they weep for a glimpse of their beloved desert.

The love of the desert is a very deep and a very beautiful thing. For political purposes one of these desert chiefs was urged to give up his residence in the open and arid desert and come to live in the town. The greater comfort and luxury to be found in the town were pointed out to him as contrasted with the hardships and loneliness of the desert; but the old chief did not see it that way. "In the town," said he, "I have no doubt that I shall find all the things which you describe, but out here in the desert I have my family and my goats, great distances, and God."

• 182 In such a country only one type of life is possible, and that is the Bedouin type. Some knowledge of the Bedouin, his environment and its effect upon him is fundamental in any effort to understand the Arab. The nomad tribe is probably the basis from which the other types of Arab life have been developed historically, and these other types can be most easily understood today if studied in connection with the simpler organization of the desert. The most conspicuous difference from our own society lies perhaps in the fact that all members of the community do the same thing. Some are more energetic than others, and on that account own larger herds of camels and larger flocks of goats or sheep, but the occupation of all is the same, and the standards of life differ very little.

619 The Bedouins are divided into tribes, and the larger
622 tribes into sub-tribes. These tribes of Arabia are "communities of will," to use H. G. Wells' phrase, and the in-

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

517 (*dhabi*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves
224 on fresh *leben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war,
262 then of course this utopian existence is at once changed, and the tribe
722 moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared
for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining
[202] and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come
into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks
before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were
able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and
622 assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on
its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp.
His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

622 No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was
157 the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not neces-
183 sarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the
family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-
paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the
shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan
or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father
and become shaikh after him must prove:

that he has the necessary courage;
that he has powers of leadership;
that he has *hadh* or luck.

777 The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership
622 in plenty if *hadh* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman
157 wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in
peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is
bound up in this word *hadh*. The great Bin Sa'ud, the present Lord
of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with
a large quantity of *hadh*, or so says and believes every Badawin of
Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot
be compared with the all-embracing Luck.
622 The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721 Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 197-204.]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER VI

Badawin Social System

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

369 The Arabs divide themselves into two main groups:
184 Al Hadhar and Al Bádia.

Al hadhar (singular: *hadhari*) are those who dwell in permanent stone or mud houses, i.e. townsfolk or villagers; *al bádia* are those who live nomad lives, own camels and live in black hair-tents (*biyut sha'ar*).

From this word *bádia* comes also our word Badawin (often written in French style, Bedouin), which is not used or understood in Arabia proper.

The dweller in the black tents, although he may occasionally speak of himself as a man of *badu* or nomad calling (e.g. "*Hana Badu*"—we are Badawin, etc.), he does so to signify that he is a wild, simple man of the desert, and not versed in the cunning ways of settled life.

[186] He far more often refers to himself and his people by the proud title "'Arab"—e.g. *'Arabna sannadu*, *'Arabna nizzalu l ala Subaihiyah* —Our Arabs have gone up into the interior, or, Our Arabs have camped at Subaihiyah.

If a Badawin meets a nomad stranger in his territory he will enquire, after salaams and general greetings, *Inta minain ya walad?*—From whence art thou, O youth? The answer is, *'Ana min 'Arab fulan* —I am from such and such a person's Arabs.

369 Not to be confused with the 'Arab or pure-bred Badawin, are the
361 'Arabdar or 'Arab-ad-Dar. The latter is the name commonly given in Kuwait and also, I believe, in Najd to those semi-nomads who are found in black tents on the borders of the great desert, and who camp close to the towns in summer, and move out into the interior, a matter of 80 to 100 miles from their homes proper, in winter. Many of them also own small house property in the cities they are attached

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
619 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shuraifat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khusaubah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Jazirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

619 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
101 groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

619 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
101 and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore
293 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawiyah type (Shawáwi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of
[342] flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the
[241] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed villages by the rivers to till the fields.

THE BADU OF SOUTHERN ARABIA

By W. P. THESIGER, D.S.O.

Lecture given on September 28, 1949, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart,
114 V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

The Chairman: To-day Mr. Thesiger is going to talk to us about the countries around the Red Sea, with which he has been acquainted since childhood. He was born in Abyssinia. Before the recent war he was with the Sudan Civil Service. In 1940 he was sent to Abyssinia and volunteered for service there with the Ethiopian Patriot Force, in which he was awarded the D.S.O.

Later he was sent on special duty to Damascus and was able to resume his Arabic studies. Since the war he has carried out several remarkable trips to explore the heart of the area known as the "Empty Quarter," and he is now going to tell us about the most recent of these.

101 I AM going to talk about the Badu of Southern Arabia; that is to say,
178 the camel-owning nomads who live in and around the Empty Quarter.
184 I wish to make it clear that I am talking about the Badu, or Baduin, and not about Arabs who cultivate or live in towns, for there is all the difference in the world between them. I do not suppose that a sophisticated young town Arab would be flattered if you referred to him as a Badui, though it is surprising how many of them do proudly claim Badu origin, and I do know that no Badui would like to be called a townsman or cultivator. At first sight the Badu of Southern Arabia appear to be very different from those of the north, but I believe that this difference is largely superficial and due to the clothes which they wear. I do not think that either a Sa'ari from the deserts just north of the Hadhramaut or a Wahibi from South-Eastern Oman would feel himself much out of place in an encampment of the Rualla. On the other hand, I think that a townsman from Aden or Muscat would always be conspicuous in Damascus. I wish also to make it quite clear that I am describing conditions in Southern Arabia and not in Arabia as a whole. In the past Badu life was everywhere much the same, harder in some places and easier in others. The last quarter of a century has, however, seen the most revolutionary changes in the north. There Ibn Saud has imposed his iron will upon the tribes. He has subjected the nomad to the rule of the settled Arab, stamped out raiding, and taxed the Badui as well as the cultivator. The same process has been carried out in Trans-Jordan, in Syria, and in
[177] Iraq. It was largely the use of the motor-car which made it possible to bring the Badu under control, for that robbed them of their age-old inaccessibility. Previously they had only to retire into the desert to be safe from pursuit, but now they are at the mercy of a motorized patrol, unable to get away and with nowhere to hide.

178 Cars have, however, not yet penetrated into the southern desert, and
619 there the old life still goes on. I do not suppose, except that the Badu are now armed with rifles, that their way of life has greatly changed since the times of Abraham. In the south they are still dominant and even unchallenged. It is true that before they enter the valley of the Hadhramaut

educational needs of the tribes. 000

This policy aimed at introducing improvements into the 178
Bedouin mode of living without changing it. 185

Some of the sheikhs made serious attempts to settle the 622
tribesmen on their estates. The Hadidiyin began in the 30's 427
to cultivate on the estates of their sheikh.[1] Rakan, the 166X
sheikh of the Sba'a, has been consistently trying to make the
members of his tribe engage in agriculture.[2]

Apart from minor successes the attempts of sedentarization were largely premature. While economic changes and a taste for modern living induced a great number of the sheikhs to abandon nomadism and settle down, the majority of the tribesmen preferred to continue their pastoral activities and their traditional migrations. Even economic disasters in the desert did not appreciably accelerate the pace of their sedentarization.

In 1931, for example, the Syrian Bedouin lost 30 - 40 per 233
cent of their animals in the wake of inclement weather conditions.[3] 434
1931/32 was also a season of exceptional drought when certain tribes lost 50 per cent of their camels and 80 per cent of their sheep.[4] The desert was strewn with animals that died of hunger. The critical situation among the tribes prompted the French 166X
Mandatory Government[5] to encourage the nomads to settle down to an agricultural life. Fertile land and implements were freely dis-

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 298
2. ibid., p. 85
3. Rapport, 1931, p. 98
4. Rapport, 1932, p. 91
5. The French High Commission maintained a special tribal service

[I.E. GOVERMENTAL REFORMS -- ANALYST]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ1

CHAPTER XV

Smoking

B 276 Speaking generally, the Badawin of Central and North-East Arabia do not smoke. This is mainly due to the Wahhabi influence of Najd, but partly also because the rank and file cannot afford the luxury of a smoke. In a country where life is so hard, and 90 per B [511] cent of the population are permanently hungry, this is to be expected.

B 276 185 From 1919 to 1929 and during the revival of Wahhabi-ism under the name of 'Ikhwanism, the tribes of Najd who all became good members of the Brotherhood, eschewed smoking as a direct temptation from Satan. (I am not here referring to the Iraq desert tribes or the various septs of the 'Anizah or northern Shammar), and for a man to be seen smoking a cigarette or pipe in Wahhabi-land almost invariably meant death at the hand of a fanatic brother. In the province of Hasa, and especially among the Bahárana of Qatif and Hufuf, Bin Sa'ud allowed smoking as far back as 1920, provided it was indulged in in the strict privacy of the house. That Bin Sa'ud himself was broad minded on the subject may be seen from the fact that in 1919, when I visited him in Hafuf, he sent me round a box of Egyptian cigarettes by the hand of Dr. 'Abdullah Damluji, with a request that I should smoke only in private. I, of course, played the game according to the local rules.

K 276 In 1929, when I first came to Kuwait, the shaikh asked me as a favour not to smoke in the streets, as smoking offended some people's susceptibilities: this was shortly after the 'Ikhwan attacked their northern neighbours and made wild efforts to impose their beliefs and customs on the tribes of Kuwait and Iraq.

B 276 185 After the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 against Bin Sa'ud, a revulsion of feeling appeared to have taken hold of the Badawin world. On all sides men began to speak disparagingly of Bin Sa'ud, and of his methods, and many bright souls openly took to

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

smoking again: this was, however, more a gesture of defiance than a desire for tobacco.

By 1935 the vice of smoking had once more taken hold of those Badawin who could afford to indulge it, and even in Najd proper hundreds of Bin Sa'ud's own servants, *fidawiyah*, and even members of his own family, smoke openly to-day.

This renewal of smoking does not mean that there is any sort of revulsion against religion. Far from it—it only means that the Arab realises that the theory that smoking is a sin does not hold water. "Why not stop me drinking coffee?" he says, "it is an equally noxious drug and equally harmful to man."

None of the Shaikhs of Kuwait smoke; this is undoubtedly due to the strong influence of Wahhabi-ism on Kuwait in the past. They offer cigarettes to their guests, however. Neither I nor other Europeans in Kuwait ever smoke in the streets during the annual Fast of Ramadhán.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

spacious chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin pa 54

168 if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort
361 of existence.

461 But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard
463 and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to
552 his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate
231 enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky
461 or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates,
565 and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level
166 as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

181 Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the des-
611 ert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out
735 of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

,21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

Strict discipline, necessary both in everyday routine and because of liability to attack, has left its mark on Badawin ways of thought. In religion, there is little room for compromise or doubt—a strong, vivid, and intolerant faith is held. Similarly, there is a strict code of behaviour. Hospitality, in an environment without fixed routes or settlements, is a highly regarded virtue, and ordinary social intercourse has been developed into an elaborate code of manners and conduct. In view of the vagaries of human existence amongst the Badawin, it is hardly surprising that superstition and fatalism are also strongly marked. The operation of the 'evil eye' and malevolent spirits is seen in everyday life—nothing is praised directly without attributing its excellence as due to God—and men and animals wear charms.[1]

Possibly as a result of reduced physical strength, and their enforced preoccupation with household tasks, the status of women is low. Although not veiled, like the women of the settled areas, Badawin women are regarded as in all things the inferiors of men. It may be significant that among pastoral communities, religious deities are regarded as masculine in attribute. Only in the religious systems of non-pastoral peoples do we find female deities—mother-goddesses of wide influence—with a corresponding rise in importance of women above the level of mere drudges and bearers of children.

Though Badawin life is hard and unrewarding, those who follow it value it highly. A true Bedu looks down with disdain on other ways of life, particularly that of cultivators in better watered districts, for whom he often has a profound contempt as effete and subservient. Despite their own strict social organisation, the Badawin can contrast the dull routine of agricultural practice, and the looseness and self-indulgence of city life with their own courage, independence of thought, abstemiousness, and mobility.

Nomadism is a special response to environment, by which the frontier of human occupation is pushed farther within a region of increasing difficulty. In the past, nomadism has often been regarded as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture; it was believed that primitive man passed from a life of hunting and collecting first into a stage of pastoralism, and later, in places where conditions were favourable, to the fullest development of a life based on cultivation. In the opinion of H. J. Fleure and others this view must be modified—pastoralism may, in some instances, represent a special, later development *from* agriculture—a dynamic response to environmental

[1] Even Arab taxis in the cities carry a charm on the radiator.

68: Neubert S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4

361 c. Semi-Bedouin who occupy a position between Bedouin and
178 Fellahin. They are already engaged in agriculture.
233 While they still live in tents, they ultimately turn to
621 the construction of permanent huts and houses.[1]

Müller introduces the following classifications

1. Bedouin Tribes

361 a. Camel tribes, so called because they engage primarily
233 in camel-breeding although they possess flocks of sheep. They are the true Bedouin of Syria, all belonging to The Aneseh and Shammar groups.[2] Their mobility enables them to maintain a 600 - 800 kil. radius of migration. They wander in the desert from September till late in June when they return to the border of the cultivated zone in order to trade their surplus livestock and
X [166] purchase necessary supplies. They do not display the least interest in sedentarization.[3]

b. Sheep tribes, so called because they are chiefly preoccupied with intensive sheep-raising. The need for water for their animals restricts their wandering in time and in space. Early in the spring, before the

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1. Müller, 1932, pp. 96 ff.
2. The study of V. Müller is based on his observations of tribal life in Syria.
186 3. This statement was made by V. Müller in 1932. It seems highly questionable that within 18 years the attitudes among the true Bedouin should have changed so radically to enable Fawaz Sha'lan, Chief of the Ruala, to declare that "all the tribesmen now wanted land" (for settlement) cf. New York Times, September 6, 1949. Even changing circumstances have never had such an effect on the conservative mentality of the Bedouin, and it seems, therefore, that the declaration of Sha'lan, made for political reasons, must be taken with a note of caution.

M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4
000

of the population engaged in agriculture.[1]

The nomads are only concerned with their social, political and economic order; settled society interests them only negatively, as objects of raid and plunder. The nomads of the Syrian desert have a deeper understanding for the happenings in the far-off Arabian desert than for the life in Damascus in the vicinity of which they may be encamped. Hence the general indifference of the Bedouin to all ideas and movements that originate in the Arab Cities.

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The modern Arab states of the Middle East, sensitive about their sovereignty, thus had to come into conflict with the tribal elements within their political boundaries. They felt that the stability of the administration was undermined as long as the tribes could not be reached by tax-collectors, census takers, and could not be subjected to military conscription and state jurisdiction.

Since the political partitioning of the Syrian desert after the First World War it has become increasingly difficult to exercise effective control over the tribes. For four centuries the Syrian desert was continuously in the hands of a single power, the Ottoman Empire. Inefficient as the Turkish administration may have been, its ubiquity placed it in a position to impose its authority on a recalcitrant tribe, which at present can easily escape the jurisdiction of one state simply by slipping across the nearest frontier.

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619

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1. In the Middle East livestock-breeding and agriculture are two distinct economies, the former practiced by the nomads, the latter by the fellahin.

166 up for the sake of economic self-improvement.

178 The nomad who has settled creates a vacuum on the fringes of the desert which is filled by other desert tribes destined to undergo the same evolution, and thus the process of sedentarization goes on indefinitely.

CHAPTER IX

Survey of Recent Developments that Affected Bedouin Society

Saudi Arabia

133 Except for a few fertile oases, the vast area of Saudi Arabia consists entirely of arid desert and steppes which are green only for a short period in the winter. Arabia is the cradle and the classic country of the Bedouin.

656 The rule of Ibn Saud has been the turning point in the
166 history of Central Arabia. In his drive to found a powerful state, Ibn Saud realized that he must settle the Bedouin within his frontiers if the political structure he created was to last. Citizens, united in purpose and attached to the soil, and not roving nomads, constitute a reliable element which can assure permanency to a state organization.

656 To overcome the traditional tribal disunity, Ibn Saud inspired
186 the Bedouin with the doctrines of Wahhabi puritanism which gave them a consciousness of unity. The Ikhwan (brothers, Wahhabi confraternity), founded by Ibn Saud in 1912,[1] is the modern revival

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1. 1912 is the date usually given for the founding of the Ikhwan. cf. Royal Institute, 1930, p. 85
According to Arnold Toynbee, however, the Ikhwan was founded in 1910. cf. Royal Institute, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 281

656 186 x166 656 of the Wahhabi movement which originated in the 18th century.

The Bedouin members of the Ikhwan were induced to sell their camels and settle down to an agricultural existence. Settlement was carried out by giving to the tribesmen land, money and technical aid.

162 x166 656 Sedentarization has always been an important part of Ibn Saud's domestic policy. In 1928 there were already over 10 Ikhwan settlements in the Nejd. Artawiya, the oldest of the Ikhwan colonies, came into existence in 1912 and had by 1928 a population of about 10 000. In Ameen Rihani's list of 100 odd localities there are mentioned 34 settlements with an approximate population of 6 000 - 12 000. Dukhnah, a colony of the Harb tribe, has about 15 000 people.[1] In a few years Ibn Saud has thus succeeded in converting a great number of Bedouin into settled citizens.

656 425 In 1948 the government of Saudi Arabia declared its new national policy of granting state land to any citizen ready and willing to put it under cultivation.[2] In Arabia settlement is an artificial enterprise because it involves Bedouin, who from the economic point of view could continue their pastoral life for centuries yet. Of course, Ibn Saud is guided more by the political problems which the Bedouin present to his state structure than by economic necessity.

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1. Rihani's study of Ibn Saud contains a list of new settlements built by the tribes of Nejd under the influence of the Ikhwan. Each colony is given with its quota of fighting men. This figure is one third of the male, or one sixth of the total population. cf. Rihani, 1928, pp. 118-119
2. Afif I Tannous, 1951, p. 15

000 70 years.

186 The nomad gradually accepts the fellah's mode of living,
x166 but for generations after sedentarization he still prides himself of his Bedouin origin. Albert de Rouchemon tells of two remarkable instances illustrating this tendency:[1]

1. The case of a lawyer in Beirut whose family has been settled for centuries. Occasionally he dons Bedouin attire to boast of his origin.
2. The case of the Bedouin emigrants to America who continue to pay the blood money with their brothers who have remained Bedouin.

CHAPTER XII

The Bedouin Problem on the Agenda of the 1949 and 1950 United Nations Social Welfare Seminars for Arab States

648 The Arab world is concerned with the problems of the nomadic population. At the United Nations Social Welfare Seminars conducted in 1949 at Beirut and in 1950 at Cairo, special committees were appointed to study the Bedouin problems and make recommendations for their solution.

648 Poverty was recognized to be the crux of the Bedouin problem,
511 ignorance, poor health, etc. the results.[2] The recommendations

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1. Rouchemon, 1934, pp. 140-143
2. El-Ghibaly, 1950, p. 280

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CHAPTER VI

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If a Badawin meets a nomad stranger in his territory he will enquire, after salaams and general greetings, *Inta minain ya walad?*—From whence art thou, O youth? The answer is, '*Ana min 'Arab fulan*—I am from such and such a person's Arabs.

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361 'Arabdar or 'Arab-ad-Dar. The latter is the name commonly given in Kuwait and also, I believe, in Najd to those semi-nomads who are found in black tents on the borders of the great desert, and who camp close to the towns in summer, and move out into the interior, a matter of 80 to 100 miles from their homes proper, in winter. Many of them also own small house property in the cities they are attached

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charge at the hide, unable to see whence the shot had come but sensing 531
the direction. As the hunter stood up, the oryx with his head down impaled him on his long horns and carried him away. Although nearly fainting with agony he had the presence of mind to hold on very tight with both hands round the belly of the animal, for he knew that if he once fell over on one side or the other his head would be dashed against the ground as the beast galloped off. He was powerless to kill the oryx as both his dagger and gun had dropped from him when the animal rushed him, and he had no other weapon.

The story is an old one and believed to be true. It is known to all Shammar tribesmen and is said to have taken place near Hail about one hundred years ago.

Told by 'Abdulla al Othman al Rashid of Bureida

ABRAHAM AND ISHMAEL

Coming home one day from a hawking expedition in the autumn 173
of 1937 with Mirshid ibn Twala of the Shammar tribe, I was discussing 186
the Palestine troubles with him, and asked why it was that the Arabs hated the Jews.

"O Abu Sa'ud," said he, "God has told us that the Jews are an accursed people whose witness is not acceptable. They were always against every Prophet sent them, notably Moses and Jesus, and when finally Muhammad the last of the Prophets was sent them by God, did they not try and murder him also on three occasions?

"Yes, Abu Sa'ud, they are a cruel and stiff-necked people and always were so, but we Badawin hate them particularly for the way Abraham's wife intrigued against Hagar the mother of Ishmael, and cruelly expelled her into the waterless desert. She intended that Hagar should die there of thirst, but God saved her and her son, our ancestor.

"Abraham was later filled with remorse and spent the latter years of his life trying to find his son Ishmael, having been told by God that he was still alive and would receive great blessing. Your Book and the Jewish Taurat says nothing about this nor how Abraham found him and then was ordered by God to take him up into the high mount of 'Arafat and there sacrifice him. No, the accursed Bani Israel (Jews) were not going to have it that way, they were going to

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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173 have it that Isaac was the one preferred of God, and they cooked the
● 176 Scriptures, so that their descendants and you Christians to this day believe that Isaac was the son whom Abraham was bidden to sacrifice."

173 "Tell me the story, O Mirshid," I said, "for I have not heard it."

539 "It happened in this wise, and I will make it short, for the whole tale is very long. It will show you, however, that Abraham in the end made up for the wrong he did to Hagar the mother of Ishmael, and proved that Ishmael was in truth the dearer of his two sons, and was the one favoured of God. And don't forget that Ishmael was the ancestor of half the great Arab race. The other or Southern half are descended from Qahtan (Yokdan) the son of Set (Seth), and an older branch of Abraham's ancestors. The descendants of Qahtan accepted Ishmael and his descendants though they called them 'Arab al Musta'ariba, or Arabs who became Arabs as opposed to their own proud title of 'Arab al 'Ariba or those who were Arabs from the first.

"When Hagar was driven into the desert to die with her baby boy, Abraham had migrated to the south as was his annual custom and as all Badawin even to this day move, in search of grazing. He was at the time not far from where the town of Mecca stands to-day. There was of course no Bait Allah (House of God) in those days. Well, as the unforunate Hagar was about to die of thirst, she grieved greatly for her offspring—and in frantic agony left her baby in a sandy water-course, and started running about near two small hills which were at hand, praying to God all the while to save her child.

"The two hills later became known as Safa and Marwa, and are now inside the precincts of modern Mecca. God heard her prayer, for on staggering back exhausted to see if her child were still alive, she found a small *thamila* (pool) of water lying in a hole in the sand that had been excavated by her child's legs as it lay kicking in the sand. She dug further and more water oozed into the hole, and she drank long and deeply. She was saved and her prayers had been answered. That *thamila* is to-day the famous well of Zam Zam which lies inside the precincts of the Harám or Holy Place in Mecca. Later Hagar was found by certain Arabs of the locality and was cared for and became one of them.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Middle East MI

in which the Crusaders were worsted, and were carried off into slavery by the desert Arab, and that the present-day Sulubba are their descendants. Shaikh 'Abdullah will quote to prove his point, B 565 619 174

(a) The fact that the "cross" is the symbol of the Sulubba.
(b) That the plural of their name "Sulaib" is clearly the same as the Arab name for the Christian cross which is known as *Salib*, the word *sulaib* being merely a diminutive form of *Salib*.

There is perhaps something to say for the theory, but it would be dangerous to form conclusions pending the collection of more data about these interesting people. In particular would it be interesting to collect extensive anthropometric measurements.

The Sulubba women are accused of having (i) the power of casting the Evil Eye (*'ain*), (ii) special knowledge in preparing poisons and love potions for those who want them (*saywa*), and (iii) above all of being versed in the devilish lore of witchcraft (*sakar*). B 565 754

(i) The first accusation is probably due to the fact that many young Badawin men have lost their heads over pretty Sulubba girls and have had to flee their tribes. (ii) and (iii) are probably fairly true accusations, for they certainly claim to have the power of making one person love another, as well as of divination. On the other hand, they are a useful target for the public, if something evil happens to a prominent person. "It must be a Sulubba woman who has cast a spell on so-and-so", they say. B [86]

The Sulubba must not be confused with the Kauliyah or Gipsies. These latter are to be found all over Iraq and its borders, and are, I think, without doubt one and the same as the Romany Gipsies of Europe and England. They dress like Badawin and live in small ME 563

Appendix I

713 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

● 186

(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of 291 rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious 562 feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929–30 'Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the 'Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

511 paid into the bargain. Family ties and a certain restlessness draw some of
166 them back into the desert, but, as I have said, desert life is becoming more and more difficult and may soon become altogether impossible.

177 The hardy Badu tribesmen, the best stock in Arabia, may become, as a
315 result of circumstances outside their control, a parasitic proletariat squatting in the fly-blown squalor of shanty towns on the outskirts of the oilfields in some of the most barren and inhospitable country in the world. I do not wish to suggest that the oil companies will not take adequate care of their workers and provide them with the best possible accommodation. Many of the Badu will certainly find employment with these companies; many of them have already shown considerable aptitude as drivers and mechanics, but it is uncertain whether as a race they are capable of the sustained effort required on an oilfield. At any rate, there will be great numbers who are unadaptable, inept, or physically incapable of finding work, and there will be the women and the children. Stranded in these salt-impregnated wastes, which can produce nothing but oil, and deprived of their old mobility, they may be unable to adjust themselves almost overnight to these new conditions and so become demoralized. Tribesmen who have never seen a car or an aeroplane or even a European will find themselves suddenly working with Englishmen and Americans who have met their first Arab ten days before. Lads who have never seen an unveiled woman are going to come in contact with European women, not only unveiled, but, in their eyes, undressed. At first they will think our dress indecent, many of our customs revolting, and our lack of religion
[157] appalling. The virtues of the desert nomads are, however, enforced by their circumstances, not by a natural preference for the ascetic way of life. In their own surroundings they are forced to be continent and self-restrained, but by nature they are self-indulgent and indolent. Their nomadic way of life, their tribal loyalties, their old interests, and the conventions which have governed their lives, will soon be swept away. Bored and disillusioned, they will, I fear, fall an easy prey to the vices and diseases of
[186] town life. They have always regarded themselves as the aristocracy of Arabia. They have taken a pride in surviving when others would succumb, and it is this pride in his manhood which the nomad expresses when he boasts, "I am a Badui." In the future they may easily drop to the bottom of the social scale, below those whom they know to be their inferiors in every way but that of adaptation to urban conditions.

A problem which confronts the rulers of Arabia is how to avoid pauperizing the nomads who will inevitably drift to the oilfields in ever-increasing numbers, and whose birth-rate is likely to rise considerably once they have settled there. It will indeed be tragic if they become the slum-dwellers of an industrialized Arabia. Poverty has been their constant lot, but it was a poverty shared by all. Now they will see Europeans and Arabs living in luxury in air-conditioned houses and provided with all the amenities of modern life. They will see wealth beyond their wildest dreams poured into the hands of a few; the Sheikh of Qatar, for instance, who until recently was the ruler of a few impoverished fishing villages and whose father sold headcloths in the market-place for a living, is now receiving royalties from an oilfield which may be one of the richest in the world.

2: Codrai G-3 (1948-1950) 1950 MK1 Oman
Trucial Oman MK4
Bedouin MJ4

To 369 162 439 443 [181]

ladies' lingerie, but he has little use for some of the strange products of the West. For the townsman, who is living in a mixed community of Arabs from many parts of the Persian Gulf, Persians and Indians, it is a different proposition, and his materialism has made Dibai a small British export area, though mostly for the less refined goods that are unable to find buyers on a more discriminating market.

B 101 186 721 661

The primitive bedouins who live by the foothills of the main mountain range, who owe allegiance to no one, are a constant cause of worry to the sheikhs, from whom they extract levies in return for protection; if the money is not forthcoming they raid the villages and carry off goods, camels and children. On the whole, however, the people of the coast seem to have a peaceful enough existence, making their living by, among other things, pearling, fishing and boat-building.

To 361 396 226

To 312 576

At several points along the coast the wells are some distance inland, and water has to be transported to the villages by camel or donkey. Though brackish and unpalatable, it is expensive; the cost of buying water is a burden on the poor, and they take only sufficient for their minimum needs. Even so, the water-pot is always at hand when a traveller passes by — a simple hospitality that is often very touching. The lot of the dogs, a wretched one at the best of times in the

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P. 191 (B)

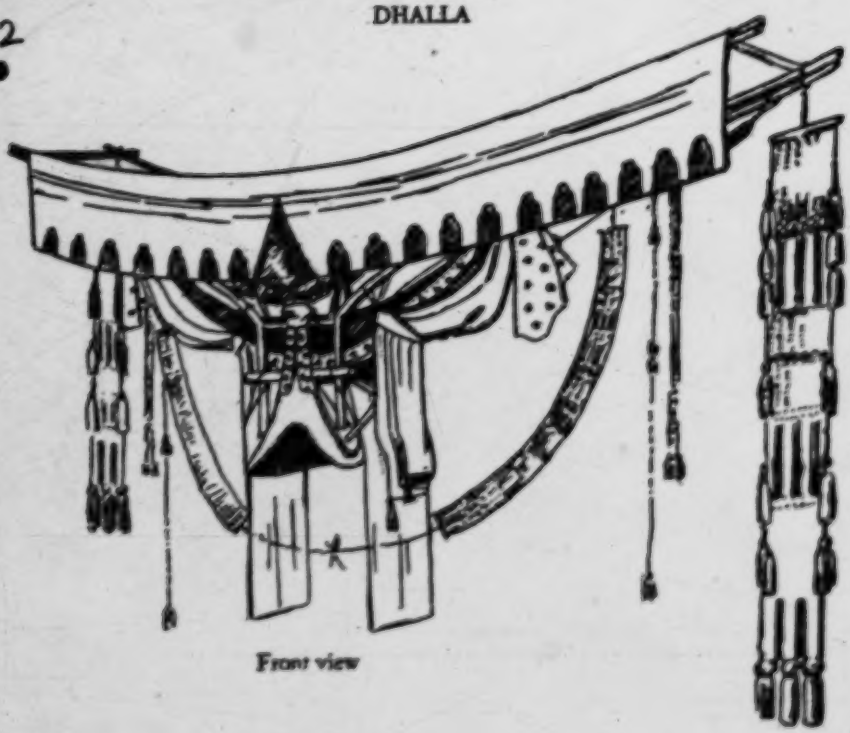
k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Women's Gear

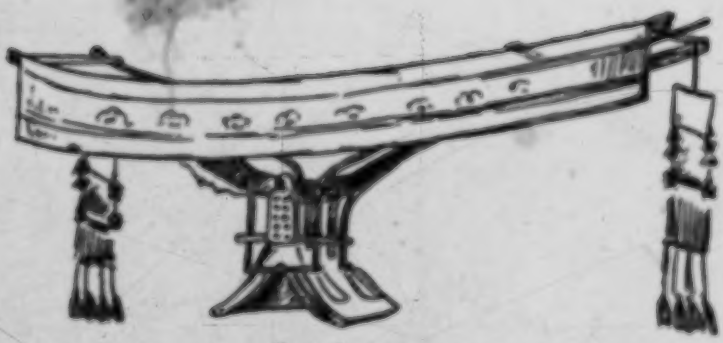
Chap. V

192

DHALLA



Front view



Rear view

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

Exclamations

Chap. IX

PRETTY CUSTOMS AND EXPRESSIONS AMONG WOMEN

B 192

(*a*) *Expressions of astonishment* (at seeing or hearing something startling).

Ya kabdi kabdo—Oh! my liver. (Especially 'Ajman women.)
Ya galbi galbo—My heart of hearts. ('Ajman women.)
Yummah!—Oh Mother!
Ybbah!—Oh Father!

Men have one very common expression, "'Allâh" pronounced with a long drawl on the final "a". This when they have seen or heard something really surprising or wonderful.

(*b*) *Expressions of affection.*

Ba'ad aini aini—Oh my eyes, my eyes.
Ba'ad galbi galbi—My heart, my heart.
Ba'ad ruhi ruhi—My soul, my soul.

(*c*) *Woman's expression of impatience.*

Ya wailî wailo—E.g. "Come here Nura, the English lady wants to speak to you, why don't you hurry you foolish one, *ya wailî wailo*, what is the matter with you!"

(*d*) When the head of the house, or a son, returns from a long journey or from the pearl-banks, the woman of the house hangs up on a pole, with a cross-piece to it, one of her best and most brilliantly coloured *thaubs*. Among townswomen, this is hung up on the roof of the house, for the world to see. In the case of Badawin women in the desert the pole is placed in front of the tent. This custom is almost similar to that observed when an important shaikh or personage is expected to arrive at or pass a camp, and the Badawin ladies desire to show him welcome.

K 201
B 201

The custom is known as *raiyat*.

(*e*) Another pretty custom is to show to a guest at a tent, or big man passing by and staying for coffee, a baby that is just born, when for luck he gives into its little hand a rupee or riyal.

B 574

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The statement often made that a bride never shows her face to her Arab husband is not exactly correct. As often as not the husband forcibly

B 834
291

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Surrender

Chap. XXVI

WAR CRIES

Every Arab prince and Arab tribe has a special war cry. Some have several and some a single one. 721 192

These war cries, called *nakhwa* and *'iswak*, are yelled out in the heat of battle, and especially during the wild charge of horsemen.

The war cry is supposed to strike terror into the foe. It also enables the individual warrior to recognise friend from enemy in the general mêlée that follows a charge—for every man as he goes into action muffles up his face till only his eyes are seen, and no uniforms distinguish combatants or differentiate friend from foe. [714]

SURRENDER

Among the Badawin the equivalent of the European or Westerner's "Hands up" is for a man to drop his rifle on the ground and place *the thumbs of both hands simultaneously between his teeth with the fingers of each hand extended outwards towards the person to whom he is surrendering*. This is the normal method, when for instance a man is a fugitive and is about to be caught up and killed by his pursuers. The meaning of the act is that he realizes that all is up, he has been caught, he knows death is his portion, nevertheless he casts himself on God's mercy and on that of his enemies. In nine times out of ten he will be spared. 726 516

Even in the heat of battle a man on the losing side can escape death if he recognises an old friend or acquaintance in the opposing ranks, by shouting out to him and saying, *Ya falan, ana fi wejh-ak* (O So-and-So, I put myself under your protection). If the person so called upon has sufficient influence with his comrades to grant such protection, he replies, *Anaiuk wejhki sallam tufegnak* or *salahak* (I have given you my protection, hand over your rifle, or arms). Under such circumstances the suppliant is absolutely safe, and his guarantor goes bail for his life. 572 726

Should the man appealed to not be of sufficient importance among his fellow fighters to guarantee the life of the suppliant, he will call out to him and advise him to demand protection from someone more influential than himself, i.e. *Udah wejh falan* (Call upon the

Appendix XV

APPENDIX XV

THE TRIBAL "WAR CRY" (NAKHWA)

721 The following are a few war cries of the more important Tribes of Arabia.
172 (a) The House or Clan of the Al Sa'ud. "Al Aujir", "Ana Akhu Nura", "Ana ibn Mijrin".

(b) The House of Al Subah. "Ana ibn Salim", Ana akhu Mirriam".

(c) The Shammar Tribe. "Sanayis", (common to the whole tribe).

(d) The 'Ajman Tribe. "Mu'ana al Haddin, wa ana ibn Al Ajim", "Mafraw al Hadid, wa ana ibn Al Ajim", "Sifar safi al Maur, wa ana Ladhala", "Safi al Maur, wa ana Ladhala".

(e) The Mutair ('Iwa)	"Iwa, Hal Raddar".
(Jiblan)	"Khayal al Sabha",* "Al Jiblil".
(Muwalla)	"'Awlad al Muwalla", "Al Basha",† "Ana ibn Madwash".‡
(Wasil)	"'Awlad Wasil", "Ar Rahman wa ana ibn Wasil".
(Bani Abdilla)	"'Awlad 'Abdil".
(Al Sa'aran)	"Al Ashwa",§ "Ana ibn Ali".
(Al Sahabba)	"Khayal Sahbat Musbahi".

(f) Awazim. "Arwi", "'Awlad 'Ana" (united to "Allaharra").

(g) Rashaida. "Al Daaji", "Murr al Dalila Da'aji", "Khayal Sahbat Da'aji".

(h) Harb. "Ana ibn 'Ali".

(i) 'Utaiba. "Ahl al 'Atiyah, wa ana ibn Raq".

(j) Shei. "Al 'Arfa Shely".

(k) Dhafir. "Al Garwa, Sowaid", "Sahba Tammah".

* Name of a hill in Najd used as a rendezvous.
†Name of Al Dawish's own tribe.
‡ The name of a famous swordsmith.
§ Pet name of a dog-camel.

Note as (d) above.—The "Nakhwa" common to Ajman and Murra, which may be termed a rallying cry to appeal to fight, is "Ayili Mersah."

APPENDIX XVI

BLOOD OF THE BIRZAN SECTION OF MUTAIR

A FURTHER NOTE

164 Shaikh Sabah al Nasir, discussing the question on May 11, 1930, made the
757 following statement:
826 1. Rabiaa was unknown in the Hasa, Riyadh, and Rub' al Khali part of Arabia, and appeared to be confined to northern border of Sa'udi Arabia, South Iraq desert and Kuwait.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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CHAPTER XI

Faith and Prayer

The Badawin proper are all Sunnis, either of the Hanbali or Maliki schools, as opposed to the Shi'ahs of Iraq, the Zaidis of Yaman and the Biyathiyahs of Oman and adjacent country. 795

Though fierce in battle and ever ready to raid and kill, the Badawin has one of the strictest codes of honour in the world. His belief in the One Great Almighty God, Indivisible, All-seeing and Ever-present, is impressive. 776

Throughout his life the name of God is constantly on his lips, and heard in almost every sentence he uses. Recurrent phrases are: 195

(a) *Wallah, Billah, Ek Billah Wallahi* (all meaning "By God") to emphasise that he speaks the truth.

(b) *Fi'aman Illah*—In the peace of God.
Hefzak-kum Allah—God guard you.
Fida'at Allah—In the custody of God.
To speed a parting friend or guest, and as general terms of farewell.

(c) *Tawaqal al Allah*—Put your trust in God.
Tawaqal-na al Allah—We put trust in God.
At the commencement of an undertaking, or journey, etc.

(d) *Allah Karim*—God is merciful.
To express resignation, or hope, when things seem to be going wrong, etc.

(e) *Sa'ad-kum Allah*—God assist you.
Gawwak Allah abbreviated to *Al Gawa*—God strengthen you. Used by way of greeting and to encourage a person doing some special work.

(f) *La hawla wa la quwwata illa B'Illah al 'aali w'al azim.*—There is no might nor majesty except in God the most High and Wonderful.
To express astonishment at some strange sight, etc.

(g) *Stakhfar Allah*—God forbid.
La-ilo-ill-l'Allah—There is no God but God.
To ward off evil, etc.

The Badawin, like every Arab or true Muslim, believes that every- 000

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI4

Exclamations

Chap. IX

PRETTY CUSTOMS AND EXPRESSIONS AMONG WOMEN

B 192

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K 201 B 201

The custom is known as *raiyat*.

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B 574

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The statement often made that a bride never shows her face to her Arab husband is not exactly correct. As often as not the husband forcibly

B 634 291

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJI Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [428]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

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Bedouins MJ4

517 (*dhabi*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves
224 on fresh *leben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war,
262 then of course this utopian existence is at once changed, and the tribe
722 moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared
for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining
[202] and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come
into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks
before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were
able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and
622 assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on
its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp.
His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

622 No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was
157 the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not neces-
183 sarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the
family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-
paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the
shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan
or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father
and become shaikh after him must prove:

that he has the necessary courage;
that he has powers of leadership;
that he has *hadh* or luck.

777 The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership
622 in plenty if *hadh* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman
157 wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in
peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is
bound up in this word *hadh*. The great Bin Sa'ud, the present Lord
of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with
a large quantity of *hadh*, or so says and believes every Badawin of
Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot
be compared with the all-embracing Luck.

622 The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MII Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

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by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [291
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

12: Theiger T-3 (ca. 1948) 1950 M12 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin M14

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do,
they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel,
gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, 156
they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that
happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so
that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian
Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the
borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too
precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will
often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be
hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their
own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived
in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals
which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot
even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the
desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that
lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten
bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian
he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their 771
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith.
Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than
pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them
without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their
religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed
the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded
that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I
asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he
answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times painfully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away.
Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life undaunt-
edly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the
desert maid, for who'd dare share the Badu's couch among the wind-
blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood
with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as
thoroughbreds.

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

As we neared the large tent, the merry "ringing" of the coffee mortar bade us welcome. Malla Sulumeh, scribe to Sheykh Tai', conducted us within. 574 609 [212]

A considerable number of tribesmen were gathered in the roomy tent. As usual, the favourite falcon of the *sheykh* stood perched on a camel-saddle. [223]

A slave removed the bird and placed cushions on the saddle for us. The coffee-cook poked apart the pieces of glowing desert roots on the hearth and poured between them dried camel dung from a fold of his cloak. He blew energetically on the hard nuggets, the size of walnuts, until small bright flames commenced to dance all over them. Then a large, beaked can was placed on the glow and it was not long before the coffee-water boiled and bubbled over. "Revive thy spirit!" said the every-ready cup-bearer as he offered me the aromatic cup. 574 272 [372]

Previously he had, in accordance with Bedouin practice, conscientiously wiped out every cup with the sleeve of his old shirt. Adroitly he held in his other hand four small china cups without handles, like so many eggs in a nest, and jingled them lightly one against the other.

The coffee made the round. The favoured guests, whom the Negro served first (unhappily I belonged to them) were the victims of especial politeness; before pouring the coffee, he spat first into the cup and wiped it dry with his shirt sleeve. Three times had I to endure this rite at the hands of the punctilious coffee-priest, who waited on us with the utmost solemnity on each occasion. Only then might I waggle the cup between my finger-tips in token of thanks and satisfaction and hand it back to him.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 54

ready to fire, throwing the clip of cartridges into the 577
breach and slamming the lever down. Involuntarily I shut my eyes and staggered, when I heard the voice of the *Akid* (leader) call out to the man not to shoot. The shock had been so great, however, that my knees gave way, and I toppled over. The *Akid*, who had saved my life, came to me. He had a small goat-skin bag filled with liquid butter in his hand, and made me take a few sips, and immediately I felt better.

He then led me to the fire and offered me coffee; and I knew by that token that my life was now under his protection.

I asked him for our clothing. He wanted to return it to me, but the other men grumbled and protested, and I had to be content with two old ragged herders' cloaks. I threw one over my shoulders and with the other and a skin of butter, went back to Ali, and after he had gulped down some of the butter, I supported him to the camp fire.

The Fid'an permitted us to seat ourselves among them, and Ali, too, was given coffee. It now turned out that our assailants were quite good fellows. Had we not started arguing when they fell upon us, we should have come off better. Now we were as safe among them as in Abraham's bosom.

In the course of our conversation that evening, I remembered the letter from Amir Fuaz to Hajem Pasha, the missive that had created such a lively disturbance in Aleppo.

"Dost thou read Arabic?" I asked the *Akid*; and 2120
when, as I expected, he replied, "No," I continued:

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 1954

•212 "Then dost thou at least know the signature of thy *sheykh* and the seal of Amir Fuaz?"

Before his men, the Fid'an dared not admit that this too was beyond him, so I asked for the pouch Ali used to carry on his body, containing the letter along with other treasures.

Everybody listened respectfully to Ali's reading of the letter. He read judiciously—only what was pleasant and polite; all the rest he left out. The rascals hung on Ali's lips and drank in every word that came from them. When he had finished reading and had kissed the signature and the seal, the men pressed round him and inspected with awe the astounding document; and ignorant as they were of writing, they looked at it upside down!

685 The *Akid* was visibly uneasy, and for a while he and
686 the others put their heads together and, after much gesticulation and muttering, he turned to Ali and me and fired a cross-examination of silly questions at us. At last he seemed convinced that we had been wrongly treated, and he ordered his men to return our belongings to us. This naturally caused a small revolution, but the *Akid* knew how to make his influence felt, and after each of the men had in turn exhausted his protests against such a breach of the honour and the good customs of noble raiders, all our property was actually returned to us, with the exception only of my wrist watch, which still remained on the arm of the leader. Ali noticed it and, greatly daring, cried out: "Through thee the faith of thy *sheykh* is blackened! Divest thyself of our property, if thou art our friend." The *Akid*

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

greater Emirs or the Grand Sherif. These tribes are not only 609
controlled to some extent and directed to a common policy, but 577
also have a tradition of self-respect, which ensures the observance 621
of the Bedouin code of hospitality. As Doughty has well said, what stands to a Bedouin for religion is that which men will think of him. Fortunately the fame of a lavish entertainer and a protector of the guest is a condition of nobility among Bedouins; and an appeal against any action inconsistent with this will seldom be disregarded. A properly authorized stranger, whatever his creed, should have little to fear under ordinary circumstances among such tribes as the Shammar, the Ateibah, the Wuld 'Ali, or the Ruweilah.

What, however, does proper authority mean to the ordinary 609
Bedouin? Not the exhibition of any passport or other written docu- 577
ment. Letters from the chief Emirs, the Grand Sherif, or other great 486
sheikhs are very valuable if the traveller is passing from one of them
to another; but in ninety out of a hundred desert camps he will find [212]
no one who can read or will respect paper. The one thing needful is a *rafiq*, i.e. a companion derived from the tribe through whose range one must pass, or from some tribe allied with it or authorized to share its range. If possible, he should be a man of importance whose face will be recognized instantly by the desert men—a race which, like other unlettered races, keeps a long memory for faces and a very wide knowledge of personalities. Still better if he has been attached to the traveller by some well-known chief. The *rafiq* must be kept well in evidence and to the fore in case of such a sudden attack as Shakespear experienced at the hands of the Ateibah in Woshm, when a good deal of harm was done before his *rafiq* could make himself known in the night to the raiders. In territories controlled by a central authority, e.g. a sovereign Emir, a well-known man from the centre may suffice throughout; but even then it is better to take a *rafiq* from tribe to tribe. There are one or two [101
denominations of Arabs who are franked by all tribes and can them- 463]
selves conduct a traveller anywhere in more or less security; but it is rather less than more. Such are the *'Uqeil* (Agayl)—recognized carriers—and the *Sulubba* (Soluble)—tinkers, medical magicians, hunters—whom no one molests. But travelling with such folk entails the disadvantage that one must go where they wish to go and at their pace; and in disturbed districts near frontiers their aegis is not to be relied upon.

The efficacy of the *rafiq* system is based on the recognition that a 486
particular range or dira (*dirah*) appertains to each tribe, and even to 609
each main section of a tribe. Tribes sometimes hold their diras in common, as the 'Ajmán and Beni Khálid are said to do at present in

113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721 Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 197-204.]

D: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
Bedouin M34

CHAPTER VI

HUMAN SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

M 349

WRITING in the thirteenth century A.D. the Arab geographer Ibn Battuta was greatly impressed by the contrasts in ways of life and social organisation shown by various communities of the Middle East. In particular, he devoted special attention to the differences between nomadic peoples, known collectively by the Arabic term of Badawin (singular: *Bedu*), and settled cultivators, or *Hadhar*. Such contrasts are still as characteristic of the peoples of the Middle East now at the present day as they were in the time of Ibn Battuta, and in examining the problems of human relationships in the region, it is useful at the outset to outline some of the chief features of social organisation. Attention will first be given to two relatively small groups—nomads and townspeople: conditions amongst the Hadhar, who form the majority of the population of the Middle East, will be dealt with at more length in succeeding chapters.

B 221

The Badawin.—The main feature of this group is of course regular movement in search of pasture for animals. For the greater part, this movement is from one district to another—i.e. true nomadism; but in mountain regions different levels in the same district are occupied successively, and this is termed transhumance.[1] The Badawin of Arabia may be cited as true nomads whilst the Kurds of Anatolia and the western Zagros tend rather to practice transhumance.

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With rainfall, and therefore pasture, both scanty in amount and liable to much variation from one year to another, the nomads have found that experience provides the best means of survival. Thus to the oldest members of the group is given the task of making decisions which guide the activities of the entire community—accent is, so to speak, on age, not youth. Frequently too, in the face of sudden crisis —failure of wells, or attack by outsiders—rapid decision is called for, and one man alone rather than a group, is looked to as supreme leader—in warfare particularly more confidence is felt in a single man than in a committee. This type of social organisation, termed patriarchal, places the life of a community under the control of a chosen man, and

B 672

[1] True nomadism is in effect, horizontal movement, transhumance is more a change in climate.

68: Neubert S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS M34

CHAPTER III

Migrations

The Annual Cycle

The outstanding characteristic of nomadic society is the constant wandering in search of water and pasture for the flocks of animals. The movement is never aimless within the wandering territory of the tribe, the directions of the migrations are determined by temperature and rainfall. The pastoralists follow the seasonal growth of grass.

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During the winter and early spring months the nomads wander in the more arid areas where limited rainfall enables them to find some grazing areas. With the approach of the hot season the Bedouin leave the parched desert region to move nearer to the cultivated area where temperatures are more tolerable and where they can pitch their tents close to the wells. Until recently it was regarded their traditional right to graze their flocks on the harvested fields.[1] Trekking back and forth is an annual cycle within the area of the *dirah*. The wandering territory is the general wandering habit of the Arab nomad.[2] The wandering territory of the tribe is an area, carefully delimited by practice and tradition. However, conditions of extreme famine in the Arabian and Syrian deserts may force the tribe to cross the limits of its

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1. Grazing on harvested fields was the custom established by tradition and mentioned by Article 15 of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858. This clause, however, was abolished in mandatory times.
2. Transhumance, or vertical migration, is practiced by the Kurdish and Persian nomads who live in mountainous regions. They occupy successively different levels of altitude in the same district, winter being spent in the valleys where the weather conditions are not as severe as in the hills where the tribes camp during the summer months.

221 wandering area. The radius of migration is determined by

a. the strength of the tribe

b. the supply of water and grazing areas within the area

c. the amount and type of livestock owned by the group

d. the relationship of the tribal unit to the soil

Weaker tribes are not free to move over extended areas for fear of being exposed to attacks by more powerful tribes. Their wandering territory is limited and usually in the vicinity of the cultivated land.

221 232 The true desert Bedouin of Arabia, pre-occupied exclusively with camel-breeding,[1] is in a position to cover great distances due to the mobility of the camel. As sheep and goats enter the economic life of the Bedouin, the radius of migration has to be reduced since the milk has to remain close to watering places.

Further restrictions occur when occasional cultivation forces the camel to stay in the vicinity of the land which he has tilled.

Historical migrations

174 Besides the wanderings of the nomads in annual cycles to satisfy the grazing needs of their herds and flocks, there were in history great eruptions which occurred sporadically[2] and

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1. The definition of a true Bedouin is according to Tawfik Abbounaie a nomad who is engaged in camel-breeding exclusively and who traces his descent from certain tribes recognized as true Bedouin (cf. Jaussen, 1948, p. 239). The Bedouin looks down on the sheep and goat nomad who is bound to sources of water. The restrictions and migratory radius are according to Bedouin psychology an interference with personal freedom. At present, exclusive camel-breeding is rare except in Arabia.
2. Arnold Toynbee has set up 600 year cycles for the occasional nomadic eruptions. (cf. Toynbee, 1934, pp. 398 ff.)

68: Neubert S-6 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East M1 BEDOUINS MJ4

CHAPTER VII

The Boundary Lines and Their Bearing on Bedouin Migration

B 131 261

With the conclusion of the First World War and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire the Syrian Desert was partitioned among four new states: Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and Saudi Arabia.

Epstein states[1] that the political boundary lines impose limitations on the Bedouin who can no longer freely wander over vast areas. In times of severe drought they cannot migrate with their flocks across the border where rains may have been more abundant. As an example he cites the case of a number of large Transjordanian tribes who were accustomed to have their winter quarters in Wadi Sirhan, which is now part of Saudi Arabia. New political conditions force the Bedouin to remain with their herds in the wild plains of Hawb and Khaw. Epstein, however, fails to explain why the tribes in question could not avail themselves of the provisions made in the Saudi Arabian (Najd)-Transjordan agreements of 1925 and 1927 for cross-border migrations of the Bedouin. Article 9 of the Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighbourhood concluded in 1927 at Jeddah between Saudi Arabia and Transjordan reads as follows:

B 131 221 M 648 B 131 221

"The tribes of the two parties which habitually frequent both sides of the frontier for purposes of grazing or "wambala" shall be free to move from place to place in

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1. Epstein, 1938, p. 229

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the two countries, unless either of the two governments should find it necessary to restrict this freedom of movement in the interest of public order and for the reasons of economic necessity." [1]

The earlier Rudd agreement of 1925 [2] mentions specifically the Wadi Sirhan. Artical 4 of the Rudd Agreement reads:

> "The government of Nejd undertake to maintain all established rights, that may be enjoyed in the Wadi Sirhan by tribes not under their jurisdiction, whether such rights appertain to grazing or to habitation or to ownership, or the like. The government of Transjordan undertake to extend identical treatment to Nejd subjects who may enjoy similar established rights in Transjordan territory."

Cross-border migration of the Bedouin tribes is similarly regulated by bi-lateral treaty arrangements between Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Iraq and Syria, Syria and Turkey and wherever such custom has been established.

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In fact, the tribes seem to increase their customary radius of movement whenever necessary. In 1935, for example, a considerable number of the Iraqi Amarat tribe entered Transjordan and even penetrated the Amman region. The Amarat had been at feud with the Transjordanian tribes for centuries, and never before had they been able to cross the frontier unmolested. [3] As recently as 1927 the Amarat raided the Howeitat of Transjordan, whereupon the Howeitat and the Beni Sakhr counter-raided the Amarat. [4]

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1. ~~Command Paper 2721~~ Treaty Series No. 7 (1934) pp. 303-305
2. Command Paper 2566
3. Report, 1935, p. 307
4. Report, 1927, p. 74

58: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East M
BEDOUINS MJ4

At the beginning of 1929 practically the whole of the powerful 221
Ruala tribe entered Iraqi territory and encamped west of the
Wadia area. The Ruala were soon followed by the Sha'a, another
great tribe of the Anezeh. These unusual movements were caused
by lack of good grazing in Syria.[1]

Political boundary lines thus do not appear to have seriously 131
affected tribal mobility. On the contrary, public security has 221
enabled tribes to wander beyond their dirah into territories 659
where in the past they would not have dared to camp. The Trans-
jordanian tribes which, according to Epstein, were prevented from
migrating to the Wadi Sirhan may have feared to cross the border
line. It must be understood that states may sign agreements
which the tribes have no intention to observe.

It happened both before and after the establishment of 221
frontiers that Transjordan camels were attacked and plundered 721
in their Wadi Sirhan grazing areas by hostile tribes of Hejaz.
Due to the frequency of such occurrences the tribes customarily
moving for the winter to the Wadi Sirhan were not forced by the
authorities to disarm because their lives and possessions could
not be protected by British and local forces while away from
Transjordan territory.[2]

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1. Report, 1929a, pp. 35-36
2. Report, 1930, p. 135

648 Political authorities have made no serious efforts to inter-
221 fere with tribal migrations which follow the law of economic need. The governments stopped raiding, but not grazing.

With the establishment of public security, tribal movements have been facilitated where fears of attack may have prevented them before.[1]

Purpose of raiding, plunder and extortion as affecting Bedouin economy

721 Raids fulfilled a definite economic function in Bedouin
434 society. Especially in times of drought, the booty taken in raids constituted, according to the Bedouin way of thinking a welcome means of income. In reality, however, the desert people did not suffer a great economic loss from the stoppage of raiding. In speaking of raiding Major Glubb correctly states that "some become rich, some were ruined; there is a net loss on the whole."[2]

More significant was the economic loss incurred to the Bedouin when imposition of khuwa was enforced.

434 The economic situation of the Bedouin on the whole was not
131 seriously affected by the establishment of political boundary lines and enforcement of public security. Economic adjustments were made within the pastoral economy where the decline of the demand for the camel made this necessary.

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1. However, in spite of the vigorous actions of the Saudi regime raiding in the Arabian Desert has not yet been completely stopped.
2. Glubb, 1935, p. 22

BEDOUINS M34

In our days sedentarization is the product of the nomad's contact with settled society during the regular periods of his encampment on the outskirts of the cultivated land. 166x 177

At present, the tribal population of Syria, Iraq, Palestine (Israel) and Transjordan (Jordan) is in all stages of transition to a sedentary existence. A. S. Kirkbridge has outlined[1] the various stages that the Transjordan nomad passes on his journey to the settled life of an agriculturalist. With insignificant changes the description of the steps can be made applicable to the process of sedentarization as a whole. 166x 178

Stages of Sedentarization

1. The true desert Bedouin, raising mainly camels,[2] lives in a world where nature makes cultivation impossible. He migrates in accordance with the existence of water and grazing and supplements his meager income by raiding if conditions permit. He despises the villagers. 166x 221 434 361

2. In spite of the contempt that the Bedouin have for the settled peasants they come to realize that the fellah lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a better diet, compared to the standards of the nomad. 609 434

3. The next step is the acquisition of cultivable land by the nomadic tribe. Agriculture is practiced only as a 166x 361 241

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1. Kirkbridge, 1945, March-April.
2. Kirkbridge does not discuss the Bedouin that come from Arabia subsisting exclusively on camel-breeding. Since practically all Transjordanian nomads have crossed the first stage, the conversion of exclusive camel economy to mixed pastoral economy of sheep and camel-breeding.

ii Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 1934

XXV

Honour among Thieves

At Deyr-ez-Zor I was eventually able to arrange for the transfer of the young stallion to Egypt by way of Aleppo and Beyruth. It was a tremendous journey, as it had to be done on its own feet; but by slow stages the Arab, who accompanied the horse, succeeded in delivering him in good condition to my friends in Egypt. 000

Meanwhile Ali and I roamed further afield and rode to the pasture-grounds of the Fid'an, then camped at the northern foot of the Bishri Mountains, west of the Euphrates. There, also, the tent of Mijhem ibn Meheyd was pitched, and he received us hospitably. We spent several pleasant days with him.

He then led his tribe southwards into the Wudian [221] area, east of the Hamad. We accompanied them through the Jabal Bishri and camped with them south of these hills. There I decided to say farewell to Ibn Meheyd, and bade Ali buy three especially strong *dhalals* (racing-camels) and two mares. With Ali alone, and these animals, I struck through the Hamad desert, to make my way to the Ruala and to Damascus. On the first day we 443 fell in with a small caravan of four men with twenty- [492] odd camels and six stallions.

From this combination alone (for Bedouins never ride [721] stallions on a raid) it was clear they were peaceful travellers. In fact, they were *Akheyl* or camel-traders from Inner Arabia, who had purchased camels and young

I. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER III

Nomad Life

In the two preceding chapters I have endeavoured to give a homely picture of family life in the desert. Let me now take my reader over to the more general life of the tent-dwellers of the great Arabian peninsula, and see how they manage their daily affairs and the annual migrations, how they maintain their flocks and camels in a manner little changed since the days of Abraham.

Except for the precarious existence which he leads, and the fact that he never knows what the morrow will bring for him in the way of hunger or raid, the true Badawin follows unconsciously a regular programme and routine; his annual moves in autumn, winter and spring, with his final camping on water when summer once more sets in, are part and parcel of his ordered life.

The great difference (and I am sure it is a difference to his advantage) between the Desert Man of Arabia and his Western brother, is that life for the former is so uncertain from day to day, and so beset with ever-present danger, that he must perforce live in the present. This turns his thoughts to his Maker, and leads him to put his trust in the one God who alone can protect him from enemy, hunger, sickness and death, who can order the seasons, who can grant him water and rain. Hence his deep religious feeling and firm conviction that everything comes from God, whether good fortune or ill, and so must be accepted without surprise or complaint.

To us Westerners who normally live our daily life in order and security undreamed of in the desert, it is not easy to appreciate his conception of life and the Deity. We are so preoccupied with business and pleasure that we don't even think of death, except as a far-off and unpleasant thing. Many of us think of God, too, as a far-away sort of Deity, ordering the things of heaven and the future, but not the life of every day.

The lesson, of course, is that an existence such as the Badawin

L Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

000 of Arabia lead makes for religion, and instils into the heart of man the greater virtues that make life worth living.

THE TRIBAL DÎRAH

619 Every Badawin tribe in Arabia has its *dirah* or tribal country,
[621] through which it roams with its camels in the autumn, winter and
312 spring, and in which lie its permanent wells, the jealously treasured
361 possessions of various sections of the tribe, on which these sections camp in summer.*

Let us take, for example, the great Mutair tribe ('Ilwa and Wasil) of North-East Arabia. Its *dirah* is roughly enclosed by the following boundaries:

On the north—By the Iraq Neutral Zone (Tawál al Dhafir) and the Kuwait frontier as far east as the Shaqq.
On the east—By the Shaqq depression and a line running south of same to Jariya al Sifla, Tarsibi and al Khafaisat.
On the south—A rough line from the town of 'Anaiza, Zilfi, Majma'a to al Khafaisat including the town of Artawiyah.
On the west—A rough line from the Tawál al Dhafir (Iraq Neutral Zone) through Thamani (south end of Bátin) to Buraida and 'Anaiza.

Its chief group of wells which need be mentioned are:

(*a*) Hafar al Bátin, the property of ibn Ashwan (Braih group of the Wasil Mutair).
(*b*) Sáfá, the property of ibn Lami (Jiblan).
(*c*) Jariya Ilya, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*d*) Jariya Sifla, the property of Al Fugum (Al Sahabba).
(*e*) Hábá, the property of Al Majid (Dushan).
(*f*) Qara'a, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*g*) Wabra, the property of the Dushan.
(*h*) Qaiyah, the property of Al Faisal (Dushan).
(*i*) Dijani, the property of Al Bara'asa (Muaha).

[622] The Dushan being the ruling clan, with its Shaikh Al Duwish,
361 controls also the tribal capital, or head village of Artawiyah.
619 This latter is an 'Ikhwan centre, and the creation of the present Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, who for political reasons placed in each tribal

* A reference to the tribal map at the end of this book will be found convenient.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

609 *dirah* a small township as a sign that the whole tribe had embraced
361 Wahhabi-ism, and abandoned its old ignorant and roaming existence.

The territin included in the Mutair tribal *dirah* consists of part of the
193 sandy *Dahana* region in the south, the rocky and broken *Sumunda*
312 and *Wiriya* regions in the centre, and the steppe-like tablelands of the
293 *Mujdair—Qara'a-* and *Musawwar* regions in the north.

The whole *dirah* is a choice and good one, and *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh*, the mainstay of camels and most perfect of all grazing for these animals, are to be found in plenty when the rainfall is good.

This Mutair *dirah* is approximately 120 miles broad by 180 miles long, and may be taken as a typical example of an average tribe's homeland. There are, of course, other tribes who own larger and more extensive areas, but then scarcity of water and poorer grazing has compelled them from earliest times to seize and hold these bigger blocks of land. For in actual fact a tribe does not want a larger tract than is sufficient for its needs. So if a tribe's country is rich in water and all forms of grazing, all it requires is an area as big as that of the Mutair.

361 The tribes surrounding the Mutair, who own *dirahs* similar to theirs,
609 are as follows:

The 'Awazim and 'Ajman on the east and south-east.

The Sbei and Sahul on the south.

The Harb, Shammar and Dhafir on the west, and Kuwait territory on the north, which in olden times, and before boundaries of western conception were introduced, all belonged to the Mutair, except for the narrow coastal strip which was included in the 'Awazim *dirah*.*

619 A tribe does not, of course, remain always isolated in its own *dirah*.
221 If rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it naturally stops at home, but if rains fail it must migrate to places where grazing exists, and so overflows into the territories of its neighbours. It cannot, of course,

* It should be realised that there are two other great groups of the Mutair tribe, stretching from the Qasim in the centre of Arabia to near Madina in the Hijaz. They are known as the Bani 'Abdillah Mutair, and Maymun, and in numbers and strength are perhaps superior to their cousins the 'Ilwa and Braih described above. The whole tribe, of course, is one, and though the Bani 'Abdilla have their own powerful Shaikhs, they will all follow the standard of Al Durwish the hereditary Shaikh who resides at Artawiyah.†

† For the names of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Shammar Shaikhs see Appendix II. A map of the Mutair Tribal *dirah* will be found at the end of the book.

Tribal Alliances

619 wander into the lands of a hostile tribe, so it has to keep up alliances
721 with tribes who are on good terms and will allow it to graze over their *dirahs* when forced to do so. Hence it follows that groups or confederations of tribes are formed, friendly to each other and hostile to other similar groups. These groups, with their corresponding alliances, are often of century-old standing and serve a most useful purpose. They have, moreover, stood the test of war, drought and trouble. Examples of such groups are given below, and all Arabia may be said to be parcelled up into similar protective alliances.

(a) Harb—Mutair (Ibwa)—'Ajman tribes.
(b) Bani 'Abdilla (Mutair)—'Uzaiba.
(c) Dhafir—Shammar and 'Awazim.
(d) 'Ajman—Murra—Najran tribes (a blood federation).*
(e) The various 'Anizah groups of the north, such as Dubaisha, Fida'an Amarat, Ruwala, Sba's and Zana Muslim.

619 When the Central Government is strong, like the present Sa'udi regime, then tribes are made to keep the peace and behave themselves,

701 * The 'Ajman claim to be able to turn out over 10,000 fighting men is obviously exaggerated. Their full fighting strength is probably about 8,000. They once claimed to be able to muster 2,000 mounted men, but that is not so to-day.

726 The 'Ajman have several *sulbaus* or war cries, of which the three commonest are—"Garda al hadid wa ana ibn al 'Ajmi", "Sifi al mout wa ana lathilah" and "Sufar sifi al mout wa ana lathilah"—meaning "Corner of iron, and I am the son of the 'Ajman", "Death cleared all and I still survive" and "Death is whistling and I am still surviving".

The 'Ajman tribe when about to join battle have a custom of tying up their side locks (*pawa*) over their heads in a tall knot, which they bind round with a *red* cloth. They call the head-effect thus caused "Al Gemaza".

619 [178] The 'Ajman, whom some authorities would connect, and I think rightly, with the Qahtan, state that they are descended from the Sharafa of Najran, and claim with the Murra to have one ancestor, Yam. They certainly look upon the Murra as their blood brothers and each will help the other always. Should either the Murra or 'Ajman desire the help of the other against a common enemy, it is customary to send a messenger to the other tribe on a camel with *a red scarf or scarlet rope* bound round its neck. The messenger cries aloud to those he wants to rouse the words '*Aiyal Marqah*', the sacred call of the descendants of Yam, and all know what the signal means—even if 'Ajman and Murra were themselves fighting against each other, a not uncommon occurrence, they would at once fraternize and combine against the common foe.—(Authority Shaikh Fahaid al Fahad al Hithlain 30.6.38). Their tribal strength and undoubted war prowess makes their alliance valuable and their enmity a serious danger; but in politics they are a shifting and inconsistent factor, being as they themselves have been known openly to profess, "the friends of those who treat them best".

175 During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatif, the 'Ajman were constantly recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their shaikhs, and they inflicted several serious defeats on the army of occupation.

THE ANNUAL MOVES

872 During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September
861 and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concen-
295 trates on its wells (*gulleb*), which in each case are groups of wells
182 lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here
221 they camp (*gatyunhum*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *mushkilah* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring
795 them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the
651 time when the *zakat* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *sariya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer.

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

221 At long last October, or the *wasm* season (the rains) arrives and
132 small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

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there is a stir in the Badawin world. Suhail (Canopus) has also been* 221
seen, low down in the southern horizon, which to the Badawin means 132
the end of the dread summer, for man and beast then need less to drink. Even the blood grows cooler of a sudden.

A general cheerfulness now takes hold of the Badawin tent-dweller. He has safely weathered one more dread summer, the life-giving rains are coming and with them abundance once again. He joyfully packs up his belongings and by the 15th of October is ready to move. The end of the month sees him gone, rain or no rain. At first he does not go too far from water, for his camels, sheep and mares must still be watered frequently.

With the first fall of rain, however, he is gone on his great annual migration, or, to be more accurate, his grand circular tour. The various sections of the tribe now move together or follow each other from grazing ground to grazing ground, till they have systematically passed over and eaten down all the *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh* grasses that the rains have brought in their train. Should rains be delayed in a particular area, the tribe skip it and pass on to where the country has become green. The night lightning and the heavy bank of clouds seen of an evening far away on the horizon are their surest guides.

Certain areas are known to be nearly always good in autumn, and to these the shaikhs will usually take their own best camels with them.

This moving in the wake of the grazing is spread over November, December, January, February, March and April, till by May all nomad households are once more beginning to converge slowly on to water. It is a sad period, this having to go, so to speak, "home again" after the glorious annual holiday. During the migration months the tribal tents change ground about every ten days, both for sanitary reasons and because the grass has been eaten up—so the moves are slow, leisurely and pleasant. Nor are distances to the next camp great. It is 517
a period of joy for all, women renew their winter garments, make 224
laban, wear their best frocks and amuse themselves among the flowers. 262
The better-off men hawk the lesser bustard (*hubara*), hunt gazelle

* In Najd Canopus is usually seen between 1st September and 10th September. In Kuwait if the sky is clear it is seen any time after the 20th September, and at about 3.30 a.m., very low down in the south over the Bnisi Gate.

Changing Camp

342 it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
515 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier
584 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

515 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
233 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

492 When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jamal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family
[291] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *maksars* or *ginns*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalâls*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *mawakh al dhalâl* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

701 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
221 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalâls* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*shâr*) have

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already gone ahead to spy out the land, the grazing and the water. 701
Assuming that there is no enemy near or danger imminent, the baggage- 221
camels and women folk follow fairly close on their heels. After the women and camp gear, the herds of camels and sheep follow on a broad front, slowly grazing along till they reach their new camp. There they find everything ready and the tents pitched. A strong guard is, of course, left with the herds. As in the case of the individual tent owner, the shaikh decides on where the camp is to be, and on the spot where he kneels his camel and off-saddles, his own tent will be pitched.

A tribe in camp is not concertinaed up but scatters out over a wide 3,1
space, each group of family tents being about two hundred yards from its neighbour if the ground is broken, and possibly four hundred yards apart in flat open ground. Hence a body of Badawin having, say, four hundred tents will cover a wide area when camped. This is the procedure in winter or spring when no enemy is about and likely to attack. In summer, on the other hand, when the tribe is camped on water, it literally surrounds the wells with tents, leaving only sufficient space for the camels and sheep to drink. Tents on such occasions are close together and generally in a series of lines, with tent ropes almost touching those of their neighbours. The widely scattered camp formation of 3,1
winter may make it difficult for the fighting men to concentrate sud- 721
denly, but is ideal for passive defence. A sudden surprise raid cannot penetrate deeply into such a camp, as each tent becomes a small fort from which fire is directed on the intruders, who soon find themselves fired on from all sides. (The German pill-box system during the first Great War proved the efficacy of the method.) Badawin methods of fighting are discussed in Chapter XXVI.

NOTE.— 104

Assás—the man who goes ahead to look for best grazing ground.

Sallâf—the leader of the tribe or head of family on the march. He always rides alone at head.

Makhâr—is name given to the family baggage-camels as opposed to *Al Aba'ir*, milch and loose camels on march.

Al Ghanam—the sheep on the march.

Al Bakam—the lambs who march separate from the ewes.

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CHAPTER XLV

The Muntafiq Shepherd Tribes

This book would not be complete without a short reference to the great southerly annual migration of the shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq Confederation situate between Samawa and the Hamar Lake.

These shepherd tribes, which are known under the generic term of Shawiyah or Shawiwi in Iraq, and that of Hukra in Kuwait and Najd, consist of the sheep-rearing sections of the three great groups of the Muntafiq, namely the Albu Salah, the 'Ajwad and the Bani Malik, as well as the Bani Hachaim tribe which have their habitat south-east of Samawa, adjoining the Muntafiq.

The names of most of these Euphrates shepherd tribes are given below, and each has a definite shaikh or leader, though some of them come under the protection of one or other of the more powerful riverain tribes of the lower Euphrates.

(1) Bani Málik Group:

Al Wada'ai. Al Májid.
Al Taugiyah. Al Diwán.
Al Mutafida.
(all known under name Al Jumai'an)

(2) Albu Sálah Group:

Al Shamla. Al 'Arathib.
Al Safáfa Al 'Abada.

(3) 'Ajwad Group:

Al Juarin. Al Sharafat.
*Al Budur. Al Ghazzi.

(4) Bani Hachaim Group:

Al Zaiyad. Al Ghazalat.
Bani Salamah.

(5) Shammar (elements claiming descent from main Shammar of Najd):

†Ah 'Aunan. Al Rufai'at.
Al Zauba.

* Budur tribal sections who visit Kuwait are the Al Hamad and the Al Faowaz (Shaikh Mana). These are at enmity with the rest of the Budur (paramount Shaikh Shirshab al Sahan). Shammar shepherd tribes who in summer reside at Zubair or at Hartha (10 miles north of Basra) and annually visit Kuwait are Al Rufai'at and Al Zauba.

† Al 'Aunan are of Shammar extraction. They reside near Seq al Shuyukh.

Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zaubs and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawiyah lying east of Samawa.

These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sukkha fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehn* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawíl al Dhafir and Tawíl al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq-Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zaubs-Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarin, Bani Malik, Albu Salih and 'Aumun pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarin and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

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Mutairi

tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough head, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabra* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of the pleasanest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Mukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

484 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
361 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
233 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[122] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

• 221 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
233 the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
648 Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhalikah wa manlhah*, consisting of gifts of
431 young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakāt* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakāt*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

836 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

APPENDIX I

DIVISIONS OF MUTAIR, 'AJMAN, 'AWAZIM, RASHAIDA, SHAMMAR AND 'ANIZAH TRIBES

TOGETHER WITH THEIR SHAIKHS, NUMBER OF TENTS, STRENGTH, AND CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

MUTAIR (Singular MUTAIRI)

The Tribe is divided into three main groups:

(A) AL DUSHAN (Ruling or Shaikhly Clan).
(B) AL 'ILWAN.
(C) AL SURAIM.

Paramount Shaikh—AL DUWISH (from Shaikhly Clan of AL DUSHAN).
Present incumbent (1937)—SANDAR BIN FAISAL BIN SULTAN AL DUWISH.
Fighting strength—May be taken at 6,000, though inner Najd figures are very doubtful.

Habitat—In winter the Dushan Mutair 'Iwa and Aulad Wasil sections of the Suraim as opposed to Aulad 'Ali and Bani 'Abdilla (who are purely inner Najd sections) range from the Dahana sand belt *in the south* up to Kuwait *in the north*, and more or less keep to the eastern side of the Bátin. They avoid the 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribal country in the coastal region of Hasa province, and claim that the great well areas of Subaihiyah, Tawil and the environs of Kuwait fall within their grazing areas and have done so from time immemorial. In summer above-mentioned groups camp on the well-known wells at Aruwiyah, Qaya, Hafar al Bátin, Safa, Qara'a, Wabra, Jariya Ilya, Jariya Sifla.
Religion—Sunni MALIKI (late 'Ikhwan).

(A) The DUSHAN or Ruling Clan, has no subdivisions but only certain leading families.

(B) The 'ILWAN MUTAIR group, subdivided into the—

(1) AL MUWAHA and their subsections.
(2) AL THAWIAUN and their subsections.
(3) AL JIRLAN and their subsections.

(C) The SURAIM MUTAIR group is likewise subdivided into the—

(4) 'AULAD WASIL and their subsections.
(5) 'AULAD 'ALI and their subsections.
(6) BANI 'ABDILLA and their subsections.

Appendix I

be brought under Kuwait. Were authority to collapse in Najd, the 'Ajman 641
would be the first to desert.

'Awazim (Singular 'Azmi)

619
101

Paramount Shaikh—Shaikh (Amir) ibn jama of the al ku'ah camel division (senior) of the tribe—section al hadalin, which is the Shaikhly [622] Clan.

Present incumbent—amir 'aid ibn jama.

Strength—Approximately 4,000 fighting men.*

Location.—The tribal range is the north-east corner of Arabia (Kuwait [221] and Hasa), from Kuwait town as far south as Ras Bidiya. In winter Kuwait State is visited west and north-west of Jahrah as far as the Bátin depression. In summer the various sections camp on water in the Kuwait Neutral Zone and in the Suda region to the south of it where water and grazing is plentiful. Ark and Ingair are favourite camps.

Religion.—Sunni maliki.

The following comprise the sections of this powerful tribe, including their shaikhs and number of tents:

al buraikat—Shaikh rai al fahama (60 tents).
al hadalin—Shaikh ibn jama (90 tents).
al shaqfah—Shaikh al safar (70 tents).
al ababiyat—Shaikh ibn imlaihiyah (60 tents).
al alaithat—Shaikh ibn ihkailan (50 tents).
al atharimah—Shaikh ibn imatrim (40 tents).
al faou—Shaikh ibn ghiyathi (40 tents).
al jawasirah—Shaikh ibn khafrah (90 tents).
al mataiba—Shaikh ibn mana (150 tents).
al muhaliba—Shaikh ash shitli (90 tents).
al musahimah—Shaikh ibn ihbaina (120 tents)
al muwaijihah—Shaikh ibn dhab (70 tents).
al qurrashah—Shaikh ibn jandal (100 tents).
al suwabir—Shaikh ibn drai (160 tents).
al suwawikh—Shaikh al sawagh (40 tents).
al tuma—Shaikh ibn irmaih (140 tents).

also

dhuwaibat
aghruba
hasaniyah
ja'awirah
} No recognised shaikh, settled in Kuwait as fisherfolk, etc.

* Excluding those domiciled in Kuwait and environs.

Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

B 231 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 ('Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 619 The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 619 641 B 619 641 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929–30 'Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the 'Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B 863 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MÁNA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAMI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 713 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MUSAILIM.

101 *Present incumbents*—'ASI IBN MUSAILIM (Senior) and MUTLUQ IBN MUSAILIM.

221 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[622] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

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State as far south as the Tawal-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619 101 221

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyeh, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI. [795]

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619 101

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADBAH (30 tents).
AL GHURAIBAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAED, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HIRSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).
MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters. 641 619

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep. [233]

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks, 619

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Approximate Period.	*Name of Wind.*	*Remarks.*
1st Oct. to 3rd Nov.	The *Wasm* season sets in	This is the rainy season. The period is very changeable and usually starts with a strong *kaus* (S.E. wind), which veers round to a west or N.W. wind. If rain falls in the desert, as it often does, the Badawin break camp at once, leave the wells on which they have summered, and go out into the deep desert. Truffles and mushrooms are sure to follow if *wasm* rains fall.
3rd Nov. to 23rd Nov.	*'Uhainir*	A predominantly *kaus* wind. Sailing vessels rarely start on a long voyage in November as the *'uhainir* season is considered dangerous to mariners and shipping, and it is difficult to make progress down the Gulf.
23rd Nov. to 1st Jan.	*Marba'aniyah*	Starts with a very strong *shamál* and goes round to the west in the early morning and finishes to the east in the afternoon.

Names given to the daily winds of Kuwait according to the point of the compass they blow from.

Yáhi—North wind.
Shamál—N.W. wind.
Shámi—N.W. by West wind.
Gharbi—West wind.
Jibli—S.W. wind.
Suhaili—South wind.
Kaus—S.E. wind.
Sharqi or *Mutla'i*—East wind.
Náshi—N.E. by East wind.

SUMMER

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The terrible summer, or hot weather, season dreaded by man and beast both in Kuwait and in the desert, may be said to start roughly on 1st May and to end on 30th September. The Badawin does not immediately camp on water on the 1st of May, but on that date he gradually starts moving towards his previously-selected summer camping grounds, usually the wells on which he is going to pitch his tent during the hot months. If the spring has been a good one with

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plenty of grazing, he postpones this final move as late as possible, but if the reverse, then the 20th May may see him settled down for his enforced five months of idleness and physical discomfort. K 132 B 221

As far as North-Eastern Arabia is concerned the following are the great Badawin camping grounds from north to south: B 361

(*a*) *Safwan*—immediately north of Kuwait Border, in Iraq territory. K
(*b*) *Jahrah*—at the head of the Bay of Kuwait. 361
(*c*) *Kuwait*—(Shamiyah and Dasma wells) outside the walls of Kuwait.
(*d*) *Subaihiyah*—on the southern border of Kuwait.
(*e*) *Tawil*—S.W. of Jabal Wara and 10 miles N.W. of Subaihiyah in Kuwait.
(*f*) *Wafra*—in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.
(*g*) *'Ark*—on the southern border of Neutral Zone.
(*h*) *Jeriyah Ilya*, *Jeriyah Sifli*, *Safa*, *Haba*, *Qara'a* — in the Mutair Summan country 170 miles S.S.W. of Kuwait (Sa'udi Arabia).
(*i*) *Hafar al Bátin*—in the Bátin Valley (Sa'udi Arabia) 150 miles S.W. of Kuwait.
(*j*) *'Ajibba*—in the Harb tribal country, S.W. of the Mutair Summan (Sa'udi Arabia). L
(*k*) *Ingair*, *'Nta*, *Awaina*, *Sarrar* — in mid Hasa, Wadi al Miyah region (Sa'udi Arabia).
(*l*) *Qatif*, *Hufuf*—in South Hasa (Sa'udi Arabia).

There is also the well-known camping quadrilateral in the Iraq Neutral Zone lying 140 miles west of Kuwait, known under the general term of *Tawal al Dhafir*, and consisting of several well-areas such as Dulaimiyah, Arkhaimiyah, Julaida, Al Thamiriyah, etc.

By tribal law each of the above wells belongs to a different tribe or section of tribe, and strangers can theoretically be kept away from them. Actually under the strong rule of the Al Sa'ud and the Al Subah, other tribes or parts of tribes are to-day allowed to make use of them, provided there is no overcrowding and there is no enmity between the actual owners of the water and the strangers. It goes without saying that should a tribe of a foreign State camp for summer B 312

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B 312 on such wells, then it will have to pay *zakát* for that year to the Central Government in whose state it is a guest.

K 132 The first signs of the coming summer are the drying up of all desert grasses (*'ashib*), the mirage—which now flickers everywhere B 132 and seems to fill every small depression in the countryside with a little lake of water—and the sandstorms. The glare also becomes intense and makes the desert-dweller fold his *kaffiyah* or head-cloth across his face. The winds are hot as though driven out of a great furnace by some gigantic bellows. The traveller now finds himself mistaking bushes and animals for distant tents and men, especially at midday and as night draws near.

Men and animals now want to drink more often, so of necessity tents are brought closer to water.

The women in their *biyút sha'ar* (hair tents) also feel the effects of the sun and erect false roofs of saffron or other coloured rugs above their heads inside their tents, to keep out the stinging rays.

Both men and women grow palpably thinner, while all develop a much deeper tan than during the winter.

The most unpleasant feature of this half-season period is the sandstorm. These storms grow more and more frequent and vicious until by June the countryside seems to have taken on a permanent canopy of sand-haze which lodges in nostrils, eyes and throat. Alternating with these sandstorms come gentle south-east winds, or dead calms which bring up heavy dews in their train. These too are most trying.

B By the 5th June the desert world, which has slowly been converging 221 on the well-areas, now definitely goes to ground and camps on water. 312 If these well-areas are popular, several thousand tents will congregate close together and as near to the well-heads as possible—the tents of the shaikhs and prominent men standing out of the general mass by reason of their size and the number of their poles.

At Jahrah in 1935, for instance, when Kuwait tribes as well as Dhafir, Shammar (Abda), Dahamsha ('Anizah) and 'Ajman details were camped there, the sight was a remarkable one, for well over three thousand black hair-tents were congregated in an area only 1 mile square.

K About 10th June, if the year is a normal one, North-East Arabia and 132 especially the Persian Gulf seaboard is visited by what is known as

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Heaven on Earth

Chap. XX

SPRING

Spring (*rabi'*) comes at last about 15th February, and if rains have been good, a truly marvellous spring it is. Wild flowers come up in profusion everywhere, and the countryside becomes a multi-coloured carpet. The Badawin is now in as near heaven as he can ever hope to be in this world. His camels and sheep graze in plenty, milk and *leben* are abundant, the sun's warm rays give new life to him, he grows fat and the whole world is rosy. It is then that the well-to-do from Kuwait, some one hundred families, imitate their nomad brethren and make for the high desert to enjoy four months of that Badawin existence which they have so recently abandoned. Back to the happy desert life and black hair-tents once more! Men, women and children, from the shaikh downwards, take part in this spring migration from the city, and what health and strength it brings them! Poorer town-Arabs as yet only half urbanised do their utmost to get out too, and if they cannot afford tents they plant themselves on kinsmen among the great Mutair, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes. By the end of spring everybody in the desert has got a new lease of life. They look definitely healthy, with rounded cheeks and well-covered body, a change indeed from their appearance at the end of summer.

K 132 B 221 132

Camels develop an enlarged hump, sheep an enormously fat tail and man lots of extra flesh, all a reserve of strength against the dreaded summer.

The Badawin will tell you that he prefers the summer, because he has no warm clothes or good food to keep him comfortable in the winter months. Yet were it not for the cold winter, his race would assuredly die out. It is the winter that keeps the inhabitant of Arabia the virile, tough and wiry person that he is. Had he a temperate instead of a torrid summer, his race would certainly be one of the finest in the world: and dangerous in proportion.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
619 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shuraifat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khusaubah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Jazirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

619 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
101 groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

619 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
101 and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore
293 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawiyah type (Shawáwi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of
[342] flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the
[241] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed villages by the rivers to till the fields.

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Bedouins MJ4

Appendix I

619 *Present incumbent* (1937)—KHALID AL HITHLAIN (Bin Sa'ud's nominee,
101 nicknamed ZIB SAHMAN). RAKAN AL HITHLAIN (tribal nominee).

[622] *Fighting strength*—May be taken at approximately 5,800.

[221] *Habitat*—In winter the tribe ranges whole Province of Hasa from the Kuwait border as far south as Hufuf. In summer they camp along the whole length of the Wadi al Miyah in Hasa where water is plentiful, their headquarter camps being 'Nta, Ghanwa, Mulaija, Sarrar and Awaina in Mid Hasa. The Southern 'Ajman largely camp in summer round Hufuf town. The Al Hajraf section and some of the Al Hadi, who have for many years been vassals of the Shaikhs of Kuwait, roam Kuwait and camp at Jahrah in summer.

The tribe is closely related to the powerful Al Murra in the south, and so are in close alliance. Also they marry with the Bani Yam of Najran, who claim the same ancestry. They profess the Sunni Hanbali creed of Islam, and were lately all 'Ikhwan.

The various sections of the tribe with their shaikhs and number of tents are as follows:

AL ARJAH—under Shaikh IBN RUMAH (210 tents).

Subsections:

ARJAH. RISQ.
MARJAH.

ADH DHÁ'IN—Shaikh IBN JUMA'A (Mana), AD DAMIR ('Abdulla) (150 tents).

Subsections:

'AMIR. HARDHAN.
DHÁ'IN.

AL HÁDI—Shaikh AL MUTALAQQIM ('Ubaid) (130 tents).

Subsections:

AL HÁDI. AL WAIL.

AL HAJJÁN (pronounced HAIYAN)—Shaikh MUHAMMAD AS SUBAH (50 tents).

AL HITLÁN—Shaikh IBN SA'ADA and IBN ZIMAMAN (160 tents).

Subsections:

DHAMISHAH. RASSAN.
JAHIL. SHURAITH.
MATAQ.

AL HABAISH—Shaikh IBN 'ILWAF (100 tents).

AL KHUWAITIR—Shaikh AD DAMMAM IBN 'ADHAN (50 tents).

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
Bedouins MJ4

and wealthy shaikhs, who had nothing to seek from me. Many 485
years later, I was able to acknowledge their kindness and do a very 609
little to help them.

Next morning we left the tent of Khalid and Trad, and set out 221
across the desert for the west. Before noon we came across a tribe 301
on the move, the vast flocks of camels walking and grazing slowly, the caravan of loaded camels, the shaikhs' women in gaily decorated litters ornamented with red tassels and rows of white shells, the men and boys walking or riding, and the flocks of sheep. Half a mile ahead rode the chief with the advanced guard —three camelmen and two horsemen, one with a hawk on his wrist and a greyhound trotting beside his mare. Our guide, Qasim ash Shemam, must needs trot over to them to gossip. I rode 609
parallel to the group twenty or thirty yards away. Suddenly they all looked my way, and a stentorian voice called out, "God damn the English and Ibn Shaalan who shelters them!" The infidel and the stranger were not always welcome, it seemed. It was Fayyadh ibn Jendal, a tribesman of the old school. Ten years later I was to be a close friend of his son and nephew. But the fortune of the day brought us in the evening to Melih al Ga'ga, of a family who had been themselves chiefs of the Ruwallah before the rise of the Shaalan. Here we once more met with the same cordial welcome as from Khalid and Trad. An argument arose between our host and his young son in front of the tent. We could hear an exchange of angry words between them. Qasim later informed us that the boy demanded that his father slaughter a camel for our dinner, whereas the old man said that a whole sheep would suffice. Such are the extravagancies of Arab hospitality, amongst people who themselves live perilously near to the starvation level.

The ensuing days were less eventful. A bitter north-west wind 000
howled in our faces. Sand and dust filled the air so thickly that we could see only a few hundred yards. At night we failed to find any tribal camps, and shivered cheerless in the open, beneath the gusts of stinging sand. It was not safe to light a fire for fear of raiding parties.

The camel is capable of covering great distances in twenty-four 492
hours, but the idea that the "swift dromedary" skims across the

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

133 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
312 stand the land in which they live—a harsh, unforgiving land which conditions their lives so that they, too, are hard, hard in body and mind. They live in the desert—that is to say, in country which, judged by ordinary standards, is waterless. This applies equally to the barren, broken limestone mountains near the southern coast, to the flat, featureless gravel plains, and to the sands of the Empty Quarter itself, where the mountainous dunes, some of which are 700 feet high, run one behind the other for hundreds of miles. There are, of course, some wells in this desert, but they are usually few and far between; the Sa'ar country has two permanent wells in it, Manwakh and Zamakh; the Manahil country has three or four. Thus in an area the size of Norfolk there might be two wells. I have myself twice travelled four hundred miles between wells. I admit that this is exceptional, but Badu have raided across these very stretches of desert, riding out and back again without touching at a well. You can think what this means when you realize that this distance is twice as far as from Dover to Edinburgh, and that these Arabs travelled at a speed of three miles per hour, relying only on the water which they could carry with them without foundering their camels, and that the camels themselves did not get a drink until they returned a month later.

137 It seldom rains in this desert; in many parts it has not rained for five
221 years, and I have been in places where not a drop of rain has fallen for
132 twenty-five years. By Badu standards a couple of hours' heavy rain in the year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
233 depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances. Most of this vegetation is not grass, but desert plants like the succulent yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
233 acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the
262 Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

world. In the past, Arab rulers were always accessible to their subjects, and the most destitute Badui was accustomed to enter the audience chamber of an all-powerful king and address him by name, scorning the use of titles. Now these rulers may be tempted to seclude themselves in offices and to interpose a convenient façade of secretaries between themselves and the importunities of the needy and the oppressed. It is significant of the changes which are taking place that customary banquets are already being replaced by meals at which delicacies brought specially from America by air are served in European fashion. 554 177

Freedom is the birthright of the nomad. If he should be dispossessed, disillusioned, and yet remain as poverty-stricken as he was before, he might readily be induced to believe that Communism offered him a society similar to that which he had lost.

Brigadier S. H. Longrigg: Are the Badu of Southern Arabia—similar to those of Northern Arabia—nomadic within limits? Has each tribal group its well-understood limits of migration in terms of movement and duration, or can they go anywhere? 221 ●

Mr. P. W. Thesiger: That depends to a large extent on the various tribes. The northern tribes are usually very limited in migration: they graze their camels on the salt bushes, which do not die during drought, but they have then to water the camels two or three times a day, and therefore do not move any great distance. The more nomadic tribes, however, will range over one hundred miles questing for the type of desert pasture which springs up here and there after rain. The extent of their migrations often depends on whether there is peace or war between them and their neighbours. If peace prevails they can go into their next-door neighbour's territory; if they are at war they are limited in their movements. Sometimes there is good grazing in the middle of the desert, but no tribe can go there because there happens to be a war between two of the tribes.

One of the tribes I saw on my last journey, the Wahba (one of the biggest of the desert tribes), are very restricted and remain always within their own particular area. Certain of the tribes may range further than others. The widest ranging tribes are probably those living on the sands, whereas those who live on the steppes and round the mountains are much more restricted in their migrations.

The Chairman said: On your behalf I wish to thank Mr. Thesiger for what he has told us. Since he has said that he can stay with us for three months and with the Badu for nine, there is little more than I can add. (Laughter.) I feel sure, however, that Mr. Thesiger is absolutely right in that. I can only hope, Mr. Thesiger, that when you go back to Southern Arabia you will enjoy your sojourn there as much as you did on your recent visit, and that when you return to England you will stay a little more than three months with us. 060

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

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the Sba' (3,000 tents), who winter to the east of the Jebel Aniza and advance as far as the Gazza region itself; and the Ruwalla (4,000 tents).[58]

No census was made among the Bedouins and it is clear that real statistics are lacking nowdays.

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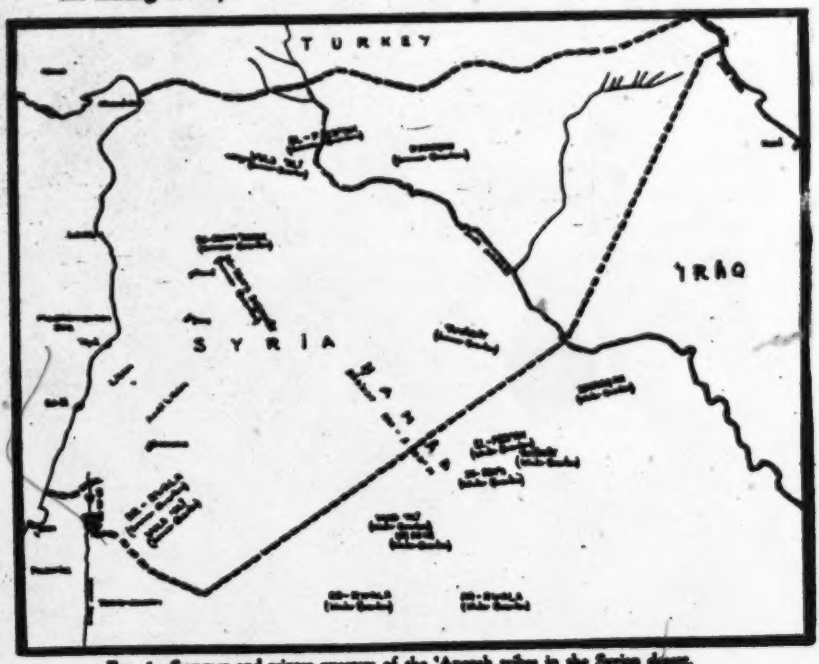

FIG. 1. Summer and winter quarters of the 'Anazah tribes in the Syrian desert.

MIGRATION PROBLEMS

221

At the present time the district covered by their wanderings include the whole Syrian plain, and reaches to the north as far as the latitude of Aleppo, and they are also found in the Beka'a,[59] to the south as far as the Sammâr hills, and east-

58 *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council*, etc., p. 27.

59 Cf. L. Dubertret and J. Weulersse, *Manuel de géographie: Syrie, Liban et Proche Orient* (Beyrouth, 1940), part 1: "La péninsule Arabique," pp. 15-16.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

221 wards to the Euphrates and even beyond that river.[60] At the beginning of winter they move southwards towards the Sammâr hills where they still find fresh pasture for their camels. And from December onward no 'Anazah are found in the whole district north of the chain of hills which begins to the northeast of Damascus and reaches as far as the Euphrates. Toward March, when the she-camels have dropped their young, the 'Anazah begin to return north, so as to reach their summer quarters again by the middle of April. They do not take their sheep with them to the south, but leave them in the care of the subject tribes.

The Euphrates is, on the whole, the boundary between the 'Anazah and the Sammâr of Mesopotamia.[61] The former, however, frequently cross the river by numerous fords in order to make raids in Mesopotamia, so that there is a permanent state of war between them and the Sammâr who are barely half their number. The 'Anazah are always readily assisted by the Yazidi's.[62] The raids from one side of the river to the other usually begin with the arrival of summer. 'Anazah are found even in the district of Nisibis and Mosul.[63] And east of the Habur[64] there is a fairly considerable sept of the tribe, a sub-tribe of the Haddal,[65] who migrated to that district in consequence of dissensions with their fellow-tribesmen and joined the Sammâr.

CONCLUSION

101 It is of great importance to us to learn the part played by the 'Anazah tribes in the Near and Middle East in generations past, as well as the chances of a brighter future of these "Sons of the Desert," who are still completely nomadic for the greater part. The first requisite for our understanding of the situation is to recognize that the Bedouin must be a nomad who breeds and keeps camels.

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60 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 10, 20, 28, 29-30, 32; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 50-82; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, pp. 13-14; *Report, Iraq for the Year 1929*, pp. 35-36; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, pp. 494-496; *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc.*, pp. 26-27; Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*; *A Handbook of Arabia* (Naval Intelligence Division, Great Britain, London, 1920).

61 Consult on the Sammâr and related tribes: *Handbook:* Northern Shammar, p. 78; Musil, *Northern Negd*, pp. 31-33; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15; Jamali, *The New Iraq, etc.*, pp. 55, 65, 74, 122, 127, 141.

62 *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council, etc.*, pp. 27-29; Th. Menzel, *Yazidi* (in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*); Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar* (Beyrouth, 1938).

63 Môsul: conv. for Arabic *M* – Al Mûsil.

64 Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 74-76. Cf. Khâbûr, Nahr el: river 40 km east of Deyr az-Zôr; Arabic *N*.

65 *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Beyrouth, May 1922), pp. 19-20, 21-25.

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

TRIBAL AREAS AND MIGRATION LINES OF THE NORTH ARABIAN BEDOUINS

Carl R. Raswan

[With separate map, Pl. V, facing p. 502]

114 SINCE 1911 the writer has spent a total of about seven years among the Bedouins. The main purpose of his repeated visits to northern Arabia has been the breeding of Arab horses and study of their history. Incidentally he has been impelled to determine as accurately as possible the *dira* or pasture districts of the various Bedouin tribes.

114 102 The accompanying maps are based largely upon personal observations and inquiries among the 'Aneze, Shammar, Shararat, Huetat, Beni Sakhr, and other tribes, supplemented by data gleaned from Doughty's "Travels in Arabia Deserta" and more especially from Alois Musil's works. While the maps are in no sense final or complete, the writer is confident that their delineation of the tribal areas is more accurate than that shown on any previous maps.

Definite Boundaries

619 131 101 221 The migrations of the Bedouins are not arbitrary, aimless wanderings in the wilderness. Well defined landmarks limit them. Tribes related by blood ties may frequently use the same districts together at certain seasons of the year. One tribe may conclude a treaty with strangers, permitting the latter to use its pastures and watering places for a specified period. Or else a powerful tribe, like the Ruala, may invade an enemy's territory without warning. In this case constant bickering, raiding, and skirmishing is the inevitable result.

A great northward shift of the Shammar and 'Aneze nomads took place during the first part of the seventeenth century, and the existing apportionment of the tribal areas was at that time roughly established. The boundaries which the various tribes now claim as their own and which are marked by water holes, variations in the desert surface (as between lava rock, gravel, red sand, etc.), dry watercourses, solitary hills, mountain ranges, cultivated tracts, and the like, have been definitely fixed since the beginning of the last century. Some of the more important of these landmarks are shown on Plate V, facing p. 502.

As a typical example of a tribal area let us examine the *dira* of the 'Amarat tribe of the 'Aneze "nation" (Fig. 1). The eastern limit

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

of their wanderings approaches close to Baghdad, Kerbela, and 619
An-Nejef. To the south, in seasons of sufficient rain, they pasture 131
their herds on the tract of Al-Hejera; but when rain is scanty they 101
move westward and thence northward around the southern and 221
western edges of Al-Wudiyan. Thence, crossing Wadi al-Ghadaf, Wadi al-Hazimi, and Wadi Hauran (near Ar-Rutba, now a military outpost of 'Iraq) they reach their northern limits at the base of the mountains Abu Rijmen and Jebel Bishri between As-Sukhne and Deyr az-Zor. Within this *dira* lie the boundaries of the pasture districts of other tribes. In the north the Fed'an range as far south as 'Aqlat Shuab (where their great chief Turki ibn Mheyd lies buried), and the Sba'a go south to Wadi al-Ghadaf. The Fed'an and Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amarat, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders. The territory of the Ruala, also related by blood to the 'Amarat, overlaps that of the latter in Al-Wudiyan and Al-Hejera; and on the south Al-Hejera is also occupied by the Shammar (Fig. 2). In addition, the 'Amarat share part of their *dira* with 'Aqeydat, Dleym, and Khaza'el (Fig. 3), tribes of the second rank, despised by the strong Bedouins of noble blood, with whom, however, they are occasionally allowed to migrate.

Relation to Natural Features

Since very early times three great natural features have borne 133
a close relation to the territorial subdivision of the major nomadic 162
nations of northern and central Arabia. The first is a well defined depression that cuts across the entire peninsula from the Red Sea at Al-Wejh to Basra and is marked by the irregular lines of Wadi Humdh to the west and of Wadi Ruma' and its continuation, Al-Baten, to the east. The watershed between these two systems of wadies lies east of Khaybar in Jebel Abyadh. The ancient Bedouin tribes occupying areas north of this depression are now represented also in Syria and Mesopotamia, but those with pastures south of the depression appear to have remained in central Arabia.

The second great natural feature is the Nafud sand desert and its principal outliers, Al-Labbe and Ad-Dhana. The sands of the last reach south across Wadi Ruma' and, extending between Hufhuf and Riyadh, finally connect with the boundless southern sands of the "Empty Quarter." These *nafuds* have always constituted natural limits for the migrating nomads and their herds. During winter and spring they are healthful country: out of the sands, moistened by the rains, springs up a fragrant pasture growth, and the bushes sprout forth life-giving leaves and flowers; but at other seasons all is a desolate waste. On rare occasions the nomad nations whose normal ranges lie far north in Syria return to this cradle of their race. The northern

29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
721 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
563 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
157 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

837 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
548 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

221 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
[10] the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 [242] [290] 463 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

433 231 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 178 During the last ten years, the desert belonging to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 797 721 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst

000 ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very
156 jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

●221 Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more
463 intimate with the desert than the real Beduins,
511 are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far away in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

563 While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of
721 resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves
[651] from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

231 The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels,
511 used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

As we neared the large tent, the merry "ringing" of the coffee mortar bade us welcome. Malla Sulumeh, scribe to Sheykh Tai', conducted us within. 574 609 [212]

A considerable number of tribesmen were gathered in the roomy tent. As usual, the favourite falcon of the *sheykh* stood perched on a camel-saddle. [223]

A slave removed the bird and placed cushions on the saddle for us. The coffee-cook poked apart the pieces of glowing desert roots on the hearth and poured between them dried camel dung from a fold of his cloak. He blew energetically on the hard nuggets, the size of walnuts, until small bright flames commenced to dance all over them. Then a large, beaked can was placed on the glow and it was not long before the coffee-water boiled and bubbled over. "Revive thy spirit!" said the every-ready cup-bearer as he offered me the aromatic cup. 574 272 [372]

Previously he had, in accordance with Bedouin practice, conscientiously wiped out every cup with the sleeve of his old shirt. Adroitly he held in his other hand four small china cups without handles, like so many eggs in a nest, and jingled them lightly one against the other.

The coffee made the round. The favoured guests, whom the Negro served first (unhappily I belonged to them) were the victims of especial politeness; before pouring the coffee, he spat first into the cup and wiped it dry with his shirt sleeve. Three times had I to endure this rite at the hands of the punctilious coffee-priest, who waited on us with the utmost solemnity on each occasion. Only then might I waggle the cup between my finger-tips in token of thanks and satisfaction and hand it back to him.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER II

Autumn Stirrings

It is early November, the 2nd to be accurate, and I have ordered 132
Salim al Muzaiyin to move his camp out into the *barr*, preparatory to 361
my joining him. We have had a week's steady south wind, clouds are banking up in the West, and we have had distant thunder and lightning. Most of the tribes have left water and are scattering over the hinterland in search of suitable grazing grounds, for the promise of rain is near. All the tent families go off on their own and camp in twos and threes, well apart from their neighbours (a mile or so perhaps), yet within sound of rifle-shot in case of an alarm, when all must come to the help of the person attacked.

The Badawin camped round Kuwait on the Shamiyah and Dasma 361
wells have already moved off, some to the Kabd region, some to 'Adan, some to the Huzaim and some to the Grain district. The Fidawiyah, under their Amir, Haif bin Hajraf, of the Sulaiman section of the 'Ajman, accompanied by Nahar and 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim,* stout old warriors both, have gone to the Humatiyat region beyond Manaqish and the Shaqq, 60 miles from Kuwait. They have 223
cunningly chosen their region because the *hubara* have arrived in the Dibdibba, and hunting with hawks is a favourite sport. The Amir, and every self-respecting young brave, possesses his hawk, a *hurr* or *shâhin* (*sakar*, *lagger* or *shâhin* falcon), and all go out as they get opportunity, and bring back game for their wives' cooking-pot. Some, especially the 'Awazim, like also to hunt hare and gazelle with 224
salûqis, and great is the excitement when venison is brought home. 251
The young hunters go far from their tents, and if they find that the gazelle meat will not keep, they spread the carcase out in the shape of a mat, having removed the ribs and larger bones, and

* Was one of the forty who helped Bin Sa'ud to capture Riyadh, though not among the actual twenty-three who rushed Qasr 'Ajlan in the heart of the city.

Hawking

B 224 251 prepare the venison with salt into what they call *yellah*, a sort of biltong, slashing it into long slices to allow the salt to penetrate and to enable ribbon-like strips to be easily removed at home for food.

K 132 This is a season for rejoicing, the rains are close at hand, there is a nip in the air of a morning and fires are in demand at night. Once again the desert comes to life after the long, weary, soul-killing heat of summer, the scorching suffocating duststorms, the need to stay close-camped near water, and the ever-present dread that your enemy knows where you are and by a sudden dash may carry off your camels, nay, all you possess, in one swift raid.

B 312 132 For water, the various tent dwellers send in camels to the nearest wells, often as far as 30 miles away, once in five, six or seven days. Neither camel, sheep nor man is very thirsty these days, so water is no longer the immediate necessity of life. As the first rains fall and grass begins to come up, water is less and less required by the livestock, till finally in the full *rabi'* (spring) when grass is well up and succulent, only man requires it.

B 223 K 223 This is the season also when the Shaikhs of Kuwait, as well as all other rulers in Arabia, start going deep into the high desert in search of *hubara*. The practice of hunting on camel-back has gone. The motor car serves the purpose better. Great hunters, like His Highness Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah and Shaikh Salim al Hamud, are out two or three times a week. They nearly always spend at least one night bivouacking in the blue (*khalla*) without tent or covering beyond their *'abbas*. It is unmanly and soft to take even a small shelter. The huntsman and falcon bearers (*khaddám*) are all of the Rashaida tribe, born Esaus all, with eyes like their own hawks, and with the uncanniest knowledge of the habits of the *hubara*. The courtly and religious Nazzal, famous over North and Central Arabia for his knowledge and eye for country, is there, so are Sa'ud bin Nimran, the lion-hearted and jovial; Addas, the hawk-eyed; Gharaiyib, the smeller of *hubara* from afar, and great raider of war days; Sa'ad, the tracker; Mirshid al Shammari, of the renowned Ibn Twala clan, and old Saif bin Ta'ami, companion of the great Mubarak in many a past raid.

Of hawks we have the famous "Dhiáb", "Kabrit", "Sultán" and

[early November -- August]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

lord of all the tireless killer "Petrol"—the Shaikh's own hawk, who has been known alone to kill as many as twelve birds in one day. (See Chapter XXVIII.)

Salim, my man, has taken three days to get to Araifjan wells, with his wife Amsha, his charming daughter Hussa, his sister Maneira, and other members of his household. He has already sent for his sheep from the Suda region in Hasa, where they have summered under the care of Faráj and Faláh, both of the 'Awazim tribe. Great is the rejoicing, for thirty-six lambs have been born, with more to follow by the end of October. The flock has been nearly doubled since the previous Spring. Better still, fifteen of the lambs are males, which will be killed on suitably festive occasions. Maziad, the Dhafiri, in charge of the camels (fourteen of them) reports the animals' condition to be perfect, in spite of the long summer in the Huzaim and Suda regions. He himself has just come in from Riyadh with Salim. They went to see how the head of the family, Ibrahim al Muzaiyin (late standard bearer to the great Mubarak of Kuwait, and now with Bin Sa'ud) is faring. Salim now writes in to say that the "Gunsul's" camp is pitched and all is ready for him to come out—"Gunsul" (Consul) is the name given locally to the Political Agent.

On the 11th November I pack up what remaining goods and chattels have to be taken, such as *dushaks*, *masnads*, *shaddd* and *qalims* (mattresses for guests, cushions to lean on, camel saddle with full sheepskin cover and bright-coloured Persian rugs), and I order the worthy Sáleh, my Najdi driver, to convey me to my camp. Already my wife's she-camel Farha, of the famous 'Umaniyah breed, has gone ahead, also Naidi, Farhan and the sweet-tempered Jarua—my two horses and mare respectively. The last is a present from 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, the Great King, and she has been named after the famous grey mare of the late Faisal al Duwish—slain by the order of his wife Amsha when that great chieftain surrendered to the English in 1930 at Jahrah. My wife and I were with her when the deeply touching deed was done.

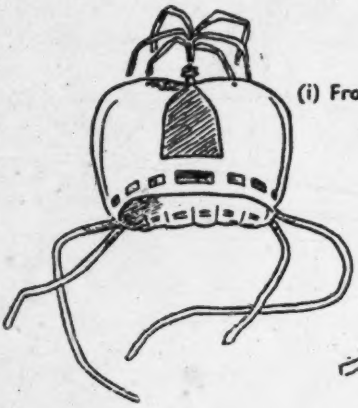
As I am going the next day down to the Hazaim district and Wafra in the Neutral Zone, I take Sa'ud bin Nimran with me and his hawk, also Jawad, my personal servant. News has arrived that the Birzani, ibn Shaja'an, one of Bin Sa'ud's patrol leaders, with twenty men is

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

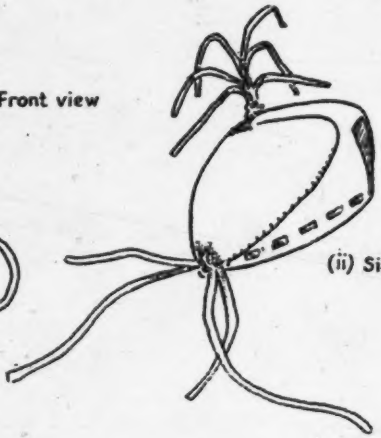
223

HAWKING OUTFIT

Leather BURQA or HOOD



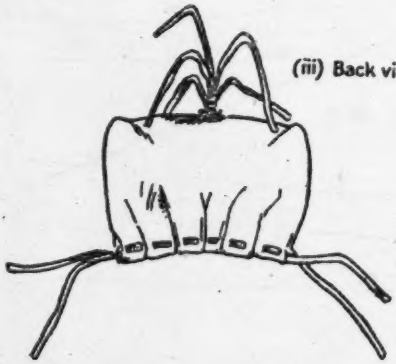
(i) Front view



(ii) Side view

To tighten,
pull long thin
leather thongs

To loosen,
pull short thicker
leather thongs



(iii) Back view

DASMA AL TAIR
(Hawker's leather glove)

WAKAR AL TAIR
(Hawk stand)

Men's Clothes

 492

(*r*) *'Assa*—camel stick (made of cane).
(*s*) *Bakúra*—camel stick (cane).
(*t*) *Miżúda*—the small bag made of wool or leather for carrying money, *hail* or small quantities of dates when a man is travelling alone.
(*u*) *Risan*—camel's halter.

FALCON'S GEAR

(See Chapter XXVIII on Hawking) 223

(*v*) *Burqa*—hawk's hood.
(*w*) *Wakar al tair*—hawk's stand.
(*x*) *Dasma al tair*—falconer's glove.

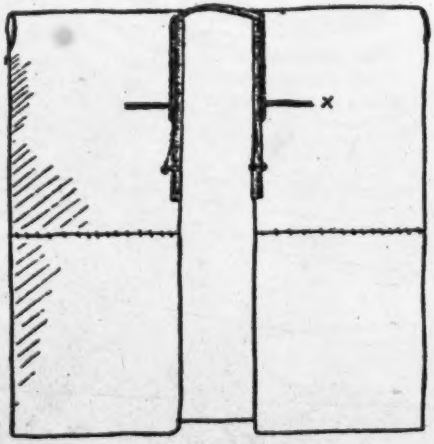
NOTE.—Other articles of furniture connected with a *well-to-do* person's tent are the— 352

Mattrah (plural: *mattarah*)—mattress for guests to sit on.
Mafrash—carpets to spread on floor.

We have also the various forms of firewood found in every tent, rich and poor alike. These are known under the general terms of— 372

Jalla—camel dung.
Hamdh—a pungent-smelling bush giving a fine white ash.
'Arfaj—a well-known bush found all over North-Eastern Arabia.

MEN'S CLOTHING 291



'ABBAH

'Abbah or *Bisht*—made of finely woven sheeps' or camels' wool in two pieces. Texture can be superfine, thin, coarse or thick according to means of weaver. Round neck and down both fronts (shaded portion) is fine gold embroidery ending in a couple of tassels on both sides. The horizontal gold braid (x) indicates that the *'Abbah* is of type worn by shaikhs of Kuwait. Colour—all shades of brown verging on to black.

L Dickson . G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

After lunch we heard all about the hawk incident. The bird had been branded between the eyes much as *salúqi* dogs are branded by the Badawin for distemper. The wound made by the *hubara* was on the top centre of the head, and was as large as a sixpence, the brand was the size of a threepenny bit and was placed just in front of the other wound. The hawk looked very sorry for itself, but Amir Haif assured me it would get quite well and "recover its courage". He said he was known to be an expert falcon doctor, and everyone knew that what he said would turn out as foreshadowed. I cordially hoped it would.

After lunch we met Nahar al Mutalaqqim and his brother 'Abdulla (known as 'Ubaid from the dark colour of his skin, and his rather thick lips). Both were the Shaikhs of the Al Mutalaqqim sept of the 'Ajman, and great warriors.

'Ubaid told me that he had been one of the famous twenty paladins* (two of Sbei, one Qahtani and seventeen of 'Ajman) who under the leadership of Bin Sa'ud, Muhammad his brother, and 'Abdulla ibn Jiluwi had captured Riyadh and killed Ajlan, the Bin Rashid Governor, as he bolted back into the *kút* or fort of Riyadh. "Ah, Abu Sa'ud, those were great days, and it was worth a whole man's life to have seen them. It was Bin Jiluwi who hurled his dagger at the fleeing Ajlan and missed him,† and it was Bin Jiluwi's hand that seized Ajlan's leg as he tried to enter the wicket gate, and brought him to the ground, but it was 'Abdul 'Aziz's sword which struck off Ajlan's head, as he lay on the ground struggling with Bin Jiluwi. I can even now see Bin Sa'ud preparing for the sortie from Ajlan's lady's house, on the other side of the square. How cool and calm he was. He had discarded his *agál* (head rope) and tied his *kaffiyah* over his head and round his neck, and had followed it by carefully tying his long sleeves round the back of his neck.

And what a woman was Ajlan's wife. She was found in deep sleep, and it was Bin Sa'ud who touched her and woke her up. *Minu, minu?* (who is it, who is it?), was all she said. On being told by Bin Sa'ud

* According to Bin Sa'ud's story related as recently as November 1937, 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim was not among the famous twenty, but was among his supporters who awaited outside Riyadh among the palm groves.

† The mark of Bin Jihwi's dagger which stuck in the great door of the fort after missing Ajlan can be seen to this day in Riyadh.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XXVIII

Hawking

223 From the very earliest times hawking or falconry has been looked upon among Arabs as the sport of kings. It was probably introduced into Europe direct from Arabia, after the early Crusades, and certainly came into Spain with the Arab invaders. There is little doubt, I think, that the sport spread with Islam to Persia and even to far-off China, though the reverse process has been suggested by persons who have studied the subject.

Hawking is mentioned by the earliest Arab chroniclers, and many stories are told of how the ancient ruling house of Al Araiar, the hereditary shaikhs of the Bani Khalid in Hasa and Najd, encouraged the sport and preserved game for hawking's sake.

Northern and North-Eastern Arabia are to-day the home of the sport in the peninsula, for it is in this area that the first annual migra-
[224] tion of the lesser bustard, or *hubara*, takes place. The *hubara* is the principal game hunted with hawks, though hare and even gazelle also give fair sport.

136 The *hubara* appears on the eastern and north-eastern seaboard of the Persian Gulf about October in each year, and birds continue to come till about April, when they gradually disappear again to cooler climes.

The local Arab says they come from the highlands of Persia, but more probably they come in the first place from Central Asia, and migrate south through Persia, to avoid the intense cold. Certainly Persia, Iraq, North-West India, Baluchistan and Eastern Arabia all see the migrating bustard.

A very few remain behind in Arabia each year and breed locally, but these are rare. I have myself seen a couple of *hubara* eggs (15th March, 1935) which were found 40 miles south of Kuwait.

223 From Zubair down to the Trucial Coast of Oman, the *hubara* season is looked forward to with the greatest keenness. Princes, Amirs, great shaikhs, petty shaikhs, and every tribesman who can scrape

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

together a few pence to buy a hawk, all go in for the sport. In fact, 223
every self-respecting person owns, or hopes to own, his falcon.

The two most commonly used hawks are known locally as the *Hurr* or *Hurra* and the *Shâhîn*.* The former is the aristocrat of the two, and fetches a much higher price.

The best hawks come from the Persian littoral, and nowadays fetch [435]
prices of from Rs.50 to Rs.150 a bird. Both *hurr* and *shâhîn* are also caught by Badawin hunters clever at snaring. The islands of Bubiyan and Warba, west of the Shatt al 'Arab Delta, are favourite snaring grounds for Kuwait Badawin, and I believe the Dhaharan peninsula, south of Qatif, is another.

On first reaching Arabia the *hubara* makes for the small new green shoots of grass that come up with the early rains or *wasm* season (October). As the rainy season develops and grass comes up everywhere, the birds scatter and proceed deeper and deeper into the interior, until they are found as far inland in the north as the Syrian desert, and in the south round about Riyadh and the oasis of Jabrin. Except in small numbers the birds do not penetrate much west of this line.

Round about Zubair, Kuwait and further south as far as Qatar, the birds are very plentiful throughout the winter, and many thousands of birds are each season killed for food by the local Arabs. In Kuwait the shaikh generally bags about two thousand birds every cold weather, and the combined members of the Al Sa'ud get about the same number in Najd proper, as also do the Shaikhs of Bahrain, both on their own islands as well as on the mainland where they regularly hunt.

The best trainers of falcons round about Kuwait and Riyadh are 231
the Rashaida tribesmen, and in the south the Al Murra tribe. Both 223
seem to have a very special aptitude for turning out skilled birds.

A good hawk will only kill four to five *hubara* in one day, an exceptional hawk has been known to kill as many as seven to eight. I have known "Petrel", the priceless hawk of the Shaikh of Kuwait, kill as many as eleven birds in a day, but this is unique in the annals of the chase.

* *Hurr* is apparently the name given to both "Saker" and "Lagger" falcons, and *Shâhîn* is clearly the *Shahin* falcon of Natural History.

Hawk Traps

231 The famous "Petrol" indeed appeared always ready to try his luck
223 with a *hubara*, and I have seen him after killing his tenth bird lie on his back in a fit of exhaustion, and appear to be at the point of death. A small dose of aspirin crushed in water used to bring him round on these occasions.

[552] Hawks always bear good names, selected either after famous falcons of the past or after well-known historical heroes, for instance, "Sultán", "Shabíb", "Dhiáb", "Sáhud", "Sádáh", etc.

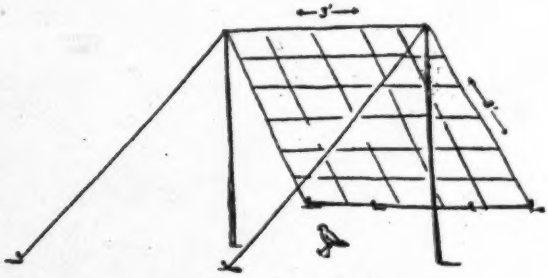
A falconer is called a *saggár*. It takes thirteen days for a good *saggár* to train a year-old hawk. If the hawk is a two- or three-year-old bird, the training period may last twenty to twenty-five days.

223 Hawks are in general called *tair* (plural: *tuyúr*). (Hurr and Sháhín falcons are particular hunting types mentioned above.)

There are two common methods for snaring hawks:

(*a*) The small square net and jerboa or pigeon method.
(*b*) The long narrow net with raven and pigeon method.

(*a*) A very coarse-mesh net of thin light texture 3 feet by 3 feet in size, is erected at an angle of 60° from the ground. The lower edge is pegged very lightly to the ground, while the upper side is supported



Hawk Trap (*a*)

on two light sticks, which are kept in position by two light cords also very lightly pegged to the ground. The net is sloped away from the wind, as the hawk always dives after its prey down and into the wind.

Under the net a jerboa (bounding field rat) or a pigeon is tied by the leg and pegged to the ground.

The hawk, seeing the animal from afar, and not perceiving the

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

'ADDAS, ONE OF THE SHAIKH OF KUWAIT'S LEADING FALCONERS

page 368 a

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

● 223

'ADDAS AND 'AWADH

page 368 b

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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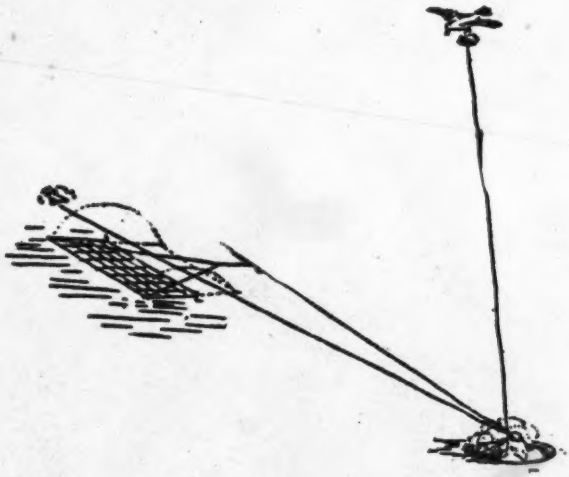
223

light-coloured net, swoops down to pick up its prey and dashes into the net, which at once is torn out of the ground, the pegs being loose, and closes round him closely. The hawk is then brought struggling to the ground and is easily caught. In almost every case the hawk's head and neck go through one of the large meshes of the net and this entangles him even more securely.

This method is used only when a hawk is known to be hunting in the vicinity and has been seen.

The net folds up into a small ball and can be easily carried in a man's wallet when not in use. The thin supports are carried in a hollow bamboo tube and slung across the back, rifle fashion.



Hawk Trap (*b*).

Most Rasa and Kuwait Badawin during the autumn, spring and winter, carry the snare as part of their equipment, for in those months hawks are commonly to be seen.

The pegs securing the net and the stays to the ground are made of light metal, or are nails, so as to add weight to the net when the hawk gets entangled and tries to fly off with it.

(*b*) A net of much smaller mesh than the former is placed flat on the ground. The size of the net is 7 feet by 3 feet, with sticks and

Decoys

223 string attachment 100 feet long. When the string is pulled it causes the net to whip up and over, imprisoning anything lying on the ground.

A captive pigeon is tethered by one of its wings to the ground near the net, but on the far side of it. The snarer sits in a hole 100 feet away, flanking the net, his head covered over and hidden by brushwood. He holds a long string attached to the decoy pigeon by a ring.

He next brings into play a tame and trained raven, which has a thick clod of black wool attached to its legs, to represent a bird in its claws. The raven is held captive by means of a third string some 200 feet long.

The snarer thus has three strings, one to the net, one to the pigeon, and one to the raven.

He now releases the raven, which, though held by the leg, flies up and over the net, circling round and round.

Any hawk within ten miles will see it, and thinking the raven has food or a bird in its clutches will at once fly to the spot, to snatch the prey.

The raven, seeing the hawk approach, caws violently and comes to earth, whereupon it is quickly pulled to cover by the snarer. The hunter then jerks the captive pigeon with the second string to make it struggle. The hawk, seeing it, at once swoops and kills it on the ground. While the hawk devours his prey the snarer slowly pulls it, together with the pigeon it is feeding on, towards the net. When he has got it in the right position he jerks the third string which operates the net and pulls it over the hawk by a whipping backward motion. The hawk is thus trapped.

As a rule the captive pigeon is put in a small hole in the ground and covered with brushwood till the falconer jerks it and makes it flutter as the hawk draws near.

231 When a hawk is first caught its lower eyelid is pierced by a thin thread which is passed over its head and through the other lower eyelid. This forces both eyes to close. The bird is then hooded with the *burqa*, or leather head-cap. For sketches of Hawking Outfit see page 92.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

The Hawk's Attack

Chap. XXVIII

HAWKING

There are two common methods in use to-day (1935), of hunting *hubara* with hawks: 223

(*a*) The Zubair—Kuwait method.
(*b*) The Bahrain—Hasa—Najd method.

In Zubair and Kuwait the hunter ties together two end and longest wing feathers of the bird, in two places, with small pieces of string. This reduces its speed and prevents it from flying after a *hubara* which rises too far away from the falconer.

The method was invented by Ibn Mishri of Zubair, after he had lost many score of hawks. It was later adopted by the Shaikhs of Kuwait.

The old-fashioned and perhaps more sporting method allows the hawk full freedom of flight. In this way many hawks are lost even if perfectly trained, and this means expense. Slowly but surely the newer method is replacing the older, and in 1935 I heard of many members of the Al Sa'ud family in Riyadh adopting it.

Under the new method, a hawk is shown a piece of ground unhooded. If he sees a *hubara* ahead he will leave the falconer's hand and fly swiftly to his quarry, keeping close to the ground. Here he will swoop on his prey, fight and seize his victim by the neck till the hunter comes up, unless the *hubara* is able to get away with the assistance of another bustard or of his mate, who put the hawk out of action by squirting slime from their vent on to his feathers, eyes and head. Sometimes the *hubara* is able to lie so close that the hawk loses him when he arrives on the scene.

If the attack is successful, the spectator sees a white flutter of feather and tail, a scuffle on the ground, possibly several swoops on the part of the hawk, then all is quiet as the hawk seizes his quarry by the neck. White feathers soon fly in the breeze as the hawk plucks the breast of his prey preparatory to having a bite of its flesh. The falconer's job is to come up before damage is done, cut the *hubara's* throat, and then allow the hawk to have a couple of bites of its breast. After this he removes the bird by cunningly introducing a large round piece of leather between the hawk and its prey, with a sort of sliding

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

●223 motion. The hawk is then hooded once more, and the *hubara* put away in a bag.

If other *hubara* come to the victim's rescue the hawk's work for the rest of the day is over. For the dark green slime exuded violently from the *hubara's* vent is of birdlime quality, and not only half blinds him but glues all his feathers together so that he cannot fly with any degree of comfort until he is washed all over with water and dried.

This extraordinary protective equipment of the *hubara* is of interest. The slimy substance is exuded with such force as to reach a distance of a yard or more.

If the *hubara* seeks safety in immobility, the well-trained hawk, knowing that its quarry is lying low somewhere in the vicinity, at once perches on a bush (the highest close by) and waits for the hunter to come up. The latter then walks up and down and round the hawk, as he would do if walking up partridge in a cabbage patch. As the *hubara* gets up the falconer shoots. Often half a dozen birds will be bagged by this method. All are terrified of moving so long as the hawk remains sitting on the bush, and will allow the sportsman to put his foot on them before getting up.

So wonderfully can the *hubara* crouch and camouflage itself in stony or pebbly ground that I have on many occasions been unable to see the bird I had marked down till I was within ten feet of it. My car has even passed within one yard of a crouching *hubara* without its rising (11th February, 1935).

If the falconer, whether on camel-back or in a car, thinks bustard are about, but are crouching low so as not to be noticed by the hawk, he will unhood his bird, hold him high up, and raise a slow shrill cry sounding like *'A-hoh—'A-hoh—'A-hoh*, and finishing up with a rapid fire of *Ha-Ha-Ha-Ha's*. The idea is to startle the crouching *hubara*, and make him raise or turn his head or show the slightest movement. The hawk will detect the movement, even if half a mile away, and speed from the falconer's hand after its quarry.

HUNTING GAZELLE WITH HAWKS

224 The Badawin goes in for this form of sport much more than the town Arab, purely from a desire for fresh meat. He often hawks

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

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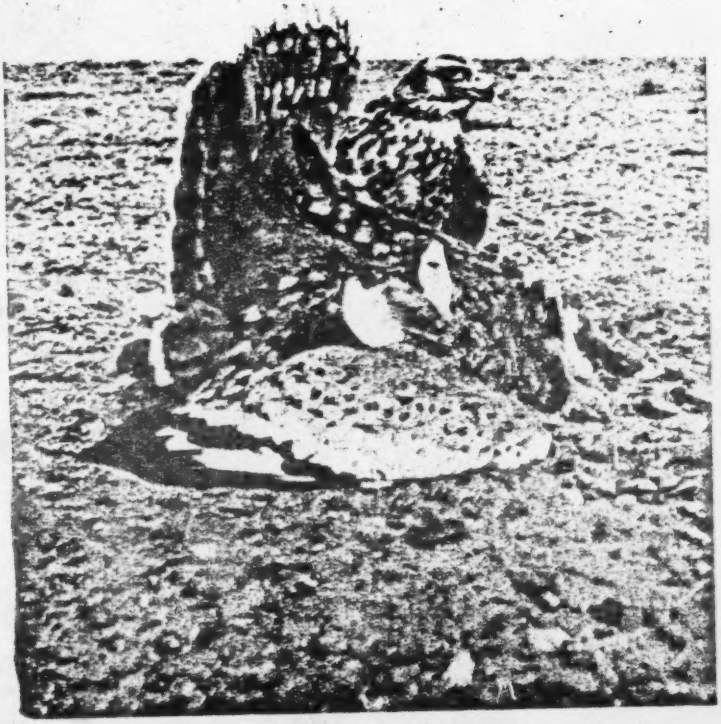

FALCONRY. HUNTING HAWK AND HUBARA AWAITING MASTER'S ARRIVAL

page 384a

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

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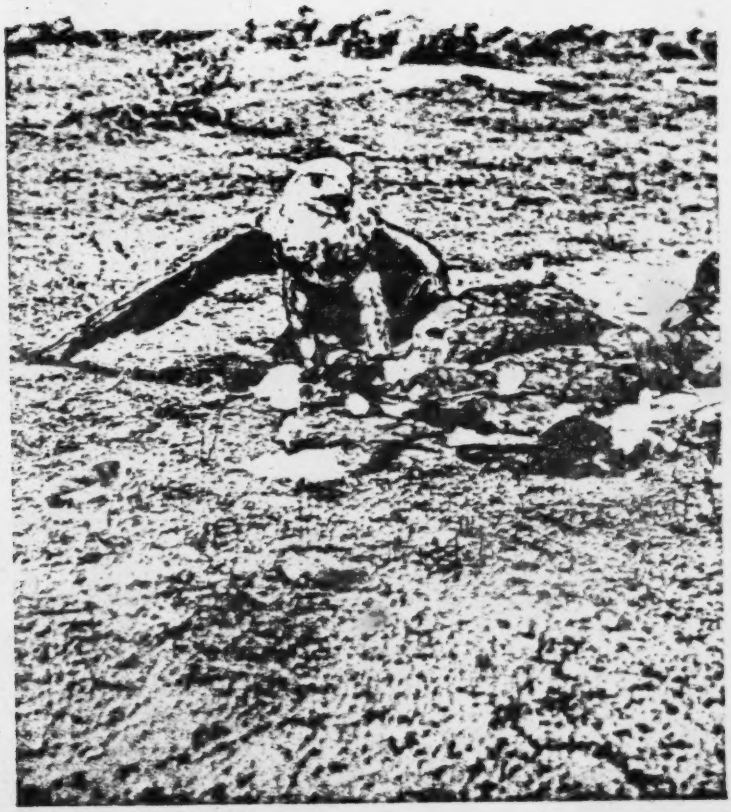

THE SHAIKH OF KUWAIT'S FAVOURITE HAWK "PETROL" AFTER A SUCCESSFUL FLIGHT. VICTIM: A HUBARA

page 384b

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Badouins MI4

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SBEI TRIBESMEN WATERING CAMELS AT SUBAIHIYAH

page 384 d.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI4
Saudi Arabia MJ1

Appendix VII

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4. There are no difficulties to be negotiated till cars arrive at the great Dahana sand belt or barrier guarding inner Najd, as the track passes over hard gravelly country most of the way. The Dahana belt is a series of wide soft sandy ridges (eight in number) with harder going between, and has to be negotiated just before Rumah and Rumhiyah* are reached. The sand region to be crossed is approximately 40 miles broad at its narrowest point.

5. The Dahana sands are quite easily negotiated if there has been rain or a series of rainstorms, for the sand then becomes hard, and with good guides to assist a car party, several alternative routes can be taken, each of which is somewhat shorter than the track blazed by the Shaikh of Kuwait, which moved down the east side of the Dahana till the Rumah–Hufuf road was reached, and then turned sharp right (south-west by west) some miles beyond Nadhim al Kanhara.

6. If the weather is hot and there has been no rain at all the Dahana crossing presents great difficulties, and tyres have to be deflated, and progress made on second speed. A supporting car or two with spades and ropes is a necessity.

7. After crossing the Dahana, rocky country is reached and rough stones and boulders hamper cars almost as far as Buwaib Pass, which overlooks the Riyadh plain.

8. Travellers on the Kuwait–Riyadh section should have a full supply of drinking water, food, petrol and spares for an approximate 500-miles journey, as these cannot be got *en route* anywhere except at Jariya 'Ilya and Rumah, where water† only, and that of very poor quality, can be obtained.

APPENDIX VII

THE *AL SHURUF* OR "HONOURED ONES"

(THE FAMOUS BLACK HERD OF CAMELS OF THE MUTAIR TRIBE)

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From very old times the *Al Shuruf* have been the pride and glory of the great Mutair tribe of Central and North-Eastern Arabia, and consist of a very dark, almost black herd of thoroughbred camels numbering close on three hundred animals.

Among the Mutair the *Al Shuruf* or the Honoured Ones are looked upon as a sort of "sacred emblem", or standard, for the tribe to follow

* Rumhiyah is left some miles to the west by those taking the latest and shortest car route.

† In the winter, if rains have been good in the Summán area, water can be obtained from various *dáhals* or water-holes *en route*. But this is an unreliable source of supply.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-41) 1931 Ali & Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Appendix VII

in war or peace, and are at all times guarded with the greatest care and have their own special herdsmen. 223 825

The *Shuruf* can best be compared to the famous *Markab* or "Ark of Ishmael" which goes before the Rawala host when the latter tribe migrates to new regions or marches to war, and which is really nothing but a glorified ladies' camel litter, decked all over with black ostrich feathers (see under chapter dealing with the Tent and its treasures), but held in the deepest reverence by every single man and woman of the tribe.

As in the case of the *Markab*, the *Shuruf* is the rallying point of the tribe if attacked or in difficulties. The herd must be defended at all costs, and the tribe will cheerfully lose all its other camels in a battle or raid provided the *Shuruf* are safe.

In the attack, and especially if such be in the nature of a forlorn hope, the *Shuruf* have the place of honour always and lead the van. No Mutairi ever rides them, and they just move forward in a compact well-trained black mass ahead of the fighting men as if perfectly understanding the game. The latter will follow straight on to victory or death in their wake. The *Shuruf* seem also to know that they afford a sort of moving wall of protection for the footmen in their rear, and never scatter.

In peace time the famous black herd always grazes alone and under specially selected guards, always too as far from the common gaze as possible. It is said that should other strange camels get mixed up with them, the black herd will attack them and drive them out. Nor are the cows of the herd allowed to breed except from their own males.

To-day the *Al Shuruf* are in the hands of the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud —King and Lord of Arabia. They were taken away from the Mutair as the most severe punishment that could be meted out to them after Faisal al Duwish's rebellion of 1929–30, and are to-day (1939) most carefully guarded and looked after for the King by the faithful Shaikh Faisal bin Shiblan, head of the Jiblan sept of the great Mutair. Actually the King handed the *Shuruf* over to his brother Muhammad al Sa'ud for safe keeping after the above-mentioned rebellion, but this was a mere formality, for H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz' brand adorns the rear off hind quarter of each camel like this, ₀|₀, and the herd remains the King's property, much as in the occident any war flags captured from an enemy are handed over to the King. 687 233 475 727

As far as I am aware, my wife and I are the only Europeans living who have had the opportunity of setting eyes on this jealously guarded herd and semi-sacred tribal emblem of the Mutair. This was on 7th April and 14th April, 1939, when, by special invitation of His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait, King Bin Sa'ud sent his private camels numbering seventy-five *Raiyah* or herds, together with the *Shuruf* (some 4,500 all told) into the Araifjan and Shu'aiba districts of Kuwait to graze, the act being a gracious appreciation on the part of Shaikh Ahmad for Bin Sa'ud's good will and 825 233

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use 619
donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of 101
donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as 233
is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. [492]
By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of con- 619
federacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to 622
define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a titular position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are 619
more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, 101
Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, [241]
by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as [326]
Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al [231]
Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are [235]
not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a [622]
strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real
authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

619 dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another
622 chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe
631 has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its
253 goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all.
311 There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert
132 and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh,
135 where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

233 Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number
422 of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is
262 the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high
291 days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his
492 back affords the only method of transportation possible
231 in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

000 Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

where wells are somewhat close together and the for-
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised,
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les-
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure lux-
ury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk
just as humans do. They are kept and treated as house-
hold pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their
only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for
pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part
of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but
they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the
very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou-
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the
land. Little children die because there is no food suit-
able for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even
more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly
bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed,
and the whole community waits and prays for more rain
the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea
of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a
mere trifle.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

168 if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort
361 of existence.

461 But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard
463 and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to
552 his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate
231 enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky
461 or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates,
565 and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level
186 as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

181 Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the des-
611 ert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out
735 of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East Bedouin MJ4

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

000 At that time I had vainly tried to find the sons of a *sheykh* called Achmed Hafiz, whose name will be known to readers of Homer Davenport's book, "My Quest of the Arab Horse" (New York, 1908). It was from this Achmed Hafiz that Davenport (with whose sister I became well acquainted in California) bought twenty-seven Arab horses in 1906.

344 On my arrival in Aleppo, my first task was to find the *wukil*. The directions led me to a mediæval building near the citadel. The entrance was barred by an enormous iron-studded timber gate. From the courtyard behind it I could hear the well-known guttural accents of Bedouins. I knocked repeatedly without response. Suddenly, however, with creaking hinges, the huge gate flew wide open, and out galloped four horsemen, almost running me down. Squeezed flat against a stone pillar, I looked in amazement after the small cavalcade that disappeared in a cloud of dust round the beetling ramparts of the old Crusader's castle.

609 When I turned my eyes to the entrance again, I saw standing before me in the doorway a Bedouin unusually big for his race, a good six feet high, who scrutinized me critically without "batting an eyelid" and without responding to my greeting. At length he coolly laid an arm round my shoulders and, in no very amiable manner, pulled me within, while with his other arm he gave a tug at a long rusty chain, which effectively closed the gate.

351 My eyes fell on a caravanserai that made me fancy
● 231 myself back in the days of the Caliphs. The yard was not exactly tidy, but it looked better than many a khan

1; Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

I had seen in Istambul and Baghdad. Scattered about 351
higgeldy-piggeldy, in peaceful contentment, was a min- 231
gled assortment of camels, horses, asses, goats, and sheep. Lazily the lean, shaggy beasts munched the chaff spread for them on worn-out bast mats and hides. Camel-drovers, muffled in their frayed cloaks, were squatting about. Dirty children tumbled boisterously over the humps of the camels and darted in and out between their legs, while the animals, with blinking eyes and drooping ears, patiently put up with the sport. Pigeons continually fluttered between the court and the old bastions and turrets, and, sailing low over the battlemented walls, small vultures circled on motionless wings, croaking hungrily, with baleful eyes ever on the watch for a meal.

"Whence cometh thou?" the big fellow questioned 609
without any form of introduction and with scant courtesy. I reached into my breast pocket and drew from it the letter of recommendation, much crumpled and stained, and with it, inadvertently, a photographic reproduction of Homer Davenport's well-known drawing, "Haleb's Farewell to the Desert." The picture shows Sheykh Achmed Hafiz and his Bedouin friends witnessing the departure of that celebrated Arab stallion, Haleb, which the Turkish governor of Syria had given Davenport as a present. My tall friend grabbed both letter and picture from my hand and fingered them clumsily. Suddenly he discovered on the photograph familiar faces and figures. A thunderbolt could not have produced greater consternation in the tranquil courtyard than did the giant's frantic exclamations at this sudden recognition. His surprise was comical. Stuttering

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

man without a single enemy", Arabs have called him 157 554
to me.

I was Mishal's guest for several weeks. In the company 231 435
of his son Naif, I was able to look over a large number of Arab horses amongst the different Shammar clans. One two-year-old Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion of purest blood pleased me exceedingly. One day I enquired of the *sheykh's* secretary if he thought it possible that Mishal would sell this stallion. It had indeed come to my ears that Mishal had refused an offer of eight hundred gold pounds from the French Remount Service. From my experience, I knew that really thoroughbred Arab horses were quite rare and therefore exceedingly expensive. Considering the stallion's breeding, the French offer certainly did not appear too high, when one remembers that foreign military commissions and breeders have paid in the desert anything up to three thousand pounds gold for blue-blooded stallions.

I asked the scribe to submit my offer to his *sheykh* up to one thousand pounds gold. I also declared myself [431] ready to make the customary presents to the *katib* (secretary) and to the slave who had looked after the stallion from birth.

That same day I sat with Mishal and his son Naif and 574
their friends until late into the night. By the light of 231
the campfire I showed them photographs of Arab horses, 572
among them the stallions and mares which I had bought from the stud of Lady Anne Blunt's daughter in England, for the ranch in California.

"Is it known to thee," asked Mishal, "that Lord Blunt and my father Faris formed a blood brotherhood fifty

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

574 years ago? He, as thou, loved our fast and enduring run-
231 ners, those 'Drinkers of the Wind', which Allah be-
572 stowed on our forefather Ishmael."

Neither the scribe nor anyone else said a word about the stallion, and I dared not ask again; for I imagined that Mishal was particularly fond of this young horse.

574 The day of my departure came. The patriarchal
431 *sheykh* and I exchanged words of formal farewell. Then he led me aside and bade me sit down with him at the farthest tent-peg. After a few minutes of silence, he took two documents from a leather pouch and said: "I have long noticed that thou hast taken the Saqlawi colt to thy heart. He is the best of our breeding, and I am happy to make thee a present of him, that thou mayest always remember our friendship and noble horses. Take the young stallion with thee and mention no thanks nor price, so that this remembrance may live forever unclouded in our hearts."

"The Lord be good to thee, O Mishal ibn Faris," I replied, "for that I am allowed to part from thee with such happy memories."

What more could I say in response to his simple
[181] words? I knew the Bedouins. To be open-handed makes most of them happy; and further, Mishal was a very rich man. To him "belonged" not only the Shammar in
[423] the Northern Jesirah (Mesopotamia), but he actually owned sixty-nine villages and their cultivated lands on the Khabur River. I could only hope that God would grant me the opportunity some time of showing my heartfelt thanks to Mishal in some special way.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

One of the documents the *sheykh* handed to me was a 574
deed of gift and a token of his friendship; the other set 431
forth the pedigree of the colt. Mishal rose to his feet. He 231
took me by the hand to set me on my way, and together we walked far out into the desert. He spoke no word and I made no attempt to break the silence. My eyes were held by the picture of the powerful young stallion which was being led ahead of us by Naif and a slave. Full of fire and grace, with prancing steps, he looked the living epitome of this wild and romantic land.

When some tribesmen rode by on their mares, the young stallion stopped still, his whole body tense, neck arched, and small head held high. His chest quivered as he neighed in long-drawn silvery notes. His uplifted tail flowed out from his croup like a cascade of water. He was surely as magnificent as any of those aboriginal wild horses, which, according to Bedouin lore, Ishmael caught in the Nufud desert. "Black-skinned antelopes (*kuhaylan*) they were called of old, by reason of the black rims around the eyes, which make them look as if they had been painted with *kuhl* (pure antimony)." [825]

The *sheykh* at last called to my companions, who had gone ahead, to halt. Looking back, Mishal and I saw the great camp a long way off. The old chief laid his hands in blessing on the forehead of the young stallion, and said to me: " 'Amud,' I have named thy stallion. It [552] is a name of my people. The peace of God be with thee forever."

Then he kissed both my cheeks and the hoof of the horse, and strode back to his tents.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

431 The French commandant at Deyr-ez-Zor had the two
● 231 documents translated for me under his official seal.

One document, bearing the seal of Mishal, mentions Sir Wilfrid S. Blunt as the friend of Faris Pasha al-Jarba, and myself as Mishal's own particular friend, and certified that he had presented to me the Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion for love of me. The second document, setting forth the pedigree of the stallion, began and ended with excerpts from the Koran, the Hadith, and the Arabian poet Imrul-Quais.

It bore the seals of three Shammar *shiyukhs*—Mishal ibn Faris, Hassan al-Amud, and Jajan ibn Massiul, who testified regarding the horse as follows: "It is a Saqlawi, and we bear witness before Allah that the young stallion is a Shaifi, bred of a Saqlawi-Shaifi of the same pedigree; that the Grand-sire was a Saqlawi as was his dam a Saqlawiyah-Shaifiyah, whose noble race has remained pure and famous amongst us Arab people."

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834 Only shy little Barruk comes up
576 to Amsha's side and cuddles up in her arms. She loves him almost more than her own daughter. She kisses him and fondles him, and allows him to put his head on her shoulder and gaze up at me with wide eyes. Amsha is pathetically fond of her two slave children. They are only five and three respectively. Such love and such tenderness would make the brains of those busybodies whirl, who talk so glibly of the cruelty and horrors of the slave problem. How is it done? The answer is simple. These babes, the sons of her stalwart slave, 'Abdullah* (bought originally from Rannia and married to a freed 'Ajman slave woman), call out every womanly instinct in Amsha. They are the offspring of her own property. They are hers to prize and cherish. She even opens up her gown† and offers her breast to little Barruk who is fidgeting somewhat. "There, keep quiet, *ya halaila* (little sweet one), will you," she says, "and let us hear news from Abu Sa'ud."

272 Presently Salim comes back again with the coffee-pot, and the
415 special cups which he has brought back from Riyadh, little white and yellow-ochre ones, unknown among the people of Kuwait. With pride he once again offers me coffee. "The cups? Oh yes, they are from Riyadh. I brought them back for Um Sa'ud (my wife), when she returns from England." "The year has been a good one, *Al*
231 *hamdu 'l Illah*," he proceeds. "The camels are fat and their humps are so round you wouldn't recognise them." "Nay, Abu Sa'ud", chimes in Amsha, "you would not know Farha except for her nose ring. She has such a big hump now that a saddle cannot be put on her. And congratulate us, thirty-six lambs have been born in the last ten days, and Zahra's (my daughter's) brown ewe which was a baby two years ago has had her first lamb also, her first-born, so sweet and soft. Run and fetch it, ya Hussa." The lamb is produced and much admired. Its wee tail is duly weighed in my hand to see if it has got any fat on it. "And now you must come and see our baby camel", and away I am taken by the womenfolk to the back of the tent where a dozen she-camels are standing. They have just come in from water, and are waiting to be milked and bedded down for the night. The baby-camel is next caught and brought to me. It is wonderfully tame, and holds

* He died the following year (1935) after returning sick from Mecca.

† If an Arab woman suckles her little slave child, that child can never be sold as a slave. It is henceforth free and her own.

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its small well-bred face to my mouth for a kiss—really for a date, 231
which I had not got.

Next the new watch-dog, a fierce and shaggy brute, is produced and shown to me. I praise it in suitable terms to express the hope that he will keep off wolves. The women now go, whilst I wash and get into my warm Gilgit boots and prepare for the evening meal.

It is night. I have just had the most delightful dinner I have ever 262
tasted. Only Amsha's skilled hand could have prepared it. A dish of rice stewed with raisins and onion shreds, and on top a perfectly formed baby lamb which has not yet eaten grass. How good it was, and how soft and luscious! My two *qâtas* (dividing curtains) have 000
been furled inwards and tied to the centre rope so as to form a cosy room.

A lantern is burning at the far end. The remains of my dinner are aken away. Salim has just brought coffee again. I ask Salim if the needs of my two men have been attended to, and he replies that they have had a dinner similar to mine, and are preparing to turn in. "Have they had coffee?" I ask. "Yes, Abu Sa'ud, they have had coffee. May 521
the women come and talk to you before you go to sleep?" he asks. I agree, for it is only 8 p.m. and far too early to think of turning in. Amsha and her friends again creep in and sit down. This time Salim is with them, but not Hussa. She is staying with the little black children and putting them to sleep in her tent.

Presently they ask me for the news of Kuwait, and they in turn give me all the Badawin gossip that has come their way since they arrived. They go through the names of everyone camped within 10 miles of them, and Salim tells of raids and counter-raids in distant Najd, the doings of So-and-So, the plans of the King (Bin Sa'ud), and of how careful he must be not to get into trouble with Yaman.* "Believe me, Ya Abu Sa'ud, the Imam Yahya, is very strong and has wonderful arms and infernal machines at his disposal. Why, he even has metal walking-chickens which he sends by the thousand into his enemy's camp by night, and as soon as they get among the troops they explode and kill very many with each explosion. *Wallah* (by God) it is true! Have I not myself seen men killed in this way? Have I not just returned from Riyadh and seen bits of exploded chickens

* This scene took place just before Bin Sa'ud's Yaman adventure of 1934.

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521 that have been brought back from the Asir front for the King to see? It is true, I say, O Abu Sa'ud. You know I have never told a lie yet, and why should I do so now?"

As he tells this whopper, the women giggle and cry out in pretended alarm. They, of course, believe the story, and half Arabia believes it too.

"Do you know", said Salim again, "that there is talk in the Summán that Faisal al Duwish is alive and in hiding?" I replied caustically that this could not be, seeing that he died in prison of an aneurism two years ago. "That is just it", replied Salim, "you go and swallow any fairy tale that Bin Sa'ud likes to put about. Actually, if you must know it, Al Duwish escaped and is in hiding. Why, as I was coming from Riyadh only twenty days ago I met a Mutairi woman who had met him. She saw him standing outside her tent in the evening. He had come from his hiding place in one of the *dáhals* to ask for a little bread. She is a person who knows the Shaikh like her own self. If you must know it was Wadha, Faisal's own sister. There, that is proof, isn't it?" Cries of pleasure come from the women, for all the world loved Faisal al Duwish, in the eyes of the Mutair the greatest Badawin leader and shaikh that was ever born of woman.

Such and many similar stories were recounted till, tiring, I told them all to go to bed as I had a long day before me in the morning.

264 "Will you want lunch for the road in the morning, Abu Sa'ud?"
574 said the practical-minded Amsha. "Yes, of course", said I. So she promised to get up at 4 a.m. and cook me three chickens* and a bowl of rice. The bowl, she said, had a cover, and with a loaf of Arab bread on top and the cover put on, the lunch would keep warm easily till noon. She was as good as her word. Next day's lunch was delicious. A salam now all round and I dismissed my woman friends, and the worthy Salim, and turned in.

231 I seemed to have slept but a little while by the entrance of my open tent, when I was awakened by ferocious barking. The three or four camp dogs had taken fright at something. I felt they were moving round and round the tents, they were quiet for five minutes or so and then broke out again in the fiercest growling and barking. I was very

* I had brought these along with me alive from Kuwait.

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tired and dozed off again. Again I woke, and again I dozed off, till the 281
barking of the dogs became a sort of rising and falling echo in my tired and sleepy brain. Once I heard the camels, which were kneeling close behind Salim's tent, jump up in alarm and bolt 50 yards, but the reassuring voice of Salim calmed them, and I dropped off to sleep again. Presently I heard him shouting: *Ya Nasir, shunnu illi khawaf al bil?* (Oh Nasir, what frightened the camels?). *Ma'aku shai*, came the reply (Nothing at all). I went on dozing the night long, hearing many and strange sounds, but too tired to move. It is always thus, my first night with my Badawin friends; I cannot sleep. Before dawn I 512
heard Salim calling to prayer, and shortly afterwards, though it was [782]
still very dark, the goatskin of milk, rocked by one of the women to [252]
make curdled milk (*leben*) and butter, started its song. Rug-rug-rug-rug, the skin protested, and yet again, Rug-rug-rug. It was the old sound I knew so well, and it gave me a strange feeling of homeliness and comfort. They were awake before daylight, these simple people; they never seem to sleep—they also had prayed, and now they were watching for the dawn.

Presently I heard the shepherds calling their flocks of sheep to- 512
gether, and the camelmen talking to their camels. Both sheep and 233
camels had slept in the open in front of Salim's and Dhuwaihi's tents, the ewes close to their young. *Hirr, hirr*, cried Faláh, as he started calling the mother sheep to feed their lambs, before going out to graze for the day. The lambs all began to bleat at once, it was the hour of their morning meal. After this they will get nothing till nightfall, so they must drink now deep and well. Presently, with the first glimmer of dawn the daily counting of the sheep began. Aha! a cry, "Ya Salim, there are two short. Come quick, a ewe and a lamb are missing." A hurrying of feet, then eager talking. A further cry, "A
wolf, it is a wolf". "A wolf has done this in the night." From right 233
under their noses, a he- and she-wolf had clearly visited the camp and carried off the animals in the dark. A quick cast round and the enemies' pug-marks were found. The he-wolf had cleverly given the watch-dogs his scent on the side from which the wind was blowing, and as soon as the dogs had rushed after him into the night his cunning spouse had crawled close up to the tents on the other side, much as a cat crouches and creeps after a mouse (except that the wolf seems

The Badawin's Diet

511 what the world would call honest methods. Hence if he cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work
[461] he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as is the case under Bin Sa'ud's regime to-day), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a "square" meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party.

262 His own food for most of the year consists of only camel's milk and a handful of dates per day. The camel-herd gets even less than this.

291 The Badawin's clothes are on the same scanty scale as his food, a thin cotton *dishdásha* (smock), replaced only when it falls off his back with age, and a threadbare *'abba* (cloak), *kaffiyah* and thin rope *agál* (head cloth and head cord), are all he has to cover his ill-nourished body. Yet all this makes for toughness and hardihood, and the average
[132] Badawin seems made of steel. The lack of warm clothing is probably the hardest thing in life that he has to bear, for in winter the temperature often falls below freezing point, and the winds are of ice, and cut the body through and through. I have never in my life felt so cold as in the desert a hundred miles inland of Kuwait when a *yáki* or *jabali*
262 wind has been blowing in December or January. Yet in spite of the
574 hard life, the Badawin is never in danger of actual starvation or of dying from want. His *ahl* (family) would never permit this, nor would the system of affording three days' hospitality to all and sundry —such a splendid feature of democratic Arabia—allow of a man reaching such straits. A person who is down and out, without a penny to his name, would in reality be far worse off in London than in Arabia, where he could always hope to find a black tent or two to sponge on.

[18] A Badawin's dream and ambition in life is to possess about a dozen
231 camels, next a wife, and afterwards a mare, half a hundred sheep and a *saluqi*—I am, of course, assuming that he starts with a rifle and a *dhalúl* (riding camel). Give the desert man these essentials and he is a made man, for both camels and sheep double themselves in three years. Any male lambs that are born, he kills for food, the females he

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keeps for breeding. Similarly, young male camels are sold for food 231
and only a selected few retained to carry the household tents and [492]
baggage.

Mares are never sold, and the male foals, if not killed at birth, are a source of income when sold in the towns bordering on Arabia. (See Chapter XXX.)

The Badawin of the desert has a charm of his own, and if you 572
once make friends with him or do him a kindness, he does not forget. 577
He is above all things a child of nature, and is ruled by a strange pride which he calls his *sharaf* and which he values almost above life itself. Scold a desert man or call him ugly names, and he is ready to knife you; at the very least he will sulk, dig his toes into the ground and do nothing that you wish. On the other hand, if you treat him kindly, invite him to sit down in your tent and take a cup of coffee with you, you have gone half-way to win his friendship and confidence. If you treat him as an equal, and not as a servant, even if he is merely your guide or escort, he will react wonderfully and will rarely take liberties.

He is full of humour too, and will understand a joke and a good 622
story, but you must not make fun of him before his fellow Arabs.

Next to his *sharaf*, the Badawin, and for that matter every true 577
Arab, values his family honour or *'ardh*. This word implies the good name of his womenfolk and more especially of his wife and sister. If his *'ardh* is besmirched nothing short of killing the errant woman will restore it. Respect the Badawin's *sharaf*, speak well always of his *'ardh* and help him to guard both, and all will be well with you in your relations with him.

However poor he is and however lowly his dwelling-place, the 574
Badawin excels as a host, and will slay his last camel or sheep to do honour to his guest. Nor are his womenfolk behindhand in this respect. If an important personage passes by her tent in the absence of her husband, the wife will run out of her tent holding out a frothing bowl of camel's milk or *leben*, as a sign of welcome.

THE BADAWIN'S FAULTS

The desert man has his faults, of course, and by Western standards 000
they are grave.

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342 yards of it so as to let portions of it lie on the ground: the breeze in
132 this manner percolates into every part of the tent. If the sun is very strong, a locally woven carpet (usually some shade of orange) is hung up near the tent roof between poles and is pinned to the underside of the tent roof. This doubles the thickness of the tent and brings relief.

In very cold weather, on the other hand, the tent can be closed from the front by drawing inwards the embroidered ends of the *qdza* (which already extend several yards outside the tent) and by joining the ends near the middle of the tent side. The top edge is then pinned to the edge of the roof of the tent as is done in the case of the back curtain. This encloses the tent completely and gives great cosiness and warmth to the occupants. Similarly, the ends of the *rugg* are brought right round the guest quarters and the woman's cookhouse respectively, and turn those places into warm corners to sit in.

NOTE.—The men's quarter of a tent or *raba'a* is always situated at the east end of the tent, irrespective of which way the tent is facing. This is the universal rule in Eastern and North-Eastern Arabia.

Similarly it is the rule for a tent to be pitched with its longer axis at right angles to the north-west wind (*Shamál*). In inner Najd, and especially among 'Utaiba tribe, the longer axis facing the north-west is the rule, and the tent is opened at its ends only. The *raba'a* here is at southern end.

THE TENT DOGS

231 Every tent has its watch-dogs, and also (especially amongst the 'Ajman, 'Awazim and Mutair) a *salúqi* or two. The former are fierce, shaggy animals who usually have their ears cut off short to make them good fighters. Their heads are broad, rather like our bull-terrier type, and they are fierce and very powerfully built. These dogs guard the camels and sheep at night from wolves and strangers, and are trained to move round and round the tents all night in a large circle. The incoming or departing guest usually has a busy time keeping off these savage dogs, who bark at his heels in a most disconcerting manner, and are only kept back by a continual motion of his cane behind him, or
231 by the shouts of the occupants of the tent. The watch-dog usually
826 sleeps outside the women's apartments and is fed with little bits of rice, bread and dates that are left over from the meals. It is never allowed inside the tents, being unclean (*najis*). The *salúqis* (pronounced *salúqi*,

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231 plural: *salag*), on the other hand, are regarded as clean, especially by
325 those Badawin follow the Maliki tenets of Islam (who are in the majority in Hasa and Kuwait), and they are allowed to enter tents and sleep in the women's portion at will. They are valued for hunting purposes, and are taught to kill hare and gazelle for the pot. Great care is taken that there shall be no interbreeding between the tent watch-dogs and the *salúqi*, and when the female *salúqi* of the household is on heat one of her hind legs is attached by a leather thong to her collar, thus forcing her to sit down, which effectually prevents a heavy dog covering her.

A STRANGER ARRIVING AT A TENT

58 A stranger arriving must approach a Badawin tent from the front only. It is the worst of bad form to come up from the back. He must then approach the guest side of the tent and halt and make his camel kneel while some way off. This shows that he wants a night's rest or some food. He must never approach or halt his camel near the women's end of the tent (*mahárram*). The purpose of this custom is to give the women time to adjust their *burqas* or veils whilst the visitor is some distance off. Were the visitor to come up from behind, he might come upon an unveiled woman attending to nature or washing her hair, or cleaning kitchen utensils.

FAVOURITE SPOTS FOR PITCHING TENTS

342 In choosing a tent site the proximity of water is, of course, the first essential. Next, the nature of the grazing decides where a man will wish to pitch his tent. If he is migrating with the tribe or part of the tribe, the tent owner leaves the selection of the area to be camped on to the shaikh, but tries for the convenience of himself and his family to get as close as possible to a sandy nullah or dry water course with
342 high banks. This is very important, for it allows the whole household,
515 and especially the women, to attend to their toilet and other sanitary
514 duties out of sight and in sandy surroundings which are ideally healthful. In this connection a Badawin (male or female) never unnecessarily soils the ground, but makes a point of digging a small hole in the sand, which he afterwards fills in. If water is scarce, as more often than not

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Method of Skinning Animals

Under (*b*) we get the *'akka*, the *madhara* and the *jeráb*. 415

The *'akka* is the name given to a sheepskin used for storing *dehen* (clarified butter).
The *madhara* is the same but is made out of a lamb skin.
The *jeráb* is made out of a young gazelle's skin, and is used for storing coffee beans.

BADAWIN METHOD OF SKINNING ANIMALS

(*a*) *Sheep and Goats.* 281

The carcase is suspended head down, and the skin is 231 opened up behind the hind legs and under the tail by one single cut. It is then peeled off downwards towards the head. In the finished article, the opening at the neck end becomes the filling end, while the original cut at the tail end is sewn up together with each leg.

(*b*) *Camel.*

The cut is made from the head along back of neck to top of hump and down again to tail. Both sides are then peeled off in outward direction. Finally each side is removed separately by a cut along centre of belly and under the neck.

When killing a camel, the head is drawn round to one of its flanks and tied by the halter in that position. The jugular vein is then cut close down to where the camel's neck comes out of the body. This is the exact opposite to the method used for killing sheep and goats. The incision in their case is made immediately behind the jaw bone.*

When cutting an animal's throat, be it animal or bird, the invocation [788] "Bism Illah al Rahmán al Rahím" (in the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate) must invariably be made before the cut is made.

* Exactly in centre of the Adam's apple.

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together a few pence to buy a hawk, all go in for the sport. In fact, 223
every self-respecting person owns, or hopes to own, his falcon.

The two most commonly used hawks are known locally as the *Hurr* or *Hurra* and the *Shâhin*.* The former is the aristocrat of the two, and fetches a much higher price.

The best hawks come from the Persian littoral, and nowadays fetch [435]
prices of from Rs.50 to Rs.150 a bird. Both *hurr* and *shâhin* are also caught by Badawin hunters clever at snaring. The islands of Bubiyan and Warba, west of the Shatt al 'Arab Delta, are favourite snaring *grounds for Kuwait Badawin, and I believe the Dhaharan* peninsula, south of Qatif, is another.

On first reaching Arabia the *hubara* makes for the small new green shoots of grass that come up with the early rains or *wasm* season (October). As the rainy season develops and grass comes up everywhere, the birds scatter and proceed deeper and deeper into the interior, until they are found as far inland in the north as the Syrian desert, and in the south round about Riyadh and the oasis of Jabrin. Except in small numbers the birds do not penetrate much west of this line.

Round about Zubair, Kuwait and further south as far as Qatar, the birds are very plentiful throughout the winter, and many thousands of birds are each season killed for food by the local Arabs. In Kuwait the shaikh generally bags about two thousand birds every cold weather, and the combined members of the Al Sa'ud get about the same number in Najd proper, as also do the Shaikhs of Bahrain, both on their own islands as well as on the mainland where they regularly hunt.

The best trainers of falcons round about Kuwait and Riyadh are 231
the Rashaida tribesmen, and in the south the Al Murra tribe. Both 223
seem to have a very special aptitude for turning out skilled birds.

A good hawk will only kill four to five *hubara* in one day, an exceptional hawk has been known to kill as many as seven to eight. I have known "Peshur", the priceless hawk of the Shaikh of Kuwait, kill as many as eleven birds in a day, but this is unique in the annals of the chase.

* *Hurr* is apparently the name given to both "Saker" and "Lugger" falcons, and *Shâhin* is clearly the *Shahin* falcon of Natural History.

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231 223 The famous "Petrol" indeed appeared always ready to try his luck with a *hubara*, and I have seen him after killing his tenth bird lie on his back in a fit of exhaustion, and appear to be at the point of death. A small dose of aspirin crushed in water used to bring him round on these occasions.

[552] Hawks always bear good names, selected either after famous falcons of the past or after well-known historical heroes, for instance, "Sultán", "Shabíb", "Dhiáb", "Sáhud", "Sádáh", etc.

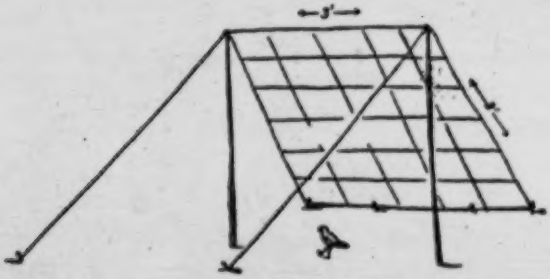
A falconer is called a *saggár*. It takes thirteen days for a good *saggár* to train a year-old hawk. If the hawk is a two- or three-year-old bird, the training period may last twenty to twenty-five days.

223 Hawks are in general called *tair* (plural: *tuyár*). (Hurr and Sháhín falcons are particular hunting types mentioned above.)

There are two common methods for snaring hawks:

(*a*) The small square net and jerboa or pigeon method.
(*b*) The long narrow net with raven and pigeon method.

(*a*) A very coarse-mesh net of thin light texture 3 feet by 3 feet in size, is erected at an angle of 60° from the ground. The lower edge is pegged very lightly to the ground, while the upper side is supported



Hawk Trap (*a*)

on two light sticks, which are kept in position by two light cords also very lightly pegged to the ground. The net is sloped away from the wind, as the hawk always dives after its prey down and into the wind.

Under the net a jerboa (bounding field rat) or a pigeon is tied by the leg and pegged to the ground.

The hawk, seeing the animal from afar, and not perceiving the

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223 string attachment 100 feet long. When the string is pulled it causes the net to whip up and over, imprisoning anything lying on the ground.

A captive pigeon is tethered by one of its wings to the ground near the net, but on the far side of it. The snarer sits in a hole 100 feet away, flanking the net, his head covered over and hidden by brushwood. He holds a long string attached to the decoy pigeon by a ring.

He next brings into play a tame and trained raven, which has a thick clod of black wool attached to its legs, to represent a bird in its claws. The raven is held captive by means of a third string some 200 feet long.

The snarer thus has three strings, one to the net, one to the pigeon, and one to the raven.

He now releases the raven, which, though held by the leg, flies up and over the net, circling round and round.

Any hawk within ten miles will see it, and thinking the raven has food or a bird in its clutches will at once fly to the spot, to snatch the prey.

The raven, seeing the hawk approach, caws violently and comes to earth, whereupon it is quickly pulled to cover by the snarer. The hunter then jerks the captive pigeon with the second string to make it struggle. The hawk, seeing it, at once swoops and kills it on the ground. While the hawk devours his prey the snarer slowly pulls it, together with the pigeon it is feeding on, towards the net. When he has got it in the right position he jerks the third string which operates the net and pulls it over the hawk by a whipping backward motion. The hawk is thus trapped.

As a rule the captive pigeon is put in a small hole in the ground and covered with brushwood till the falconer jerks it and makes it flutter as the hawk draws near.

●231 When a hawk is first caught its lower eyelid is pierced by a thin thread which is passed over its head and through the other lower eyelid. This forces both eyes to close. The bird is then hooded with the *burqa*, or leather head-cap. For sketches of Hawking Outfit see page 92.

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CHAPTER XXIX

The Salúqi

● 231 The Badawin, and especially those whose habitat is the eastern and north-eastern part of Arabia, all go in for keeping greyhounds, for hunting and sport, much in the same way as they train and keep hunting hawks and falcons. The pure-bred greyhound is called *salúqi* (pronounced *salúgi*, plural: *salag*), and a half-breed greyhound is known under the name of *lúgi*.

Great care is taken by the Badawin who owns a *salúqi* to see that his bitch is not covered by a common sheep-dog or stray *lúgi*. Hence when she is on heat (*tutlub*), she is either kept closely confined in the tent, or her hind leg is tied up by a leather thong to her collar. This is a somewhat uncomfortable position for the animal, which only finds rest in a lying down position.

231 224 The *salúqi* is kept primarily for hunting and is taught to run down hare and gazelle. The best of these hounds are capable of going out alone short distances from camp, killing and bringing back to their master any hare they can put up. I have in mind a beautiful grey *salúqi* bitch belonging to Shaikh Salim al Hamud al Subah of Kuwait, which used frequently to go hare-hunting on her own when her master was in camp, and two days out of six she would bring back game. She was an exception, however.

Ordinarily two or three youths will go out on foot with two or three *salúqis*, and will beat up likely stretches of ground for hare—the hounds being taught to work separately at intervals of twenty or thirty yards from each other. On putting up a hare they will run it down and break its back in best coursing style, or will run it to earth, when the master will come along and dig it out.

When hunting hares with *salúqis*, the huntsmen usually work on foot, but for gazelle-hunting camels are used. Their height enables the huntsman to spot a herd of gazelle from afar, and when the chase commences he can follow his hounds for miles, as they race after their game.

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Greyhound Types

It is a curious fact that well-trained *salúqis* will rarely lose a gazelle 231
when once it is sighted. They gallop after it for miles until their 224
quarry, either from terror or exhaustion, collapses and lies down. The rest is then easy, for the hounds seize and hold it till the hunter comes up on his speeding camel, dismounts and cuts its throat. On most occasions, however, the gazelle gives his pursuers a run for their money before it is caught and killed. This cannot be said of the unsportsmanlike hunting down of gazelle with motor cars, so unfortunately practised in some parts of Arabia to-day. Here the unfortunate gazelle is pursued at great speed for a mile or so, and when the car containing the hunters catches up its terrified and exhausted victim, the latter is dropped in its tracks by a charge of buck or No. 1 shot, fired at point-blank range. I am glad to say this cruel form of sport, though it became common in Kuwait with the advent of the motor car, was frowned on by the present enlightened ruler, and so ceased to be popular as far back as 1934. In Iraq there is supposed to be a law forbidding the hunting of gazelle in motor cars, but I understand that both there and in Sa'udi Arabia this form of sport is still carried on.

To return to the *salúqi*. The Arabian *salúqi* proper must not be 231
confused with his cousin, the Persian greyhound, though whether in 438
origin he is a descendant of that animal I cannot say.

The Arabian species are two: (*a*) the entirely smooth-haired animal (commonly found among the Mutair tribe), with ears and tail like those of his English cousin, and (*b*) the smooth-haired animal with long silky hair on ears as well as on tail (common among the 'Awazim tribe).

The two types are entirely different, the predominating colours of the former being fawn, reddy brown or black, usually with black muzzles, and the latter with ruddy brown muzzles merging into the black head.

The common colours found in (*b*) type are white, French grey and pale fawn, the ears and tail being always of a lighter colour than the body. Occasionally a mottled grey and white animal is met with, but these most probably come down from the Muntafiq country on the lower Euphrates and are not true to type.

The Badawin *salúqi* tends to be small: he is definitely a good deal 231

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●231 smaller than the English greyhound. Whether this is due to centuries of poor food, or not, I cannot say. Judging from the Arab horse, born and bred in similar conditions, I should say not. I venture the opinion that just as the 14.2 and 14.3 Arab horse of Arabia is the probable natural height of the original species, the far bigger thoroughbreds found in Europe and America being unnaturally bred, so I should say that the small type of Arabian greyhound should be considered as conforming to the true standard of the breed, and not the larger and much more powerful type found in Europe.

I make the above remarks with apologies to *salúqi* experts in England and other parts of the world, but am constrained to say so, because at certain *salúqi* shows in England I have seen so-called Arabian *salúqis* taking prizes who had apparently been bred in two or three generations out of the true type, especially in this matter of size.

As regards the points of a *salúqi*, the Badawin pays attention only to the following:

(*a*) The snout or muzzle must be long and narrow—this for breed.
(*b*) The girth at chest must be deep, the deeper the better—this for staying power.
(*c*) The girth at waist must be fine—this for speed.
(*d*) The hocks must be well let down—this also for speed.
(*e*) The width between the tops of the thigh bones measured on the back must be good, i.e. at least the width of a hand including thumb—this for speed.

For the rest, the dog with two hair warts under the chin is better than that with only one, and the one having three or four such hair warts is very good.

According to the Badawin the *salúqi* is a particularly highly strung animal, and should not be struck or whipped when being trained. Such treatment will definitely spoil and cow the animal. The greatest patience, therefore, must always be shown in training these hunting *salúqis*. This was impressed on me by 'Awazim tribesmen on more than one occasion.

Similarly the Badawin will never take away and destroy unwanted puppies at birth, but will leave them at least a month with their mother. To remove puppies from their mother in the early stages is said to have the same effect as whipping.

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From my own observations, during sixteen years' close intercourse 231
with the Badawin, I should say that the 'Awazim tribe were the best 438
breeders and trainers of *salúqis* in Eastern Arabia, and after them I
should place the 'Ajman tribe, their cousins the Murra, and then the
Mutair, in this order

Unlike other dogs, the *salúqi* is not considered *naqis* (pronounced 231
nujis) or unclean, and dog or bitch is allowed to enter the tent at all times and lie about on rugs and mats. They are not much handled, however, except by the women and children, although the Shaikh of Kuwait has assured me that those professing the Maliki views, have not the slightest objection to touching them.

In summer, when a bitch is about to have puppies, the women or servants of the tent dig a slanting pit in the sand three to four feet deep just outside the women's portion of the tent, and cover it over with sticks and brushwood, laying a layer of earth over the top. An entrance to the inclined way is left for the prospective mother to get down into the cool refuge which has been made for her, where she can have her young in peace and comfort.

Most prominent Badawin shaikhs endeavour to keep well-bred *salúqis*, just as they keep hawks and stud mares of special breed. It gives them prestige and a good name among their fellow shaikhs.

Among Arabs, one of the best-known *salúqi* breeders and fanciers in Arabia was the late H.H. Shaikh Sir Hamad bin 'Isa al Khalífah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Ruler of Bahrain. Shaikh Hamad's *saluqis* were, however, of a larger and more massive type than those ordinarily found among the tribes of the interior. This may possibly be due to the fact that they did little or no hunting, were fed well and fat rather than muscular. His stud was nevertheless a fine one, and it was the ambition of many Arabian *salúqi* fanciers to possess one of Shaikh Hamad's greyhounds for breeding purposes. The kind of dog bred by Shaikh Hamad was of the (*b*) type mentioned on p. 375, that is to say the animals were smooth-haired, except for the ears and tail, which had long silky hair on them.

Personally I am inclined to believe that Shaikh Hamad's *salúqis* have Persian greyhound blood in them, or possibly were originally imported from the Persian shore of the Gulf.

I have certainly never seen such big animals as his on the Arabian

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231 littoral. It would be interesting to have a real expert's views on this question.

The Arabian *salúqi*, like all greyhounds, I suppose, feels the cold of winter very much, and is always given a coat by his owner when the winter season sets in.

Like the Arab horse and camel the *salúqi* is very fond of dates, and will eat them stone and all with relish and apparently no ill-effects.

Sometimes a *salúqi* will turn vicious and start chasing and killing sheep. According to the Badawin there is then nothing for it but to destroy the animal.

I was once asked (1934) by a lady fancier and very well-known breeder of *salúqis* in London if the Arabs kept different breeds of Arabian *salúqis*, in the same way that they have definite breeds of horses. On my return to Kuwait in the same year, I made enquiries on the subject from the shaikhs and many Badawin. I satisfied myself that there were no special breeds or names indicating different species, but that certain tribes favoured the all-smooth type (*a*) and others the silky-eared and fluffy-tail type (*b*).

[552] The following are some of the most common names given to *salúqis* by the Badawin:

Turfa (f.)	Dhabba'án (m.)
Khatáf (m.)	Shihán (f.)
Sulfa (f.)	Najma (f.)
Khazza (f.)	Wadha (f.)

I am told, though I have not been able to verify the story, that at Samarra in Iraq there is a very good strain of *salúqis* known as the "Saglawiyah". These, it is said, are fine big animals rather like Shaikh Hamad's, while the ears and tails of these animals have the long hair mentioned above as typifying strain (*b*). This is the only case that I have come across of a definite name being given to a breed of *salúqis*.

Some of my Shammar friends also make mention of a breed of fine hunting *salúqis* without tails (like the Manx cat), but I have never seen any, nor can I say with any certainty that they exist.

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CHAPTER XXX

The Arab Horse

As an ex-cavalry man, I have naturally interested myself very considerably in horses and mares during my sojourn in the Muntafiq and Hilla areas of Iraq and my wanderings among the Badawin. A 231

What particularly attracted me was the study of the Arab horse in his home surroundings, the manner of his bringing up, his birth, how he was cared for, how fed, how treated, how bought and sold, what happened in his old age and how he died.

My notes on these points must be looked upon as addenda to the many excellent books that have been written and published on this subject by various world authorities. I have in mind particularly the book on the Arab Horse by Mr. Brown, published in the U.S.A. (copies of which it was my privilege to present to His Majesty the King of Sa'udi Arabia and His Excellency the Ruler of Kuwait in 1932), and to the various good books and articles which have been brought out from time to time by His Highness Prince Mohomed 'Ali of Egypt and Mr. Carl Raswan.

UPBRINGING AND TREATMENT

Let me say at once that the Arab horse at home is not the beautifully groomed, round-quartered and well-fed animal to be seen in the stables of European horse-fanciers or on the racecourses of Poona, Baghdad and Cairo—not to mention Crabbett Park.

The mares, for instance, in their Badawin surroundings are unkempt, dirty, long-haired and generally rather thin and miserable-looking creatures. B 231

Except for the fact that they wear a set of coarse iron hobbles on their forefeet, and a Badawin-made coarse *jilldl* over their backs when the weather is cold or chilly, they are treated in the tent much in the same way as the camels or sheep; they wander about in the vicinity.

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● 231 of the black tents, grazing where they will, and coming home to drink when thirsty. They are never given any grain, except when it is necessary to get them fit preparatory to a raid or a tribal war, or when summer grazing is so scarce that it is needed to keep them alive, and then only a minimum is doled out.

It follows that the ordinary Badawin's steed, however well-bred and however valuable, depends for its health and condition more on nature than on man his master. In other words, during the spring months and early summer months, when the grazing is rich and abundant, the condition of mares is wonderfully good, but in summer it is definitely bad; while among those who are not blessed with this world's goods the condition of their mounts is often deplorable.

Nevertheless, the Arab greatly values his horses and mares. It is no exaggeration to say that they are often given preference over the wives and daughters of the tent when it is a question of who shall starve first.

THE MARE AS A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY

The most pleasing feature of all is the way the family mare is treated by her master and the women of the tent. I say "mare" advisedly here, because while horses are got rid of and sold as soon as a buyer can be found, the family mare not only remains unsold, but literally is loved and cared for as if she were a daughter of the house. The fact that she is never groomed is nothing among a people who themselves never wash or bathe, except in the performance of their religious duties. In this respect the mare is only like her human sisters.

This making the mare a member of the family has a most delightfully humanising effect on Arab horseflesh generally. It is charming to see the way mares enter the tent for shelter of a night when it is cold, or walk into the women's quarters in the midday heat of an Arabian summer to escape the stinging rays of a fierce sun. No one says them nay. They take possession as of right, and they are welcomed, given some dates or a drink of water as a matter of course. This sort of treatment develops a strange gentleness towards those women who are always handling them, and especially towards the tent children. Indeed, every mare seems to understand that the little

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ones are the children of her protectors, and treats them gently and 231 ●
with as much care, as if they were her own.

I have often seen little mites of boys and girls literally playing under the mare's legs. She merely looks down on them with big eyes as if they were her own young and perhaps occasionally gives them a shove with her muzzle, to suggest that they might go and get her a handful of dates. I have mentioned in Chapter X the magic uses of a mare at childbirth.

WATERING OF MARES

A mare is not watered at regular times. When she wants to quench her thirst she just comes to the women's quarters and whinnies or stands about expectantly. The women know what she has come for, and at once give her a drink. In camp it is not uncommon to hear the voice of a man calling: "Give the mare a drink, she is asking for water."

From close personal observation—and this I know will surprise some of my readers who are fond of horses—I have found that mares, like camels and sheep of the desert, drink very sparingly during the winter months, provided of course that the autumn rains have been good and grazing is plentiful. They can go for days without drinking at all. In winter and early spring (January and February) a Badawin's mare if doing no work can go as much as forty days without water, the moisture she gets out of the grass seems to be sufficient for her. She, however, will be given an occasional bowl of camel's milk at bedtime, when she comes to the tent for warmth. From the 1st March, as the sun gets warmer, she will require a drink once a day only. From 1st May and onwards she must have water three times a day, or even more.

VALUE OF MARES AS OPPOSED TO HORSES

Horses are not valued except for sale. They are got rid of in the coast towns of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf where they are used as pack animals, or are sold to horse-dealers from further afield, whence they find their way to countries such as Iraq, Syria and India where horse-drawn carriages are still in use. The mare is the thing that

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● 231 counts. She is kept to breed with, and bring money to the tent, in the same way as a good she-camel.

More important still, a mare is looked upon as adorning a man's tent, like a woman or child, for to the Badawin "A house without a child in it is like a room in darkness". No mare will be kept unless she can be traced back to a thoroughbred stock—but even so, her value will be great or small according as she bears certain marks on her body (see below). For example, a man may breed a filly from his thoroughbred mare, which may have one white leg and three black or bay ones—this will make her unlucky and the filly will always be unwanted.

DIFFICULTY OF BUYING ARAB MARES

231 425 422 It is normally very difficult for a European to buy a thoroughbred mare, and the only way he can acquire one without great delay and expense is as a present from a great prince or shaikh, who owns mares in his own right. Even then, he is rarely given a first-class animal.

The reason for this is that no ordinary tribesman owns the whole of his mare, so he cannot sell her outright. He perhaps owns a leg, two legs, or three legs only and can only sell his part-right. At these sales conditions are also carefully laid down as to who shall have the first foal, the second filly, and so on.

As a rule half a dozen persons own, or have a share in each mare, and the joint-owners often live at great distance from each other, hence the difficulty in purchasing even a fairly ordinary mare—while to buy a thoroughbred is practically impossible for a foreigner.

It is amusing and rather disconcerting for a European who sees a good mare in the desert and wants to buy it to be told by the owner that he is quite willing to sell the animal's off-fore, but that the would-be purchaser must go to So-and-So, and So-and-So, living perhaps 100 miles away, if he wants to buy the other three legs. It is still more discouraging to be told that even if you can square each of these parties after prolonged negotiations, that So-and-So living 300 miles away at, say Buraida, has a lien on the first filly, so must be asked if he will agree to the sale. Lastly that the Buraida man may be expected to give a definite "No", seeing that if the mare goes out of the country he will in all probability see no filly.

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Pure Arab Breeds

Chap. XXX

BREEDS

The Arab calls a thoroughbred horse an *asil* (noble), and *asil* strains are many, but there are (*a*) five main strains which stand head and shoulders above the rest. They are known throughout Arabia as *Al Khamsah* (the five) or *Al Khamsat al Rasúl* (the five of the Prophet). These are the following:

The *Kuhailan* (fem. *Kuhaila*)
The *'Ubaiyan* (fem. *'Ubaiya*)
The *Saglawi* (fem. *Saglawiyah*)
The *Hamdani* (fem. *Hamdaniyah*)
The *Hadban* (fem. *Hadbah*).

There are also (*b*) five sub-strains, known as *Khamsah al Dinari*, namely:

The *Dahman*
The *Man'aqi*
The *Shuwaiman*
The *Jilfan*
The *Abu Urkub*.

Cross-breeding between the main strains (*a*) above and the sub-strains (*b*) have resulted in the following well-known sub-sub-strains (*c*):

Muwaj *Rishán* *Khuwaisán* *Wadhnan Khirsán*	from *Saglawi* male stock.
Milwah	from *'Ubaiyan* male stock.
Sa'adán *Radbán* *Samhán* *Khubaisán* *Mukhalad*	from *Man'aqi* male stock.

It follows that all *asil* horses are descended from one or other of the above main, sub- or sub-sub-strains and number over two hundred, all with names of their own.

According to Badawin tradition, the first mare in the world was caught by Ishmael in the Nufudh sands south of present-day Jauf, and he tamed her. This wild mare when caught was in foal, and

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● 231 eventually she became the mother of Al Kuhaila al Ajuz (Kuhaila, because of her black eyelids) It is also said that over one hundred and thirty families branched off from Kuhaila al Ajuz, but that only the five main types (*a*) above can be legitimately recognised.

Mr Carl Raswan, the eminent authority on the Arab horse, visited Kuwait in 1932 and stayed with me. He told me that after many years of study, he had come to the conclusion that out of twenty strains and over two hundred and thirty sub-strains of families studied by him, only three main types could in truth be established. These were:

The *Kuhailan*—representing strength.
The *Saglawi*—representing elegance and beauty.
The *Man'aqi*—representing speed and bone.

He added that the Hamdan and Hadban (the last two of the famous five (*a*) really fell into the Kuhailan group.

RABAT

Every Shaikh of standing is supposed to always keep his *rabat*, i.e. a mare or mares from which he breeds a certain particular strain. He gets name and prestige by doing this.

For instance, Ibrahim Beg ibn Miza'al Pasha al Sa'adun of the Muntafiq maintains some thirty or more mares all of the famous Dahman (Kuhailan) breed. The whole of Iraq knows this, and gives him credit accordingly.

The Shaikhs of Bahrain similarly keep the Roman-nosed Shawaf (Kuhailan) breed, and yet again Al Duwish, Shaikh of the Mutáir tribe used in the past to keep the equally famous Krush strain (Kuhailan) and guarded it with pride and jealousy in the same way as his tribe guarded their strain of black camels known as Al Shurúf. They lost both after the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30, and the strains are now with the King of Sa'udi Arabia.

I will only mention one more instance, and that is the 'Ubaiyan strain of the late 'Abdullah bin Jiluwi, the Governor of Hasa. He was a great horse fancier like all the family of the Al Sa'ud, and had many famous mares in his stable, but he specialised in the 'Ubaiyan breed, and anyone in Arabia can tell you all about the time and money he

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K
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TURFA, ONE OF OUR SALÚQIS

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231 spent on his hobby. His son Sa'ud is carrying on his father's good work.

TYPES MOST VALUED

The Badawin put little value on a mare that is fast over a short distance only, and conversely put the highest value on a stayer. Hence in the frequent races which they arrange, the course will be 10 to 15 miles in length. The reason is not far to seek. The first use they make of their mares is for raids. It is of the highest importance that a man should make his get-away safely, if the day go against him. Only a stayer will ensure this for him.

STRENGTH AND STAMINA

Arab mares live to great age and at twenty are often doing good work; they certainly can have foals up to and after the age of twenty.

The Arab horse is equally long-lived, and I well remember in 1906 when I first joined my Indian Cavalry Regiment the 29th Lancers (now the 9th Royal Deccan Horse) we had a full squadron of Arab horses, many of whom, though they had reached the age of twenty, could not in fairness be cast, as they were doing perfect work.

I have described elsewhere the wonderful 180-mile ride of 'Azaiyiz al Duwish's fifteen-year-old mare after the Um ar Ruthuma disaster, and how in mid-August with a shade temperature of over 125° she bore her rider to safety in just under three days without a drink of water.

That incident alone shows what sort of stamina the Arab horse possesses. Incidentally it was my privilege to show the mare to Mr. Carl Raswan of American horse fame, and to Count Zietarski of Poland, some twelve months after she did the feat. Both were much impressed and took a series of photographs.

THE POINTS OF A FOAL AND A MARE

If a Badawin wants to determine the height to which a newly born foal will grow, he will measure the distance from the top of the foal's hoof (at the side) to the side bone of the knee. This distance never

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231 alters from the day the foal is born, he says, so he knows the future height of the foal by the aid of a simple scale. This is as follows:

(a) If the distance between hoof and knee is 17 thumbs, the foal will grow into a 14.2 horse.
(b) If the distance between hoof and knee is 18 thumbs, the foal will be a 14.3 horse.
(c) If the distance between hoof and knee is 19 thumbs, the foal will be a 15-hand horse, and so on.

The Badawin makes his measurements by width of thumb, and runs up the foal's leg by placing one thumb above the other, till the knee-side-bone is reached.

A Badawin will tell you that any foal having a 17 and over thumb measurement will turn out good as regards height. An Arab normally measures a horse by passing a string behind the animal's ears and joining the two ends on the upper lip. This serves as the measurement from hoof to withers.

Not every Badawin is a judge of a horse, but those who know a good animal from a bad, understand the good points of an animal quite well. For instance, they know that a cow-hocked horse or one with narrow chest and turned-out toes is a "bad un", and similarly they know the difference between a good shoulder and a bad shoulder, and the meaning of a well-ribbed-up horse.

The desert rule is that a horse or mare with large eyes set well apart is a good one (*mabrúk* or *mabrúkah*), and if it has small eyes set close together it is bad. Similarly a true thoroughbred will carry its tail high and well to one side, never straight.

In judging a horse for shoulder and quarter, the Badawin will place a cane on the point of the shoulder and will let it pass upwards through the withers. He will place another cane along the line formed by the horse's hock and the projecting thigh bone. The lines formed by both these sticks produced upwards will form an imaginary pyramid over the horse's back. The lower the apex of this imaginary pyramid to the horse's back, the better the horse.

If my readers will try the experiment themselves, they will find the method gives sound results.

To judge a good hind- and fore-leg, the following method is employed. A cane or bamboo tent-stick is placed in front of the horse's

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or mare's toe and laid against the point of the shoulder. A similar 231
stick is placed behind the hock of the animal (as it stands at rest), which touches the rearmost fleshy point of the quarter. In a good horse the two straight lines formed by the two sticks, if produced upwards, will remain parallel: in a bad horse the lines will splay outwards.

BIRTH AND FOALHOOD

If a foal is born by day, the occasion is a lucky one and the youngster will, it is believed, turn out well. To commemorate this fact it is customary to slit the tip of one ear for about half an inch.

Every foal at birth has the tips of its ears sewn together, to ensure that they stand well erect when it grows up. The stitches are removed after a week. The foal's legs are also pulled straight, toes are turned inwards and hocks out and all four legs are well rubbed. This is supposed to ensure straight legs.

The Badawin considers it of supreme importance to let the foal be suckled by its mother for a full twelve months, and after that as long as milk lasts. The foal must not be weaned else it will develop small bone. They apply the same rule to human babies. In other words, the offspring is everything and the mother's convenience is not taken into account at all. At three years old and even at two and a half the foal is ridden, and is gradually taken for long marches, to bring out, as the Arab says, any splint or weakness that may exist in the bone. At four he is galloped about all over the place by a light rider.

BREEDING

Thoroughbred stallions for stud purposes are kept by every prominent shaikh, and are placed apart from the mares. They are always hobbled with iron hobbles (*hadid*), and generally kept well fed and fit. Some of them develop fierce tempers and should be approached warily. These stallions are usually placed in charge of a favoured slave, who is allowed to take a small regular fee from every person bringing a mare to be served. This, of course, can only be done by permission of the shaikh.

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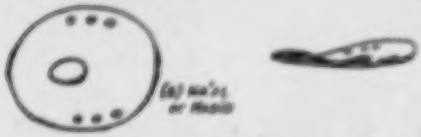
231 A mare is only brought to be served by a stallion when she shows clear signs of wanting a horse (*min tatlub*) or (*a'atifa*). The proper time for the service to take place is, in the case of a bay mare, at night and when the moon is full, and in the case of a grey mare when the moon is new. Results will then nearly always be good. When pregnant the mare is said to be *lagaha*—(the same word is used when pollinating the female date tree with the male pollen)—and a thoroughbred will certainly look round at her flanks, as soon as pregnancy takes place.

SHOEING AND BITTING

492 Horses and mares in the desert are always kept shod. This is done very crudely by our standards, but the local shoeing-smiths rarely prick the sole of the animal. The type of shoe used is always the flat saucer-shaped shoe of the East, which is shaped like this:



The European type of shoe is unknown. The idea of covering the whole sole of the animal shod is to prevent stones and pebbles bruising the bottom of the foot. Animals are reshod only when the old shoe falls off, and the result is that often one sees very long feet and animals that badly need shoeing.

Among the Badawin a bit is never used,* and every animal is ridden on a halter (*risan*). This consists of ornamented cheek pieces made of coloured wools ending in a loose nose-band made of a coarse metal chain, which passes over the nostrils, as well as under the chin.

A round woollen head-rope is attached to this chain under the chin and forms the rider's only means of controlling his mount. To keep this rough headstall from slipping over the animal's head a piece of string is passed under the neck in throat-lash fashion.

The effect of the rider's continually holding the halter in the left hand, is that an Arab mare tends to carry her head on one side and to

* This does not apply to towns-folk, or Iraq Arab tribes, who all use bits.

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contact with a much superior force of irregular Kurdish and Badawin cavalry who forced us to retire. 704 726

After conducting a steady retreat for a distance of some eighteen miles, we were about to skirt Barjisiyah wood, when our force was suddenly charged in flank by 'Ajaimi al Sa'adun and some thousand Muntafiq mounted men, who, unknown to us, were hiding in that particular wood.

As we were up to that point retiring on a very wide front in line of squadrons at two hundred yards' interval, each squadron covering the movement to the rear of its neighbour by dismounted fire action, our force was too widely extended to change front and present a suitable face to the flank charge, and for a time the direst confusion and chaos existed.

Fortunately for us, an infantry column had come out to assist our retreat, and was entrenched close by. It saved the situation. Otherwise, many of us would not be living to tell the tale, for to give 'Ajaimi and his men full credit, his charge was magnificent, and went right through our force, quite in accordance with the best tradition of cavalry tactics. As it was, our worsted force was driven right on to the friendly infantry trenches, and great was the Badawins' surprise to see themselves suddenly confronted at almost point-blank range by a long line of British bayonets comfortably ensconced in trenches. These turned what looked like a probable *débâcle* for us into a defeat for the enemy, and by their withering fire forced 'Ajaimi's men to beat a precipitate retreat, which was successfully turned into a headlong flight by accurate salvoes from a hidden battery.

Though the ordinary Badawin rides bareback, the shaikhs and those who can afford it use for comfort a light cloth saddle, known as a *ma'arga*. This has no stirrups and is little more than a padded numdah strapped on to the horse's back. 492

The *ma'arga* is quite short from front to rear, just allowing a man sufficient room to seat himself.

MODERN WEAPONS, AND THE MOTOR CAR

As already mentioned, stallions or males are not wanted in Arabia, and are sold as soon as possible for draught or pack purposes in the 177 231

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177 sea coast towns and in those countries still using *arobdnas* or horse-
231 drawn carriages. The market for horses is I fear going to get much worse as motor transport develops in the Middle East. The demand for horses is already so restricted that the Badawin of the interior has now started the miserable practice of killing off his male foals at birth. I am told (1935) by various shaikhs of the interior that this practice has become almost universal. It no longer pays the average Badawin to keep a horse till it reaches three or four years of age, for if he is lucky enough to find a buyer then he will only get Rs.80 to Rs.90 for his animal. As I write in 1935 a second-class (average) Arab horse in the bazaars of Kuwait fetches only about Rs.40 (about £3). Fortunately, Arab horse-racing still flourishes in places like Bombay, Poona, Baghdad and Cairo, and this will for some years to come insure a steady market for the best class of Arab horses. This, however, will only preserve to the world a small percentage of the best animals, and will not save the second-class or average horse.

231 Apart from the woeful killing of males at birth, I had it on the
704 authority of His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud himself in 1932, that Arab
718 mares are also on the high road to extinction since the introduction of the small-bore magazine rifle as a war weapon among the tribes of inner Arabia. As he pithily put it, "In the olden days when tribe fought tribe with spear and sword, the mares, which were always ridden in battle, came to little harm, for man sought to kill his opponent man, not his steed. To-day the fighter, whilst still a thousand yards from his enemy, is greeted with a rain of well-aimed bullets which slays infinitely more animals than riders."

231 Bin Sa'ud also told me that he was fully alive to the danger of the Arab horse becoming extinct, and in order to remedy matters had started five stud farms in Sa'udi Arabia all under his royal patronage. He added that he meant to try hard to better the situation, but was not optimistic.

In 1935, as I write, it is most pleasing to see that the King is still pressing on with this good work, and any one going to Riyadh from Iraq and taking with him one or more good mares, is given a special welcome and receives a good price for his animals. More important still is the help the King affords to his own tribesmen, who happen to have fallen on bad times and cannot afford even to keep their mares

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alive during the summer. If they offer their animals to the King as 231 ●
a gift, they are not only relieved of the burden of keeping them, but get back from the King double and treble the worth of their animals.

In spite of all that has been and is being done by Bin Sa'ud, how- 231
ever, the motor car remains a real and increasing menace to that 493
wonderful heritage of Arabia, the Arab Horse. Let us hope that the danger will be realised in time by the Governments of the Middle East. If Persia, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Sa'udi Arabia collaborated to save the Arab horse, they could do so. India also could help in no small measure if she could be persuaded once again to mount Indian cavalry regiments on Arabs, in preference to Walers from Australia. My own conviction is that in the hour of trial and need, the Arab will do twice the work of the Waler, and will always outlast him in age and stamina. Unfortunately, as compared with the Australian he is small, and does not look so well on parade. But what of this in these days when shock action has gone for ever, and fire-action *cum* mechanisation is the only thing left to the cavalryman.

Yet let us thank God that, in various parts of our wide-flung Empire, men mounted on horses must for many years to come still be required.

AGEING HORSES

The Badawin gives the following names to a horse according to 231
and age:

During the first year he is called a *Filu*.
As he enters his second year he is called a *Hauli*.
During his third year he is called a *Jidda* (ridden).
During his fourth year he is called a *Thena*.
During his fifth year he is called a *Raba*.
During his sixth year he is called a *Khamds*.
During his seventh year he is called a *Subd*.
During his eighth year he is called a *Garah* (aged).
Above eight (aged) all are *garah*.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

When a mare gets old she is gradually ridden less and less till she is, so to speak, pensioned off and given no work at all. She is well

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treated to the day of her death, and is never killed to put her out of her misery. In the end she just lies down and dies like her sister the camel. She has an even better time in her old age if she happens to belong to some prince or great shaikh, as these all retain for their own personal animals, whether mares, camels or sheep, large areas of good grazing grounds known as *hamah*. These are strictly reserved for the big man's own herds, and other animals are rigorously excluded. Old and faithful mares are not forgotten, and are turned out loose into these preserves to wander about at their ease till death claims them. They can always get what water they need from the tents of the official guards or rangers, and are given a small ration of grain to see them through the difficult summer months.

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Carl Raswan, on page 121 of his book *The Black Tents of Arabia*, states that it is a curious but little-known fact that the horse of the Arabian desert is a distinct species. He has five instead of six lumbar vertebrae, also less than the usual number of tail vertebrae, sixteen instead of eighteen. He differs from other horses also in having an elongated pelvis, a prominent brain case, a depressed profile below the orbits, and a tapering, slender jaw. I strongly recommend those interested in the Arab horse to read and re-read Appendix A of Raswan's valuable book, which gives most exact information on the origin, breeds and various types of the Arab Horse. There are many other good books on the subject, but Mr. Raswan's is, I think, the most concise and most easily understood.

THE HORSE IN ARAB LITERATURE

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The Arab says that God first created the mare, and afterwards the stallion, and to create the first mare God spoke to the South Wind as follows:

"I will create for you a being which will be a happiness to the good, and a misfortune to the bad. Happiness shall be on its forehead, bounty on its back and joy in the possessor."

The Arab also says that a mare should never be beaten, for misfortune will happen as soon as she is in foal.

It is written in the Qur'an that every man shall love his horse;

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• 231

CAMELS OF THE AL AMASH (DUSHÁN) SECTION OF THE MUTAIR AFTER WATERING AT SUBAIHIYAH WELLS

page 400b.

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232 *hallit* (not found in Arabia). The ear of the sick goat is sliced open at the top end until blood is drawn, and the mixture is well rubbed into the wound. Usually a small ball of the mixture is made and placed under the skin for an hour (the skin being cut and the ball placed underneath, and the skin flap placed over the ball to keep it in position). All goats of the flock, whether known to be infected or not, are treated thus, and if attacked have a good chance of recovery. The disease is highly contagious.

Under the above treatment 50 per cent usually recover. If no treatment is given the whole flock is doomed. The disease reappears in a district every two or three years.

Al Jarrah.—A virulent form of mange. The cure is to cut all the goat's hair off and smear the skin plentifully with an ointment made from gunpowder and clarified butter. This must be done three times to effect a cure. The mange does not attack sheep, dogs, camels or horses, and man is also safe from the disease. Ninety per cent of goats escape if treated in time.

GENERAL REMARKS

233 In the desert goats are chiefly kept for the sake of their milk and hair. The Badawin prefer sheep, but the more well-to-do try to keep a certain number of goats, for goats' hair is superior to sheep's wool for certain parts of their black tents.

In every Badawin hair tent the roof consists of a central broad strip, with two strips of black wool or hair on either side of it. The strip furthest from the central strip is always made of goats' hair, as it is stronger and takes the weight of the *rusg*, or back curtain, better.

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GOAT-NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

Al Dunya (no meaning).
Al Sha'ail (The yellow one).
Al Raksah (The spotted one).
Al Khaim (The white-headed one).
Al Daghaim (The black-headed one).
Al Tawil (The tall one).

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The Goats' Homecoming

Chap. XXXI

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Al Dugagah (The thin one).
Al Hamah (The white-tailed one).
Al Bahhah (The small-voiced one).
Al Sayahah (The bleater).
Al Dabsah (The grey one).
Al Haraish (The coarse-haired one).
Al Hasa (The short-haired one).

The Town Goat.—Every town in Arabia keeps goats in large quantities. They need less grazing, are hardier and give better milk than sheep. It is a great sight to see the flocks of goats daily leaving Kuwait at sunrise and returning at sunset.

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Every householder, according to his means, keeps one or more goats in his backyard. These are all she-goats and are kept only for milking. A man's social status may be judged by the number of goats he so keeps.

In different parts of the town, so as to be convenient to all, goat herdsmen reside who have a stable or yard where the women bring the family's goats to be taken out into the desert to graze. Goats are assembled about sunrise each day, and the herdsman then drives them (in herds of a couple of hundred or so) out of the town to a distance of some 5 to 10 miles according to the time of the year and presence of grazing. The goats thus get exercise and fresh food daily. At sundown the goats are brought home again, and driven into their yard. This is a common and interesting daily sight in the towns, though a dusty business in summer. Round about the entrance to each goat *hauish* or yard, the daughters of the houses, often tiny little girls, meet the herds, pick out their own particular goat and bring it home. Very often the goats leave the herd of themselves and go straight to their homes. They are full of milk, and are anxious to reach their mistress, who at once milks them, and gives them relief. Most of the goats, especially the Berberiyah, have so much milk that they can scarcely walk with comfort.

This daily home-coming of the goats is a familiar and very interesting sight. It is a joy to see the shouting children taking their charges home, and relieving the goatherd of his responsibility at the end of a hard day. Laughter and cries of pleasure are in the air. Little girls

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CHAPTER XXXII

The Camel

TYPES AND BREEDS

For the different types and kinds of camels see further on in this chapter. The names given there, though favoured by the Mutair, are used more or less universally among the Badawin of Arabia. Needless to say, there is no such thing as the two-humped or Bactrian camel in Arabia. 231

Speaking generally, the camels of the more northern tribes of Arabia are larger and bigger-boned than those of the south. This is probably due to climatic rather than food conditions.

On the other hand, the finest and best-bred camels undoubtedly come from the south-eastern parts of Arabia, i.e. from Oman and the Trucial coast of the Persian Gulf. These are known under the general name "Oman camels", or *Umaniyah*, to use the well-known term given to the female riding-camel of that country. The best breed of the Oman species is known as the *Bâtiniyah*.

Various tribes go in for breeding camels of a favourite colour. The Dhafir largely favour white camels and the Rawala ('Anizah) take a pride in their wonderful white herds. The great 'Utaiba tribe favour very dark camels, almost black; the Mutair, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, on the other hand, prefer the fawn- or red-coloured variety, but the Dushan (Mutair) boast a famous black breed (*al shurûf*). The Murra and Qahtan, like the 'Utaiba, prefer dark-coloured animals. Speaking generally, white and light-coloured camels come from the north, dark and black ones from the south.

Probably the best all-round camel to be found in Arabia, as opposed to the thoroughbred, comes from the province of Hasa. This because of the wonderful profusion in Hasa of the *'arfaj* bush (Rhanterium), which is one of the finest camel foods known to the Badawin.

I would go further and say that the best-conditioned camels, and the finest herds in Arabia, are to be found among the 'Awazim, who

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• 231 roam the country between Kuwait and Ainain (Jubail) on the Hasa coast.

RIDING CAMELS

231 492 Riding camels are invariably females, and are not allowed to breed. As already mentioned, the best come from Oman, and are beautiful specimens of nature's art. Indeed the difference between the well-bred *Bátiniyah* or *'Umaniyah* and the ordinary pack camel, generally known as a *jamal*, or a *bayir*, is quite as marked as the difference between a thoroughbred racehorse in England and an ordinary carthorse.

Like the thoroughbred horse, the *Bátiniyah* or *'Umaniyah* possesses a small head, wide forehead, small nostrils, longish ears and large eyes, and is wonderfully gentle and understanding. In body she is slightly built with thin legs, giving the appearance of fine lines. Her movements resemble those of the gazelle, whether she is at rest and grazing or moving at full speed.

As regards pace, an *'Umaniyah* will travel when fully stretched at approximately 14 miles an hour. At this pace her head and neck are held horizontally straight out in front of her.

The chief characteristic of the well-bred and especially the *Bátiniyah* camel is its staying power.

Shaikh Naif ibn Humaid of the 'Utaiba tribe told me that when he escaped from Bin Sa'ud's prison in Riyadh, *circa* 1925, he got to Nasriyah in the Muntafiq (Iraq) in eight days, riding one of the best camels his tribe could produce. The distance as travelled was close on 800 miles. (Authority Naif ibn Humaid, February 1933.)

His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud once told me that the news of the battle of Shu'aiba, near Basra, in 1915, when the British forces beat the Turks, was conveyed to him by one of his picked messengers, who was at Zubair waiting to report results. His name was Bani ibn Zaid, as far as I remember. He travelled the 530 miles separating the two towns in five and a half days. His *dhalúl* or riding camel died on arrival. (Authority Bin Sa'ud, November 1920.)

Near Ratawi Mounds, south of the Hamar Lake in Iraq, I once saw a young 'Ajman brave race the Baghdad train for some four miles out of sheer *joie de vivre*. For the whole distance he kept neck and neck with the centre portion of the train, the dining-car. This was in 1918,

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when the state of the track did not permit of trains running at more than 30 miles an hour. 231 492

NAMES OF HERDS, ETC.

Herds of camels are spoken of as *al bil*, or *al dibbash*. This is a 233 generic term in the same way as one might speak of "the flocks", "the herds". Other names for the camel are *bayir* (plural: *ba'arin*), *Al mudshi* is the name given to camels on the move and grazing, while *jamal* or *fahal* is a male camel or one reserved for breeding purposes.

To the Western mind there is a tendency to think of camels as beasts of burden only. We picture them pacing the desert tied head to tail, in long snake-like formation, conveying the necessities of life from town to town.

In Arabia proper, where the great Badawin tribes roam, the picture is quite a different one. This is the home of the camel, and vast herds sometimes as many as 100,000 at a time may be seen following the grazing from one area to another. The camel at home is like the sheep, and is kept primarily for its milk, secondarily for its meat.

The great herds consist almost entirely of females, the few odd males that are to be found being used only for carrying heavy loads such as tents from camp to camp, and for breeding purposes. The camel-stallions are kept strongly tied up and as a rule near tents during the cold weather (December and January) or rutting season. In summer, when grazing is scarce and breeding-time is over, they are allowed to graze with the females.

CAMEL BREEDING

One good *fahal* in a good spring season is capable of serving a hundred females.

The act of copulation is performed with the female in kneeling posture, her foreleg usually being tied up to the shoulder to keep her quiet. As a rule men are in attendance to assist in the process, but quite often the male is left to his own devices in the herd. At calving time the women and children all watch the delivery of the young

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233 camel into the world. There is no false modesty or stupid hush-hush about such matters among the Badawin.

FAMOUS BREEDS

231 The following are the famous breeds of camels:

(1) *Al 'Umaniyah.*
(2) *Al Hurra.*
(3) *Al Bátiniyah.*
(4) *Al Arthiyah.*
(5) *Al Attiyah.*

Al 'Umaniyah originally came from the coast of Oman and Trucial coast, but it is found to-day along the eastern shore of Arabia from Kuwait to Oman, more especially at the southern end. The 'Umaniyah camel is not good for work in pebbly country, as its feet are tender.

Al Hurra comes from Shammar and 'Anizah country. It is supposed to have come originally from the Shararat tribe. This is considered the best of all breeds for summer work and on stony country, as its feet are tough and it can go longest and furthest without water. It is commonly said that in North-West Arabia there roams a breed of wild camels. It is the males of this breed which cover the female (which is left out at night tied up, etc.) and the resulting calf is the Hurra.

Al Bátiniyah comes from the Bátinah coast of Oman, and is the highest bred and most renowned of all thoroughbred camels. Before 1914 a Bátiniyah was worth Rs.1,000; in 1933, about Rs.400. It is tall but lightly built. Few ordinary Arabs can afford to buy one of them and they are usually given as gifts by rulers to rulers.

Al Arthiyah comes from South-Western Central Arabia (Khurma and Turraba region); it is said to be a good but not very remarkable animal.

Al Attiyah comes from Central and North-East Arabia. It has no remarkable features though shapely and pleasing.

White camels are much prized and a white herd is known as *maghathir*. A single white she-camel is called *Al Wadka*. Other terms in use are:

Jaish—Camels on which fighting men are mounted.
Rakib—Camels which are engaged in carrying loads (*mushilah*).

Watering Camels

Malka—One black camel.
Mijaikim—A herd of black camels (e.g. *Al Shurúf*).
Sha'alah—One brown camel.
Sha'al—A herd of brown camels.
Safrah—One light-coloured fawn camel.
Réiyah—A herd. Each herd has seventy camels in it.
Khalfah—Milch camel (generic term).
Nágá—Female camel that has had a calf.
Hirás—A baby camel (generic term).
Ga'ud—Young male camel.
Bakkarah—Young female camel.
Jamel—Young male, able to carry things (till twenty).
Nágá-tin-Bichir—Female when first put to a male and has her first calf.
Dhalál—Female riding camel (not allowed to have a calf).
Huwár—Young first-born camel, from birth to one year old.
Mufráá—From second year, and when it no longer drinks from its mother.
Hadg walad khalfah—Three-year old (ridden for first time).
Lidji—Four years old.
Jedd'a—Five years old.
Jiniyah or *Rábe*—Six years old.
Sidis—Seven years old.
Nágá—Eight years old (when she is first allowed to breed).
Hirish—Male camel over twenty years old.
Fátir—Female camel over twenty years old.

NOTE.—Period of gestation is twelve months.

WATERING OF CAMELS

In the winter when grazing is good, camels are not watered at all. 233 When it begins to get warm they are watered every seven to nine days. As the summer gets hotter this period is reduced, until in the very hot months (shade temperature anything from 110° to 125°), the camel is watered every two days if possible.

Sheep follow in the main the camel rule as regards watering, but cannot go for longer than four days without water in winter.

Watering at wells is known as *al wird*. Water is drawn from the wells by long ropes to which are attached leather buckets (formed by gathering up the sides of a circular piece of leather by several strings). The water is then poured into the *hauth* or leather receptacle

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The leather bag for rifle.
The camel stick.
The leather bag for dates.
Package of *igt* (dried milk).
The bag holding coffee, *hail* (cardamum seeds), etc.
A man's ammunition is carried bandolier fashion on his person, while spare ammunition goes in a spare woollen bag, which with the date and coffee bags are stowed away in the saddle bags.

NOTE.—There is another sort of saddle, the *fulâni*, much used in the south among the Murra and people of the "great desert". It has no pommels, and the rider sits behind the hump (see sketch, page 87).

CAMEL PACES

The pace of an ordinary riding camel is approximately 4 miles an 492
hour at a walk, 6 miles per hour trotting and walking, 8 miles an 231
hour at a trot, 13 miles an hour when "all out" over a short distance and 10 miles an hour moving fast over a long distance of say 100 miles. A laden camel moves at about 3 miles an hour. Bin Sa'ud's express riders between Oqair and Hufuf take 5 hours regularly for the distance of 60 miles. Messengers going between Kuwait and Riyadh, a distance of 500 miles or slightly less, take regularly 10 days to do the journey.

In winter or when the weather is cool, travelling is done mostly by day, in summer by night.

Halts are made every 20 miles or so to drink coffee, which is carried ready made, and needs only to be heated up. Brushwood is usually found ready to hand by the way, if not, the camel dung (*jalla*), of which a small supply is always carried, is used. It burns like charcoal.

CAMEL DISEASES 232

Jarrab is the greatest enemy of the camel and is the ordinary camel-mange. This scourge breaks out every now and then among herds, and may be likened to smallpox.

It spreads through a herd with lightning rapidity, and if not taken in hand, kills the camel in forty days, especially during the summer season.

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Muntafiq

Tribe Etymologies

Chap. XLIV

A GOOD WATCH-DOG

To make a Badawin dog fierce and a good watch-dog, his ears are 231
cut off when young. A piece is then cooked and given him to eat. This, according to the Arab, turns him into a good watch-dog and especially a good barker by night. (See Chapter IV.)

THE NUMBER ELEVEN

A curious thing about the 'Awazim tribe is that they never will use 801
the word *ahada 'ashar* for *eleven*. They always say *'ashra wa wahad* (ten and one). The rest of the numerals they name as other Arabs do. I have not yet been able to find out the reason for this avoidance of eleven.

Kuwait, October 30, 1933.

HOW AN 'AJMAN WOMAN SAVES HER CHILDREN

Among the 'Ajman, if a woman's children are dying apparently 761
without reason, a piece of the ear above the lobe is cut off from the latest born infant, placed inside a date, and given to the mother to eat. The child is then known as *Al Jida'* (the cut-off one).

Maneira bint 'Iyda al Fa'aran al Hithlain, wife of Hamad al Mishwatt, had had this done. She showed me her ear on 16th August, 1935.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME DHAFIR, THE GREAT DESERT TRIBE SOUTH OF THE EUPHRATES

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The name means a "collection of many oddments", and is derived from the same root as:

Tadhafaru—they were plaited together.
Dhafar—to plait.
Dhafayir—a woman's plait.

Similarly we have Muntafiq from *intifaq*, a coming together.

NOTE.—This describes exactly how these two great tribes were originally formed. They grew out of a collection or confederation of a number of small desert units in the first instance, and of a number of marsh tribes in the second, under Sa'adun leaders.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use 619
donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of 101
donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as 233
is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. [492]
By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of con- 619
federacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to 622
define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a titular position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are 619
more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, 101
Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, [241]
by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as [326]
Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al [231]
Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are [285]
not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a [622]
strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

Appendix I

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Saud in 1929–30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under 721
ibn Musaiyis, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and [713]
German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Bin Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Bin Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929–30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Bin Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the 'Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Bin Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Bin Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Bin Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the 669
latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929–30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(*a*) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.
(*b*) The confiscation by Bin Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Shuruf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able 726
to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They 231
own the famous breed of *Krush* horses, and up to the 1929–30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear 291
a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and 562
once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman 619
were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929–30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'Ajman (Singular 'Ajmi)

619
Paramount Shaikh—Ibn Hithlain* (from Shaikhly Clan al Ma'idh, 101
subsection Najiah). 622

* Is also pronounced Hathlain.

Appendix I

713 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

186

(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of 291 rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious 562 feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929–30 'Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the 'Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

B 231 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 ('Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 619 The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 619 641 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of

B 619 641 Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929–30 'Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the 'Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B 563 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MÁNA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAMI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 713 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MUSAILIM.

101 *Present incumbents*—'ASI IBN MUSAILIM (Senior) and MUTLUQ IBN MUSAILIM.

221 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[622] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do, they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel, gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word 156
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their 771
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away. Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the wind-blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as thoroughbreds.

13: Theiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves.
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 511
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badui often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 577
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 461
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com- 315
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

609 treachery. This is probably a slander, inspired by the constant enmity which characterises their relations with their neighbours; but they certainly deserve their reputation for godlessness, for they never fast nor pray, declaring that the Prophet gave their forefathers exemption from both.

231 We now sat looking down on the busy scene around the well, and those Arabs who
521 had finished watering strolled over and joined us. They asked us what we thought of their herds, and were soon deep in technicalities with my companions. They spoke of individual camels owned by Arabs four or five hundred miles away, of the different breeds, their milk yields and powers of endurance, of prices in Dhofar, Najran and on the Trucial Coast, of pasturage, and of camels taken in
721 raids on other tribes. We heard details of the recent raid upon the Yam and of how Mabkhaut, nicknamed the Cat, had remained behind to hold up the pursuit and had been killed when his rifle jammed. He had been the greatest raider in the southern desert and his exploits and daring were legendary among the tribes. I had known him well, for he had guided us the year before from Salala to Dhofar. They spoke of raids across the waterless eastern steppes, and among the giant dunes to the north. They told of pursuits and battles in the dark, of ruthless killings, of blood-feuds and murder. They mentioned famous guides, and waterholes and routes across the sands, where the oryx herds still
574 roamed. Meanwhile, a young lad had blown up the embers of the fire and set the long-necked coffee pot to boil. His uncovered hair fell to his naked shoulders and framed an impish laughing face. Our elderly host had roasted the coffee beans and passed them round for us to sniff, before pounding them up in a wooden mortar and putting them in the pot. He flavoured his coffee with crushed ginger as is the custom in the Hadhramaut. He also gave us parched grain and beans to eat; all that he had with him, for on such simple fare do the Bedu travel.

880 We lingered with them till the sun was nearly set and then descended past the well, deserted now, except for a bent old woman and two small children, who were loading the last of their water-skins on a young and restive camel. Tomorrow there would be the endless bargaining for camels and arguments with prospective guides, and ahead of us lay all the hardships and difficulties of the desert crossing. But my companions were content, and being happy in the present broke into song as they approached the camp-fires through the dusk.

p 400 (B)

22/camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life [262] of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, 290 his skill is incredible, and many live very large- 463 ly on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

438 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work 281 for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

921 During the last ten years, the desert belong- 198 ing to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism 797 in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst 921

000 ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very
156 jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

221 Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more
463 intimate with the desert than the real Beduins,
511 are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far ~~away~~ in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

563 While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of
721 resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves
[661] from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

231 The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels,
511 used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouins MJ4

701 gathered together at the same time—an exceedingly improbable
619 contingency in regions where there are no adequate means of
communication, and none but a loose tribal organization. Nor are
622 the conditions of pasturage and water-supply prevailing in the
Hamād suitable to large concentrations of men and animals. The
[231] total number of camels among the Ruweilah, 'Amārāt, Fed'ān,
and Sibā' must be greater than in any other part of Arabia. They
cannot, all told, be reckoned at much less than an average of 50 to
a tent. The Wuld 'Ali are not so well supplied, but they may
own about 20 to a tent. At this estimate the camel-herds of the
northern Anazah would touch a very large figure—some 600,000
animals.

ANAZAH

101 DHANA MUSLIM

619

622

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Ruweilah. 3,500 tents Sh. Nūri esh-Sha'lān	*Mur'idh*, 500 tents Nūri esh-Sha'lān el-Mur'idh	*Nā'if* Nūri's tribe *Zeid* 'Arsān Abu Jizlah *Mijwal* *Meshūr* *Mu'abbil*
	Nuseir, 500 tents Ibn Nuseir	
	Nāsir, 300 tents Munāhi ibn Nāsir	*Rudhān*
	Dur'ān, 300 tents Sālim ibn Maslet	
	Furjah, 500 tents 'Asaf el-Fureij	*Khudh'ān Filitta* Ghāzi el-Fuleita
	Dughmān 'Arsān ibn Dughmi	
	Manāgi' Māni' el-Khidhr	
	Ka'ba', 800 tents Hayyān el-Ka'ba' ibn Ghoshm	
	Kowāhbah, 400 tents Māni' el-Kuweikib	*Wobāta*
	Mahātta, 150 tents Ibn Musheit	
Muhalhil. 1,500 tents Ibn Ma'jil Ibn Majīd Ibn Jandal	*Aslija'*, 450 tents Qasim ibn Ma'jil	*Mahayub* *Bala'is*
	'Abdillah, 400 tents Mughāthi ibn Majīd	
	Sawahma, 400 tents Fayyādh ibn Jandal	
	Budūr, 2-300 tents Ibn Ma'jil	

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

They seem to feel the sun on their heads more than on their bodies. 233
They then have a trick of collecting in clumps of ten to fifteen with lowered heads to the centre, to get shade.

If sheep get frightened of a horseman or motor car, they bolt to their shepherd for protection.

The way to test a sheep's condition is to weigh its tail in your hand. If the tail is heavy the sheep's condition is good.

Sheep are watered according to the season of the year. In winter they do not drink, as grazing gives them the necessary moisture. In March they drink every other day—in mid-summer every day.

GOATS

Nomenclature.

Sakhla, plu. *Sakhal*—A goat (general).
Tais—He-goat.
'Anz—She-goat.
Ma'aza—Herd of full-grown goats.
Al Sakhla—Kids.

Names of Varieties in Kuwait and North-East Arabia.

Berberiyah—Small, white, black-and-white, and black goat, always short haired—long eared. Gives very good milk.
A'ardhiyah—Long haired, always black (with occasional white marking), also long eared.
Shaura—Short-eared goats.

GOAT DISEASES 232

There are only two recognised goat diseases:

(a) *Abu Ramah.* (b) *Al Jarrah.*

Abu Ramah.—A disease of the internal organs, probably lungs. Symptoms: The goat lies down, and appears to have high fever. It is unable to move and moans as if in great pain. The sickness lasts seven days and then the goat dies. The only cure is to kill one of the affected animals, cut out its lungs (*sakara*), and bury them. The lungs are left underground for approximately an hour. Then they are cut up into small pieces, which are mixed with certain herbs, viz. *ayyr*, *sadir*,

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Bedouins MJ4

232 *ballir* (not found in Arabia). The ear of the sick goat is sliced open at the top end until blood is drawn, and the mixture is well rubbed into the wound. Usually a small ball of the mixture is made and placed under the skin for an hour (the skin being cut and the ball placed underneath, and the skin flap placed over the ball to keep it in position). All goats of the flock, whether known to be infected or not, are treated thus, and if attacked have a good chance of recovery. The disease is highly contagious.

Under the above treatment 50 per cent usually recover. If no treatment is given the whole flock is doomed. The disease reappears in a district every two or three years.

Al Jarrah.—A virulent form of mange. The cure is to cut all the goat's hair off and smear the skin plentifully with an ointment made from gunpowder and clarified butter. This must be done three times to effect a cure. The mange does not attack sheep, dogs, camels or horses, and man is also safe from the disease. Ninety per cent of goats escape if treated in time.

GENERAL REMARKS

233 In the desert goats are chiefly kept for the sake of their milk and hair. The Badawin prefer sheep, but the more well-to-do try to keep a certain number of goats, for goats' hair is superior to sheep's wool for certain parts of their black tents.

In every Badawin hair tent the roof consists of a central broad strip, with two strips of black wool or hair on either side of it. The strip furthest from the central strip is always made of goats' hair, as it is stronger and takes the weight of the *rugg*, or back curtain, better.

GOAT-NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

231
552

Al Dunjya (no meaning).
Al Sha'ali (The yellow one).
Al Rakuk (The spotted one).
Al Khaim (The white-headed one).
Al Dughaim (The black-headed one).
Al Tawil (The tall one).

& Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

The leather bag for rifle.
The camel stick.
The leather bag for dates.
Package of *ige* (dried milk).
The bag holding coffee, *hail* (cardamum seeds), etc.
A man's ammunition is carried bandolier fashion on his person, while spare ammunition goes in a spare woollen bag, which with the date and coffee bags are stowed away in the saddle bags.

NOTE.—There is another sort of saddle, the *fulûsi*, much used in the south among the Murra and people of the "great desert". It has no pommels, and the rider sits behind the hump (see sketch, page 87).

CAMEL PACES

The pace of an ordinary riding camel is approximately 4 miles an 492
hour at a walk, 6 miles per hour trotting and walking, 8 miles an 231
hour at a trot, 13 miles an hour when "all out" over a short distance and 10 miles an hour moving fast over a long distance of say 100 miles. A laden camel moves at about 3 miles an hour. Bin Sa'ud's express riders between Oqair and Hufuf take 5 hours regularly for the distance of 60 miles. Messengers going between Kuwait and Riyadh, a distance of 500 miles or slightly less, take regularly 10 days to do the journey.

In winter or when the weather is cool, travelling is done mostly by day, in summer by night.

Halts are made every 20 miles or so to drink coffee, which is carried ready made, and needs only to be heated up. Brushwood is usually found ready to hand by the way, if not, the camel dung (*jalla*), of which a small supply is always carried, is used. It burns like charcoal.

CAMEL DISEASES 232

Jarrab is the greatest enemy of the camel and is the ordinary camel-mange. This scourge breaks out every now and then among herds, and may be likened to smallpox.

It spreads through a herd with lightning rapidity, and if not taken in hand, kills the camel in forty days, especially during the summer season.

Division G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

232 The cure is as follows:

The camel's whole body is covered with a mixture of lime and arsenic, which removes all his hair.

Then he is rubbed with *samen* (clarified butter) and powdered sulphur, mixed with red pepper.

This rubbing is repeated every four days with great care, till three rubbings have been well applied.

Lastly, he is washed in the sea, or if no sea is near, in fresh water heavily dosed with salt.

Al ghish, is caused by the *surra* fly which is found on the banks of the Euphrates and South Hamar lake. Probably introduced from India or Persia. This is a most deadly disease but is catching only in summer when the *surra* fly flourishes. When the fly bites, a microbe is introduced into the blood and the camel develops a sort of sleeping sickness with constant low fever. He refuses to eat, and turns his head constantly in the direction of the sun. In forty days he dies. In very rare cases only does he recover. The Badawin brands the camel's stomach with a X, but knows that this has little effect. No Badawin will take his camels up to the vicinity of the Euphrates in Iraq during the summer. Winter is safe.

During the Great War, 1914–18, the British Army in Iraq lost many thousands of camels imported from India for transport services. They were brought and landed in Basra in summer regardless of the advice of those who knew.

Al manhás is a disease of the lungs. The camel coughs a great deal, and if not taken in hand goes off his feed and eventually dies. The illness is said to be caused by eating too much *theleth*, a salty *hamdh* plant which grows in marshy country (e.g. Banáyat Araifjan and Taffat al Athami in Hazzaim region). *Al manhás* is said to be highly contagious. A camel attacked is removed from the herd at once. About half of those developing the disease die.

When a camel is about to collapse from thirst, and there is not sufficient water to give him a drink by the mouth, *nashak* is resorted to. Water is poured up his nose to revive it. A camel so treated will go another whole day without water, and the treatment is said to cool his brain.

Philby records the treatment on pages 267–73, 328, 332–3, 338 and 346 of his *The Empty Quarter*.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Branding of Camels

Chap. XXXII

A curious custom exists among certain tribes, revealing their firm 232
belief in *'iziqad*, or sympathetic magic.

If a man has a white and a black camel, and one goes lame, say the white one, in the leg, he brands the black camel on the same leg that is lame in the white camel, and the white camel's lameness is believed to disappear. (Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 25th November, 1933.)

MILCH CAMELS

Male camels, as already mentioned, are kept away from females in 233
winter, the breeding season. In summer the sexes are allowed to graze together.

Milch camels are not allowed to feed their young when grazing. The milk is wanted for the tent, and only after tent requirements are taken is the mother allowed to suckle the baby camel. The young camel is allowed to feed in the evening, and before going out in early morning.

To prevent a baby camel's illicit drinking, the mother's udders are tied to a piece of stick called a *sardr*. (*Saru al ndgd*, means "tie the she-camel's teats up".)

The female has four teats and the stick is tied to two at a time. (See sketch, page 100.)

On 9th May, 1935, when drinking some camel's milk among the 'Ajman, I saw the tying-up process. To enable us to milk the camel the strings were loosed, and when the 'Ajman herdsman tied them up again he placed a piece of camel's wool between string and teats before fastening them to the *sardr*. In one case, having no wool handy, he used an old camel dropping (*jalla*). The piece of wool is to prevent damage or hurt to the nipples.

TRIBAL "WASMS"

Every tribe has its *wasms* or tribal brand marks, correspond'ng 619 233
somewhat to our own family crests. The *wasm* is never placed on 482
banners or war flags, and is primarily meant to show the Badawin world to whom such and such camels or wells belong.

233, 166, 492 Bedouins MJ4

[For information pertaining to the Shammar and their pastoral activities, migrations, animal transportation, and the like, see 12: Glubb, MG1 Jordon, category 116, pp. 19-22.]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ1
Bedouin MJ4

SA 136 to be seen all along the way. One large variety is about a foot and a half long, and its meat is esteemed a great delicacy by the Bedouins, who call it "the fish of the desert." Many smaller lizards are found, and a few birds. There are also tracks of a wolf to be made out occasionally, but that is a rare occurrence, as is also the sign of a fox. The lizards may be able to dig down far enough in their holes to reach damp soil, but certainly the gazelles must get their necessary water from the few plants that remain succulent and fresh in the summer months.

B 162 And there are people who live in that desert, not trav-
312 elers only, but permanent residents. They live there not
● 233 merely during the spring when there is a little rain, but the
361 year around. How can men live in a country like that? The well is the answer. The little green vegetation to be seen in the spring when the meager rains come soon dries down, and the inexperienced eye of the stranger would scarcely find it. Nevertheless, it is sufficient for goats and camels and perhaps sheep to graze upon if wells can be found in addition where they can be watered every evening. So it happens that the most precious things in Arabia are the wells. Caravan routes may be crooked, but the reason is never far to seek. For three or four days camels can travel without a drop of water, but eventually they must drink like all the other animals in the world. Some parts of the desert which are richest in vegetation are quite deserted as far as human beings SA are concerned, and the reason is the same. In the sum-
[132] mer when the thermometer may occasionally reach 135° at noon, it is no use to discover an area covered with abundant dry fodder. It is the well that is the essential thing. Wherever water can be secured, there men can live. It is not such a life as would be popular in

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

where wells are somewhat close together and the for- 312
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these 283
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair 342
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage [234
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised, 439]
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is 262
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les- 574
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty 231
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an 556
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure luxury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk just as humans do. They are kept and treated as household pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail 731
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou- 789
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a 262
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the land. Little children die because there is no food suitable for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed, and the whole community waits and prays for more rain the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a 511
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a mere trifle.

68 Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4 166X

already settled, have resumed their nomadic mode of existence when political conditions permitted it.[1] M. F. Jamali mentions a number of instances where fully settled tribes of Iraq turned semi-nomadic. Joseph Ravalovsky concludes[2] that certain families of the Tayaha tribe in the Negev seem to have descended from the settled population of Zoar. A. Kamlnoff states[3] that economic reasons forced settled families of southern Transjordan to form themselves into tribes and adopt the way of life best suited to desert conditions. Max Oppenheim mentions[4] that the powerful Howeitat tribe of Transjordan descended from merchants and peasants.

<u>Classification of Bedouin</u>

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The constant changes of the social structure make a proper classification of Bedouin society extremely complicated.

Rosé divides[5] the nomadic population into the following groups:

a. <u>Desert Bedouin</u> who are the genuine nomads roving over the vast areas lying between the Syrian desert in the north and the center of the Arabian peninsula in the south, and who engage in camel-raising exclusively.

b. <u>Steppe Bedouin</u> who, in addition to camels, also keep large numbers of cows, sheep and goats, and winter in the steppe, nearer the cultivation.

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1. Jamali, 1934, p. 87
2. [illegible], 1946, pp. 99 – 100
3. Kamlnoff, 1946, p. 18
4. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 251
5. Rosé, 1946, pp. [illegible] sec.

361 c. Semi-Bedouin who occupy a position between Bedouin and
178 Fellahin. They are already engaged in agriculture.
233 While they still live in tents, they ultimately turn to
621 the construction of permanent huts and houses.[1]

Müller introduces the following classifications:

1. Nomadic Tribes

361 a. Camel tribes, so called because they engage primarily
233 in camel-breeding although they possess flocks of sheep. They are the true Bedouin of Syria, all belonging to The Anezeh and Shammar groups.[2] Their mobility enables them to maintain a 600 - 800 kil. radius of migration. They wander in the desert from September till late in June when they return to the border of the cultivated zone in order to trade their surplus livestock and
X [166] purchase necessary supplies. They do not display the least interest in sedentarization.[3]

b. Sheep tribes, so called because they are chiefly preoccupied with intensive sheep-raising. The need for water for their animals restricts their wandering in time and in space. Early in the spring, before the

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1. Müller, 1938, pp. 96 sqq.
2. The study of V. Müller is based on his observations of tribal life in Syria.
186 3. This statement was made by V. Müller in 1938. It seems highly questionable that within 18 years the situation among the true Bedouin should have changed so radically to enable Fawaz Sha'lan, Chief of the Ruala, to declare that "all the tribesmen now wanted land" (for settlement) cf. New York Times, September 6, 1956. Even changing circumstances have never had such an effect on the conservative mentality of the Bedouin, and it seems, therefore, that the declaration of Sha'lan, made for political reasons, must be taken with a note of caution.

BEDOUINS MJ4

excessive heat sets in, the sheep tribes come back to the cultivated zone. Frequently their radius of movement does not exceed a dozen of miles. The members of the sheep tribes are in regular contact with the settled population and practically all of them evince more or less an interest in settlement. 361 233 166

2. Semi-Sedentary Tribes

While the semi-sedentary tribes continue to breed livestock, they are already attached to the soil which they cultivate. 361 233 241

Part of the tribe engages in cultivation, while the other tends to the flocks. After the season of ploughing and sowing is over, the tribe gets on the move in search of pastures, leaving behind only the necessary number of men for guard and irrigation duties. Early in spring the semi-sedentary come back to their fields. Right after harvesting they begin sowing the summer crops. They spend the winter and spring in tents; during the summer they live in huts which they make out of trunks and branches of trees. Village settlement is a rare exception.

3. Sedentary Groups

This group is the least numerous and important. The members live in towns and villages like settled people with the difference that they still retain their tribal character. 361

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221 wandering area. The radius of migration is determined by:

a. the strength of the tribe

b. the supply of water and grazing areas within the dirah

c. the amount and type of livestock reared by the group

d. the relationship of the tribal unit to the soil

Weaker tribes are not free to move over extended areas for fear of being exposed to attacks by more powerful tribes. Their wandering territory is limited and usually in the vicinity of the cultivated land.

221 233 The true desert Bedouin of Arabia, pre-occupied exclusively with camel-breeding,[1] is in a position to cover great distances due to the mobility of the camel. As sheep and goats enter the economic life of the Bedouin, the radius of migration has to be reduced since the unit has to remain close to watering places.

Further restrictions occur when occasional cultivation forces the nomad to stay in the vicinity of the land which he has tilled.

Historical migrations

174 Besides the wanderings of the nomads in annual cycles to satisfy the grazing needs of their herds and flocks, there were in history great eruptions which occurred sporadically[2] and

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1. The definition of a true Bedouin is according to Tawfik Jabbouri: a nomad who is engaged in camel-breeding exclusively and who traces his descent from certain tribes recognized as true Bedouin (cf. Jabbouri, 1948, p. 236). The Bedouin looks down on the sheep and goat nomad who is bound to sources of water. The restrictions and migratory radius are according to Bedouin psychology an interference with personal freedom. At present, exclusive camel-breeding is rare except in Arabia.
2. Arnold Toynbee has set up 600 year cycles for the occasional nomadic eruptions. (cf. Toynbee, 1934, pp. 398 ff.)

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JORDAN

361 *166 178

settlement of the nomads. The economic crisis may be temporary, till adjustments within the nomad economy have been carried out. The need for the camel has declined, but the importance of the sheep and goats has remained unchanged. Sheep and goats supply the people of the area with meat, dairy products and wool.

In fact, the suggestion may be ventured that in the near future the importance of the pastoral economy will considerably increase when the Arab masses will change to a healthier, more balanced diet which presently lacks vital protein elements.

According to Epstein the transition from nomadism to agriculture is made urgent by the unprofitability of camel-breeding, stoppage of raiding(heretofore a source of revenue), and the partitioning of the Syrian Desert. While these phenomena undoubtedly had serious repercussions in the Bedouin world, they do not seem to be chiefly responsible for the disintegration of tribal society and pastoral economy.

CHAPTER VI

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The Camel Economy of the Nomads and Recent Changes

In the past the economy of the Bedouin was principally based on camel-breeding. With the construction of railways in the Middle East and the introduction of the automobile in the desert, the value of the camel declined rapidly and substantially. Prices

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BEDOUINS MI-4
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dropped from LP 20 before the First World War to LP 4-5 or even less in the thirties.[1]

> "Prior to the war there were good markets for Iraq's camels in Syria, Turkey and Persia, in addition to the large numbers required for transport purposes in Iraq itself. Since the war, many railways have been constructed throughout the Middle East and the road systems of all countries have been greatly extended and improved. These roads are now all served by a large and increasing number of motor cars and lorries which have to a great extent taken the place of camel transport, thus practically removing the income to the Bedouins from their sale of camels." [2]

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There was in the past a substantial demand for camel's meat, particularly in Egypt. But figures show that the import of camels into Egypt declined sharply since the end of the First World War. The import of camels into Egypt averaged prior to World War I (1909-1913) £1 137 per year,[3] in the post-war years up till 1937 only £8 137.[3] Figures and statements of observers indicate that the Egyptian camel market has contracted considerably since the end of the First World War. Although there has recently been a rise in consumption of camel's meat in Egypt,[4] the camel industry has lost its importance.

A classic Bedouin country such as Transjordan exported in 1929

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1. Epstein, 1937, February
2. Oriental Report, 1932, p. 189
3. Epstein, 1939, p. 177
4. The number of camels slaughtered in public slaughtering houses amounted to:

13 [illegible]	in	1944
10 [illegible]		1945
27 [illegible]		1946 cf. Annuaire, 1947, p. 137

233 178 439

only 3 439 camels,[1] and within a short time this trade became so insignificant that since 1937 camel export figures were no longer listed in official statistical abstracts. Although 40 000 nomads of Transjordan are classified as full Bedouin, they cannot possibly live on camel-breeding. The following figures will show the declining camel stock in Transjordan:

1927	13 800	2)
1929	33 500	2)
1938	3 400	2)
1943	6 000	2)
1948	2 500	3)

Figures are probably underrated as information on animal holdings was furnished for taxing purposes, but they indicate the trend.

The decline of camel trade and the slump in market prices have severely hit the camel-breeding Bedouin. Transjordan was selected as an example, but the same phenomenon is apparent among the nomads of Syria and Iraq.

Changes within the pastoral economy

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The camel Bedouin coming from the Arabian desert into the lands of the Fertile Crescent will sooner or later become a sheep nomad. This transformation has been going on for centuries, long before the decline of the camel market made it necessary. The change was in the past an adaptation of the pastoral economy to

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1. Epstein, 1939, p. 180
2. International Yearbooks of Agricultural Statistics for 1938/9 and 1940/41
3. Final Report, 1949, Part II, p. 10

BEDOUINS MJ4
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the natural conditions of the environment, while in recent years it has also been an adjustment to economic circumstances.

The type of animal industry is determined by geographic factors and climatic conditions. In Iraq "in many parts of the alluvial lowlands, terrain is too soft and swampy, so that those camels (camels) are few outside the steppes."[1] Syria, especially the northern part, where rigorous winters frequently occur, is not an ideal region for camel-breeding while in parts of the Arabian desert sheep and goats cannot survive.

The profitability and the increase of sheep and goat rearing is apparent from the following Transjordan export-trade figures:[2]

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	1937	1939	1941	1943
goats	6 988	7 637	32 638	31 041
sheep	12 064	37 896	56 735	52 487

While the camel trade declined, the sheep and goat business has been constantly rising.

Mr. Epstein states[3] that sheep raising is more lucrative when practiced in permanent settlements which do not have to fear losses incurred as result of inter-tribal raiding. With the establishment of Public Security, however, raids have practically ceased, and the desert has been made secure. Today, throughout the area the animal industry is largely in the hands of the nomads.[4]

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1. Fisher, 1950, p. 362
2. Kenilkoff, 1944, p. 112 Table 16
3. Epstein, 1936, p. 228
4. In Iraq the breeding of sheep is practised almost exclusively by the nomadic population, cf. Royal Institute, 1950, p. 259

361/433 The pastoral people are fulfilling an important economic function by:

a. supplying the home markets with essential products, and

b. furnishing valuable export articles.

237/439 Iraqi wool is considered of good quality and finds a ready market in the United States of America and in continental Europe for carpet manufacture.[1] In 1947 Iraq exported 2754 tons of wool at I D 372 349.[2] In 1946 and again in 1948 the wool export was about three times that of 1947.[3] Syria exports products like wool, butter, hides, etc.

● 233 361/433 The following statements will illustrate the valuable contribution which the nomads are making to the general economy:

> "The Bedouin are experts in the breeding of livestock and form a class who afford a valuable contribution to the economic life of Transjordan." 4) "Their (Bedouin of Iraq) occupation of raising livestock is vital to the economy of the country." 5) "Syria cannot afford to lose the meat, milk and wool which are derived from the harvesting of the desert herbage." 6)

Thus in all the countries of the Fertile Crescent, livestock breeding, the primary occupation of the nomad population, appears to be an essential and lucrative industry.

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1. Gaudin, 1949, p. 20
2. Ibid. p. 13
3. Data Book, 1952, p. 40
4. Report, 1938, p. 318
5. Jarad, 1945, p. 7
6. Report of the United States-Syrian Agricultural Mission, 1947, p. 23

educational needs of the tribes.

This policy aimed at introducing improvements into the Bedouin mode of living without changing it.

Some of the sheikhs made serious attempts to settle the tribesmen on their estates. The Beddiyin began in the 30's to cultivate on the estates of their sheikh.[1] Rakan, the sheikh of the Sha'a, has been consistently trying to make the members of his tribe engage in agriculture.[2]

Apart from minor successes the attempts of sedentarization were largely premature. While economic changes and a taste for modern living induced a great number of the sheikhs to abandon nomadism and settle down, the majority of the tribesmen preferred to continue their pastoral activities and their traditional migrations. Even economic disasters in the desert did not appreciably accelerate the pace of their sedentarization.

In 1931, for example, the Syrian Bedouin lost 30 - 40 per cent of their camels in the wake of inclement weather conditions. 1931/32 was also a season of exceptional drought when certain tribes lost 50 per cent of their camels and 80 per cent of their sheep.[4] The desert was strewn with camels that died of hunger. The critical situation among the tribes prompted the French Mandatory Government[5] to encourage the nomads to settle down to an agricultural life. Fertile land and implements were freely dis-

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 298
2. Ibid., p. 89
3. Report, 1931, p. 98
4. Report, 1932, p. 91
5. The French High Commission maintained a special tribal service

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423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1951 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on State Domains by the rich landowning families, and it was alleged that in the Jezireh tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing every land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights.[1]

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holdings tends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged so long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Mandatory Palestine

162 361 Since World War I there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 9% out of the 6/ 5% nomads of Palestine[2] were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Tarabin, Tayaha, Azazma,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1951
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

Jabarat, Ramjin and the Beldiyin. Until recently these nomads were chiefly engaged in sheep and goat rearing, while camel-breeding has been progressively abandoned. 361 233

Already in the 1930's all the Beersheba tribes were in an advanced stage of the process of transition to permanent settlement. While before the First World War the Negev Bedouin depended almost exclusively on stock-breeding, in 1931 42 868 of them claimed cultivation, and only 5 113 animal rearing, as their chief source of livelihood.[1] 166 233

This development was the result of a series of economic factors: the decline of the camel market,[2] successive years of drought and famine in the Negev,[3] the increased value attached to land in the wake of Zionist land purchases and the ready market that agricultural produce found in the growing Jewish settlements. 178 166

Many Bedouin began to attend to cultivation in a more regular fashion although they remained for the time being semi-nomads wandering with their flocks except for the seasons of sowing and harvesting. 361 241 166

The shaikhs and more prominent members of the tribes began 342

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1. Report of 1931 census of Palestine
2. This loss was largely compensated by breeding other types of livestock.
3. More than half of the years 1914 - 1929 were seasons of drought. The war years 1914-18 constituted a continuous period of famine the severity of which the Negev had not experienced prior to the war. cf:

Graves-Perry, op. cit. pp. 179-181

Economic

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233 The Pastoral economy of the Bedouin[1] has been seriously
178 affected by the rapid development of the area. Former pasture
241 lands are increasingly brought under cultivation with subsequent restriction of tribal grazing areas.

Although an exaggerated significance has been attached to the effects of the declining demand for the camel, this factor has dealt a severe blow to the economy of the true desert Bedouin who subsisted in the past exclusively on camel-breeding.

Social

178 Tribal society has progressively disintegrated as the result
621 of the sheikh's emergence as a big landowner. The interest which tribal leadership displays in agricultural life, is bound to influence the thinking and acting of the tribesmen. Sooner or later, they will follow the examples set by their sheikhs and settle down.

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1. The statement of Alfred Bonne that "the term Bedouin economy is a contradiction in itself" and that "this economy is no economy in the accepted sense of the word" (Bonne, 1947, p. 36) may be exaggerated because the nomads make a valuable contribution to the economy by:
   a. profitably utilizing the scanty patches of grass that grow for fleeting moments over widely separated stretches of desert area, a resource which would remain otherwise exploited
   b. by supplying the people of the area with their needs of meat, wool and dairy products
   c. producing for local industry and export trade items like wool, skins, hides, and live animals and their edible produce.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

XXIV

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

101 361 ●233 LUCK FAVOURED US in eluding the vigilance of the French on our second attempt to reach the grazing grounds of the Tai' Bedouins under their *sheykh*, Muhamed Abd-er-Rachman at-Tai'.

His great camp spread out in a verdant valley, threaded by a long chain of rain pools. The snow-covered mountain ranges of Kurdistan, stretching beyond the Turkish frontier, formed a picturesque background. Camels and great flocks of sheep grazed over the desert, which recent rains had turned into rich pasture. Dotted about in groups were the black tents of the Bedouins. A horseman came to meet us. A foal, so it seemed in the distance, pranced round its mother, but as the rider drew nearer, we saw that the playful creature was a tame gazelle. The Bedouin rode a magnificent mare, that pranced on her feet like a dancer.

574 609 "Where is the abode of our host who will receive us?" I enquired. He pointed to the black outline of the largest tent, which showed from behind a ridge some distance away.

"Ha-wallah—by God—there dwells the Generous One!" He looked us over for a moment, then greeting us curtly, turned his horse and galloped away, the gazelle after him.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins W54

hands and feet in a man,—in fact, his whole appearance was arresting. 622

For a Bedouin, he had an unusually pale complexion, set off by a brilliantly black beard and raven locks. He preferred to dress almost entirely in black. His Arab head-cloth, sandals, and soft camel-hair cloak were black, as well as the wide shawl wound round his waist. Even his mare was black, a rare thing, for most Bedouins hold black horses in disfavour. Headstalls, halter, saddle, and saddle-cloth—all were black, relieved only by delicate silver embroidery and a few silver ornaments. His silver-hilted sword, too, was carried in a black scabbard. 622 291 [825]

Sheykh Tai' was vain. He loved arms and horses, but above all he adored his little son, Farhan. According to Ali, he had not much affection for his wives, who were reputed to be beauties; but he was proud of them as he was of all his possessions—his great herds and extensive lands. 622 157

The Tai's Bedouins kept relatively few camels, but large numbers of sheep and goat, which suffer much from the depredations of wolves in winter and spring. Sheykh Tai' told me that these nimble-footed robbers from the inaccessible retreats of the Turkish Mountains had come down again into the snow-free lowlands. They had already attacked exposed Bedouin camps and caused great damage, although the watchful herdsmen had been continually on guard. 233

Sheykh Tai' was, like Nimrod, a "great hunter before the Lord", and liked nothing better than to be riding abroad. On the eighth evening after our arrival, he 224

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 M1 1 Kuwait M1
Bedouins M14

lord of all the tireless killer "Petrol"—the Shaikh's own hawk, who has been known alone to kill as many as twelve birds in one day. (See Chapter XXVIII.)

Salim, my man, has taken three days to get to Arsifjan wells, with his wife Amsha, his charming daughter Hussa, his sister Maneira, and other members of his household. He has already sent for his sheep from the Suda region in Hasa, where they have summered under the care of Faráj and Falih, both of the 'Awazim tribe. Great is the rejoicing, for thirty-six lambs have been born, with more to follow by the end of October. The flock has been nearly doubled since the previous Spring. Better still, fifteen of the lambs are males, which will be killed on suitably festive occasions. Maziad, the Dhafiri, in charge of the camels (fourteen of them) reports the animals' condition to be perfect, in spite of the long summer in the Huzaim and Suda regions. He himself has just come in from Riyadh with Salim. They went to see how the head of the family, Ibrahim al Muzaiyin (late standard bearer to the great Mubarak of Kuwait, and now with Bin Sa'ud) is faring. Salim now writes in to say that the "Gunsul's" camp is pitched and all is ready for him to come out—"Gunsul" (Consul) is the name given locally to the Political Agent.

On the 11th November I pack up what remaining goods and chattels have to be taken, such as *dashaks*, *mamaids*, *shaddad* and *gullaw* (mattresses for guests, cushions to lean on, camel saddle with full sheepskin cover and bright-coloured Persian rugs), and I order the worthy Sálih, my Najdi driver, to convey me to my camp. Already my wife's she-camel Farha, of the famous 'Umaniyah breed, has gone ahead, also Naidi, Farhan and the sweet-tempered Jarsa—my two horses and mare respectively. The last is a present from 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, the Great King, and she has been named after the famous grey mare of the late Faisal al Duwish—slain by the order of his wife Amsha when that great chieftain surrendered to the English in 1930 at Jahrah. My wife and I were with her when the deeply touching deed was done.

As I am going the next day down to the Hassim district and Wafra in the Neutral Zone, I take Sa'ud bin Nimran with me and his hawk, also Jawad, my personal servant. News has arrived that the Bizzani, ibn Shaja'an, one of Bin Sa'ud's patrol leaders, with twenty men is

Dawn in Camp

tired and dozed off again. Again I woke, and again I dozed off, till the 281
barking of the dogs became a sort of rising and falling echo in my tired and sleepy brain. Once I heard the camels, which were kneeling close behind Salim's tent, jump up in alarm and bolt 50 yards, but the reassuring voice of Salim calmed them, and I dropped off to sleep again. Presently I heard him shouting: *Ya Nasir, shaww illi khawf al hil?* (Oh Nasir, what frightened the camels?). *Ma'aku shai*, came the reply (Nothing at all). I went on dozing the night long, hearing many and strange sounds, but too tired to move. It is always thus, my first night with my Badawin friends; I cannot sleep. Before dawn 192
heard Salim calling to prayer, and shortly afterwards, though it was [182]
still very dark, the goatskin of milk, rocked by one of the women to [262]
make curdled milk (*laben*) and butter, started its song. Rug-rug-rug-rug, the skin protested, and yet again, Rug-rug-rug. It was the old sound I knew so well, and it gave me a strange feeling of homeliness and comfort. They were awake before daylight, these simple people; they never seem to sleep—they also had prayed, and now they were watching for the dawn.

Presently I heard the shepherds calling their flocks of sheep to- 512
gether, and the camelmen talking to their camels. Both sheep and 293
camels had slept in the open in front of Salim's and Dhuwaihi's tents, the ewes close to their young. *Hirr, hirr*, cried Faléh, as he started calling the mother sheep to feed their lambs, before going out to graze for the day. The lambs all began to bleat at once, it was the hour of their morning meal. After this they will get nothing till nightfall, so they must drink now deep and well. Presently, with the first glimmer of dawn the daily counting of the sheep began. Alas! a cry, "Ya Salim, there are two short. Come quick, a ewe and a lamb are missing." A hurrying of feet, then eager talking. A further cry, "A
wolf, it is a wolf". "A wolf has done this in the night." From right 295
under their noses, a he- and she-wolf had cleverly visited the camp and carried off the sojourn in the dark. A quick cast round and the enemies' pug-marks were found. The he-wolf had cleverly given the watch-dogs his scent on the side from which the wind was blowing, and as soon as the dogs had rushed after him into the night his cunning spouse had crawled close up to the tents on the other side, much as a cat crouches and creeps after a mouse (except that the wolf seems

Wolves

233 so drag its belly along the ground in doing so, if its tracks in the sand indicate anything) and had dragged away in silence two sheep, one full-grown and one a lamb. There had been no sound in the night. They explained that a sheep gets so frightened if seized by a wolf that it cannot cry out, only a goat cries, and the wolf avoids goats accordingly.

It was daylight now, and I got up and examined the spoor of the wolves myself. They were clearly to be seen on both sides of the camp. The male with its big tracks to the north, and the female with her smaller footmarks to the south. The female must have snatched the lamb from right inside the tent, for the woollen loop which fastened the lamb's neck was found broken, and the wolf's spoor was actually inside the tent. Other tracks showed that the she-wolf had made two visits, one to carry off the full-grown sheep, and one to carry off the lamb. We followed up the tracks at once in the hopes of saving one of the animals. We were too late. We found the fresh bones of ewe and lamb two miles from camp. Nothing but the bigger bones and some clumps of hair were left. It was a sad party which returned to camp. The loss cast a gloom over my friends. Two sheep had gone, two good sheep. There was nothing to be done. It was no use blaming the shepherds; the work had been cunningly and boldly done. One shepherd was actually awake, sitting over a small fire, on guard among the sheep themselves. So stealthily had the wolf come, so quiet had been the terror-stricken sheep, that he had heard nothing beyond the barking of the dogs.

"Nay, O Abu Sa'ud, it was written that they should die this night", said Amsha, when I tried to condole with her on the loss. "Indeed two others were carried off the night we arrived. The wolves are very hungry here, but we shall be avenged, Ya Abu Sa'ud, never fear, we shall be avenged."

235 It was full day once more. I prepared to leave for Wafra with Sa'ud, my hunter. Once more the little camp is astir and busy. My car is got ready, my lunch, cooked to a turn, is brought out of the women's tent, and tightly packed away in the tin saucepan and firmly covered. For water we depend on the filled leather goatskin tied on the near 236 running-board. We are off, Sâleh, my driver, Sa'ud and myself, the first two in front of the car and I behind with coats, lunch, rifles,

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bandoliers, shot-guns and bags of cartridges. Half an hour later a shout from Sáleh, and I see a bustard (*hubara*) running along the ground 100 yards off. It crouches immediately. Thinking there was no game there, Sa'ud had not unhooded his hawk. He does so now. We descend and I walk up to the bird. Up he gets, and with my right barrel I drop him some 30 yards away. He is only wounded, but mortally. Kabrit, the hawk, is after him like a flash and pounces before his victim has time to run a yard. Kabrit does his work well, and so does Sa'ud. The bird's throat is soon cut, the hawk given a small taste of its left breast, and friend *hubara* finds its way into the capacious bag produced from nowhere by Sa'ud. Three more birds we spot and kill before reaching Wafra. That is all we see. Each gave good sport, and a final difficult shot. I was successful each time, and Kabrit well fed and duly pleased with himself.

The road was shocking, actually there was not even a track, and the dry summer had made the *shawwaw* hummocks and *'erfaj* bushes stiff and hard with no give at all in them. Bump, bump, bump, we went, over hill and dale, for six solid hours. At rare intervals we found flat open ridges, free from bushes. We made for them and got a few hundred yards' good going. I took the seacoast route, and struck inland 20 miles south of the Ras al Zor. This was unknown country to me, and I took it against the advice of the worthy Sa'ud. "You will find no game and win only sore bones that way", he warned me, but my British obstinacy won the day.

We reached Wafra at 12.30 p.m. and found Bin Sa'ud's patrol under the dour and rather fanatical Ibn Shaja'an, an unpleasant man of the type so often found on the Sa'udian frontier. Plenty of wind in the head, scarcely civil and, according to report, notoriously cruel. He had come up from Hufuf, he said, by Bin Jiluwi's orders, to get in touch with Captain Papworth, R.E., the R.A.F. Survey Officer who was to revise the map of Kuwait and survey the Neutral Zone. This was a pretext. His obvious reason was to hunt down certain poor 'Awazim tribesmen who had evaded the King's call to arms for his coming Yamun campaign. I made Ibn Shaja'an give me a cup of coffee and some nasty tea, and told the man that the Survey Officer would not require his services seeing that he had both guard and guides from the Shaikh of Kuwait. Ibn Shaja'an did not appear over-

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619 *dirah* a small township as a sign that the whole tribe had embraced
341 Wahhabi-ism, and abandoned its old ignorant and roaming existence.

193 The terrain included in the Mutair tribal *dirah* consists of part of the
312 sandy *Dahana* region in the south, the rocky and broken *Sawwah*
288 and *Wijrya* regions in the centre, and the steppe-like tablelands of the *Majdair—Qara'a-* and *Musawwar* regions in the north.

The whole *dirah* is a choice and good one, and *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh*, the mainstay of camels and most perfect of all grazing for these animals, are to be found in plenty when the rainfall is good.

This Mutair *dirah* is approximately 120 miles broad by 180 miles long, and may be taken as a typical example of an average tribe's homeland. There are, of course, other tribes who own larger and more extensive areas, but then scarcity of water and poorer grazing has compelled them from earliest times to seize and hold these bigger blocks of land. For in actual fact a tribe does not want a larger tract than is sufficient for its needs. So if a tribe's country is rich in water and all forms of grazing, all it requires is an area as big as that of the Mutair.

341 The tribes surrounding the Mutair, who own *dirahs* similar to theirs,
619 are as follows:

The 'Awazim and 'Ajman on the east and south-east.

The Shei and Salmi on the south.

The Harb, Shammar and Dhafir on the west, and Kuwait territory on the north, which in olden times, and before boundaries of western conception were introduced, all belonged to the Mutair, except for the narrow coastal strip which was included in the 'Awazim *dirah*.*

619 A tribe does not, of course, remain always isolated in its own *dirah*.
221 If rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it naturally stops at home, but if rains fail it must migrate to places where grazing exists, and so overflows into the territories of its neighbours. It cannot, of course,

* It should be realized that there are two other great groups of the Mutair tribe, extending from the Qasim in the centre of Arabia to near Medina in the Hijaz. They are known as the Beni 'Abdillah Mutair, and Meyman, and in numbers and strength are perhaps superior to their cousins the Bera and Beith described above. The whole tribe, of course, is one, and though the Beni 'Abdilla have their own powerful Shaikhs, they will all follow the standard of Al Dowish the hereditary Shaikh who resides at Artawiyyah.†

† For the names of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Shammar Shaikhs see Appendix II. A map of the Mutair Tribal *dirah* will be found at the end of the book.

Horrors of Summer

THE ANNUAL MOVES

212. 261 285 192 221 During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concentrates on its wells (*gulldn*), which in each case are groups of wells lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here they camp (*ginjwakhan*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *mandilah* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring 735 them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the 651 time when the *zakat* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *sariya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer.

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

221 192 At long last October, or the *wasm* season (the rains) arrives and small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

The Shepherd Boy

Chap. III

At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the 'adhan (call to prayer), with which the day commences. It is still quite dark, but the prayer-call has roused the camp. The women also pray, but in their own tent. After prayers, the woman whose duty it is to make the daily supply of *laben* (sour milk), starts rocking her goatskin to and fro on the *mirjakah* (wooden tripod from the centre of which it hangs). According to the tribe they belong to, some women sing when at this work, others do not.

The woman of the house then orders a little bitter coffee or tea (a modern innovation) to be prepared and gives some to the shepherd and the camelherd, who with the dawn will start off on their day's duties. With the coffee she hands them a supply of dates; part of this is eaten on the spot and part put into a little leather bag as the day's ration. If coffee or tea is scarce, the men are given a bowl of milk. While this is being done, another servant whose duty later will be to go and fetch water, etc., loosens the lambs from inside the tent, where each has been attached by a woollen loop to a central rope during the night, and allows each lamb to be suckled by its mother. This done, the lambs are tied up again. The grown-up animals are counted to see that no wolf has stolen one during the night, and off they are sent to graze in charge of the shepherd boy. As the sheep are weak from lack of fodder and the long summer, they will be sent a couple of miles at most. There the shepherd-boy amuses himself one way or another till the sun gets up and makes him feel inclined to rest. He thereupon places his staff* in the ground and hangs his *'abba* on top. This is enough to deceive the sheep into thinking the shepherd is standing near them and watching. They will not wander; the shepherd goes to sleep. There is no danger by day while he is in sight of the camp.

After the sheep go the camels. A few of these, being in extra poor condition as the result of the summer, find difficulty in rising. They are given a mouthful of dates to encourage them; one or two may have to be helped up, protesting with growls and bubblings as their tails are seized and given an upward twist. They are all ready now and the herdsman bursts into song of encouragement and leads the

* Called *mikhjal*. *Mikhjal* is the special stick which shepherds hang to hang their 'abbas on to prevent sheep and lambs from wandering. Every sort has one.

Nabil and long sheep take no notice of the *mikhjal*, only the black sheep of Hum and Kowali. [See Bible. "Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me"—here "staff" is undoubtedly the Arabian *mikhjal*.]

The Camelherd

5/2 way, riding monkey-like on the hindquarters of one of the better-
2/3 conditioned animals, and looking as if every minute he would slide
4/2 off over the animal's tail. The herdsman's song is wild and weird,
[839] rising and falling in sensitones. As often as not he starts off with a description of the beautiful grazing that his charges are going to find ahead of them. He pleads with his camels and says they are to trust him, their guide and helper. He is is who is leading them to pastures *fair*, and grass that is green and succulent. The camels seem to understand, for with sundry groans and moans, they slowly follow him in single file. As they disappear into the early morning mist, the last you see or hear of the party is the distant singing of the camelherd. Then all are swallowed up in the morning fog. Like the sheep, the camels will not go far. Five to eight miles is their limit just now. Grazing has been so pitifully scarce in their long summer camp they must be allowed to get fit slowly; presently they will go further afield. The camelherd does not sleep by day. His is a much more valuable herd. He watches, with rifle ready, even though there is not the slightest rumour of danger or trouble in the air. To while away the long day, he may look for truffles on the hilltops or occasionally try and catch a jerboa. In the main, however, he watches and watches till the time comes to go home.

5/2 The camels and sheep having gone out to graze and the sun being
2/4 up, the tent family will have a meagre breakfast consisting of a little tea without milk, and some dates. If the housewife is in funds she may issue a small ration of bread to all; more often than not they go without.

5/2 The daughter of the house with her small sister, or her girl friend
4/2 from the neighbour's tent, now starts off to collect brushwood for
2/3 the day's needs. '*Arfaj* is what they seek, and as this has a tough root, they arm themselves with a small axe and several yards of goat's hair
[85] rope to carry home the firewood on their heads. Other children of from five to ten years old often accompany the girls to see if they can find an early flower or a truffle. It is their one way of enjoying themselves, they have few other amusements. The girls move off with strong healthy stride, their long sleeves bound behind their necks to free their arms, and their skirts hitched up at the waist to give freedom of movement. How straight and supple they are! Daily this fetching

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512 An hour or so before sunset, the tent housewife takes a stroll. She has had a hard day. She enjoys herself with her children for half an hour or so. Before going out she has ordered the household to prepare
[496] and fill the *hauk*. This is a large leather drinking trough fixed in basin fashion on a stand of three bent hoops of wood. This is for the sheep when they come home and for the master's mare. There is a good supply of water ready, but the sheep will not need much, for they have been having green grazing. The camels will not yet drink: it is autumn and they will not want water for five days now. It is impossible to water them in camp, so every fifth day the herdsman will take them back, either to the wells they summered on, or to others that may be handy and let them drink their fill (*i-wariden-hum*).

On such journeys the herd will take the spare shepherd with him and he will go equipped with *al hauk* (see above), the *dalu* (small leather bucket), to draw water with, and the *habl* or rope to attach to the bucket. He will also take all spare *gawaie* (water-skins) to bring
512 back water to the camp. It is now nearly sunset and all eyes are on
499 the look-out for the return of the master of the house. At last he is seen on the horizon cantering leisurely home. As he nears the tents the dogs begin to bark, the children rush out to meet father and the wife orders coffee to be prepared. His welcome is like that given to a guest, for he will be tired and hungry. As he dismounts, his wife or daughter takes his mare and at once throws over her a *jilid* (blanket) before taking her to water. That duty done, they shackle her with clumsy iron shackles and allow her to go free. If the family is fairly well off, the mare will be given a feed of barley, but the poor man's mare gets nothing.

512 Salutations over and several cups of coffee handed round, the
285 master of the house is asked about the result of his journey. He produces out of the voluminous folds of his *dishdasha* samples of different kinds of grass which he has seen growing at the spot he visited, and which he has brought home to show his wife and herdsmen; he praises his new find, he says grazing is good out there, and there is lots of it, and no other Bedawin have as yet found it. He has brought good news (*bishara*), he wants his womenfolk and all the others to rejoice with him for he is a *bashir* (a bringer of good news):

"By God it is excellent, very very excellent, and there are no Arabs

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on it—Oh my children, oh my servants, we will move to it to-morrow 512
morning." 285

Yet what, after all, is this new-found grazing? Nothing but a slightly rained-upon locality, where a few green shoots and weeds wait for man and beast to find them. Yet with the scarcity that prevails, the find is welcome. At sunset the camels once again come home, this time with the herdsman riding behind them. He is no longer singing, but encourages them with a "wa-ho, wa-ho, hurry up my daughters, the night is coming on, 'tis late—'tis late".

On arrival the camels are gently shepherded to the front of the tent where they are encouraged to lie down in a semicircle forming a sort of *mereba*, with heads all facing the open side of the tent. This for protection, and to give each other warmth, for the tent keeps off the chill night breeze. However cold it is, the camels have no covering on their backs, and they appreciate any shelter they can get from the night wind.

An hour after sunset, and often when it is quite dark, the sheep come in with much "baa-ing" and calling upon their lambs to come out and appease their hunger, for the lambs have been kept at home all day. The sheep are brought into the semicircle formed by the camels, and the lambs are let loose. For twenty minutes or so pandemonium reigns. The babies have to be guided to their mothers, who will accept no lamb but their own, and in the darkness there is much apparent confusion due only to the noise made by ewes and lambs.

The shepherds know their job, and the lambs, having fed, are soon 512
taken back and tied up inside the tent. All this time there are no lights, 378
for the Badawin family cannot afford such luxury. Only in the kitchen portion of the tent a fire is cooking the evening meal and the master of the house sitting in front of the guest portion of his tent has got a small fire going with the embers of dry camel dung. Every now and then he flings on a bunch of *'arfaj* to cause a blaze and show him what is going on.

Supper follows, a simple meal of boiled rice and possibly a little 512
bread. It is washed down with *laben*, of which master takes long and 244
copious draughts. The women do not eat with him. They have already had their snack. Only the wife sits by her husband to see that he has

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342. it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
595 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier
584 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

595 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
233 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

492. When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jamal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family
[281] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off thelwered in their *makmar* or *gimar*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalals*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *mawakh al dhalal* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

701 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
281 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalals* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*ghai*) have

Women's Treasures

Chap. V

Mighwal—coloured saddle-bags for storing women's clothes, spare garments, coloured wools, etc. These are separate and hang on hooks on either side of the *mukar*, whereas men's saddle-bags are joined together and hang over the top of the saddle. The *mighwal*'s bag-tassels are half as long as those adorning men's saddle-bags. 495 492

'Ahil—large woollen saddle-bags for carrying rice, flour, sugar, etc.

Lahaf—cotton quilts, usually red.

Fiko—a volcanic stone resembling an ox-tongue in shape. Hard and black, used as a hammer for knocking in tent pegs.

Miyishah—wooden tripod 4 ft. high, on which the skin is slung when making *laben*, or the carcass of a sheep which is to be skinned.

Sawil (plural: *sawlan*)—special skin for making *laben*, always a sheepskin.

Mahrak—bladder for storing butter, known as *mawal* by the 'Awazim.

Fiba (plural: *gewal*)—Goatskin for carrying water.

Rawi (plural: *rawi*)—Camelskin for carrying water. (Known as *mighda* among the 'Ajman.)

Mahjan—wooden funnel for putting milk into'laben

Jerab—Bag made from skin of baby gazelle with a pattern on it in coloured dyes, used for carrying coffee in on the march.

Mandrik—hand loom (also *nawr*).

Mirka—shuttle.

Nuka—flat wooden piece for tightening thrends.

Mihbrah—gazelle's horn for pulling down threads.

Maghzal or *Mahbrah*—spindle.

Sarir—The pair of sticks 8 inches long used to tie up the udders of a she-camel, e.g. *sarr al naja* (an order indicating that the camel's udders should be tied up). Each stick is laid alongside two udders, and each udder is tied separately with a piece of woollen thread. This is to prevent calves drinking. Calves are only allowed to drink morning and evening. The camel has four udders. 258

Ibrij (pronounced *brik*) and *Maghsaul*—jug and basin (used only among *hadar* or townsmen).

Al Hawdh—a leather basin for watering sheep and camels. Three bent pieces of wood form the stand.

Al Dalw—small leather bucket (two kinds) used for drawing water from wells.

Mihbah—Child's portable cradle, common to the tribes of Hasa. It is carried on the mother's back supported by thongs across her forehead, or she carried under her arm supported by thongs over the shoulder, according to which tribe she belongs to. The *mihbah* is made out of one piece of leather. As the cradle is lifted the end where the child's feet lie is automatically closed by the running rope which passes through two holes one at each side (see diagram). The *mihbah* is not 254

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so, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin 369
in the transition stage to a more settled existence. 361

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of 361
sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents 230
as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock
such as 'Ajman, Munir, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their [382]
members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and
regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the 545
pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter un- 369
doubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has
grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots
of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi,
are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-
bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs.
The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions 369
involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as 574
host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging 556
in the city.

Akabaw al Bada, is a common cry heard among the 'Arab-
dawin of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their
neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially [121]
their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful,
for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather
than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and
lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin
raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is
an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or
defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with 233
either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the 463
tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either 619
of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As
sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which
they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined
than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds
has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

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233 or form part of the nomad camel tribes, or have stock of their own
463 and roam the outer desert in various formed tribal bodies. These
619 shepherd tribes are known under the general term of *Shawdwi* (singular: *Shdwi*) by town dwellers, or *Hukra* in the desert.

233 For example, in North-East Arabia we have the following:

619 (*a*) The great *Shawdwi* or *Hukra* shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq confederation on the Euphrates, who for seven months in the year move south into the great desert and only return with the advent of the hot weather. These in origin were the shepherds who looked after the flocks and herds of the Al Sa'adun hereditary Shaikhs of the Muntafiq in bygone days, but who to-day for the most part own their own stock. (See Chapter XLV.)

(*b*) The *Hirshdn* or *Shawdwi* tribes of the Mutair, a more or less serf-community owing allegiance to that great tribe of nomads.

(*c*) The *'Awazim Ahl al Ghanam*, or people of the sheep, who care for the flocks of the camel sections of that tribe and are in closest touch with them. These 'Awazim shepherd tribes by no means confine their attention to caring for their own, or their camel brethren's sheep. They are such good shepherds and so well trusted that many of them come up to Kuwait to hire themselves out to those townsfolk who own sheep, and even take those sheep many miles south and graze them with their own in the Suda region and 100 miles south of Kuwait town, where water is plentiful when summer sets in. Being honest in the extreme, they hold it a matter of tribal pride to account faithfully for every animal so entrusted to them.

The true Badawin nomads (*Bddia*) breed only camels, and for nine months in the year dwell in the interior of the far desert places, far away from civilisation and towns, where the best grazing after the winter rains is to be found. Their object is to find the best grazing grounds, irrespective of water; this means the ground which has been rained upon. With the first signs of autumn, therefore, they anxiously look out for signs of rainstorms in the distant skies, indicated by lightning flashes at night, low down on the horizon, and they make for those areas, as if life depended on it. The bustard, the gazelle and other wild animals obey the same instinct.

619 These Badawin proper are entirely exclusive, and look upon them-
565 selves as the very salt of the earth, marrying only with exclusive

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Milk Products

SHEEP'S MILK AND ITS USES

ME 234

From sheep's milk are made *rauba*, *leben* and *igt*.

To make *rauba*, milk is heated to blood heat, and then poured into a special goatskin *makhmar*, kept for the purpose. It is then covered up with rugs, and turns into *rauba* after about four hours. As a certain amount of old *rauba* remains in the skin from previous brews, the Badawin needs to add no old *rauba*, as would be necessary if it were made by us in a bowl at home. When we made it we added a coffee-cup full of old stock to 2 quarts of warm milk, and covered all with a warm cloth. In our house at Kuwait we prepared the *rauba* at night ready for eating in the early morning. In cold weather it takes 4 to 5 hours to prepare; in hot weather only 1½ to 2 hours.

To make *leben* you take the skin containing cooled *rauba* which is ready for eating and transfer it into a *leben*-skin *mankhak*, which is then slung under the tripod stand *mirjakah*, and about a third of its weight in water is added. The skin is then rocked backwards and forwards for 2½ hours (usually done in the early morning two hours before dawn, otherwise butter will not form), until lumps of butter appear, leaving a thin butter-milk. This latter is the *leben*.

Igt, or "milk cake", looks rather like hard chalk lumps. It is made as follows. *Rauba* is boiled for at least 2 hours until it becomes thick and granulated. Then it is cooled, and as it hardens little round flat cakes are made by squeezing in the hand. To get good *igt*, the wild flower known as *burwa'g* is mixed with the *rauba*, and sometimes the petal-less daisy called *garese*.

Igt is sold in the Kuwait bazaar and all towns of Najd. It is much used by Badawin when travelling in the desert. In the summer when sheep, goats and camels are not giving milk, *igt* is pounded up, mixed with water and drunk as *leben*.

SHEPHERDS' LORE

B 233

One of the most astonishing things about the Badawin and their sheep is the wonderful manner in which the shepherds know their sheep. I refer particularly to the 'Awazim tribe. Here every shepherd gives a name to each of his ewes as soon as she has lambed. From

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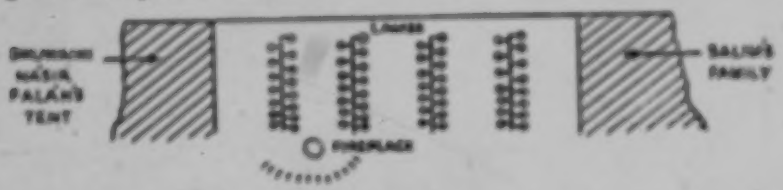
that day till she dies or is eaten he knows her and calls her by name. 283 ●
Each ewe knows her name and answers to the call.

On 14th January, 1934, I made a point of being present when the lambs and sheep belonging to Salim al Muzaiyin came home at night, to see if I had been told the truth about this "naming" business.

The lambs, a month or two months old, had been out all day grazing under little Marzuk, the black slave boy, and Hamud, Maneira's son. They went only some quarter mile from camp and wandered about gaining strength and learning how to eat the dry stubble that had fallen from the *'arfaj* bushes. There had as yet been no rain, so there was no grass.

The lambs were brought in at sunset and were tied up as usual in their tent for the night. Each had its little loop attached to a long goat-hair rope like this:



At about 6.30 p.m., or an hour after sunset, the ewes were brought back to camp by Nasir and Falâh, the 'Awazim shepherds. It was pitch dark and no moon was shining. After keeping the mothers waiting 50 yards from the tents, until the shepherds had examined the lambs and ascertained where each was tied, the mothers were brought close up in front of the big tent. Apart from the small fire that Salim and Dhurwaihi had lit and were making coffee on, the whole place was in darkness.

The mothers, which numbered 51 (42 sheep and 9 goats), were kept back from the lambs by Falâh and Salim, while Nasir began to call them by name, and as each was allowed to come up Nasir slipped the noose off the young one's neck and gave it to the mother. He knew every mother and every lamb. An astonishing thing was that he called up each ewe and picked out her lamb in complete darkness. Out of the 50 mothers and 50 lambs I saw him make one mistake only. All through the process of loosing the lambs, calling up the

238 mothers and handing the baby to its dam to suckle, he was calling out name after name amidst the din of mothers' "bazing" and lambs crying for their food. To me it was pandemonium, to Nasir and Faith an everyday procedure.

Those ewes whose male lambs had been killed for food were given strange lambs to feed, after the latter had had a short drink from their rightful mothers. In this case the rightful mothers had to be forcibly held by Salim whilst their little ones were fostered by another.

The mothers all appeared to recognise their own lambs by smell. The lambs on the other hand did not seem to mind much whether they drank from their mother or from a stranger. It was the mothers who made the fuss.

238 652 In conversation afterwards with Nasir, the shepherd, the latter told me that he named a ewe only when it gave birth to a lamb, not before. The purpose was purely utilitarian. The names saved time at night when the mothers came home. He had names for all the sheep and goat mothers. He could recognise each mother and each baby by the feel with his eyes shut. All were black, but by feeling heads and backs he knew by touch which was which.

This skill, Nasir said, was universal among all the 'Awazim tribes, and among the shepherds of Kuwait and Najd. None of the Iraq tribes or the Muntafiq shepherd tribes named their sheep, nor could they recognise them in the dark.

SHEEP NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

(1) *Al Hamrak* (The red one).
(2) *Al Suwaid* (The little black one).
(3) *Al Hadaid* (The hairy one).
(4) *Al Shakaid* (The white-shouldered one).
(5) *Al Saguik* (The one with the white blaze).
(6) *Al Kakail* (Soft black-haired one).
(7) *Al Wada'ak* (The little cowri).
(8) *Al Zinadak* (The wattled one).
(9) *Al Arkaim* (The white-nosed one).
(10) *Al Hajlak* (The white-stockinged one).
(11) *Al Dakrijak* (The stumpy one).
(12) *Al Suwaidan* (The black one).

233 Sheep which are fat and have plenty of grazing are inclined to get exhausted when the sun grows stronger with the advancing summer.

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They seem to feel the sun on their heads more than on their bodies. 233
They then have a trick of collecting in clumps of ten to fifteen with lowered heads to the centre, to get shade.

If sheep get frightened of a horseman or motor car, they bolt to their shepherd for protection.

The way to test a sheep's condition is to weigh its tail in your hand. If the tail is heavy the sheep's condition is good.

Sheep are watered according to the season of the year. In winter they do not drink, as grazing gives them the necessary moisture. In March they drink every other day—in mid-summer every day.

GOATS

Nomenclature.

Sakhla, pln. *Sakhal*—A goat (general).
Taiz—He-goat.
'Anz—She-goat.
Ma'aza—Herd of full-grown goats.
Al Sakhla—Kids.

Names of Varieties in Kuwait and North-East Arabia.

Barbariyah—Small, white, black-and-white, and black goat, always short haired—long eared. Gives very good milk.
A'ridhiyah—Long haired, always black (with occasional white marking), also long eared.
Shaira—Short-eared goats.

GOAT DISEASES 232.

There are only two recognised goat diseases:

(a) *Abu Rawak.* (b) *Al Jarrah.*

Abu Rawak.—A disease of the internal organs, probably lungs. Symptoms: The goat lies down, and appears to have high fever. It is unable to move and moans as if in great pain. The sickness lasts seven days and then the goat dies. The only cure is to kill one of the affected animals, cut out its lungs (*sakara*), and bury them. The lungs are left underground for approximately an hour. Then they are cut up into small pieces, which are mixed with certain herbs, viz. *ayyr*, *sadir*,

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234 *ballit* (not found in Arabia). The ear of the sick goat is sliced open at the top end until blood is drawn, and the mixture is well rubbed into the wound. Usually a small ball of the mixture is made and placed under the skin for an hour (the skin being cut and the ball placed underneath, and the skin flap placed over the ball to keep it in position). All goats of the flock, whether known to be infected or not, are treated thus, and if attacked have a good chance of recovery. The disease is highly contagious.

Under the above treatment 50 per cent usually recover. If no treatment is given the whole flock is doomed. The disease reappears in a district every two or three years.

Al Jarrah.—A virulent form of mange. The cure is to cut all the goat's hair off and smear the skin plentifully with an ointment made from gunpowder and clarified butter. This must be done three times to effect a cure. The mange does not attack sheep, dogs, camels or horses, and man is also safe from the disease. Ninety per cent of goats escape if treated in time.

GENERAL REMARKS

238 In the desert goats are chiefly kept for the sake of their milk and hair. The Badawin prefer sheep, but the more well-to-do try to keep a certain number of goats, for goats' hair is superior to sheep's wool for certain parts of their black tents.

In every Badawin hair tent the roof consists of a central broad strip, with two strips of black wool or hair on either side of it. The strip furthest from the central strip is always made of goats' hair, as it is stronger and takes the weight of the *rusg*, or back curtain, better.

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GOAT-NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

Al Duaiya (no meaning).
Al Sha'ail (The yellow one).
Al Raktah (The spotted one).
Al Khaim (The white-headed one).
Al Daghain (The black-headed one).
Al Tawil (The tall one).

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when the state of the track did not permit of trains running at more than 30 miles an hour. 231 1492

NAMES OF HERDS, ETC.

Herds of camels are spoken of as *al bil*, or *al dibbash*. This is a generic term in the same way as one might speak of "the flocks", "the herds". Other names for the camel are *bayir* (plural: *ba'arin*), *Al mudiki* is the name given to camels on the move and grazing, while *jamal* or *fahal* is a male camel or one reserved for breeding purposes. 233

To the Western mind there is a tendency to think of camels as beasts of burden only. We picture them pacing the desert tied head to tail, in long snake-like formation, conveying the necessities of life from town to town.

In Arabia proper, where the great Badawin tribes roam, the picture is quite a different one. This is the home of the camel, and vast herds sometimes as many as 100,000 at a time may be seen following the grazing from one area to another. The camel at home is like the sheep, and is kept primarily for its milk, secondarily for its meat.

The great herds consist almost entirely of females, the few odd males that are to be found being used only for carrying heavy loads such as tents from camp to camp, and for breeding purposes. The camel-stallions are kept strongly tied up and as a rule near tents during the cold weather (December and January) or rutting season. In summer, when grazing is scarce and breeding-time is over, they are allowed to graze with the females.

CAMEL BREEDING

One good *fahal* in a good spring season is capable of serving a hundred females.

The act of copulation is performed with the female in kneeling posture, her foreleg usually being tied up to the shoulder to keep her quiet. As a rule men are in attendance to assist in the process, but quite often the male is left to his own devices in the herd. At calving time the women and children all watch the delivery of the young

233 camel into the world. There is no false modesty or stupid hush-hush about such matters among the Badawin.

FAMOUS BREEDS

231 The following are the famous breeds of camels:

(1) *Al 'Umaniyah.*
(2) *Al Hurra.*
(3) *Al Bátiniyah.*
(4) *Al Arthiyah.*
(5) *Al Attiyah.*

Al 'Umaniyah originally came from the coast of Oman and Trucial coast, but it is found to-day along the eastern shore of Arabia from Kuwait to Oman, more especially at the southern end. The 'Umaniyah camel is not good for work in pebbly country, as its feet are tender.

Al Hurra comes from Shammar and 'Anizah country. It is supposed to have come originally from the Sharárat tribe. This is considered the best of all breeds for summer work and on stony country, as its feet are tough and it can go longest and furthest without water. It is commonly said that in North-West Arabia there roams a breed of wild camels. It is the males of this breed which cover the female (which is left out at night tied up, etc.) and the resulting calf is the Hurra.

Al Bátiniyah comes from the Bátinah coast of Oman, and is the highest bred and most renowned of all thoroughbred camels. Before 1914 a Bátiniyah was worth Rs.1,000; in 1933, about Rs.400. It is tall but lightly built. Few ordinary Arabs can afford to buy one of them and they are usually given as gifts by rulers to rulers.

Al Arthiyah comes from South-Western Central Arabia (Khurma and Turraba region); it is said to be a good but not very remarkable animal.

Al Attiyah comes from Central and North-East Arabia. It has no remarkable features though shapely and pleasing.

White camels are much prized and a white herd is known as *maghathir*. A single white she-camel is called *Al Wadha*. Other terms in use are:

Jaish—Camels on which fighting men are mounted.
Rahla—Camels which are engaged in carrying loads (*musábilah*).

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Malka—One black camel.
Mijalkha—A herd of black camels (e.g. *Al Sharaf*).
Sha'alah—One brown camel.
Sha'al—A herd of brown camels.
Safrah—One light-coloured fawn camel.
Rafyah—A herd. Each herd has seventy camels in it.
Khalfah—Milch camel (generic term).
Nagah—Female camel that has had a calf.
Hirdo—A baby camel (generic term).
Ga'ud—Young male camel.
Bakkarah—Young female camel.
Jamal—Young male, able to carry things (till twenty).
Nagah-in-Bikir—Female when first put to a male and has her first calf.
Dhalul—Female riding camel (not allowed to have a calf).
Hawdo—Young first-born camel, from birth to one year old.
Mafrah—From second year, and when it no longer drinks from its mother.
Hadg wahad khalfah—Three-year old (ridden for first time).
Lifi—Four years old.
Jadd'a—Five years old.
Jinjah or *Rabo*—Six years old.
Sidis—Seven years old.
Nagah—Eight years old (when she is first allowed to breed).
Hirish—Male camel over twenty years old.
Fair—Female camel over twenty years old.

NOTE.—Period of gestation is twelve months.

WATERING OF CAMELS

In the winter when grazing is good, camels are not watered at all. 233 ● When it begins to get warm they are watered every seven to nine days. As the summer gets hotter this period is reduced, until in the very hot months (shade temperature anything from 110° to 125°), the camel is watered every two days if possible.

Sheep follow in the main the camel rule as regards watering, but cannot go for longer than four days without water in winter.

Watering at wells is known as *al wird*. Water is drawn from the wells by long ropes to which are attached leather buckets (formed by gathering up the sides of a circular piece of leather by several strings). The water is then poured into the *haudh* or leather receptacle

233 supported on wooden stands which is kept in every Badawin tent, and the camel drinks its fill.

SALTING CAMELS

To be kept in good condition camels must be driven every ten days to *hamah* areas, i.e. to areas where salty bushes exist.

If no *hamah* is convenient, salt must be given to the camel by hand.

Caravans in Arabia proper, for instance a caravan going from Kuwait to Qasim, and between towns of Qasim or Najd, never go tied head and tail. They all move in a mixed mob and graze as they go along. They keep together naturally as sheep do. A few men mounted on camels to keep them moving are all that are necessary.

When camels go to water one man usually mounts a female and calls the herd to follow. The camels recognise the cry and slowly concentrate and follow the crier from near and far.

The common cries of the leader at such times are, "Ydoh Ydoh", "Yah Yah" or "Yoboh Yoboh". One man can manage 100 camels in this way.

CARE OF CAMELS

The camel is a delicate beast and requires careful attention.

If it is in good condition, gets proper food and regular salting, its hump grows large and fat. If the hump gets small and insignificant, the animal grows weak. Its hump, in other words, is its storehouse of fat, and indicates, like the fat in the sheep's tail, the general condition of its owner.

In the cold weather, if in good condition with large hump, the camel needs no protection at night, but if she is in poor condition, or has had young, a *jilál* or rug should be tied across her back, leaving a hole for the hump to protrude.

In very cold weather, when the wind is strong and cutting, camels are all brought to the tents at night, and made to kneel on its lee-side with heads and necks almost inside the tent. This gives shelter from the icy blasts. It also gives shelter to the guard or watchmen watching them.

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In summer, on the other hand, camels wander about at night and graze. 233

Camel droppings (*julla*) are collected and dried and form a much-prized fuel. When lit *julla* gives a good hot ember, and is excellent for making coffee in camp or on the march, when no firewood is available. Hence all travellers carry a bagful. 237

Female camels' urine (*baul*) is caught and used throughout Badawin Arabia as a hairwash for women. It is supposed to strengthen and cleanse the hair, and kills all head vermin. A woman normally washes her hair once a week. *Baul* is also extensively used as a purgative.

HOMING INSTINCT

233

The homing instinct is strongly developed in the camel, but may be termed with greater accuracy the herd instinct.

A camel seems instinctively to know where its friends are, and is always anxious to get back to them.

A fairly common sight at Kuwait is to see a camel brought up to the town with a dozen others by a tent-dweller who has come to buy supplies, escaping and making its way with all speed across country to its camp possibly 30 miles away. The hue and cry after it has to be seen to be realised.

This instinct for returning home is strongest in young camels who have not often moved from the main herd before.

One way to deter a camel from acting on this instinct is to give it food, and especially water, whenever a strange place is reached—water appears somewhat to deaden the homing instinct.

Junaifir ibn Hawaila of the 'Ajman (Mahfudh) and Muhammad ibn Hajjáj, also of the 'Ajman (Al Súlaiman), both told me on 7th September, 1933, that of all animals within their ken the camel was the most clever and cunning at finding its way back to a place it came from. Its instinct in this respect was phenomenal.

Murait ibn Hawaila ('Ajman) once related to me how he lost his camel, which broke away at night from Abu Halaifa (Qusur), 25 miles from Kuwait on the coast, and was recovered 150 miles inland at Dulaimiyah with Shammar, from whom it had been bought some weeks before.

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CAMEL FOOD

259 The staple food of the camel is the *nassi* grass, the *'arfaj* bush of the desert, and when in season wild flowers and grasses of every description. The first two grow in profusion over Central and North-Eastern Arabia after good rains. Camels near the Euphrates thrive on a thorny bush known as *a'qul*—but this does not suit the desert camel.

The salt diet of the camel is found in the *rimth*, *shawran*, *'arfal*, *'ajram* and *gughrif* bushes, all known under the generic term of *hamth*.

The camel is also very fond of dates, which are given him with milk when he is being prepared for long and arduous work. He of course eats the date stones with relish.

A dainty dish for a sick camel is dates and barley mixed with milk into a mush, and followed by Arab bread broken up into small pieces.

CAMEL FLESH

262 Camels' meat is not unpleasant and is rather like coarse beef. It is widely eaten, especially in November and December, when sheep are in poor condition for lack of grass. Camels' meat is supposed to be good for man during the cold weather and to supply warmth.

Among the Badawin, camels are often killed on feast days or for rejoicing on festive occasions. I have found the hump to be the most edible part of the camel, and this is also the Arab opinion.

Camels' milk is, of course, universally drunk throughout Arabia. It is extremely nourishing, but contains no cream, and therefore yields no butter. It has a slightly purgative effect on most people, and Europeans should be careful not to indulge too freely in the desert.

492 GEAR FOR CAMEL TRAVEL (see Chapter V)

The main necessaries for a journey by camel are:

The camel saddle with two tall pommels fore and aft.

The large saddle bags hanging down on both sides of the saddle.

The finely-worked leather apron which hangs down in front of a camel's saddle and stretches down both sides of the camel's neck nearly to its knees.

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A WELL OF THE CAMELS DRINKING

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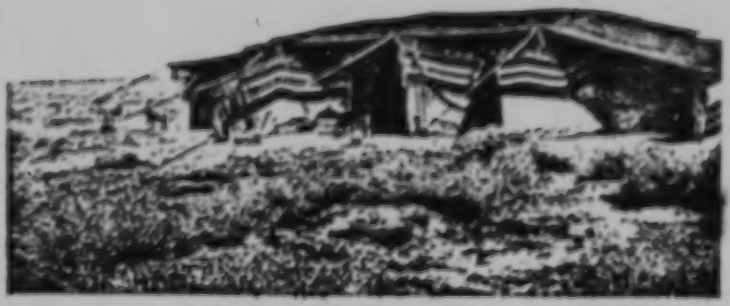

OUR TENT WITH AMSHA STANDING IN FRONT
OF THE DIVIDE

Branding of Camels

Chap. XXXII

A curious custom exists among certain tribes, revealing their firm 232
belief in *'ainpad*, or sympathetic magic.

If a man has a white and a black camel, and one goes lame, say the white one, in the leg, he brands the black camel on the same leg that is lame in the white camel, and the white camel's lameness is believed to disappear. (Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 25th November, 1933.)

MILCH CAMELS

Male camels, as already mentioned, are kept away from females in 235
winter, the breeding season. In summer the sexes are allowed to graze together.

Milch camels are not allowed to feed their young when grazing. The milk is wanted for the tent, and only after tent requirements are taken is the mother allowed to suckle the baby camel. The young camel is allowed to feed in the evening, and before going out in early morning.

To prevent a baby camel's illicit drinking, the mother's udders are tied to a piece of stick called a *sardr*. (*Sarw al ndgd*, means "tie the she-camel's teats up".)

The female has four teats and the stick is tied to two at a time. (See sketch, page 100.)

On 9th May, 1935, when drinking some camel's milk among the 'Ajman, I saw the tying-up process. To enable us to milk the camel the strings were loosed, and when the 'Ajman herdsman tied them up again he placed a piece of camel's wool between string and teats before fastening them to the *sardr*. In one case, having no wool handy, he used an old camel dropping (*jalla*). The piece of wool is to prevent damage or hurt to the nipples.

TRIBAL "WASMS"

Every tribe has its *wasms* or tribal brand marks, correspond'ng 619
somewhat to our own family crests. The *wasm* is never placed on 233
banners or war flags, and is primarily meant to show the Badawin 422
world to whom such and such camels or wells belong.

Camel Brands

Horses and mares are never branded, though sheep usually have a small slit or private brand placed on the ear to indicate the owner.

Camels on the other hand are all branded with some tribal *wasm* or other, whoever they are, or to whomsoever they belong.

Private property also, such as a camel load, which has had to be temporarily abandoned in the desert owing to the death of the camel carrying it, can be protected by marking on the ground near it the tribal *wasm* of the owner. As a rule, no one finding such property will touch it.

The tribal *wasms* which exist, and could be collected by anyone interested in the study, are legion, for the 'Awazim tribe of Hasa, as far as I can ascertain, is alone among all the tribes of Arabia in possessing one *wasm* mark only for the whole tribe. All other tribes have dozens and dozens of different brands in accordance with the number of sections and subsections into which they are divided, or the number of their sheikhs who think they ought to have their own special distinguishing mark for their camels.

Like the tattoo marks of the Iraq Marsh women, Badawin's camel marks are of extraordinary interest and it would be well worth while for some student to collect and classify them. I have myself collected a fair number of tribal *wasms* from various sections of the more important tribes I have come across, but space forbids to reproduce them here.

I therefore confine myself to giving a few of the more important *wasms* only, including those of the paramount sheikhs of certain tribes, just to show what they look like and on what part of the camel they are branded.

(1) His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (Ibn Sa'ud):
Placed on the right thigh.

After the Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 was put down, those camels confiscated by Ibn Sa'ud from the rebellious tribes were marked with a special new brand to indicate that they were the King's property, but had been taken from rebels. This *wasm* was on right thigh.

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BANI HAJIR CAMELS DRINKING

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Tribal Marks

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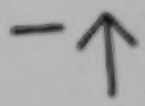
(2) Muhammad al Sa'ud (the King's brother):
Placed on right thigh.

(3) 'Abdullah* bin Jiluwi (Amir of Hasa):
Placed on right thigh.

* To-day Sa'ud bin ---.

(4) His Excellency The Shaikh of Kuwait (Bin Subah):
Placed on either thigh.



(5) Al Sa'adun (Shaikhs of the Muntafiq):
Placed on left cheek.
(The circle is known as *halqa*.)

(6) 'Uyaina Tribe

(a) Ibn Humaid (Shaikh of Barqa group):
On off fore shoulder.

(b) Ibn Rubaiyan (Shaikh of Ruqa group):
On left side of neck.
(Rest of family same mark on right side of neck).

(c) Ibn Chamil (Shaikh of Muqita group):
On left cheek.

(d) Ibn Hijna (Shaikh of Anfa group):
On right thigh.

(e) Ibn Ja'ana (Shaikh of Rusan group):
Halqa on right cheek.

(7) Dhafir Tribe (Ibn Suwait only):
On right thigh.

Mutair Wasms

Chap. XXXII

(19) (f) 'Awazim Tribe

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(a) Ibn Jama (Al Amir): On left thigh

Also (Hadalin): On left neck

(b) Ibn Dwai: On right thigh

Also

(Suwahir): On left cheek

or *killal* on left thigh

(g) Mutair Tribe

(a) Al Dushan (all members): On left thigh

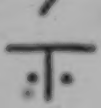
(b) Al Fuqum (Salaba—Thawiaan):

On left neck

Also on left cheek

(c) Ibn Lami (Qa'aiman—Jiblan):

On right neck



(d) Ibn Shiblan (Al Yahya—Jiblan):

On right thigh

(e) Ibn Ghawaiman (Mala'aba—Thawiaan):

Over right eye

(f) Ibn Rashidan (Burzan—Jiblan):

On right thigh

(g) Al Ma'argab (Araqiba—Jiblan):

On left neck

Also On left cheek

(h) Al Sur (Bara'isa—Muwaha):

On left thigh

Also

On left cheek

(i) Ibn Jariban

Abu Sifra (Rukhman—Muwaha):

On right cheek

or *killal*

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(*j*) Ibn Shuwaiyat (Khawatirah—Muwaha):
On left thigh

(*k*) Abu Ras (Al Jubara—Muwaha):
On right thigh

(*l*) Ibn Mita'ib (Sa'anim—Muwaha):
On left neck

Also on left cheek

(*m*) Ibn Ashwan (Abaiyat—Wasil):
On right thigh

(*n*) Ibn Shuwairibat (Birzan—Wasil):
On left neck

(*o*) Ibn Jarbuh (Diyahin—Wasil):
They cut a piece out of the left cheek and off the left ear.

(*p*) Ibn Muhailib (Wisama—Wasil):
On left thigh

(*q*) Ibn Musaiyis (Sa'aran—Awlad Ali):
On right cheek

Also
On right thigh

(*r*) Ibn Jirnas (Al Maimum—Bani 'Abdillah):
On left cheek

(*s*) Ibn Thamna
Ibn Darwish
(Al Sa'aba—Bani 'Abdillah):
On right cheek

(9A) Rashaida Tribe

(*a*) Ibn Musailim:
A long plain line round neck under chin from side to side

(*b*) Ibn Awaiyid ('Awana):
On left thigh

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(c) Al Shahir (Shahara): On right thigh

(d) Ibn Nimaan (Muhaizimat): On right thigh

(e) Ibn Sa'ami: On right thigh

(10) The following 'Ajman *wasms* were given me by Mubarak Ibn Haif al Hajraf, Shaikh of the Sulaiman, on April 10, 1934:

Al Hithlain: On left cheek

Al Hadi: On right cheek

Al Hajraf: On left neck

Al Sulaiman: On left neck, low

Ibn 'Asidan (Shaikh Sulaiman): On left neck

Al Mahfudh: On left thigh

Al Suffran : On right neck

Al Hajjan: On right thigh

Al Saleh: On right neck

Al Rima: On left neck high up

Al Hitlan: Right round gullet on under side

Al Tháin: On left neck

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(11) Bani Khalid Tribe

(a) Ibn Agál:

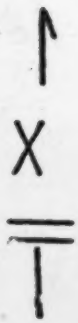
On right side of neck

(b) Ibn Ajran:

On left thigh (like Awazim)

(12) Bani hajir Tribe (Ibn Mubarak only):

On left side of neck



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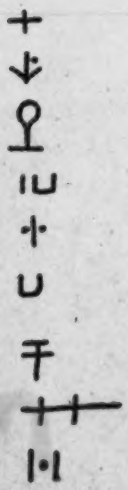
CAMEL STICKS (*Mishd'ab*)

These very often bear the *wasm* of the owner's tribe burnt on the crook end of the stick. I have three such myself, given me by members of the Dushan clan of the Mutair, which I keep as mementoes.

"WASMS" OR TRIBAL MARKS CARVED ON THE ROCKS ON NORTH-WEST FACE OF JABAL WARA (KUWAIT)

Names of tribes or sections of a tribe claiming some of those *wasms* are given below. 619



'Awazim

Subah (Kuwait)

Sufran ('Ajman)

Al Huwaila ('Ajman)

Hithlain ('Ajman)

Salim al Hamud (one of Al Subah Shaikhs)

Qahtan, also 'Utaiba

'Utaiba

'Ajman

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CHAPTER XLV

The Muntafiq Shepherd Tribes

This book would not be complete without a short reference to the great southerly annual migration of the shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq Confederation situate between Samawa and the Hamar Lake. 619 [221] 233

These shepherd tribes, which are known under the generic term of Shawíyah or Shawáwi in Iraq, and that of Hukra in Kuwait and Najd, consist of the sheep-rearing sections of the three great groups of the Muntafiq, namely the Albu Salah, the 'Ajwad and the Bani Malik, as well as the Bani Hachaim tribe which have their habitat south-east of Samawa, adjoining the Muntafiq.

The names of most of these Euphrates shepherd tribes are given below, and each has a definite shaikh or leader, though some of them come under the protection of one or other of the more powerful riverain tribes of the lower Euphrates. 619 [622] 101

(1) Bani Málik Group:

Al Wada'zi. Al Májid.
Al Taugiyah. Al Diwán.
Al Munafida.
(all known under name Al Jumai'an)

(2) Albu Sálah Group:

Al Shamla. Al 'Araithib.
Al Safáfa'a Al 'Abada.

(3) 'Ajwad Group:

Al Juarín. Al Sharaifat.
*Al Budur. Al Ghazzi.

(4) Bani Hachaim Group:

Al Zaiyad. Al Ghazalat.
Bani Salamah.

(5) Shammar (elements claiming descent from main Shammar of Najd):

†Ah 'Aunan. Al Rufai'at.
Al Zauba.

* Budur tribal sections who visit Kuwait are the Al Hamad and the Al Fauwaz (Shaikh Mana). These are at enmity with the rest of the Budur (paramount Shaikh Shirshab al Sahan). Shammar shepherd tribes who in summer reside at Zubair or at Hartha (10 miles north of Basra) and annually visit Kuwait are Al Rufai'at and Al Zauba.

† Al 'Aunan are of Shammar extraction. They reside near Suq al Shuyukh.

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619 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the
101 Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in
233 good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawíyah lying east of Samawa.

492 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more
144 suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of
233 sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sulubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

795 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not
439 much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawál al Dhafir and Tawál al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq–Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba–Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarín, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Aunan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are
713 perhaps the Budur, the Juarín and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

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tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

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484 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
361 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
233 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[722] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

221 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
233 the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
648 Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhabihah wa manihah*, consisting of gifts of
431 young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakát* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakát*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

836 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

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174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
619 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shuraifat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khusaubah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Jazirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

619 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
101 groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

619 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
101 and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore
● 233 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawiyah type (Shawáwi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of
[342] flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the
[241] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed villages by the rivers to till the fields.

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villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use 619
donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of 101
donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as 233
is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. [492]
By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of con- 619
federacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to 622
define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a titular position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are 619
more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, 101
Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, [241]
by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as [226]
Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al [231]
Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are [235]
not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a [622]
strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real
authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

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Appendix I

State as far south as the Tawal-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619 101 221

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyeh, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe. [795]

Religion—Sunni MALIKI.

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619 101

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADBAH (30 tents).
AL GHURAIBAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAID, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HIRSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).
MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters. 641 619

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep. [283]

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks, 619

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Appendix VII

in war or peace, and are at all times guarded with the greatest care and have their own special herdsmen. 223 825

The *Shuruf* can best be compared to the famous *Markab* or "Ark of Ishmael" which goes before the Rawala host when the latter tribe migrates to new regions or marches to war, and which is really nothing but a glorified ladies' camel litter, decked all over with black ostrich feathers (see under chapter dealing with the Tent and its treasures), but held in the deepest reverence by every single man and woman of the tribe.

As in the case of the *Markab*, the *Shuruf* is the rallying point of the tribe if attacked or in difficulties. The herd must be defended at all costs, and the tribe will cheerfully lose all its other camels in a battle or raid provided the *Shuruf* are safe.

In the attack, and especially if such be in the nature of a forlorn hope, the *Shuruf* have the place of honour always and lead the van. No Mutairi ever rides them, and they just move forward in a compact well-trained black mass ahead of the fighting men as if perfectly understanding the game. The latter will follow straight on to victory or death in their wake. The *Shuruf* seem also to know that they afford a sort of moving wall of protection for the footmen in their rear, and never scatter.

In peace time the famous black herd always grazes alone and under specially selected guards, always too as far from the common gaze as possible. It is said that should other strange camels get mixed up with them, the black herd will attack them and drive them out. Nor are the cows of the herd allowed to breed except from their own males.

To-day the *Al Shuruf* are in the hands of the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud —King and Lord of Arabia. They were taken away from the Mutair as the most severe punishment that could be meted out to them after Faisal al Duwish's rebellion of 1929–30, and are to-day (1939) most carefully guarded and looked after for the King by the faithful Shaikh Faisal bin Shiblan, head of the Jiblan sept of the great Mutair. Actually the King handed the *Shuruf* over to his brother Muhammad al Sa'ud for safe keeping after the above-mentioned rebellion, but this was a mere formality, for H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz' brand adorns the rear off hind quarter of each camel like this, ₀°₀, and the herd remains the King's property, much as in the occident any war flags captured from an enemy are handed over to the King. 687 233 425 727

As far as I am aware, my wife and I are the only Europeans living who have had the opportunity of setting eyes on this jealously guarded herd and semi-sacred tribal emblem of the Mutair. This was on 7th April and 14th April, 1939, when, by special invitation of His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait, King Bin Sa'ud sent his private camels numbering seventy-five *Raiyah* or herds, together with the *Shuruf* (some 4,500 all told) into the Araifjan and Shu'aiba districts of Kuwait to graze, the act being a gracious appreciation on the part of Shaikh Ahmad for Bin Sa'ud's good will and 825 233

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moral assistance rendered at a time when Kuwait was threatened with rebellion and disorder due to the efforts of certain of the Shaikh's enemies to hand over the State to the neighbouring Government of Iraq, and bring about the downfall of the house of Al Subah (autumn and spring of 1938–39).

On the 7th April my wife and I, hearing that the *Shuruf* were grazing at the southern end of the Dhahar ridge and close to Grain wells, made a surreptitious car dash accompanied by Salim al Muzaiyin (Mutairi), and came up with the famous herd shortly before sunset as they were breasting the top of a small rise, on their way to Ibn Shiblan's black tents, on the approach of nightfall. They presented a strikingly pretty sight silhouetted against the setting sun. They marched in a fairly close group, heading the remainder of the King's camels by half a mile or so. No one was about except a herdsman, who told us blandly in reply to our query that the *Al Shuruf* were a day's journey away—nor did any of the guards see us, being as they were on the other side of the rise beating up the stragglers. Being right amidst the herd we got a perfect look at the beautiful black beasts, and recognised the well-known brands of the Al Sa'ud and of the Dushan on them. Having seen what we wanted to see we slipped off north again unnoticed.

On 13th April we arrived at Salim al Muzaiyin's camp near Shu'aiba, intending to spend the night and next day. We had invited five of the Al Subah Shaikhs to dinner. On arrival Salim our man told us that the King's camels were grazing all round him, and that the *Al Shuruf*, which had spent the previous night close to his tents, were grazing over the nearby rise. Lastly, he said that Shaikh Misyar al Shiblan, who was in immediate charge, was waiting in his tent to pay his respects to us. Misyar was rather a wild Jibli, but we gave him dinner that night, and accommodated him in Salim's tent. Determined to see our beautiful black herd of camels once again, we rose early on the 14th April and drove in our car with Salim for about one mile. There in a hollow beneath us we saw the *Shuruf* once again. We had told nobody of our intention, and so as not to attract notice we got out of our car and started walking towards the herd.

I may mention in passing that the surrounding country seemed alive with thousands of other camels, these being the King's herds as well as those of the Shaikh of Kuwait under Al Shaiyah al Jibli.

When still about half a mile from the nearest black camel we heard shouts from an armed man who was fast bearing down on us on a riding camel: we waited for him, and he asked us what we wanted. We replied that we had come to see the *Shuruf*. "They are not here, they are not here," he said, "but away back at Araifjan." He was joined by three other armed men, and lastly by Shaikh Misyar himself, who appeared from nowhere. The latter, when confronted with our request, admitted that the famous black herd was in front of us, but said that he had the strictest orders from King Bin Sa'ud his master to allow no one to approach, much less

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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B 825 233

take any photographs. We argued that we were the personal friends of His Majesty and that we felt sure he would feel honoured at the interest we were showing. We also promised not to take any photographs, or even tell a soul that we had seen the *Shuruf* (we, of course, said nothing of the incident of the 7th April).

But Shaikh Misyar was politely adamant, saying that he dared not break the King's commands, even though I had dined him the previous night, and had once saved his Uncle Faisal bin Shiblan's life. However, so as not to hurt my feelings too much, Shaikh Misyar ordered three of the guards to go to the herd and bring back a bowl of milk for my wife and myself. No sooner said than done. We saw one of the famous herd milked, though some way off, and we partook of the wonderful frothy bowl with great relish.

At least we can say that we have drunk the milk of the far-famed *Al Shuruf*. Nor shall we forget the incident or the great honour done to us in the eyes of the Mutair.

APPENDIX VIII

INSECTS OF KUWAIT

By B. P. Uvarov, D.Sc.
British Museum (Natural History)

K 136

The territories of Kuwait and, indeed, of the whole Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, are practically unexplored with regard to the insect fauna, and on it there exist only a few scattered records. It was, therefore, of great scientific interest for collections made there by Mrs. H. R. P. Dickson and Miss Zahra Dickson to be worked out by the specialists. The following list is based on the determinations made mostly by Mr. G. E. Bryant, of the Imperial Institute of Entomology, and by myself. All the specimens were most generously presented by the collectors to the British Museum (Natural History) and placed in its collections.

It will be seen that when collecting insects special attention was paid to Orthoptera, following my special request, and the results can be considered most gratifying. Indeed, a number of species has been found that had not been previously known from anywhere in the Arabian peninsula, and a new species was discovered, representing a remarkable new genus. It was even more interesting to obtain a long list of species definitely known to occur on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, and some of these records are of special value in extending the known range of specific distribution.

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Appendix XXIII

APPENDIX XXIII

Ref. Chapter XL (bottom of p. 507)

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "SYPHILIS"

On May 26, 1949 Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib of the Mutair 757
(Buraih section) told me that the dried leaves of the three well-known desert 824
plants

(*a*) Geysúm (*Artemisia herba*)
(*b*) 'Ashiyeh (*Artemisia sp.*)
(*c*) Al Harmal (*Rhazya stricta Dene*)

were used with very good effect by the Badu for syphilis, when smoked in a pipe.

APPENDIX XXIV

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel food, p. 416

In the vicinity of the great wells of Hafar al Bátin, and in the Wadiyán 233
region (Iraq–Sa'udi Arabian frontier) the "Geysúm" bush is only eaten by camels, when they first leave the vicinity of wells in the autumn. It is never eaten in the early spring.

Sheep will, on the contrary, eat the "Geysúm" bush throughout the summer.

Authority Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib. (Mutair Buraih), May 25, 1949.

APPENDIX XXV

Ref. Chapter XXXIII, p. 443

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "MANÍHA"

The term "Maníha" when used alone and not with "Dhabíha", means 476
the loan of a ewe and lamb by one person to another who requires milk in 426
his tent. Such ewe is returned when she has no longer any milk. Such friendly loans are commonly made by men rich in flocks and herds to their poorer tent neighbours or friends.

It is important to know this custom.

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Appendix XXVIII

APPENDIX XXVIII

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel Wasms

233
619
422

The following additional Wasms should be noted.

1. Under *Mutair Tribe* after (*s*), p. 423, add:
   (*t*) Al Ammásh (Al Ruaichib)
   On left cheek

2. Under *Bani Khalid* after (*b*), p. 425, add:
   (*c*) Ibn Mendíl
   On right thigh

3. Add (13) *Murra Tribe:*
   (*a*) Nigadan (Al Mugasse)
   Low on right thigh
   (*b*) Mohomed ibn Salim
   On left side of neck

APPENDIX XXIX

KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAUD

(End of Chapter XLV)

The method of confining ants to their nest by means of Solomon's Magic Circle, was confirmed to me on April 15, 1948 by Salim al Murri and Saleh al Uhaimir, both trackers of the Murra tribe employed by H.H. the Shaikh of Kuwait when I visited their camp and was chatting to them and their womenfolk over a cup of coffee. 789

Both assured me that the circle did work but (*a*) that the circle must be made anti-clockwise, and that the ants could only be released if the motion of making the circle was again gone through, but this time clockwise. That this was always done when about to strike camp, as then the ants had to be released.

(*b*) The circle could only be made effective by the grown-up children (male and female) of first cousins. For other people to draw the circle was useless, and the ants would take no notice. (*c*) Food had to be given to the imprisoned ants at noon and sunset each day.

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

133 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
312 stand the land in which they live—a harsh, unforgiving land which conditions their lives so that they, too, are hard, hard in body and mind. They live in the desert—that is to say, in country which, judged by ordinary standards, is waterless. This applies equally to the barren, broken limestone mountains near the southern coast, to the flat, featureless gravel plains, and to the sands of the Empty Quarter itself, where the mountainous dunes, some of which are 700 feet high, run one behind the other for hundreds of miles. There are, of course, some wells in this desert, but they are usually few and far between; the Sa'ar country has two permanent wells in it, Manwakh and Zamakh; the Manahil country has three or four. Thus in an area the size of Norfolk there might be two wells. I have myself twice travelled four hundred miles between wells. I admit that this is exceptional, but Badu have raided across these very stretches of desert, riding out and back again without touching at a well. You can think what this means when you realize that this distance is twice as far as from Dover to Edinburgh, and that these Arabs travelled at a speed of three miles per hour, relying only on the water which they could carry with them without foundering their camels, and that the camels themselves did not get a drink until they returned a month later.

137 It seldom rains in this desert; in many parts it has not rained for five
221 years, and I have been in places where not a drop of rain has fallen for twenty-five years. By Badu standards a couple of hours' heavy rain in the
132 year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
233 depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances. Most of this vegetation is not grass, but desert plants like the succulent yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
233 acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their
262 camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

133 group of the Weld 'Ali, for instance, in certain winters wander with
162 their powerful allies, the Ruala, southward to the neighborhood of Teyma', returning north again after their mares and camels have foaled.

133 The third great natural feature is the chain of hills (Ar-Rawaq,
619 Abu Rijmen, and Jebel Bishri) which stretches in an almost straight
162 line from Damascus to Deyr az-Zor on the Euphrates. Sheep-
233 breeding Bedouins are found north of these hills, camel breeders to the south. The sheep breeders occupy a steppe-like rolling country,
178 rich in pasture which lasts into the beginning of summer. Settled areas are nowhere far distant to east and west, and the tribes occupying these steppes will undoubtedly be the first to establish permanent settlements. As far north as Tel el-Abyadh near the Turkish frontier the writer has noticed members of the Fed'an intermarrying with settlers of that region. Mijhem ibn Mheyd, chief of the Fed'an, owns many villages in Syria, and several thousand of his Bedouins are even now at work in the fields, although the majority prefer tending live stock to plowing. The Tayy, one of the purest, most aristocratic Bedouin tribes from central Arabia, are now found in Mesopotamia, far north near Nisibin, where they seldom fold their tents, pack them on camels, and carry them to new pasture grounds. Half of their tents are "permanently" fixed, with reed and clay walls supporting the goat's-hair canvas. Indeed, the Tayy have become a degenerate people!

The Bedouins with the largest pasture circles (those bordering on the Nafud) will probably survive longest as true nomads. These are the great camel breeders, the Ruala and some of the Shammar, who hold the vast tracts of Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan between the Nafud and the northern line of hills.

Political Changes

178 If the problematical political frontiers between the British and French spheres of influence in northern Arabia are maintained, changes may be expected in the migration territories of the Bedouins. The following, in my opinion, might well take place. The tribes whose territories are now cut by the 30th parallel would split, part of them remaining in Ibn Sa'ud's domains and the rest migrating to the
721 north. The continuance of yearly warfare (for the most part in the
178 spring) between the Zana Muslim (Ruala and Weld 'Ali) and other 'Aneze tribes would finally result in an agreement that would assign to the Ruala who remain in Syria the entire Hamad and western part of Al-Wudiyan. The rest of Al-Wudiyan would be given to the 'Amarat, and the steppe country north of the hills to the Fed'an and Sba'a. First the Fed'an and then the Sba'a would gradually become

101 Hadhramaut we had crossed the Sa'ar From the plateau
619 to this last well upon the desert's edge, where
622 we had heard that Bin Maiqal and his Bin Ma'aruf section of the Sa'ar were camped. Normally he and his clan lived in the desert around Najran, and of recent years they had acknowledged Ibn Saud as their overlord; but they had been involved in a raid upon the Yam and had fled south to seek refuge among their kinsmen from the animosity of that great tribe and the wrath of Ibn Saud. The desert was full of fear and everywhere the talk was of raids and counter-raids, of deaths and of looted stock.

233 In the sharp cold of the winter's morning we rode down the valley beyond the well, past the milch herds of the Bin Ma'aruf. The herdboys had just driven them forth to graze from their couching-place around the tents, and my companions spoke appreciatively of their condition, calling each other's attention
514 to their finer points. The Sa'ar had news of our approach, for a party of them had ridden

p. 395 (A)

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
571 leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
415 either end of the rope which runs over the
[46] pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full
the other descends empty. Men and women
draw together on the well-ropes, four or five
to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel
herds arrived and the serious work of watering
began. Great leather troughs supported on
crossed wooden hoops were set up by each
family around the well. Soon there was no
room for more watering parties, and late-
comers had to wait their turn. The buckets
rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs
about which the thirsty camels pushed and
thrust while their calves frolicked around.
Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran
in and out among them, driving away camels
which did not belong to them, and restraining
the more impatient of their own. Others
scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite
beasts, while they sang them their watering
songs to induce them to drink deep. When
they had drunk they were couched nearby, to
be watered again later in the day, before
being driven back to pasturage. Round the
well-mouth women filled their water-skins,
which then lay swollen and quivering upon
the ground, guarded from the trampling feet
of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad
only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined
freely in the constant jests and laughter.
Among them was a tall girl of startling
beauty. She had come down to the well early
in the day, carrying a water-skin and accom-
panied by her young sister. The centre of a
happy laughing group of lads, she dallied
here till the evening.

574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink
coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet
69 differed from them in their dress and way of
life. They were indigo-dyed loincloths and
wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion
among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin
Ma'aruf were clad like the Northern Arabs in
long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell
nearly to the ground. They were returning
to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days'
[34] journey to the south. Floodcrops of sorghum
312] and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
guarded by numerous stone-built forts and
watch-towers, which look out across the deso-
609 late rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited
by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of
the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for
treachery.

P. 100 (A)

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

262 to his masters in making possible a feast and a taste of
[234] meat for a large number. From camel's milk is made a
[25] sort of cottage cheese which is kneaded into little cakes much the shape and size of children's mud pies. These are plentifully mixed with hair in the process of manufacture and are baked in the sun almost to the consistency of bricks. They will keep indefinitely and form a savory addition to the diet in time of scarcity.

136 Occasionally the Bedouin will capture a *dhabb,* or
262 armored lizard, and rejoice exceedingly at the kindness of Providence. Or he may succeed in catching a desert rat, or *jerboa.* In either case there will be meat to eat that night. On rarer occasions he may succeed in shooting a gazelle, and then there will be a real feast in his
[611] tent. But even at the best there is probably no community in the world that lives constantly so close to the starvation line as the Bedouin.

574 As a host, however, the Bedouin has no peer. The unaffected joy that is shown at the opportunity of entertaining a guest may well serve as a model for those of us who come from the more practical and unfriendly West. To sit in a Bedouin's tent and enjoy his hospitality is a pleasure to be remembered, even if the small amount of meat served with the rice be so tough that biting a piece in two is impossible, to say nothing of chewing it properly.

The very poor may sometimes flee from the demands of hospitality, but once asked they may not deny entertainment to any one. In the desert the desperately poor Bedouins avoid settling in the region of a recognized caravan track. To be compelled to entertain many guests would almost mean starvation for them, but they never refuse if a guest appears. The only alternative is to re-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

where wells are somewhat close together and the for-
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised,
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les-
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure lux-
ury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk
just as humans do. They are kept and treated as house-
hold pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their
only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for
pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part
of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but
they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the
very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou-
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the
land. Little children die because there is no food suit-
able for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even
more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly
bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed,
and the whole community waits and prays for more rain
the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea
of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a
mere trifle.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly accurate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so frequent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty. Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine because water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for such a purpose. The men apparently go without washing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected. There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

361 The pastoral people are fulfilling an important economic function
433 by:

a. supplying the home markets with essential products, and

b. furnishing valuable export articles.

237 Iraqi wool is considered of good quality and finds a ready market
439 in the United States of America and in continental Europe for carpet manufacture.[1] In 1947 Iraq exported 2794 tons of wool at I D 372 349.[2] In 1946 and again in 1948 the wool export was about three times that of 1947.[3] Syria exports products like wool, butter, hides, etc.

233 The following statements will illustrate the valuable contri-
361 bution which the nomads are making to the general economy:
433

"The Bedouin are experts in the breeding of livestock and form a class who afford a valuable contribution to the economic life of Transjordan." 4) "Their (Bedouin of Iraq) occupation of raising livestock is vital to the economy of the country." 5) "Syria cannot afford to lose the meat, milk and wool which are derived from the harvesting of the desert herbage." 6)

Thus in all the countries of the Fertile Crescent, livestock breeding, the primary occupation of the nomad population, appears to be an essential and lucrative industry.

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1. Gamble, 1949, p. 20
2. ibid. p. 13
3. Data Book, 1951, p. 40
4. Report, 1938, p. 318
5. Jawad, 1945, p. 7
6. Report of the United States-Syrian Agricultural Mission, 1947, p. 23

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

In summer, on the other hand, camels wander about at night and graze. 233

Camel droppings (*jalla*) are collected and dried and form a much-prized fuel. When lit *jalla* gives a good hot ember, and is excellent for making coffee in camp or on the march, when no firewood is available. Hence all travellers carry a bagful. 237

Female camels' urine (*baul*) is caught and used throughout Badawin Arabia as a hairwash for women. It is supposed to strengthen and cleanse the hair, and kills all head vermin. A woman normally washes her hair once a week. *Baul* is also extensively used as a purgative.

HOMING INSTINCT

233

The homing instinct is strongly developed in the camel, but may be termed with greater accuracy the herd instinct.

A camel seems instinctively to know where its friends are, and is always anxious to get back to them.

A fairly common sight at Kuwait is to see a camel brought up to the town with a dozen others by a tent-dweller who has come to buy supplies, escaping and making its way with all speed across country to its camp possibly 30 miles away. The hue and cry after it has to be seen to be realised.

This instinct for returning home is strongest in young camels who have not often moved from the main herd before.

One way to deter a camel from acting on this instinct is to give it food, and especially water, whenever a strange place is reached—water appears somewhat to deaden the homing instinct.

Junaifir ibn Hawaila of the 'Ajman (Mahfudh) and Muhammad ibn Hajjáj, also of the 'Ajman (Al Súlaiman), both told me on 7th September, 1933, that of all animals within their ken the camel was the most clever and cunning at finding its way back to a place it came from. Its instinct in this respect was phenomenal.

Murait ibn Hawaila ('Ajman) once related to me how he lost his camel, which broke away at night from Abu Halaifa (Qusur), 25 miles from Kuwait on the coast, and was recovered 150 miles inland at Dulaimiyah with Shammar, from whom it had been bought some weeks before.

BEDOUINS MJ4

excessive heat sets in, the sheep tribes come back to the cultivated zone. Frequently their radius of movement does not exceed a dozen of miles. The members of the sheep tribes are in regular contact with the settled population and practically all of them evince more or less an interest in settlement. 361 233 [166]

2. Semi-Sedentary Tribes

While the semi-sedentary tribes continue to breed livestock, they are already attached to the soil which they cultivate. 361 233 241

Part of the tribe engages in cultivation, while the other tends to the flocks. After the season of ploughing and sowing is over, the tribe gets on the move in search of pastures, leaving behind only the necessary number of men for guard and irrigation duties. Early in spring the semi-sedentary come back to their fields. Right after harvesting they begin sowing the summer crops. They spend the winter and spring in tents; during the summer they live in huts which they make out of trunks and branches of trees. Village settlement is a rare exception.

3. Sedentary Groups

This group is the least numerous and important. The members live in towns and villages like settled people with the difference that they still retain their tribal character. 361

In our days sedentarization is the product of the nomad's contact with settled society during the regular periods of his encampment on the outskirts of the cultivated land. 166x 177

At present, the tribal population of Syria, Iraq, Palestine (Israel) and Transjordan (Jordan) is in all stages of transition to a sedentary existence. A. S. Kirkbridge has outlined[1] the various stages that the Transjordan nomad passes on his journey to the settled life of an agriculturalist. With insignificant changes the description of the steps can be made applicable to the process of sedentarization as a whole. 166x 178

Stages of Sedentarization

1. The true desert Bedouin, raising mainly camels,[2] lives in a world where nature makes cultivation impossible. He migrates in accordance with the existence of water and grazing and supplements his meager income by raiding if conditions permit. He despises the villagers. 166x 221 434 361
2. In spite of the contempt that the Bedouin have for the settled peasants they come to realize that the fellah lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a better diet, compared to the standards of the nomad. 609 434
3. The next step is the occupation of cultivable land by the nomadic tribe. Agriculture is practiced only as a 166x 361 241

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1. Kirkbride, 1945, March-April
2. Kirkbride does not discuss the Bedouin that came from Arabia subsisting exclusively on camel-breeding. Since practically all Transjordanian nomads have crossed the first stage, the conversion of exclusive camel economy to mixed pastoral economy of sheep and camel-breeding.

X166 supplemental means of livelihood. The tribesmen stay on
361 their fields only to harvest and then to sow next year's
241 crop. Then they migrate with their flocks in search of pastures. But they soon realise the drawbacks of protracted absence:

a. the grain will be eaten by birds and insects before it takes root

b. neighbors will graze their herds on the fields.

Sooner or later the amateur cultivator comes to the conclusion that it will pay him to remain nearer his land.

X166 4. The decision to remain close to the cultivated land
241 implies the first real change in the nomad's mode of living:

a. the radius of migration must be reduced

b. the restriction of movement, in turn, makes it mandatory to reduce the amount of livestock in proportion to the grazing areas within the limited wandering orbit.

c. the fewer the animals, the greater the dependence of the tribe on cultivation.

X166 At this phase the nomads still live in tents. But in
178 raising crops, they adopt more and more the methods of the sedentary neighbors.

437 In the trading of the surplus grain the behavior of the

BEDOUINS MJ4 SYR/9

agriculture was taking place on a small scale. During the latter part of the century the Wald Ali tribe began to take up cultivation near Homs and the Hesene in the Hauran.[1] 166x 656

The leaders of the Syrian tribes, however, particularly the Anezeh and West Shammar sheikhs, benefited from Sultan Abdul Hamid's policy aiming at winning their support by gifts of land and villages. In 1870 Jed'an of the Fed'an obtained from the government several villages and large tracts of land.[2] Mejhem, the grandson of Jed'an, owns two villages on the Euphrates besides the property which he inherited from his grandfather. In the 1930's he acquired additional ground near 'Ain 'Isa where he built a house.[3] Nuri al-Sha'lan, the sheikh of the Rwala, owned substantial property consisting of vast estates, a house in Damascus and several motor-cars.[4] 622 425 656

Since the end of the First World War, all the important tribal leaders of Syria have been in possession of extensive land-holdings, and most of them have taken an increasing interest in cultivation. In 1928 Sheikh Selemieh of the Sba'a Gnezza undertook to restore an ancient system of canals and began tillage on land which had been heretofore desert.[5] In 1935 the sheikh of the Sba'a Bteimat doubled his cultivation in 622 423 241

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 73
2. ibid., p. 79
3. ibid., p. 81
4. ibid., pp. 105 seq.
5. Report, 1935, p. 106

622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezirah the sheikh of
423 the Feda'an-Weld increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable land-holdings of the
427 powerful Shammar and Aneseh chiefs are predominantly cultivated by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, ancient wells were restored and new ones created, medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydrauliques sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water nearby. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyre. In 1931 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyre, Deir ez-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. ~~Report~~, 1935, p. 106
2. Epstein, 1940, p. 77
3. Rapport, 1931, pp. 99-100

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
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mantly settled in the neighborhood of Homs and Hama. The Kamsse, (part of the Sba'a) began agriculture after the First World War.[1] The Hesene who had started cultivation already at the end of the 19th century,[2] are settling down in the villages which they own east of Homs.[3] Several thousand tribesmen of the Fed'an work in the fields belonging to the estates of their sheikh Mejhem, although the majority of the tribesmen prefer livestock-breeding to cultivation.[4] In the Jezirah, in Hauran, in the Homs-Hama-Aleppo region and in other parts of the country tribes are abandoning their nomadic mode of life and begin to engage in agriculture, first as supplementary, then as primary occupation. Ultimately they become fully settled peasants.

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This process has been going on ever since the Bedouin have infiltrated into Syria. In recent years the slow pace of transition was somewhat quickened under the impact of rapidly changing conditions in Syria, but not as the result of economic adversities which plagued the nomads for a season or two. A catastrophe in the pastoral economy will not cause the Bedouin to turn to agricultural pursuits. After the drought years of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Bedouin was desperate, but the abundant season of 1933 made the nomads forget the sufferings of preceding

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 85
2. ibid., p. 84
3. ibid., p. 85
4. Rassam, 1930, p. 496

SYRIA BEDOUINS MJ4

361 241 X166 178 years. There was not much of a response to the efforts of the government during 1934 and 1935 to encourage settlement on land.

X166 178 Where sedentarization took place it was the social process of assimilation, stimulated by economic, social and political factors. Where societies meet, the phenomenon of assimilation is inevitable; one section of the social group may be more rapidly affected than the other, but even if no extraordinary conditions arise, the evolutionary process of assimilation and subsequent sedentarization will take its course and ultimately embrace all strata of society.

361 X166 Tribal leadership spearheaded the movement towards sedentarization which by 1935 was sufficiently advanced among the tribal groups of the Aleppo-Homs-Hama region for 14 tribes representing 3 500 tents or 15 000 individuals to be placed by the authorities under a regime of ordinary administration.[1)]

423 425 X166 For those nomads who are at present ready to settle down, the greatest problem is that of land-tenure. Bedouin tribes as a whole have more land at their disposal than they can possibly exploit by agricultural cultivation. The area inhabited by the nomads is not less than 10 693 000 hectares.[2)] However, when the tribesmen are willing to take up agriculture, they find that all the tribal land has become the private property of the sheikhs.

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1. Rapport, 1936, pp. 26-27
2. Salem, 1950 p. 305

Jaberat, Remajre and the Saidiyin. Until recently these nomads were chiefly engaged in sheep and goat rearing, while camel-breeding has been progressively abandoned. 361 233

Already in the 1930's all the Beersheba tribes were in an advanced stage of the process of transition to permanent settlement. While before the First World War the Negev Bedouin depended almost exclusively on stock-breeding, in 1931 42 868 of them claimed cultivation, and only 5 113 animal rearing, as their chief source of livelihood.[1] 166x 233

This development was the result of a series of economic factors: the decline of the camel market,[2] successive years of drought and famine in the Negev,[3] the increased value attached to land in the wake of Zionist land purchases and the ready market that agricultural produce found in the growing Jewish settlements. 178 166x

Many Bedouin began to attend to cultivation in a more regular fashion although they remained for the time being semi-nomads wandering with their flocks except for the seasons of sowing and harvesting. 361 241 166x

The sheikhs and more prominent members of the tribes began 342

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1. Report of 1931 census of Palestine
2. This loss was largely compensated by breeding other types of livestock.
3. More than half of the years 1874 - 1909 were seasons of drought. The war years 1914-18 constituted a continuous period of famine the severity of which the Negev had not experienced prior to the war. cf:

   עארף אל-עצ'רף 1931, ע' 150-151

342 as early as the 1930's to have stone houses constructed for their private use.[1]

361 During the years of prosperity in the middle of the 30's a
241 number of Bedouin groups in the Negev made use of mechanized harvesters which they borrowed from the Jewish colonists of Gederah.[2] Not all the tribesmen, however, were actively engaged in agriculture. As late as 1942 the Terahin had their lands cultivated by tenant farmers and day laborers from South Judean villages.[3]

X166 Among the Bedouin of Northern Palestine the trend towards
241 sedentarization dates back to the 1860's, when many of the tribes-
243 men began to engage in agriculture.[4] In the 1930's all the nomads of the Sharon, Jezreel and the Galilee were in the possession of land which was cultivated either by the tribesmen or tenant farmers.[5] Contrary to the Bedouin of the Beersheba district the nomads of Northern Palestine were quick to learn the value of law and order.[6] Under the influence of neighboring fellahin the tribesmen have become increasingly attached to the land and pre-occupied with agriculture. Although methods of cultivation remained very primitive, an improvement of conditions has been observed since the 1930's.[7]

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1. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 17
2. ibid.
3. Polink, 1942
4. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 15
5. ibid., pp. 3-4
6. ibid., p. 16
7. ibid., p. 17

174 their nomadic life in the desert, raising camels, sheep and goats.

The first to become interested in agriculture was Sheikh Sattan ibn Faiz. Although he personally remained a wandering nomad with his Beni Sakhr tribesmen, he attended to the supervision of his estates at Umm el-'Amad, north east of Madabah.

361 Père Jaussen reported in 1908[1] that already at that time
● 241 small tribes[2] of Gilead, the Jordan valley, Belqa and northern Moab were engaged in agricultural work.

423 Most of the cultivable tracts of the tribal land had already
425 prior to the First World War become the private property of the sheikhs who acquired those lands simply by occupying them[3] as they belonged to nobody. Another method of increasing land-holdings was by encroachment on adjacent fields and putting them under cultivation. By this latter system a large territory, originally belonging to the Adwan, was acquired by Sheikh Sattan and his sons.[4] After World War 1 many sheikhs purchased Giftlik land[5] from the government on favorable terms.

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1. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 237-8 and pp. 240-55
2. All the tribes of Transjordan are small when compared with the powerful Iraqi and Syrian tribes such as the Ruala (4 250 tents) or the Sba'a (3 400 tents) cf. Fisher, 1950, p. 116. The Beni Sakhr, the largest tribe of Transjordan, has about 1 140 tents.
3. They set foot on a certain terrain, belonging to nobody (ارض سبسبة) and declared it personal property (ارض سبسبة) by virtue of occupation.
4. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 136-7
5. Giftlik is the land which had belonged to the Turkish Sultan and become government property after World War 1.

JORDAN BEDOUINS MJ4

The Mandatory Report of 1 29 stated[1] that there was a marked tendency among the nomads of Transjordan to settle, especially among the Beni Sakhr who owned a considerable area of land.[2] The same document points out, however, that the tribesmen are not yet engaged in cultivation, but employ fellahin to till the soil for them. A. Kondoff who published a study of the Transjordan economy about fifteen years after the above quoted report has nothing new to add[3] implying that no material change has taken place. 166x 427

In spite of substantial land-holdings, most members of the Beni Sakhr seem not yet psychologically prepared to settle down. 166x 241 425

The case of the Howeitat, the second most powerful tribe of Transjordan,[4] is different. Unlike the majority of the Bedouin the Howeitat do not show the traditional contempt for agriculture.[5] They cultivate all the fertile land in their tribal area. The agricultural activities of the Howeitat increased considerably when they acquired the Sher'ah plain from the Ba'ainat tribe during the latter part of the 19th century. The tribesmen practiced a mixed economy consisting of tillage and livestock-BREEDING.

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1. Report, 1929 b, p. 138
2. They possess about 24 villages, whose land is tilled by fellahin and tenants (cf. Epstein, 1930, p. 237). The tribe is scattered from the hills of Belqa to Wadi Shihan and from Amman to Madabah.
3. Kondoff, 1946, p. 50
4. The Howeitat have about 1 000 tents and dwell in the Wadi and Aqaba region.
5. The Howeitat did not originally come from the Hejaz or the Najd. It is alleged that the tribe has always been connected with the Transjordan territory. One theory suggests that the Howeitat are the descendants of ancient Nabateans, another considers them the offspring of camel merchants from the Red Sea coast and fellahin from Hauran and Shaubak who in the course of time became Bedouin. (cf. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 29)

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JORDAN

breeding.

361 A decisive change in the opposite direction occurred in the
241 economic structure of the Howeitat when their two Sheikhs Abian
721 ibn-Jazi and Audah abu-Tayy evinced more interest in raiding than in peaceful agricultural pursuits. In a short time the Howeitat became one of the most warlike tribes in North Arabia and the Syrian Desert. Cultivation was discarded, the tribesmen reduced their former to fellahin and tenants, and they themselves roamed the desert.[1]

X166 Since the end of the First World War the Howeitat have been
● 241 reverting to the land. The tribesmen again engaged in the agricultural work, and their transition to a completely settled existence should not be difficult to accomplish.

423 By 1931 all sections of the Beni Hasan[2] were settled on their
X166 land, in that year 5 000 title deeds having been issued to the
241 tribal cultivators.[3] In the drought years of 1932 and 1933 the flocks of the Beni Hasan were severely hit. Like the situation among all the big tribes of Transjordan, the Beni Hasan were economically ruined, but unlike them they were willing to take up cultivation. Government financial assistance was requested to enable the tribe to develop its fertile lands, but no constructive help was forthcoming.

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1. Père Jaussen observed the Howeitat in 1908 after they had resumed their nomadic existence. But his statement that "les Howeitat n'ont jamais touché la charrue" (The Howeitat never touched the plow) (cf. Jaussen, 1908, p. 241) is incorrect.
2. The Beni Hasan have about 860 tents and dwell in 'Ajloun, one of the most fertile parts of Transjordan. They own about 372 000 dunams of land.
3. Report, 1931, p. 193

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The Bedouin settlement policy of the Transjordan Government

Since 1931 it has been the policy of the government to create favorable conditions for settlement, rather than to sponsor and carry out definite sedentarization projects. The governmental policy of encouragement was implemented by financial aid and technical assistance to the tribes, and by bringing education to the Bedouin areas. 166x 654 657

After the two successive years of severe drought (1931 and 1932) the Beni Sakhr were granted in 1935 a governmental subsidy of LP 250 to encourage cultivation on tribal land.[1] In 1934 the administration gave the Howeitat LP 1 000 to start agriculture in the area between Ma'an and Shobeik.[2] In 1935 they were granted another LP 500 for the same purpose.[3] 65 166 241

Besides the meager financial help the tribes were given technical advice and assistance. In 1934 the government planted 1 600 palm suckers in the experimental garden at Bagoora in the Jordan valley and 600 in the oasis at Azraq for the instruction of the Bedouin.[4] To encourage citriculture 4 500 citrus trees were grafted from the Bagoora station and distributed among the nomads who had evinced an interest in agriculture.[5] The Department of Agriculture guided and helped the Bedouin to plant these trees. Desert schools were started in 1935, one permanently established at al-Jaffer in the Ma'an district which is the central location 654 166 658

1. Report, 1935, p. 307
2. Report, 1934, p. 261
3. Report, 1935, p. 307
4. Report, 1934, p. 262
5. Report, 1937, p. 362

658 for the southern tribes of Transjordan. The second desert school follows the movement of the northern tribes, classes being alternately held at Muaqqar and at Azraq, both in the Amman district.[1]

x166 In general it must be stated that the creation of suitable
656 conditions for tribal settlement was attempted on a scale which
241 was wholly inadequate, the chief obstacles being the lack of a concrete policy and the financial means to implement it. Nevertheless, in Transjordan, the majority of the nomads are actually ready to settle down if the opportunity is given them. Larger tribes such as the Howeitat and Beni Hasan are increasingly practicing agriculture as their main occupation. Smaller tribes, living in northern Kerak, have always held cultivation in high esteem.[2] Tribesmen from Belqa are engaged as agricultural laborers on the estates of the Beni Sakhr,[3] although most sheikhs of the Jordan tribes have their lands worked by permanent tenants, fellahin who come from the Nablus and Hebron areas of Palestine.[4]

178 Summary of the Bedouin settlement movement in the area

x166 a. spontaneous socio-economic change

The internal, sociological change among the nomads is the ever-operating phenomenon of assimilation to the settled society which they contact.

How the transition gradually occurs among the tribes

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1. Report, 1938, p. 351
2. Jaussen, 1908, p. 243
3. Epstein, 1938, p. 233
4. Poliak, 1942

BEDOUINS MJ4

members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he imposes and collects his own levies.[1] 566 622

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Bedouin tribe Abu Kishk that owned 20 000 dunams of land in the Sharon.[2] The sheikh's family in whose name the land was registered, sold 10 000 dunams to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunam orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh. 622 566 423 425 425 311 871

CHAPTER XI

Attitude of the Tribesmen towards Settlers

The Bedouin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Transjordan Bedouin was desperate; 1946/47 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen 241 731

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1. Himadeh, 1950, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted to: sheep and goats — 40%, cattle — 45%, camels — 50%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1949, p. 10

241 731 that were willing to engage in agriculture after the economic catastrophes of either the early 30's or the late 40's, because this tribal group is not yet ready for settlement. Similarly in Syria, as has been pointed out above, the calamitous season 1931/32 did not appreciably accelerate sedentarization. While the experienced Bedouin will take livestock losses and subsequent starvation in the desert as a matter of course, the novice cultivator will not face a harvest failure with the same equanimity. X166 731 In 1936 many Transjordan nomads had taken up cultivation for the first time, but the loss of their crops discouraged them so much, that they returned to the desert.[1]

241 X166 178 Profound changes are, nevertheless, taking place in the mentality of the Bedouin. As a result of tribal disintegration many nomads have become increasingly interested in sedentary life. When the nomad sees the sheikh, alienated from the tribe, enjoy luxuries beyond his dreams, he may also want to improve his standard of living and enjoy the "comforts" of the settled villager whose existence is prosperous compared by the Bedouin's standard of life. Pride may keep the nomad from working on the land, but nevertheless there are now hundreds of Iraqi and Syrian villages inhabited by people who were formerly nomads. Some of them still maintain tribal customs although they have been settled for a long time and severed the relations with their original tribes.[2]

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1. Report, 1936, p. 349
2. El-Shihaby, 1950, pp. 278 seq.

BEDOUINS MJ4

Social transformation of the Bedouin

When the Bedouin settle down, they gradually adopt the 177
fellah's mode of living. As their contact with village and city 178
increases, they become familiar with modern implements, matches,
oil-lamps, etc.

The Ghawarneh of Northern Palestine, for example, live like 241
peasants engaged in intensive cultivation.[1] They grow rice, 166x
maize and peas. The women are occupied with mat weaving, the 178
men join them in this work during the slack season in the fields. 511
They still dress like Bedouin, and most of them live in huts.
There are stone houses in which the family chiefs dwell.[2] After
settlement, Bedouin customs and habits give way gradually to those
of the fellahin.

In the Khiss-Finn refugee camp (southern Syria) there are
Arab refugees who claim to be members of tribes that lived until
recently in Upper Galilee, around Lake Tiberias, near Nazareth
and Safed. In July 1949, an inquiry was conducted among the
members of the camp concerning tribal habits and health conditions.[3]
The members of the tribes were agricultural folk, some small traders
and artisans. A part of them used to live permanently in stone 342
houses, others dwelt in houses during the winter months, in tents 166x
during the harvesting season. In a number of tribes only the
wealthy had houses, the poorer members lived permanently in tents.
Most of the tribal people were settled, one group for only 50 to
70 years.

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1. This was the situation prior to the Arab-Israeli war of 1948.
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 46
3. Cotwell, 1950

Economic

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The Pastoral economy of the Bedouin[1] has been seriously affected by the rapid development of the area. Former pasture lands are increasingly brought under cultivation with subsequent restriction of tribal grazing areas.

Although an exaggerated significance has been attached to the effects of the declining demand for the camel, this factor has dealt a severe blow to the economy of the true desert Bedouin who subsisted in the past exclusively on camel-breeding.

Social

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Tribal society has progressively disintegrated as the result of the sheikh's emergence as a big landowner. The interest which tribal leadership displays in agricultural life, is bound to influence the thinking and acting of the tribesmen. Sooner or later, they will follow the examples set by their sheikhs and settle down.

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1. The statement of Alfred Bonne that "the term Bedouin economy is a contradiction in itself" and that "this economy is no economy in the accepted sense of the word" (Bonne, 1948, p. 366) may be exaggerated because the nomads make a valuable contribution to the economy by:
   a. profitably utilising the scanty patches of grass that grow for fleeting moments over widely separated stretches of desert area, a resource which would remain otherwise exploited
   b. by supplying the people of the area with their needs of meat, wool and dairy products
   c. producing for local industry and export trade items like wool, skins, hides, and live animals and their edible produce.

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

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Bedouins MJ4

174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
619 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shuraifat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khusaubah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Jazirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

619 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
101 groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

619 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
101 and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore
293 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawiyah type (Shawáwi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of
[342] flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the
[241] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed villages by the rivers to till the fields.

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Muntafiq

villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use 619
donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of 101
donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as 233
is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. [492]
By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of con- 619
federacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to 622
define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a titular position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are 619
more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, 101
Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, [241]
by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as [226]
Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al [231]
Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are [235]
not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a [622]
strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real
authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
581 either end of the rope which runs over the
415 pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full
the other descends empty. Men and women
draw together on the well-ropes, four or five
to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel
herds arrived and the serious work of watering
began. Great leather troughs supported on
crossed wooden hoops were set up by each
family around the well. Soon there was no
room for more watering parties, and late-
comers had to wait their turn. The buckets
rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs
about which the thirsty camels pushed and
thrust while their calves frolicked around.
Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran
in and out among them, driving away camels
which did not belong to them, and restraining
the more impatient of their own. Others
scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite
beasts, while they sang them their watering
songs to induce them to drink deep. When
they had drunk they were couched nearby, to
be watered again later in the day, before
being driven back to pasturage. Round the
well-mouth women filled their water-skins,
which then lay swollen and quivering upon
the ground, guarded from the trampling feet
of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad
only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined
freely in the constant jests and laughter.
Among them was a tall girl of startling
beauty. She had come down to the well early
in the day, carrying a water-skin and accom-
panied by her young sister. The centre of a
happy laughing group of lads, she dallied
here till the evening.

574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink
coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet
49 differed from them in their dress and way of
life. They wore indigo-dyed loincloths and
wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion
among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin
Ma'aruf were clad like the Northern Arabs in
long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell
nearly to the ground. They were returning
to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days'
[341 journey to the south. Floodcrops of sorghum
312] and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
guarded by numerous stone-built forts and
609 watch-towers, which look out across the deso-
late rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited
by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of
the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for
treachery.
P.100 (A)

342 as early as the 1930's to have stone houses constructed for their private use.[1]

361 During the years of prosperity in the middle of the 30's a
241 number of Bedouin groups in the Negev made use of mechanized harvesters which they borrowed from the Jewish colonists of Gederah.[2] Not all the tribesmen, however, were actively engaged in agriculture. As late as 1942 the Terahin had their lands cultivated by tenant farmers and day laborers from South Judean villages.[3]

X166 Among the Bedouin of Northern Palestine the trend towards
241 sedentarization dates back to the 1860's, when many of the tribes-
243 men began to engage in agriculture.[4] In the 1930's all the nomads of the Sharon, Jezreel and the Galilee were in the possession of land which was cultivated either by the tribesmen or tenant farmers.[5] Contrary to the Bedouin of the Beersheba district the nomads of Northern Palestine were quick to learn the value of law and order.[6] Under the influence of neighboring fellahin the tribesmen have become increasingly attached to the land and pre-occupied with agriculture. Although methods of cultivation remained very primitive, an improvement of conditions has been observed since the 1930's.[7]

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1. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 17
2. ibid.
3. Poliak, 1942
4. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 15
5. ibid., pp. 3-4
6. ibid., p. 16
7. ibid., p. 17

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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262 [234 25] to his masters in making possible a feast and a taste of meat for a large number. From camel's milk is made a sort of cottage cheese which is kneaded into little cakes much the shape and size of children's mud pies. These are plentifully mixed with hair in the process of manufacture and are baked in the sun almost to the consistency of bricks. They will keep indefinitely and form a savory addition to the diet in time of scarcity.

136 262 Occasionally the Bedouin will capture a *dhabb,* or armored lizard, and rejoice exceedingly at the kindness of Providence. Or he may succeed in catching a desert rat, or *jerboa.* In either case there will be meat to eat that night. On rarer occasions he may succeed in shooting a gazelle, and then there will be a real feast in his [611] tent. But even at the best there is probably no community in the world that lives constantly so close to the starvation line as the Bedouin.

574 As a host, however, the Bedouin has no peer. The unaffected joy that is shown at the opportunity of entertaining a guest may well serve as a model for those of us who come from the more practical and unfriendly West. To sit in a Bedouin's tent and enjoy his hospitality is a pleasure to be remembered, even if the small amount of meat served with the rice be so tough that biting a piece in two is impossible, to say nothing of chewing it properly.

The very poor may sometimes flee from the demands of hospitality, but once asked they may not deny entertainment to any one. In the desert the desperately poor Bedouins avoid settling in the region of a recognized caravan track. To be compelled to entertain many guests would almost mean starvation for them, but they never refuse if a guest appears. The only alternative is to re-

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nomads is uneconomic. As the tribe is getting set to move right after harvest time, the surplus crop must be sold when the price of grain is at its lowest.

5. The nomads soon realize that it would be more profitable to store the surplus and wait until he can get good prices for it. They hire builders to erect store-houses for them. These are placed in charge of watchmen engaged from the nearest village. 166x 178 251

The disadvantages of this procedure become soon apparent:

a. the hired guards may not be honest

b. a raid may occur during the absence of the tribe. The watchmen would not risk their lives to defend somebody else's property.

The nomad reaches the inevitable conclusion that he must keep his tent all the time next to his storehouse in order to protect his possessions.

6. As the nomad remains in the same place all the time, he sees no point in putting up with the discomforts of life in a tent. When he builds and occupies a house, the transition is completed. 166x 178

The evolutionary process of transformation is not always the same. Kirkbride only describes its external aspects, but it must be realized that the conservative Bedouin clings tenaciously to his tribal traditions which he will not give

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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CHAPTER II

Autumn Stirrings

It is early November, the 2nd to be accurate, and I have ordered 132
Salim al Muzaiyin to move his camp out into the *barr*, preparatory to 361
my joining him. We have had a week's steady south wind, clouds are banking up in the West, and we have had distant thunder and lightning. Most of the tribes have left water and are scattering over the hinterland in search of suitable grazing grounds, for the promise of rain is near. All the tent families go off on their own and camp in twos and threes, well apart from their neighbours (a mile or so perhaps), yet within sound of rifle-shot in case of an alarm, when all must come to the help of the person attacked.

The Badawin camped round Kuwait on the Shamiyah and Dasma 361
wells have already moved off, some to the Kabd region, some to 'Adan, some to the Huzaim and some to the Grain district. The Fidawiyah, under their Amir, Haif bin Hajraf, of the Sulaiman section of the 'Ajman, accompanied by Nahar and 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim,* stout old warriors both, have gone to the Humatiyat region beyond Manaqish and the Shaqq, 60 miles from Kuwait. They have 223
cunningly chosen their region because the *hubara* have arrived in the Dibdibba, and hunting with hawks is a favourite sport. The Amir, and every self-respecting young brave, possesses his hawk, a *hurr* or *shâhin* (*sakar*, *lagger* or *shâhin* falcon), and all go out as they get opportunity, and bring back game for their wives' cooking-pot. Some, especially the 'Awazim, like also to hunt hare and gazelle with 224
salûqis, and great is the excitement when venison is brought home. 251
The young hunters go far from their tents, and if they find that the gazelle meat will not keep, they spread the carcase out in the shape of a mat, having removed the ribs and larger bones, and

* Was one of the forty who helped Bin Sa'ud to capture Riyadh, though not among the actual twenty-three who rushed Qasr 'Ajlan in the heart of the city.

Hawking

B 224 251 prepare the venison with salt into what they call *yellah*, a sort of biltong, slashing it into long slices to allow the salt to penetrate and to enable ribbon-like strips to be easily removed at home for food.

k 132 This is a season[1] for rejoicing, the rains are close at hand, there is a nip in the air of a morning and fires are in demand at night. Once again the desert comes to life after the long, weary, soul-killing heat of summer, the scorching suffocating duststorms, the need to stay close-camped near water, and the ever-present dread that your enemy knows where you are and by a sudden dash may carry off your camels, nay, all you possess, in one swift raid.

B 312 132 For water, the various tent dwellers send in camels to the nearest wells, often as far as 30 miles away, once in five, six or seven days. Neither camel, sheep nor man is very thirsty these days, so water is no longer the immediate necessity of life. As the first rains fall and grass begins to come up, water is less and less required by the livestock, till finally in the full *rabi'* (spring) when grass is well up and succulent, only man requires it.

B 223 k 223 This is the season also when the Shaikhs of Kuwait, as well as all other rulers in Arabia, start going deep into the high desert in search of *hubara*. The practice of hunting on camel-back has gone. The motor car serves the purpose better. Great hunters, like His Highness Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah and Shaikh Salim al Hamud, are out two or three times a week. They nearly always spend at least one night bivouacking in the blue (*khalla*) without tent or covering beyond their *'abbas*. It is unmanly and soft to take even a small shelter. The huntsman and falcon bearers (*khaddám*) are all of the Rashaida tribe, born Esaus all, with eyes like their own hawks, and with the uncanniest knowledge of the habits of the *hubara*. The courtly and religious Nazzal, famous over North and Central Arabia for his knowledge and eye for country, is there, so are Sa'ud bin Nimran, the lion-hearted and jovial; Addas, the hawk-eyed; Gharaiyib, the smeller of *hubara* from afar, and great raider of war days; Sa'ad, the tracker; Mirshid al Shammari, of the renowned Ibn Twala clan, and old Saif bin Ta'ami, companion of the great Mubarak in many a past raid.

Of hawks we have the famous "Dhiáb", "Kabrit", "Sultán" and

1 [early November -- August]

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Last of all he places in position the *shat finajin* (brass case for coffee 415
cups) alongside the *yed wal hdwan* (brass pestle and mortar), the 272
mubarrad (wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans), the *mukhbdt* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee), the *lifa* (coir piece to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and finally the *makhbdr* (incense burner). All is now ready to receive a guest, except that the actual coffee beans, the cardamum seed to mix with the coffee, the firewood (*'arfaj* bush) and the *jalla* camel manure (in place of coal) and the drinking water, is round in the women's part of the tent or outside it, and will have to be fetched.

As a guest is seen arriving these last necessities are brought and by 574
the time he sits down, firewood, *jalla*, etc., all are ready to hand.

The scheme of things in a poor Badawin tent is the same, only everything is on a very much more modest scale—in fact, according to his purse.

A man leaning on the guest saddle is said to be *murtachi*; if he leans his back against a cushion (*masnad*), he is said to be *mutasannad*. If he 516
tells a story he sits cross-legged; when eating he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel; his eating hand works outside his right upright knee; when he washes his hands he squats with knees wide apart.

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

Women and servants (if any) carry all cooking utensils, etc., into 415
the women's apartment and cooking portion of the tent, the heavy 251
baggage and bags containing rice, flour, dates, salt, sugar are stored 352
up against the *qdta* curtain dividing the women's from the men's 353
apartments. The camel saddle-bags are then hung up on the tent poles, as well as other odds and ends, including the owner's spare rifle and ammunition. Red *lahdfs* or quilts, which take the place of blankets, are then rolled up and placed on top of the stores, and the woman of the house and her daughter's decorated *maksars* (litters) are placed in a prominent position on the other side of the tent, so as to be seen by passers by.

Not the least important of the women's treasures are the spindles 283
(*maghzal*), with which the womenfolk in their spare time spin camels' or sheep's wool. These they are for ever whirring, whether on the

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as others of inferior or non-Sharif Arab stock. It all depends where the camel-buyer has originated from before he took to the trade. For example the great house of Al Bassam are not only AQAILIS but are considered among the noblest in the land from the point of view of 'sharaf'."

APPENDIX XX

NOTE ON WORD "DÍYA"

K 104

and the various ways it is spelt according to context (see p. 528, Chapter XLII).

1. AL 'IDIYATU al QATIL, means settlement of a killing.
2. DÍATUN, e.g. the court orders that DÍATUN should be taken from the man doing the killing.
3. 'IDIATUN, e.g. "The accused shall pay to the injured party 'IDIATUN of so much" (Qadhis order).
4. The Quran says—"Wa inkan min qaum-in bain-a-kum wa bain-a-hum 'adawatun, fa diatun musallamatun illa ahliha".

APPENDIX XXI

(Ref. to Chapter XLI on Sulubba)

B 619 564 224 B 251

On June 21, 1949, Amsha al Mohomed al Duwish (Mutair) told me that Bander al Duwish and other Shaikhs kept Sulubba hunters who went off on camels regularly to the Dahana sands to hunt gazelle in summer. They drank from the various "Duhul", and would bring back as many as thirty-five to forty sun-dried carcases of gazelle (jalla). Wooden poles and mats are set up to dry the meat on.

APPENDIX XXII

SOME FISH OF KUWAIT

K 136

(Caught off Masjan Island in a reed fish trap) (hadhara) April 1941. (See also Appendix X, p. 592.)

*Sheem	Two dorsal fins—on lower lip half inch rough external surface—fork tail.

* Mentioned in Appendix X.

23c Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
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the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

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tired and dozed off again. Again I woke, and again I dozed off, till the 281
barking of the dogs became a sort of rising and falling echo in my tired and sleepy brain. Once I heard the camels, which were kneeling close behind Salim's tent, jump up in alarm and bolt 50 yards, but the reassuring voice of Salim calmed them, and I dropped off to sleep again. Presently I heard him shouting: *Ya Nasir, shunnu illi khawaf al bil?* (Oh Nasir, what frightened the camels?). *Ma'aku shai*, came the reply (Nothing at all). I went on dozing the night long, hearing many and strange sounds, but too tired to move. It is always thus, my first night with my Badawin friends; I cannot sleep. Before dawn I 512
heard Salim calling to prayer, and shortly afterwards, though it was [782]
still very dark, the goatskin of milk, rocked by one of the women to [252]
make curdled milk (*leben*) and butter, started its song. Rug-rug-rug-rug, the skin protested, and yet again, Rug-rug-rug. It was the old sound I knew so well, and it gave me a strange feeling of homeliness and comfort. They were awake before daylight, these simple people; they never seem to sleep—they also had prayed, and now they were watching for the dawn.

Presently I heard the shepherds calling their flocks of sheep to- 512
gether, and the camelmen talking to their camels. Both sheep and 233
camels had slept in the open in front of Salim's and Dhuwaihi's tents, the ewes close to their young. *Hirr, hirr*, cried Falâh, as he started calling the mother sheep to feed their lambs, before going out to graze for the day. The lambs all began to bleat at once, it was the hour of their morning meal. After this they will get nothing till nightfall, so they must drink now deep and well. Presently, with the first glimmer of dawn the daily counting of the sheep began. Aha! a cry, "Ya Salim, there are two short. Come quick, a ewe and a lamb are missing." A hurrying of feet, then eager talking. A further cry, "A
wolf, it is a wolf". "A wolf has done this in the night." From right 233
under their noses, a he- and she-wolf had clearly visited the camp and carried off the animals in the dark. A quick cast round and the enemies' pug-marks were found. The he-wolf had cleverly given the watch-dogs his scent on the side from which the wind was blowing, and as soon as the dogs had rushed after him into the night his cunning spouse had crawled close up to the tents on the other side, much as a cat crouches and creeps after a mouse (except that the wolf seems

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264 up also and wash their hands in token of having finished. The result is that to avoid having to leave the table hungry, guests learn to bolt their food in most harmful style.

272 The favourite drinks among sheep-owning Badawin are *leben* (butter-milk) and *roba* (thick curdled milk). The shepherd tribes (Shawáwi) prepare their *leben* from sheep's milk, the camel tribes (Bádia) from camels' milk. The latter has to be boiled first, before it is shaken up in skins. Normally a camel-owning tribe will give a guest plain camels' milk to drink. *Leben* is not often offered.

Camels' milk has no cream on it, and no butter can be got from it. It is a purgative, and should be taken in moderation by European travellers or persons not used to it.

MEALS

A Badawin lunch or dinner

264 252 Among the Badawin proper the banquet of a shaikh is served on a large, round, tinned copper tray (*saniya*) on which is piled up, a foot high, boiled rice covered with yellow gravy made from the fat of the sheep, and on top of all is placed a boiled young sheep or lamb (always a male). If the shaikh happens to favour Najd manners and customs, the tray will stand on a pedestal (all in one piece) called *saniya abu kursi*; this is shaped thus:

and translated means "The tray, father of the chair". The whole is now placed on a *sifra* or circular mat, corresponding to our tablecloth.

The Badawin call the cooked rice *'aysh* and the whole sheep *dhabîhah* or *tulli* (lamb). Both are cooked rather crudely and for our taste there is usually far too much *samn* or *dehen* (clarified butter) mixed with the cooking. The meat is usually rather tough, unless a young lamb happens to have been killed. Nevertheless, if you are 264 hungry this form of banquet tastes remarkably good. The most tasty bits of meat and the tenderest are the strips along both sides of the

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B 574 431 women of the tent. This makes him their friend for life. I always made a point of trying to do this in Kuwait.

A dinner party given by a townsman (hadhari) or better-class semi-nomad tribesman ('arabdar)

B 252 264 K 252 264 This is a very much grander affair than the preceding, and the rice is usually of the *ambar bu* kind from Iraq or North Iran. After boiling, the whole sheep is browned all over by plunging it in boiling *dehen* or *semen* (clarified butter). It may be even baked in a baker's oven, when it is known as *lahm mashwi.*

Over the rice is spread a thin layer of hot sultanas, shredded onions (fried), gram and other spices. Dried pomegranate seeds are often introduced (an unpleasant habit, as grit like sand-grains seems to have got into the food). The whole dish is surrounded with plates, or small bowls, containing various meat dishes, vegetables, sweetmeats and fruit (usually cut-up melon). The number of these dishes increases with the importance and wealth of the host. The following are the names of the more important dishes thus served:

(*a*) *Marag*—a tasty brown stew containing small lumps of meat, tomatoes (*tamáta*), egg-plant (*baitan-jan*), and ladies' fingers (*bámia*).

(*b*) *Shaikh Mahshi*—Young white pumpkins, or preferably large cucumbers, stuffed with rice, nuts, and minced meat.

(*c*) *Baragh* or *Dólma*—A mash of rice and meat wrapped up in young vine leaves, and thoroughly boiled. It is delicious to the taste. (Originally from Turkey.)

(*d*) *Tamáta marag*— is like (*a*) above, but made of tomato and onion sauce.

(*e*) *Dólmat*—Stuffed onions like (*c*) above.

(*f*) *Kabáb*—Meat, rice and sultana rissoles.

(*g*) *Mahallibi*—Ground rice or arrowroot cooked in milk and flavoured with cardamum, and sometimes with chopped pistachio nuts.

(*h*) *Mahallibi wa Záfáran*—Like (*g*) mixed with saffron to colour it yellow.

(*i*) *Harís*—A kind of crushed corn-and-meat porridge, very nourishing.

B 264 K 264 Interspersed with the above are plates of dates (*tamar*), bowls of sour milk (*leben*), grapes, sections of melon (if in season), also large flat thin wafers of unleavened bread or thick round flat oven-made

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who arrived in Kuwait on 27th February reported that he had seen further large flights in South Hasa and Qatif at the end of January and early in February, also that Hufuf had had a bad visitation in January. K 731

"It was thus anticipated that March would see another invasion of Kuwait.

"Very fortunately except for the swarm mentioned above no locusts actually reached Iraq or Kuwait and the previous years' invasions were not repeated."

"On 23rd May Professor B. P. Uvarov of the South Kensington Natural History Museum, visited Kuwait to collect data regarding the previous three years' visitations, and the lines of approach of the various swarms up from S.W. Arabia to Najd and Kuwait. He prophesied that Kuwait would see no more locusts in 1932 or for another three or four years, as all evidence went to prove that they appeared in cycles of three years at a time. His prophecy came remarkably true, and between 1932 and 1935 there have been no locust visitations at all. Let us hope that 1936* will not see a reappearance."

So much for my own experience, and the damage done to town dwellers, and owners of gardens and sheep.

The Badawin proper, that is to say the great migrating camel tribes, do not mind the locusts much, in fact they rejoice in a way when they see them, for they indicate that the year is going to be a good one. Locusts, they say, only come in prosperous years. B 825

It does not worry these nomads if large tracts of country are denuded of fodder; they simply move off to country which has not been visited. They know that the damage done by locust swarms is more or less local, and that the insect will move to more favourable country lying to the north (Iraq) and will not bother them for long. They also enjoy the wonderful opportunity to satisfy for once in a while their ever-prevailing hunger. Nor is this all, for their horses, camels and dogs all get their fill, as well as foxes, bustard, monitor lizards, kites, shrikes and a dozen other denizens of the desert. B 731 261

I remember once, when coming home with my wife from the Bátin by car, meeting a swarm of locusts flying very low, moving across the plain west of Jahrah. It was near sunset, and we saw several

* They did not appear in 1936 or 1937.

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261

full-sized *dhubs* and *wurral* monitors on the side of the track chasing the flying locusts and jumping in the air to catch them. We were so much interested at the sight that we stopped our car and watched for some five minutes. There were eight large monitors, and in their excitement they appeared oblivious of our presence.

On another occasion I remember visiting a Badawin camp which had just received a visitation of Carmine or Red Locusts. The whole camp had turned out to slay and collect the insects for food, and from the numbers collected it was evident that they had had a most successful day. The roofs of all the black tents were strewn from end to end with dead locusts spread out to dry, every available mat, rug and *lahâf* was also laid out to take the excess catch, and camels, dogs, mares and human beings were hard at work eating the insects, whilst cooking pots, bags, paniers and water-skins were crammed to overflowing with dried ones.

I, personally, never could fancy locusts much, but my wife and daughter, especially the daughter, revelled in them. I am told that even the Badawin enjoy them for a few days only, after which their gorge seems to rise against the food, and they give the remnants of their catch to their animals.

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

619 dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another
622 chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe
631 has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its
253 goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all.
311 There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert
132 and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh,
135 where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

233 Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number
422 of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is
• 262 the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high
291 days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his
492 back affords the only method of transportation possible
231 in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

000 Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

where wells are somewhat close together and the for-
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised,
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les-
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure lux-
ury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk
just as humans do. They are kept and treated as house-
hold pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their
only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for
pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part
of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but
they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the
very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou-
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the
land. Little children die because there is no food suit-
able for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even
more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly
bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed,
and the whole community waits and prays for more rain
the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea
of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a
mere trifle.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

369 it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are
291 ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly ac-
[515 curate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so fre-
296] quent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

515 But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty.
312 Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer
287 the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine be-
302 cause water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for
312 such a purpose. The men apparently go without wash-
515 ing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required
783 before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The
515 delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

• 262 The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected.
[272 There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which
414] the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

262 [234] [25] to his masters in making possible a feast and a taste of meat for a large number. From camel's milk is made a sort of cottage cheese which is kneaded into little cakes much the shape and size of children's mud pies. These are plentifully mixed with hair in the process of manufacture and are baked in the sun almost to the consistency of bricks. They will keep indefinitely and form a savory addition to the diet in time of scarcity.

136 262 Occasionally the Bedouin will capture a *dhabb,* or armored lizard, and rejoice exceedingly at the kindness of Providence. Or he may succeed in catching a desert rat, or *jerboa.* In either case there will be meat to eat that night. On rarer occasions he may succeed in shooting a gazelle, and then there will be a real feast in his [611] tent. But even at the best there is probably no community in the world that lives constantly so close to the starvation line as the Bedouin.

574 As a host, however, the Bedouin has no peer. The unaffected joy that is shown at the opportunity of entertaining a guest may well serve as a model for those of us who come from the more practical and unfriendly West. To sit in a Bedouin's tent and enjoy his hospitality is a pleasure to be remembered, even if the small amount of meat served with the rice be so tough that biting a piece in two is impossible, to say nothing of chewing it properly.

The very poor may sometimes flee from the demands of hospitality, but once asked they may not deny entertainment to any one. In the desert the desperately poor Bedouins avoid settling in the region of a recognized caravan track. To be compelled to entertain many guests would almost mean starvation for them, but they never refuse if a guest appears. The only alternative is to re-

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but
flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much 272
social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity 252
for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if 415
not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the 514
equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material 291
is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing [1]—indeed, the 312
Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which 515
are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a 782
substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most im- 262
portant are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese —of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread— and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally [437]
a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads them- [241]
selves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are [231
in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, 471]
not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using 264
his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they 562
are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin 000

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult [271]
members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen [241]
return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand [826]
is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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meekly handed over the watch, which Ali put on his 685
own wrist. "Let me take care of it for thee," he said to 626
me, in his protective manner. He is actually "taking care" of my watch to this very day!

Our Fid'an hosts numbered seventeen horsemen and eight camel-riders, who had come on the scene after the attack on us. A gang of typical desert outlaws.

At the evening meal they spread a large leather camel- 415
saddle cover for a tablecloth. Previously the dough for our bread had been kneaded on it. At other times it served as manger and watering-trough for the horses and camels, for it could be suspended by leather loops, one at each of the four corners.

The *Akid* poured sour camels' milk from a goat skin 262
into a wooden basin and handed it round. The few *dhaluls* were lying close to us. The red campfire threw a glow of light over them and their long shadows melted into the blackness of the night. For a moment I imagined myself surrounded by strange monsters.

When I closed my eyes and heard only the belching 264
and grunting of my table-companions, I could scarcely distinguish them from the camels chewing the cud. And Ali was the noisiest feeder of them all!

Next morning the Fid'ans proposed that they should 721
join us with the idea of entering Ruala territory and lifting some camels. Nothing remained for Ali and myself but to make the best of these unwelcome proposals. We had to endure their company in the pious hope that somewhere we should fall in with the Ruala Bedouins.

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal, 000

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

its small well-bred face to my mouth for a kiss—really for a date, 231
which I had not got.

Next the new watch-dog, a fierce and shaggy brute, is produced and shown to me. I praise it in suitable terms to express the hope that he will keep off wolves. The women now go, whilst I wash and get into my warm Gilgit boots and prepare for the evening meal.

It is night. I have just had the most delightful dinner I have ever 262
tasted. Only Amsha's skilled hand could have prepared it. A dish of rice stewed with raisins and onion shreds, and on top a perfectly formed baby lamb which has not yet eaten grass. How good it was, and how soft and luscious! My two *qâtas* (dividing curtains) have 000
been furled inwards and tied to the centre rope so as to form a cosy room.

A lantern is burning at the far end. The remains of my dinner are aken away. Salim has just brought coffee again. I ask Salim if the needs of my two men have been attended to, and he replies that they have had a dinner similar to mine, and are preparing to turn in. "Have they had coffee?" I ask. "Yes, Abu Sa'ud, they have had coffee. May 521
the women come and talk to you before you go to sleep?" he asks. I agree, for it is only 8 p.m. and far too early to think of turning in. Amsha and her friends again creep in and sit down. This time Salim is with them, but not Hussa. She is staying with the little black children and putting them to sleep in her tent.

Presently they ask me for the news of Kuwait, and they in turn give me all the Badawin gossip that has come their way since they arrived. They go through the names of everyone camped within 10 miles of them, and Salim tells of raids and counter-raids in distant Najd, the doings of So-and-So, the plans of the King (Bin Sa'ud), and of how careful he must be not to get into trouble with Yaman.* "Believe me, Ya Abu Sa'ud, the Imam Yahya, is very strong and has wonderful arms and infernal machines at his disposal. Why, he even has metal walking-chickens which he sends by the thousand into his enemy's camp by night, and as soon as they get among the troops they explode and kill very many with each explosion. *Wallah* (by God) it is true! Have I not myself seen men killed in this way? Have I not just returned from Riyadh and seen bits of exploded chickens

* This scene took place just before Bin Sa'ud's Yaman adventure of 1934.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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there is a stir in the Badawin world. Suhail (Canopus) has also been* 221
seen, low down in the southern horizon, which to the Badawin means 132
the end of the dread summer, for man and beast then need less to drink. Even the blood grows cooler of a sudden.

A general cheerfulness now takes hold of the Badawin tent-dweller. He has safely weathered one more dread summer, the life-giving rains are coming and with them abundance once again. He joyfully packs up his belongings and by the 15th of October is ready to move. The end of the month sees him gone, rain or no rain. At first he does not go too far from water, for his camels, sheep and mares must still be watered frequently.

With the first fall of rain, however, he is gone on his great annual migration, or, to be more accurate, his grand circular tour. The various sections of the tribe now move together or follow each other from grazing ground to grazing ground, till they have systematically passed over and eaten down all the *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh* grasses that the rains have brought in their train. Should rains be delayed in a particular area, the tribe skip it and pass on to where the country has become green. The night lightning and the heavy bank of clouds seen of an evening far away on the horizon are their surest guides.

Certain areas are known to be nearly always good in autumn, and to these the shaikhs will usually take their own best camels with them.

This moving in the wake of the grazing is spread over November, December, January, February, March and April, till by May all nomad households are once more beginning to converge slowly on to water. It is a sad period, this having to go, so to speak, "home again" after the glorious annual holiday. During the migration months the tribal tents change ground about every ten days, both for sanitary reasons and because the grass has been eaten up—so the moves are slow, leisurely and pleasant. Nor are distances to the next camp great. It is 517
a period of joy for all, women renew their winter garments, make 224
leben, wear their best frocks and amuse themselves among the flowers. 262
The better-off men hawk the lesser bustard (*hubara*), hunt gazelle

* In Najd Canopus is usually seen between 1st September and 10th September. In Kuwait if the sky is clear it is seen any time after the 10th September, and at about 3.30 a.m., very low down in the south over the Braisi Gate.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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517 (*dhabi*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves
224 on fresh *leben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war,
262 then of course this utopian existence is at once changed, and the tribe
722 moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared
for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining
[202] and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come
into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks
before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were
able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and
622 assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on
its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp.
His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

622 No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was
157 the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not neces-
183 sarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the
family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-
paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the
shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan
or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father
and become shaikh after him must prove:

that he has the necessary courage;
that he has powers of leadership;
that he has *hadi* or luck.

777 The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership
622 in plenty if *hadi* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman
157 wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in
peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is
bound up in this word *hadi*. The great Bin Sa'ud, the present Lord
of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with
a large quantity of *hadi*, or so says and believes every Badawin of
Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot
be compared with the all-embracing Luck.

622 The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

The Badawin's Diet

511 what the world would call honest methods. Hence if he cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work
[461] he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as is the case under Bin Sa'ud's regime to-day), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a "square" meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party.

262 His own food for most of the year consists of only camel's milk and a handful of dates per day. The camel-herd gets even less than this.

291 The Badawin's clothes are on the same scanty scale as his food, a thin cotton *dishdasha* (smock), replaced only when it falls off his back with age, and a threadbare *'abba* (cloak), *kuffiyah* and thin rope *agal* (head cloth and head cord), are all he has to cover his ill-nourished body. Yet all this makes for toughness and hardihood, and the average
[132] Badawin seems made of steel. The lack of warm clothing is probably the hardest thing in life that he has to bear, for in winter the temperature often falls below freezing point, and the winds are of ice, and cut the body through and through. I have never in my life felt so cold as in the desert a hundred miles inland of Kuwait when a *yakhi* or *jahali*
262 wind has been blowing in December or January. Yet in spite of the
574 hard life, the Badawin is never in danger of actual starvation or of dying from want. His *ahl* (family) would never permit this, nor would the system of affording three days' hospitality to all and sundry —such a splendid feature of democratic Arabia—allow of a man reaching such straits. A person who is down and out, without a penny to his name, would in reality be far worse off in London than in Arabia, where he could always hope to find a black tent or two to sponge on.

[18] A Badawin's dream and ambition in life is to possess about a dozen
231 camels, next a wife, and afterwards a mare, half a hundred sheep and a *saldpi*—I am, of course, assuming that he starts with a rifle and a *dhaldl* (riding camel). Give the desert man these essentials and he is a made man, for both camels and sheep double themselves in three years. Any male lambs that are born, he kills for food, the females he

854 used by the northern Badawin of Arabia, who carry their children on their shoulders or, when travelling, on their hips. The *mighak* is not to be confused with the *laldle*.

Haldle—Baby's hammock for use inside tent. It is slung between two tent poles. Especially favoured in the north.

242 *Hail*—cardamum seeds for putting in coffee.

Masmar—cloves, for putting in coffee.

Zafran—saffron, for putting in tea and coffee.

492 *Shinkar*—hooks on each side of the *mahar* to hang women's saddle-bags on.

THE LOOM—MATTÁRIH, NATTU OR SADY

236 The loom gear consists of seven pieces which altogether are known as *matarih*.

(1) Piece of wood known as *ga'ak*.
(2) Shuttle known as *misha*.
(3) Tightener known as *mishirra*.
(4) Piece of wood holding up threads known as *minyar*.
(5) Circular wooden supports of *minyar*, known as *marakib*.
(6) Piece of wood holding ends of threads known as *al ras*.
(7) Gazelle horn for pulling down threads known as *middrak*.

SKIN CONTAINERS

415 These consist of:

(*a*) Water skins.
(*b*) Skin bags for storing *dahan*, coffee beans, dates, etc.

Under (*a*) we get the *rawi*, the *shilaski*, *minda* and common *girba* (*jirba*).

Rawi is the generic term for a water receptacle made out of a camel's skin.

Thilaski is the name given to a water receptacle made out of one half of a camel skin doubled over and sewn together.

Minda is a gigantic water receptacle made out of the two side skins of a camel sewn together. They are always very water-tight.

Girba is an ordinary water skin made out of a whole sheep's or goat's skin which is peeled off the animal. The best and most lasting are made from goats' skins (*mahas*) and cost in the rough about Rs.1/8 each. Sheepskins do not last.

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CHAPTER XII

Food and Hospitality

262 The well-to-do Badawin, such as our man Salim al Muzaiyin or the shaikh of a tribe, has one square meal a day, usually in the evening. This consists of plain rice cooked in *semen* (ghi), a few dates dipped in butter, some *leben* (butter-milk), finishing up with coffee. In the early morning he starts the day with some *leben* and dates, also coffee. He does not often eat meat himself, because he cannot afford to do [374] so. Should a guest of standing arrive, the host will always kill a sheep or lamb for him, which goes the round of the family after the guest has had his share.

The poor Badawin, and the great majority of Badawin are poor, get one meal a day consisting of dates and camel's milk, with a very occasional dish of plain rice or a piece of bread.

The very poor Badawin, such as the herdsman (*shdwi*) who tends the sheep or camels of the more fortunate, gets nothing but camel's milk. Very rarely he gets some dates also, and still more rarely a bit of rice and meat when his shaikh or employer has a guest, his share being the entrails of the sheep that has been killed.

Speaking generally, in the province of Hasa rice is eaten where possible in preference to bread. The opposite is the case in inner Najd, Qasim, etc. The reason is obvious: wheat is grown in Najd and [264] rice has to be transported there. The Badawin, like all other Muslims, eats with his right hand only and gives it a cursory wash before starting his meal. He is always hungry, and as a result if he can get such things as locusts, edible monitors (*dhab*), game of any sort and even foxes, 265 he will eat them with relish. Speaking generally, the Badawin proper will eat anything that comes his way, especially if no one is looking, though he must always ceremonially cut the throat of any animal or bird he snares or shoots, saying as he does this: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" (*B'ismi'llah al Rahman al Rahim*).

[pages 187 and 188 contain no textual material]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI 1
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B 264 After the meal is over, though he ought to wash his hands, he rarely does so, owing to shortage of water. He prefers to wipe his hands on the tent and later in his beard. The 'Ajman tribe pride themselves in being able to show grease hand-marks on their tents; these B 262 indicate "hospitality". Bread is rarely eaten except among the well-to-do Badawin, though of course if bread is available any man will eat it with pleasure.

Mushrooms (*fuur*) and truffles (*fagah*) are eagerly sought for and eaten in the rainy season, but these are a luxury.

On special occasions the Badawin gets camel's meat, if for instance his shaikh is entertaining. The "hump" especially is considered a great delicacy in the cold weather. I have not infrequently eaten camel's meat myself and found it rather coarse and leathery, but the Badawin loves it.

K 262 In Kuwait town and among the town-dwellers of Najd, camel's meat and beef are regularly eaten during the winter months. Both are said to keep a person warm, and the former to make him strong.

B 262 Every Badawin, whether rich or poor, must entertain and feed a stranger who asks for a night's lodging.

574 If such guest be a big man and his host is fairly well to do, a sheep is invariably killed and served up with rice, sprinkled with sultanas, almonds and a few onion shavings.

If the guest is a poor nomad Badawin, the guest will be given a dinner of plainly cooked rice and some dates and *leben*. Should the host himself be very poor, he will still take the traveller in, and do the very best he can for him, even if he has only a few dates to offer; but entertain him he must, that is, give him food and a night's shelter.

B 574 Should a shaikh or well-to-do person visit a poor man's tent and ask for hospitality, he is expected to reward his host, either on leaving or on reaching home, with either a money present or a *kiswah* (present of clothing). This is the invariable custom.

Should a traveller pass a tent with only women in it, the head of the tent being away, say tending sheep or camels, the principal woman of the tent will come out, and stand in front of her tent with a bowl of *leben*, a signal to the passer-by to come and refresh himself. If an important cavalcade passes by, and the lady of the tent desires to attract their attention and get them to come and partake of her bounty,

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Camel Diet

CAMEL FOOD

238 The staple food of the camel is the *nassi* grass, the *'arfaj* bush of the desert, and when in season wild flowers and grasses of every description. The first two grow in profusion over Central and North-Eastern Arabia after good rains. Camels near the Euphrates thrive on a thorny bush known as *a'agul*—but this does not suit the desert camel.

The salt diet of the camel is found in the *rimth*, *thamran*, *'arâd*, *'ajrum* and *gaghraf* bushes, all known under the generic term of *hamth*.

The camel is also very fond of dates, which are given him with milk when he is being prepared for long and arduous work. He of course eats the date stones with relish.

A dainty dish for a sick camel is dates and barley mixed with milk into a mush, and followed by Arab bread broken up into small pieces.

CAMEL FLESH

•262 Camels' meat is not unpleasant and is rather like course beef. It is widely eaten, especially in November and December, when sheep are in poor condition for lack of grass. Camels' meat is supposed to be good for man during the cold weather and to supply warmth.

Among the Badawin, camels are often killed on feast days or for rejoicing on festive occasions. I have found the hump to be the most edible part of the camel, and this is also the Arab opinion.

Camels' milk is, of course, universally drunk throughout Arabia. It is extremely nourishing, but contains no cream, and therefore yields no butter. It has a slightly purgative effect on most people, and Europeans should be careful not to indulge too freely in the desert.

GEAR FOR CAMEL TRAVEL (see Chapter V)

492

The main necessaries for a journey by camel are:

The camel saddle with two tall pommels fore and aft.
The large saddle bags hanging down on both sides of the saddle.
The finely-worked leather apron which hangs down in front of a camel's saddle and stretches down both sides of the camel's neck nearly to its knees.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI4
Middle East MI

ME 136

I am aware, of course, that the locust also enters Palestine and Northern Hijaz probably via Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula, and also crosses the Red Sea, north of Jiddah, but I think it is recognised that the main swarms and visitations come from the direction of Abyssinia and South-West Arabia.

I am not competent to enter into a discussion on the various species of locust. The flying ones we see and know in Kuwait and North-East Arabia are of two main types, the carmine or red-coloured ones known locally as the *Yakhakh** (*Nomadacris septemfasciata*) and the Common Desert Yellow variety with brown markings (*Schistocerca gregaria*) known as *Jardd*. The red locust is the kind most eaten by the inhabitants of Arabia. They eat only the females—and quite good they are, fried in butter with salt, or boiled. They taste much like roast chestnuts, and no doubt one pleasure the Arab has in eating them is the feeling that he is avenging himself for all the damage the insect has done him—at least this is what my Badawin friends say, and I can understand it.

B 262

ME 131

Of recent years most important work has been done by the Belgian, French, British, Spanish and Italian Governments in the matter of Locust Research and Control, and the urgent necessity of co-ordinating the work of these various Governments has been fully recognised.

On 29th April, 1929, the late Earl Balfour, then Chairman of the Committee of Civil Research, appointed a Sub-committee on Locust Control, with directions to consider and report on (*a*) the best means for the destruction of the Desert Locust (*Schistocerca gregaria*), and (*b*) methods for ascertaining the reasons for the periodic swarming of this species, with a view to its control. This Committee, between 1929 and 1935, compiled six or seven reports which made interesting reading, and the value of the work already done by it is incalculable.

K 654

We in Kuwait, and by this I mean the Ruler and his Government, are particularly grateful to Mr. B. P. Uvarov, Senior Assistant, Imperial Institute of Entomology, London, a member of the above Committee, for the disinterested advice and help which he has given in locust-control during the last few years. I personally am doubly grateful for

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* Strictly speaking this is the name given to any kind of grasshopper, which it is *haram* (unlawful) to eat as opposed to the locust proper, which is *halál* (lawful). The red locust is definitely *halál*.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4
Saudi Arabia MJ1

will rush at man, emitting a fierce hissing sound like a cobra. It can move very fast when in flight. It is the great enemy of the dhub lizard, which it attacks at sight, and three times out of four defeats and kills it after a battle of giants.

The wurral's bite is said by all the Badawins to be poisonous, but it only occasionally kills a human being. Its bite causes great pain, and a person bitten gets no relief "either from shade or sun" (to use a Badawin expression). The wurral is considered unclean and is not eaten, it is rather preserved because it rids the neighbourhood of snakes. The wurral feeds on grass (*'ashib*), snakes and insects, and like the dhub is very fond of locusts.

In 1933, during the flight of a swarm of locusts west of Jahrah near Al Atraf, I saw five wurral and three dhubs, all full sized, madly rushing about and jumping into the air catching the flying insects. I was in a car with my wife, and we stopped and watched them for twenty minutes, at a distance of less than fifty yards. In their excitement they forgot all about fear of the car and human beings.

The wurral is sandy coloured and has a long, powerful but smooth tail, salmon coloured but verging into scarlet near the tip. Round the tail is a series of dark rings. It has a cream belly, and possesses no scales.

After the dhub, the wurral's chief enemy is the snake, non-poisonous or poisonous, which it eats. If bitten by a poisonous snake, it is said straightway to go off to the *rawrdn* bush, and roll itself well in the bush and eat some of the leaves. This is said by the Badawin to act as an antidote to the snake's poison. In any case, the wurral apparently comes to no harm if bitten by the most poisonous of snakes. From watching the wurral's methods and its ability to escape the consequences of the snake's poison by eating and rolling in the *rawrdn* bush, the Badawin has learned to value the *rawrdn* as an anti-snake medicine, apparently with satisfactory results. The *rawrdn* is the *Heliotropium cignaeum* of the botanist.

THE DHUB, OR SPINE-TAILED MONITOR

This interesting lizard is known by its snub-nosed head, and massive tail covered with horny spikes, which forms its main defensive weapon.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI 1
Bedouins MI6
Saudi Arabia MI 1

'Anizah Taboo

K 136 SA 136

It is found over the whole of North-Eastern Arabia, and prefers hard gravelly ground to loose sand. It lives in a hole, anything up to 4 feet in depth, which it excavates in spiral fashion. It is a common sight to see this animal basking in the summer sun close to its hole, and silently diving into its recess on the approach of danger. It disappears entirely during the winter months and reappears during the late spring and summer months, so it would seem to hibernate. It grows to a length of approximately 3 feet, and is very fierce.

Its greatest enemy is the wurral, or snake-headed monitor. The dhub has an ordinary-shaped tongue, and is armed with a row of vicious-looking sharp teeth, but its principal weapon of defence is its tail.

It has long, sharp claws and a white stomach, and hisses loudly when angry. When it first appears in spring, after hibernation, it is brilliant yellow-ochre in colour, and as summer arrives it develops a grey-green tint with pale yellow bands across its back. Rings of the same pale yellow go round its tail between rows of spikes.

Its name is not to be confused with *dibb*, the Badawin name for snake, or with *dhabi*, a gazelle.

The dhub lays between fifty and sixty eggs at a time in the sand, and covers them up. When the young are about to hatch, the mother is said to come back again and eat them all up except three, which she places on her back—one on her head, one on the middle of her back and one on her tail. This curious story is vouched for by the Badawin, but I have so far failed to find a dhub lizard with young, and cannot verify the statement.

The dhub will eat a certain amount of grass, but its natural food is obviously grasshoppers and other insects. It certainly devours voraciously any locusts that it comes across. All Badawin consider it fit for food.

B 262 69 784

Throughout Arabia there is a saying that the dhub is held in special sanctity by the 'Anizah tribe. Certain it is that no member of that tribe will kill, much less eat, this lizard.

Hence when wanting to annoy or anger an 'Anizah tribesman, rival Badawin will say that the dhub is his ancestor (*Ali dhub jidd al 'Anaz*). This jibe refers to the story that an 'Anizah ancestor was

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

133 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
312 stand the land in which they live—a harsh, unforgiving land which conditions their lives so that they, too, are hard, hard in body and mind. They live in the desert—that is to say, in country which, judged by ordinary standards, is waterless. This applies equally to the barren, broken limestone mountains near the southern coast, to the flat, featureless gravel plains, and to the sands of the Empty Quarter itself, where the mountainous dunes, some of which are 700 feet high, run one behind the other for hundreds of miles. There are, of course, some wells in this desert, but they are usually few and far between; the Sa'ar country has two permanent wells in it, Manwakh and Zamakh; the Manahil country has three or four. Thus in an area the size of Norfolk there might be two wells. I have myself twice travelled four hundred miles between wells. I admit that this is exceptional, but Badu have raided across these very stretches of desert, riding out and back again without touching at a well. You can think what this means when you realize that this distance is twice as far as from Dover to Edinburgh, and that these Arabs travelled at a speed of three miles per hour, relying only on the water which they could carry with them without foundering their camels, and that the camels themselves did not get a drink until they returned a month later.

137 It seldom rains in this desert; in many parts it has not rained for five
221 years, and I have been in places where not a drop of rain has fallen for twenty-five years. By Badu standards a couple of hours' heavy rain in the
132 year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
233 depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances. Most of this vegetation is not grass, but desert plants like the succulent yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
233 acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the
262 Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

25: Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

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342
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(Above) *One of the small black Arab tents pitched near Mamwakh well. This type belongs exclusively to sand-dwelling tribes and is never used on the steppes or plateaux. Beside the tent stands its owner, who wears the long pointed sleeves of a Western Arab; in front, placed upside-down, is a leather trough from which his camels are watered. Round the Mamwakh encampment romped Arab children, a hardy lot: even in winter months, when the desert cold is intense, the little girls wear (left) only a fringe round their hips. The children are fed mainly on camels' milk and burridge or bread made of millet ground from the more industry sections of the Sa'ar tribe*

P 896 (B)

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life [262] of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, 290 his skill is incredible, and many live very large- 463 ly on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

433 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work 251 for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 During the last ten years, the desert belong- 198 ing to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism 797 in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst 721

5; Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

one is invited, and the half-starved Bedouin, who has perhaps not had a full meal for months, makes such use of his opportunities as seems incredible to a student of anatomy. Four hungry Bedouins are supposed to be able to eat a whole roasted sheep at one sitting, and I am sure that I have seen many such a Bedouin company that would be equal to the task. An Arab feast is an interesting sight. A whole sheep must be cooked for any honored guest, even if he has only one or two attendants. This animal, cooked as he frequently is in one piece, is placed on a huge copper platter and buried in a mountain of boiled rice. Out of the sides of this mountain, which would measure several bushels in bulk and which stands perhaps four feet high, are to be seen protruding the amputated stumps of the animal's four limbs. This enormous central dish is flanked by various side dishes containing gravies and a few vegetables. Vegetables, however, are few in number and scanty in amount. The proportion of cooking fat put on the rice is an index of the cordiality of the guest's welcome. There is quite certain to be several times the amount that a western palate enjoys. Around this mountain of food with its foothills of side dishes the guests seat themselves, all on the floor. The signal is given by the host's remarking, "In the name of God." There follows a mad race against time, for when one guest arises, all must follow his example. Obviously, then, the affair of the moment is to see that in the short time available as much as possible of God's blessings shall be appropriated. The meat is torn off in quarter-pound chunks. Such a piece is put into the mouth, bitten in two and swallowed, if indeed it is treated with so much ceremony. The rice is gathered up in great handfuls and poured down the esophagus, ap-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

parently meeting with no great obstacle on the way. In 574
five minutes everybody is filled to repletion. Pounds of 264
meat have been consumed and bushels of rice. The side
dishes are empty. Enormous wooden bowls of butter-
milk are brought in and the meal washed down with great
draughts of this favorite Arab drink. It is not remark- [513]
able that after a feast everybody expects to take a nap.
So ends the festivity and the Bedouin settles down once
again to his meager and poverty-stricken existence in
the desert.

Life as a nomad shepherd brings the Bedouin into 342
naked and constant contact with nature. He is out of 511
doors almost all of the time, and his tent with its rents
and holes hardly serves to separate him from the outside
world to any significant degree even when he is inside.
The sun over him by day and the moon and stars by
night, the long stretches of sand and the rough rocky
plains, the sand storms which are the terror of the des-
ert, the fierce heat of the summer and the frosts of the
winter, all of these are his constant companions. He 151
learns to know the wilderness as few know it. The
tracks of the various animals in the sand are to him an
easily legible history of the happenings of several days
back. Thus he lives not simply in contact with nature 181
but rather immersed in it. The desert may be cruel, but
he pines away if transplanted. His life may be hard,
but he wants nothing else.

Yet strangely enough, in spite of his intense love for 161
the desert and its freedom, all the beauties in nature 123
around him fall on blind eyes as far as the Bedouin is
concerned. Even the desert sunset and the moon-lit
sand dunes apparently stir no responsive chord in his
heart. It is as if all such things had been stripped off

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East Bedooin MJ4

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

264 On occasion when supplies are plentiful the Badawin
146 eat copiously, because the time and scale of the next meal may be
147 uncertain. In general, the standard of nutrition of the Badawin is low—in the opinion of some, below the level necessary in other regions to sustain life. As a result, the Badawin are small, even stunted, and lightly built, though their physical powers and endurance are great. Life is, however, very hard; and by forty, particularly in the case of women, old age has begun. Fifty years is a long life for a nomad.

721 One means of supplementing the deficiencies in arid areas is by raiding. Amongst Badawin the *rhazw* (*razzia* or *rezzou*) is a recognised activity amounting almost to sport, but it also fulfils a definite economic function. The effects of a bad season are mitigated, as when rains have failed in the desert, the Bedu has a choice of taking what he requires by force from other people, or of starving. The word 'sport' has been used, because although fundamentally a serious matter, Badawin raids are conducted under certain conventions—almost, one might say, rules.[1] Rapid, unlooked-for coups, using cunning and guile, are most favoured: bloodshed is as far as possible avoided, though goods, womenfolk, and children become the property of the victors under a kind of slavery. Successful leadership in tribal raids
[554] is the means by which personal reputation and power is built up: King Ibn Saud, originally a dispossessed desert nomad, has gained absolute power in Arabia through successful tribal encounters on an increasingly
721 large scale. Badawin raids may be directed against other tribes, but
651 frequently, toll is levied on agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert. Less able to resist, and with more at stake than the nomad, settled cultivators sometimes remain under permanent tribute to Badawin tribes, and supply a quantity of needed foodstuffs to their overlords. The name *khaoua* (tribute of friendship) is applied to such transactions. Raiding is now declining, because of increasing control by local governments, but in addition to the political problem presented in controlling outbreaks, there is the economic factor of providing alternative occupation to ensure a livelihood.[2] Though declining, the practice is still not extinct. For as recently as 1946, J. C. Crowfoot could write, 'Arabs are now raiding each other in Fords and Chevrolets'.

[1] There are only three sources of amusement or distraction in Badawin life: conversation round a coffee hearth, family life, and raiding.

[2] Cf. the decline in population of the Barbary coastlands since the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean. There, precisely the same economic factor was involved.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

meekly handed over the watch, which Ali put on his own wrist. "Let me take care of it for thee," he said to me, in his protective manner. He is actually "taking care" of my watch to this very day!

Our Fid'an hosts numbered seventeen horsemen and eight camel-riders, who had come on the scene after the attack on us. A gang of typical desert outlaws.

At the evening meal they spread a large leather camel-saddle cover for a tablecloth. Previously the dough for our bread had been kneaded on it. At other times it served as manger and watering-trough for the horses and camels, for it could be suspended by leather loops, one at each of the four corners.

The *Akid* poured sour camels' milk from a goat skin into a wooden basin and handed it round. The few *dhaluls* were lying close to us. The red campfire threw a glow of light over them and their long shadows melted into the blackness of the night. For a moment I imagined myself surrounded by strange monsters.

When I closed my eyes and heard only the belching and grunting of my table-companions, I could scarcely distinguish them from the camels chewing the cud. And Ali was the noisiest feeder of them all!

Next morning the Fid'ans proposed that they should join us with the idea of entering Ruala territory and lifting some camels. Nothing remained for Ali and myself but to make the best of these unwelcome proposals. We had to endure their company in the pious hope that somewhere we should fall in with the Ruala Bedouins.

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal,

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

521 that have been brought back from the Asir front for the King to see? It is true, I say, O Abu Sa'ud. You know I have never told a lie yet, and why should I do so now?"

As he tells this whopper, the women giggle and cry out in pretended alarm. They, of course, believe the story, and half Arabia believes it too.

"Do you know", said Salim again, "that there is talk in the Summán that Faisal al Duwish is alive and in hiding?" I replied caustically that this could not be, seeing that he died in prison of an aneurism two years ago. "That is just it", replied Salim, "you go and swallow any fairy tale that Bin Sa'ud likes to put about. Actually, if you must know it, Al Duwish escaped and is in hiding. Why, as I was coming from Riyadh only twenty days ago I met a Mutairi woman who had met him. She saw him standing outside her tent in the evening. He had come from his hiding place in one of the *dáhals* to ask for a little bread. She is a person who knows the Shaikh like her own self. If you must know it was Wadha, Faisal's own sister. There, that is proof, isn't it?" Cries of pleasure come from the women, for all the world loved Faisal al Duwish, in the eyes of the Mutair the greatest Badawin leader and shaikh that was ever born of woman.

Such and many similar stories were recounted till, tiring, I told them all to go to bed as I had a long day before me in the morning.

264 "Will you want lunch for the road in the morning, Abu Sa'ud?"
574 said the practical-minded Amsha. "Yes, of course", said I. So she promised to get up at 4 a.m. and cook me three chickens* and a bowl of rice. The bowl, she said, had a cover, and with a loaf of Arab bread on top and the cover put on, the lunch would keep warm easily till noon. She was as good as her word. Next day's lunch was delicious. A salam now all round and I dismissed my woman friends, and the worthy Salim, and turned in.

231 I seemed to have slept but a little while by the entrance of my open tent, when I was awakened by ferocious barking. The three or four camp dogs had taken fright at something. I felt they were moving round and round the tents, they were quiet for five minutes or so and then broke out again in the fiercest growling and barking. I was very

* I had brought these along with me alive from Kuwait.

The Shepherd Boy

Chap. III

At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the 'adhan (call to prayer), 512 [788] 462 with which the day commences. It is still quite dark, but the prayer-call has roused the camp. The women also pray, but in their own tent. After prayers, the woman whose duty it is to make the daily supply of *leben* (sour milk), starts rocking her goatskin to and fro on the *mirjahak* (wooden tripod from the centre of which it hangs). According to the tribe they belong to, some women sing when at this work, others do not.

The woman of the house then orders a little bitter coffee or tea (a 512 modern innovation) to be prepared and gives some to the shepherd [264] and the camelherd, who with the dawn will start off on their day's 233 duties.* With the coffee she hands them a supply of dates; part of this 462 is eaten on the spot and part put into a little leather bag as the day's ration. If coffee or tea is scarce, the men are given a bowl of milk. While this is being done, another servant whose duty later will be to go and fetch water, etc., looses the lambs from inside the tent, where each has been attached by a woollen loop to a central rope during the night, and allows each lamb to be suckled by its mother. This done, the lambs are tied up again. The grown-up animals are counted to see that no wolf has stolen one during the night, and off they are sent to graze in charge of the shepherd boy. As the sheep are weak from lack of fodder and the long summer, they will be sent a couple of miles at most. There the shepherd-boy amuses himself one way or another till the sun gets up and makes him feel inclined to rest. He thereupon plants his staff* in the ground and hangs his *'abba* on top. This is enough to deceive the sheep into thinking the shepherd is standing near them and watching. They will not wander; the shepherd goes to sleep. There is no danger by day while he is in sight of the camp.

After the sheep go the camels. A few of these, being in extra poor condition as the result of the summer, find difficulty in rising. They are given a mouthful of dates to encourage them; one or two may have to be helped up, protesting with growls and burblings as their tails are seized and given an upward twist. They are all ready now and the herdsman bursts into song of encouragement and leads the

* Called *mikhyal*. *Mikhyal* is the special stick which shepherds keep to hang their *'abbas* on to prevent sheep and lambs from wandering. Every tent has one.

Najdi and Iraq sheep take no notice of the *mikhyal*, only the black sheep of Hasa and Kuwait. [See Bible. "Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me"—here "staff" is undoubtedly the Arabian *mikhyal*.]

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512 way, riding monkey-like on the hindquarters of one of the better-
233 conditioned animals, and looking as if every minute he would slide
462 off over the animal's tail. The herdsman's song is wild and weird,
[638] rising and falling in semitones. As often as not he starts off with a description of the beautiful grazing that his charges are going to find ahead of them. He pleads with his camels and says they are to trust him, their guide and helper. He it is who is leading them to pastures fair, and grass that is green and succulent. The camels seem to understand, for with sundry groans and moans, they slowly follow him in single file. As they disappear into the early morning mist, the last you see or hear of the party is the distant singing of the camelherd. Then all are swallowed up in the morning fog. Like the sheep, the camels will not go far. Five to eight miles is their limit just now. Grazing has been so pitifully scarce in their long summer camp they must be allowed to get fit slowly; presently they will go further afield. The camelherd does not sleep by day. His is a much more valuable herd. He watches, with rifle ready, even though there is not the slightest rumour of danger or trouble in the air. To while away the long day, he may look for truffles on the hilltops or occasionally try and catch a jerboa. In the main, however, he watches and watches till the time comes to go home.

512 The camels and sheep having gone out to graze and the sun being
264 up, the tent family will have a meagre breakfast consisting of a little tea without milk, and some dates. If the housewife is in funds she may issue a small ration of bread to all; more often than not they go without.

512 The daughter of the house with her small sister, or her girl friend
462 from the neighbour's tent, now starts off to collect brushwood for
313 the day's needs. *'Arfaj* is what they seek, and as this has a tough root, they arm themselves with a small axe and several yards of goat's hair
[857] rope to carry home the firewood on their heads. Other children of from five to ten years old often accompany the girls to see if they can find an early flower or a truffle. It is their one way of enjoying themselves, they have few other amusements. The girls move off with strong healthy stride, their long sleeves bound behind their necks to free their arms, and their skirts hitched up at the waist to give freedom of movement. How straight and supple they are! Daily this fetching

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in of firewood goes on, and the girls stir common get fit a two- or 512
three-mile walk every morning. It is good for them and makes them 462
strong, straight and fit to bear children later on, and they know it. 813

Two hours later they return, each bearing an enormous load of *'arfaj* bushes on their heads, and followed by the tired little mites who have gone with them. In the meantime the woman of the tent has 512
not been idle. She, with her sister, or old mother if she has one to 462
help her, has been sunning the family bedding (*lakaf*) and putting it away, or has been cleaning pots and pans from the previous night's meal and has tidied up the tent. She has sent off the spare shepherd 512
to go and fetch water from the wells they have just vacated, perhaps 462
10 miles back. He takes for the purpose a couple of male camels 312
kept back from the herd, on whom he loads up either two large camel water-skins, or four goatskins. This will suffice for the needs of the tent and its neighbours. Should a small *shamlis* exist near them, as is often the case after rains, the daughters of the house will once again be sent off with goatskins (*gurbal*) to collect the water—(a *shamlis* is a small supply of water lying under the surface of a dry, sandy water-course which does not sink deep and disappear completely, because it lies on subsurface rock or clay). The girls scratch away the sand to a depth of two or three feet to reach the brown, muddy liquid. They ladle it into skins by means of a small cup (*jiddal*) of tamarisk wood, and keep it on one side for drinking purposes only. The water is at first opaque and yellowish, but the silt soon settles.

To keep the water-skins cool during the day, a bed of *'arfaj* bush is made just outside the women's quarters, and all skins are laid on the bed.

By now it is time to prepare the midday meal. If the family is a 672
fairly prosperous one, rice will be cooked and made tasty with *samn*, 264
clarified butter of sheep's milk, and all will sit down and eat their fill. 462
If the family is a poor one, there will be no meal till sundown.

After the midday meal, the woman of the house will first clean the cooking pots, and then start weaving any cloth that may be required for the tent, or if the tent is complete she will work on a *ghaw* or *mamad*, which in due course she will sell when she visits a town to do *mashlah*. A *ghaw* if well and artistically made will bring her in [295]
Rs.45 to Rs.50—a vast sum of money for a Bedawin family.

on it—Oh my children, oh my servants, we will move to it to-morrow 512
morning." 239

Yet what, after all, is this new-found grazing? Nothing but a slightly rained-upon locality, where a few green shoots and weeds wait for man and beast to find them. Yet with the scarcity that prevails, the find is welcome. At sunset the camels once again come home, this time with the herdsman riding behind them. He is no longer singing, but encourages them with a "wa-ho, wa-ho, hurry up my daughters, the night is coming on, 'tis late—'tis late".

On arrival the camels are gently shepherded to the front of the tent where they are encouraged to lie down in a semicircle forming a sort of zareeba, with heads all facing the open side of the tent. This for protection, and to give each other warmth, for the tent keeps off the chill night breeze. However cold it is, the camels have no covering on their backs, and they appreciate any shelter they can get from the night wind.

An hour after sunset, and often when it is quite dark, the sheep come in with much "baa-ing" and calling upon their lambs to come out and appease their hunger, for the lambs have been kept at home all day. The sheep are brought into the semicircle formed by the camels, and the lambs are let loose. For twenty minutes or so pandemonium reigns. The babies have to be guided to their mothers, who will accept no lamb but their own, and in the darkness there is much apparent confusion due only to the noise made by ewes and lambs.

The shepherds know their job, and the lambs, having fed, are soon 512
taken back and tied up inside the tent. All this time there are no lights, 375
for the Badawin family cannot afford such luxury. Only in the kitchen portion of the tent a fire is cooking the evening meal and the master of the house sitting in front of the guest portion of his tent has got a small fire going with the embers of dry camel dung. Every now and then he flings on a bunch of *'arfaj* to cause a blaze and show him what is going on.

Supper follows, a simple meal of boiled rice and possibly a little 512
bread. It is washed down with *laben*, of which master takes long and 264
copious draughts. The women do not eat with him. They have already had their snack. Only the wife sits by her husband to see that he has

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512 all he wants. *Coffee* then goes round, and master, servants and women
264 go early to bed.

That night Allah the All-seeing, the All-merciful, is good to his
182 people. As the camp sleeps, a great thunderhead appears and gradually
512 creeps up from the far north-west. Nearer and nearer it comes till at 3 a.m. it is exactly overhead. There is a death-like stillness, and even the camp dogs cease their baying and the sleepers turn uneasily in their sleep. The air is oppressive, even hot. Suddenly a cold chill wind begins to blow; the shepherd watching his sheep in front of the tent wakes his master and whispers, "Allah Kerim, Insha'Llah it will rain, the mercy of God is coming, Oh Allah, give us of thy blessing". Suddenly there is a soul-rising thunderclap followed by a simultaneous blaze of forked lightning, which lights up the whole landscape a vivid bluey-white. Clap after clap follows; each rolling away in the distance like salvos of great artillery. Shouts and cries rise from the camp. The men rush to the camels and sheep, the women to the tent ropes, and then with a dull roar growing every instant deeper and closer, the rain comes at last. At first great heavy drops the size of small saucers, then in a few seconds the downpour. And what a downpour! Fortunately there is no wind but just a deep booming roar, as the water pours down in sheets. For ten minutes everyone holds on to what he can grip, expecting the squall which usually follows such rain. But none comes. Then cries of joy as the open spaces round the camp site begin to fill with water. The tents perched up on higher ground than the surrounding country are safe from flood, but by 3.30 a.m. the countryside is a vast shallow lake. By
512 3.45 a.m. the rain thins off. Regardless of everything, men, women and
512 children rush forth to collect the delicious rain-water into every kind of utensil they can lay hands on: water-skins, basins, tins and cooking pots of every description are made to serve. When these are filled women and children sit in the water and literally wallow in it for sheer joy. The men rouse the camels and make them drink knee deep in the fresh brown sea. Everyone is delirious, for they have been drinking brackish and even salt water for the last nine months. The great blessing has come at last. God is great, God is good to the *Muslimah*. The incongruous part of it all is that it is still pitch dark.
No one has a lantern, no one cares. At length dawn breaks. Prayers,

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CHAPTER XII

Food and Hospitality

262 The well-to-do Badawin, such as our man Salim al Muzaiyin or the shaikh of a tribe, has one square meal a day, usually in the evening. This consists of plain rice cooked in *semen* (ghi), a few dates dipped in butter, some *leben* (butter-milk), finishing up with coffee. In the early morning he starts the day with some *leben* and dates, also coffee. He does not often eat meat himself, because he cannot afford to do [574] so. Should a guest of standing arrive, the host will always kill a sheep or lamb for him, which goes the round of the family after the guest has had his share.

The poor Badawin, and the great majority of Badawin are poor, get one meal a day consisting of dates and camel's milk, with a very occasional dish of plain rice or a piece of bread.

The very poor Badawin, such as the herdsman (*shdwi*) who tends the sheep or camels of the more fortunate, gets nothing but camel's milk. Very rarely he gets some dates also, and still more rarely a bit of rice and meat when his shaikh or employer has a guest, his share being the entrails of the sheep that has been killed.

Speaking generally, in the province of Hasa rice is eaten where possible in preference to bread. The opposite is the case in inner Najd, Qasim, etc. The reason is obvious: wheat is grown in Najd and [264] rice has to be transported there. The Badawin, like all other Muslims, eats with his right hand only and gives it a cursory wash before starting his meal. He is always hungry, and as a result if he can get such things as locusts, edible monitors (*dhub*), game of any sort and even foxes, 788 he will eat them with relish. Speaking generally, the Badawin proper will eat anything that comes his way, especially if no one is looking, though he must always ceremonially cut the throat of any animal or bird he snares or shoots, saying as he does this: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" (*b'ismi'llah al Rahman al Rahim*).

[pages 187 and 188 contain no textual material]

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B 264 After the meal is over, though he ought to wash his hands, he rarely does so, owing to shortage of water. He prefers to wipe his hands on the tent and later in his beard. The 'Ajman tribe pride themselves in being able to show grease hand-marks on their tents; these B 762 indicate "hospitality". Bread is rarely eaten except among the well-to-do Badawin, though of course if bread is available any man will eat it with pleasure.

Mushrooms (*fuu*) and truffles (*faguk*) are eagerly sought for and eaten in the rainy season, but these are a luxury.

On special occasions the Badawin gets camel's meat, if for instance his shaikh is entertaining. The "hump" especially is considered a great delicacy in the cold weather. I have not infrequently eaten camel's meat myself and found it rather coarse and leathery, but the Badawin loves it.

K 262 In Kuwait town and among the town-dwellers of Najd, camel's meat and beef are regularly eaten during the winter months. Both are said to keep a person warm, and the former to make him strong.

B 262 Every Badawin, whether rich or poor, must entertain and feed a stranger who asks for a night's lodging.

574 If such guest be a big man and his host is fairly well to do, a sheep is invariably killed and served up with rice, sprinkled with sultanas, almonds and a few onion shavings.

If the guest is a poor nomad Badawin, the guest will be given a dinner of plainly cooked rice and some dates and *laben*. Should the host himself be very poor, he will still take the traveller in, and do the very best he can for him, even if he has only a few dates to offer; but entertain him he must, that is, give him food and a night's shelter.

B 574 Should a shaikh or well-to-do person visit a poor man's tent and ask for hospitality, he is expected to reward his host, either on leaving or on reaching home, with either a money present or a *kiswah* (present of clothing). This is the invariable custom.

Should a traveller pass a tent with only women in it, the head of the tent being away, say tending sheep or camels, the principal woman of the tent will come out, and stand in front of her tent with a bowl of *laben*, a signal to the passer-by to come and refresh himself. If an important cavalcade passes by, and the lady of the tent desires to attract their attention and get them to come and partake of her bounty,

she will set: a light pole, usually one of the tent side-supports, and 574
hang one of her holiday orange, red or black garments on it, and stick it into the ground in front of her tent as a signal. This is her silent way of inviting the stranger to come and partake. I have been thus invited on several occasions, especially by members of the 'Ajman tribe and the Muntafiq.

If a man and his wife are both at home and a guest arrives, of whatever status, he is welcomed by the man and placed in the *diwaniyah* portion of the tent, that is, the end furthest away from the women's quarters. There he is given his coffee, food and a place to sleep. The women do not come near him or attempt to talk to him, unless he happens to remain two or three days, on account perhaps of heavy rains. The women then thaw somewhat, and when they do address him it is as "my brother".

When Badawins are encamped singly, they always endeavour to 361
hide their tents in hollows and in such positions as to escape notice. 574
This is partly due to a natural desire to escape attention in case an enemy is about, but more often to escape being seen by a traveller. The latter must be attended to if he begs for food and a night's shelter, and this entertaining of strange guests often bears very heavily on the tent-dweller. These remarks apply to the Badawin of the desert proper and do not include tribes such as the settled ones of Iraq, who are very wealthy and normally entertain on a most lavish scale.

Some tribes, especially the Muntafiq of the Euphrates, are so 574
scrupulous in exercising hospitality that they often almost ruin themselves rather than be thought stingy to guests. A man having only a single sheep in the world will go and kill it to feed a strange guest. The Braih (Wasil) section of the desert Mutair have a similar reputation for entertaining, and are looked up to in consequence. The Birzan subsection of this tribe, having been blessed by the Prophet himself for their kindness and hospitality, were rewarded by being told that their blood even was blessed—hence it is believed that to drink a Birzani's blood will cure a man of impotence, cause a woman to conceive and counter the poison of a mad dog.

Some tribes, notably the Dhafir, have an unpleasant custom which 264
often annoys those sitting down to a meal. Say there are ten men dining together, if one gets up satisfied, the rest must at once all get

Badawin Meals

264 up also and wash their hands 'n token of having finished. The result is that to avoid having to leave the table hungry, guests learn to bolt their food in most harmful style.

272 The favourite drinks among sheep-owning Badawin are *laben* (butter-milk) and *roba* (thick curdled milk). The shepherd tribes (Shawâwi) prepare their *laben* from sheep's milk, the camel tribes (Bédûn) from camels' milk. The latter has to be boiled first, before it is shaken up in skins. Normally a camel-owning tribe will give a guest plain camels' milk to drink. *Laben* is not often offered.

Camels' milk has no cream on it, and no butter can be got from it. It is a purgative, and should be taken in moderation by European travellers or persons not used to it.

MEALS

A Badawin lunch or dinner

264 262 Among the Badawin proper the banquet of a shaikh is served on a large, round, tinned copper tray (*sanîya*) on which is piled up, a foot high, boiled rice covered with yellow gravy made from the fat of the sheep, and on top of all is placed a boiled young sheep or lamb (always a male). If the shaikh happens to favour Najd manners and customs, the tray will stand on a pedestal (all in one piece) called *sanîya abu kursi*; this is shaped thus:

and translated means "The tray, father of the chair". The whole is now placed on a *sifra* or circular mat, corresponding to our tablecloth.

The Badawin call the cooked rice *'eysh* and the whole sheep *dhaîkhah* or *mili* (lamb). Both are cooked rather crudely and for our taste there is usually far too much *samn* or *dehen* (clarified butter) mixed with the cooking. The meat is usually rather tough, unless a young lamb happens to have been killed. Nevertheless, if you are 264 hungry this form of banquet tastes remarkably good. The most tasty bits of meat and the tenderest are the strips along both sides of the

backbone, the muscles of the shoulders and the muscles of the leg 264
near the knuckle: the tongue, the kidneys, the cheek bits and the eyes, are also well-known delicacies. The fat of the tail is always looked upon as the guest's particular right. The Arabian sheep is of the fat-tailed variety unknown in England. Round the central dish of rice and meat, the shaikh places two or three bowls of *laben*, with lumps of rather dirty butter floating in it—also a plate or two of dates. The guest, after finishing his meal, drinks *laben*, and then turns to the dates, which he eats with the butter floating in the *laben*. These dates and butter, especially if the dates are fresh (*rutab*), are delicious.

Prior to the meal, and after the meal, coffee is handed round. 264
Among the Badawin coffee is rather a poor and watery stuff, and 272
following the Najd fashion is made with lots of *hail* (cardamom) in it. After lunch, it is polite to thank your host with a *Allah i kathir* 576
khair ak or a *'Ab'an Allah 'alaik* (God increase your good works! or God reward you!).

It is also quite correct to make pleasant remarks about the good cooking of the housewife, and if you catch a glimpse of her, as you often may behind the *ptu* or curtain dividing the women's from the men's quarters, you may say *Allah i kathir khair ish ya ma'aqilo* (God give you plenty, hostess of mine!). The lady will always reply with a *hawwi wa 'a'afiak* or *'alaikum al 'a'afiak* (may you be satisfied!).

Having enjoyed the shaikh's hospitality, you leave after taking 264
coffee, and the relatives, young men, big children, etc., eat up what is left of the meal: it is always amusing to see these hang back in pretended shyness, as if to say, "You know I never came here to get a meal", when the host invites them to come forward and partake with a *Yalla ya ham, gam*, or *Yalla ya rabi'a gam*, or *Thafadhala ya awlad*. He usually has to do this several times and in a rather injured voice.

The host of course does not eat with his guests, but later with the 514
members of the family. It is always seemly for the guest, if he be a 481
prominent person like a shaikh or Political Agent, to bring a present of rice, coffee or sugar with him for the tent. This gift he presents in casual manner before he leaves: if he wants to win more praise, he will also have brought with him materials for half a dozen frocks for the

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women of the tent. This makes him their friend for life. I always made a point of trying to do this in Kuwait.

A dinner party given by a townsman (hadhari) or better-class semi-nomad tribesman ('arabdar)

B 252 264 K 252 264

This is a very much grander affair than the preceding, and the rice is usually of the *amber bu* kind from Iraq or North Iran. After boiling, the whole sheep is browned all over by plunging it in boiling *dehen* or *semen* (clarified butter). It may be even baked in a baker's oven, when it is known as *lahm mashwi*.

Over the rice is spread a thin layer of hot sultanas, shredded onions (fried), gram and other spices. Dried pomegranate seeds are often introduced (an unpleasant habit, as grit like sand-grains seems to have got into the food). The whole dish is surrounded with plates, or small bowls, containing various meat dishes, vegetables, sweetmeats and fruit (usually cut-up melon). The number of these dishes increases with the importance and wealth of the host. The following are the names of the more important dishes thus served:

(a) *Marag*—a tasty brown stew containing small lumps of meat, tomatoes (*tamatu*), egg-plant (*baitan-jan*), and ladies' fingers (*bámia*).

(b) *Shaikh Mahshi*—Young white pumpkins, or preferably large cucumbers, stuffed with rice, nuts, and minced meat.

(c) *Baragh* or *Dólma*—A mash of rice and meat wrapped up in young vine leaves, and thoroughly boiled. It is delicious to the taste. (Originally from Turkey.)

(d) *Tamátu marag*— is like (a) above, but made of tomato and onion sauce.

(e) *Dólma*—Stuffed onions like (c) above.

(f) *Kabáb*—Meat, rice and sultana rissoles.

(g) *Mahallibi*—Ground rice or arrowroot cooked in milk and flavoured with cardamum, and sometimes with chopped pistachio nuts.

(h) *Mahallibi wa Záfran*—Like (g) mixed with saffron to colour it yellow.

(i) *Harís*—A kind of crushed corn-and-meat porridge, very nourishing.

B 264 K 264

Interspersed with the above are plates of dates (*samar*), bowls of sour milk (*leben*), grapes, sections of melon (if in season), also large flat thin wafers of unleavened bread or thick round flat oven-made

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bread, common to the whole East. Very modern hosts now add various coloured jellies. B 264 K 264

COMMON EXPRESSIONS USED AT MEALS

Tafadhal or *Sammu*—Used by a host to his guests when inviting them to start eating. The first word is also used when a person welcomes a guest to his tent or into his house in town. B 264 576

B'ismi'llah—"In the name of God", spoken just before starting to eat.

Hanniyan—Said to a person who has just taken and enjoyed a long drink. The correct reply is *Allah i hanik* or *Hannakum Allah*.

Awafi—Host says to guest who has obviously enjoyed his dinner.

Allah i kathir khair ak or *ana'am Allah 'alaik*—The equivalent of "thank you". A guest formally offers thanks after a meal to his host.

Hanni wa 'a'afia or *mal Allah wa malak*—The host's formal reply to his guest's thanks.

THE RITUAL OF COFFEE MAKING

All over Arabia the elaborate ceremony of coffee making is the sign the guest is welcome and honoured above all men by his host. A 272 576

From the highest to the lowest this making and offering of coffee is the first duty of a householder, whether he be a town- or tent-dweller, when entertaining a stranger or an acquaintance.

In Egypt and the north of Arabia, and especially in the towns of Syria and around Mosul, Western civilisation and Turkish influence have long ago had their effect and coffee is normally offered in small Western-made cups, full to the brim and standing in neat little saucers which are brought round on a tray, the guest helping himself. Such coffee, following the Turkish fashion, is sweetened, is purposely mixed with grounds and has a regular scum on the top. It is quite properly known as "Turkish coffee", and we see it often in London and Paris restaurants. The making of this coffee needs but a short description. A 272

An ordinary, small-sized, brass coffee-pot is filled with cold water, about half a pint, and to it are added two tablespoonfuls of ground coffee and one and a half tablespoonfuls of castor sugar. It is then put on the fire. When the mixture comes to the boil the contents of the coffee-pot froth up and would overflow, but the coffee-maker takes the coffee-pot off the fire and, holding it by the handle, taps it three or four times sharply on the side hearth, so causing the froth to

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151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Jumuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival.
609 But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give
574 away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and
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30; Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

156 609 conditions, singly or in combination, cause the attitude of individuals or groups to differ in degree. As a general rule nomads who range habitually on the fringes of alien civilized areas are more dangerous to encounter than those habitually withdrawn in the wilds. Thus, the northern and western constituents of the great Anazah group are less safe to visit than the Shammar. Other contingent circumstances may make particular groups yet more hostile—if, for example, they range near the political frontier of two alien powers, as do the eastern Sinaitic groups; or in a difficult mountainous country, like the Huweitât and Huteim east and north of Akaba; or where shelter and water can be obtained in hidden rocky recesses, as among the Beni Sakhr in the southern trans-Jordan region; or in insalubrious low-lying tracts such as the Yemen Tihâmah, or the southern part of Hasa, or the eastern part of the south coast, which account for the evil repute of the Zarasik (*Dhardsig*), the Ahl Murrah, and the Qara tribes respectively.

Certain of the inland tribes, however, have reputations as bad or worse, and in their case one must look for peculiar causes. The ill fame of some groups of the Harb, for example—of one group especially, the 'Aul sub-tribe of the Maarûh section—is probably due to temptation long put in their way by the pilgrim routes, where these pass through a lean region debated between two powers. The repute, again, of the Qahtân, reckoned by the popular voice the most savage of Bedouin groups, may be accounted for by their seclusion and isolation along the northern fringe of the impenetrable Southern Desert. It is possible, however, that in both these instances report is worse than fact—in the one, because it is the well-known pilgrim route that has so often suffered, in the other because the northern Bedouins, who chiefly inform European minds, know very little about the group in question. It is common talk, [266] *for example, that some of the Qahtân tribes are cannibal.* On investigation, this imputation is always passed southward to the next group, till it finally fades away into *terra incognita.*

One word of caution, however, must be uttered about such cut-and-dried tribal reputations. They have not, in some cases, been always the same. The Huteim, for instance, who have a bad name for robbery now, used to be esteemed among the most inoffensive of nomads—almost on a par with the despised but universally tolerated Sulubba. Some one familiar with the desert talk of the moment should always be consulted before the desert itself is entered.

609 577 621 The least suspicious and most trustworthy Bedouins are, naturally, those of the largest and best-knit tribes, especially such as form part of a federation under the central authority of one of the

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment. 272 252 915 514

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet. 291

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten. 312 515 782 262 [437] [241] [251 471]

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin 264 562 000

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[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks. [826]

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival. But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious
609 and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give
574 away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

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Sa Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly accurate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so frequent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty. Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine because water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for such a purpose. The men apparently go without washing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected. There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

21c Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
Bedouin MJ4 115

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments [illegible] whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East Bedouin M34

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

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Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

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lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

As we neared the large tent, the merry "ringing" of the coffee mortar bade us welcome. Malla Sulumeh, scribe to Sheykh Tai', conducted us within.

A considerable number of tribesmen were gathered in the roomy tent. As usual, the favourite falcon of the *sheykh* stood perched on a camel-saddle.

A slave removed the bird and placed cushions on the saddle for us. The coffee-cook poked apart the pieces of glowing desert roots on the hearth and poured between them dried camel dung from a fold of his cloak. He blew energetically on the hard nuggets, the size of walnuts, until small bright flames commenced to dance all over them. Then a large, beaked can was placed on the glow and it was not long before the coffee-water boiled and bubbled over. "Revive thy spirit!" said the every-ready cup-bearer as he offered me the aromatic cup.

Previously he had, in accordance with Bedouin practice, conscientiously wiped out every cup with the sleeve of his old shirt. Adroitly he held in his other hand four small china cups without handles, like so many eggs in a nest, and jingled them lightly one against the other.

The coffee made the round. The favoured guests, whom the Negro served first (unhappily I belonged to them) were the victims of especial politeness; before pouring the coffee, he spat first into the cup and wiped it dry with his shirt sleeve. Three times had I to endure this rite at the hands of the punctilious coffee-priest, who waited on us with the utmost solemnity on each occasion. Only then might I waggle the cup between my finger-tips in token of thanks and satisfaction and hand it back to him.

Slave Babies

Only shy little Barrak comes up
to Amuba's side and cuddles up in her arms. She loves him almost more than her own daughter. She kisses him and fondles him, and allows him to put his head on her shoulder and gaze up at me with wide eyes. Amuba is pathetically fond of her two slave children. They are only five and three respectively. Such love and such tenderness would make the brains of those busybodies whirl, who talk so glibly of the cruelty and horrors of the slave problem. How is it done? The answer is simple. These babies, the sons of her stalwart slave, 'Abdullah* (bought originally from Rannia and married to a freed 'Ajman slave woman), call out every womanly instinct in Amuba. They are the offspring of her own property. They are hers to prize and cherish. She even opens up her gown† and offers her breast to little Barrak who is fidgeting somewhat. "There, keep quiet, *ya Aadaila* (little sweet one), will you," she says, "and let us hear news from Abu Sa'ud."

272 415 Presently Salim comes back again with the coffee-pot, and the special cups which he has brought back from Riyadh, little white and yellow-ochre ones, unknown among the people of Kuwait. With pride he once again offers me coffee. "The cups? Oh yes, they are from Riyadh. I brought them back for Um Sa'ud (my wife), when she returns from England." "The year has been a good one, *Al*
231 *hamdu 'l Illah*," he proceeds. "The camels are fat and their humps are so round you wouldn't recognise them." "Nay, Abu Sa'ud", chimes in Amuba, "you would not know Fatha except for her nose ring. She has such a big hump now that a saddle cannot be put on her. And congratulate us, thirty-six lambs have been born in the last ten days, and Zahra's (my daughter's) brown ewe which was a baby two years ago has had her first lamb also, her first-born, so sweet and soft. Run and fetch it, ya Hussa." The lamb is produced and much admired. Its wee tail is duly weighed in my hand to see if it has got any fat on it. "And now you must come and see our baby camel", and away I am taken by the womenfolk to the back of the tent where a dozen she-camels are standing. They have just come in from water, and are waiting to be milked and bedded down for the night. The baby-camel is next caught and brought to me. It is wonderfully tame, and holds

* He died the following year (1935) after returning sick from Mecca.

† If an Arab woman suckles her little slave child, that child can never be sold as a slave. It is henceforth free and her own.

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

342. (1) "Spread out the tent *yo 'ahyal*" (O my people) (from its rolled up position when taken off the camel's back).
(2) "Stretch out the ropes *yo ouldd*" (O children) (so that they are at right angles to the tent).
(3) "Anchor the rope ends in the ground *yo fulan wa fulan*" (O So-and-So).
(4) or "Drive in the pegs and wind the ropes round them *yo Nasir*."
(5) "Tighten the ropes *yo Hasan, yo Walid*."
(6) "Take a pull on the end ropes *yo Marzuk, yo Nasir*."
(7) "Affix the *mujadar*" (front-side, support-poles.) This is done on side away from wind.
(8) "Raise the centre poles"—the men's job.
(9) "Raise the back side poles and remaining end side poles."
(10) "Now lay to and take a pull at all the ropes once more."
(11) "Now *rawwaga al bait*, i.e. attach the *ruag* or back and side curtains, and cover the lower edge with sand to keep them down."
(12) "Now affix the *gita* or partition curtains."
(13) Lastly, "Spread out the carpet and the *dawdahah* and get ready the women's and men's portions of the tent". Women's quarters centre and left (*marqad al harim*), men's quarters right (*marqad al rijal*).

The tent is now fully pitched and the women place their treasures and stores in the centre portion of the tent, including their litters (*mahar, giba*, etc.), sleeping gear, blankets, food, etc., and transfer to the end compartment the cooking pots, cooking utensils, etc., turning it into a sort of kitchen.

MEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

342. 379 In the men's portion of the tent are then unrolled a well-worn carpet or two, the best *dawdahah* (mattresses), to sit on, and the master's own camel saddle covered with white or black sheepskin. Pillows (*masanad*) are placed on both sides of this camel saddle, and also behind it for the guest's back to rest on, and generally the place is turned into a neat guest chamber for anyone who may [411] come. The master now hangs up his rifle on a hook attached to the 415 tent pole in the guest chamber, and prepares a fireplace to make coffee 272 in the centre of the floor by digging out a shallow circular hole (*wajdr*). This done, he gets out his row of three coffee pots (*dalla*), also a fourth "stock" pot, and lays them alongside the fireplace, together with the *mahmasa* (coffee roaster) and *yad al mahmasa* (coffee-berry stirrer).

Women's Quarters

Last of all he places in position the *ahar finajin* (brass case for coffee cups) alongside the *yed wal hawan* (brass pestle and mortar), the *mahamrad* (wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans), the *mukhbir* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee), the *lifa* (coir piece to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and finally the *mukhbir* (incense burner). All is now ready to receive a guest, except that the actual coffee beans, the cardamum seed to mix with the coffee, the firewood (*'arfaj* bush) and the *jalla* camel manure (in place of coal) and the drinking water, is round in the women's part of the tent or outside it, and will have to be fetched. 415 272

As a guest is seen arriving these last necessities are brought and by the time he sits down, firewood, *jalla*, etc., all are ready to hand. 574

The scheme of things in a poor Badawin tent is the same, only everything is on a very much more modest scale—in fact, according to his purse.

A man leaning on the guest saddle is said to be *murtachi*; if he leans his back against a cushion (*mamad*), he is said to be *mutarawad*. If he tells a story he sits cross-legged; when eating he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel; his eating hand works outside his right upright knee; when he washes his hands he squats with knees wide apart. 586

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

Women and servants (if any) carry all cooking utensils, etc., into the women's apartment and cooking portion of the tent, the heavy baggage and bags containing rice, flour, dates, salt, sugar are stored up against the *gata* curtain dividing the women's front the men's apartments. The camel saddle-bags are then hung up on the tent poles, as well as other odds and ends, including the owner's spare rifle and ammunition. Red *lahafs* or quilts, which take the place of blankets, are then rolled up and placed on top of the stores, and the woman of the house and her daughter's decorated *mahars* (litters) are placed in a prominent position on the other side of the tent, so as to be seen by passers by. 415 251 352 353

Not the least important of the women's treasures are the spindles (*magiqal*), with which the womenfolk in their spare time spin camels' or sheep's wool. These they are for ever whirring, whether on the 283

264 up also and wash their hands 'n token of having finished. The result is that to avoid having to leave the table hungry, guests learn to bolt their food in most harmful style.

272 The favourite drinks among sheep-owning Badawin are *leben* (butter-milk) and *roba* (thick curdled milk). The shepherd tribes (Shawâwi) prepare their *leben* from sheep's milk, the camel tribes (Bédûn) from camels' milk. The latter has to be boiled first, before it is shaken up in skins. Normally a camel-owning tribe will give a guest plain camels' milk to drink. *Leben* is not often offered.

Camels' milk has no cream on it, and so butter can be got from it. It is a purgative, and should be taken in moderation by European travellers or persons not used to it.

MEALS

A Badawin lunch or dinner

264 252 Among the Badawin proper the banquet of a shaikh is served on a large, round, tinned copper tray (*sanîya*) on which is piled up, a foot high, boiled rice covered with yellow gravy made from the fat of the sheep, and on top of all is placed a boiled young sheep or lamb (always a male). If the shaikh happens to favour Najd manners and customs, the tray will stand on a pedestal (all in one piece) called *sanîya abu kursi*; this is shaped thus:

and translated means "The tray, father of the chair". The whole is now placed on a *sifra* or circular mat, corresponding to our tablecloth.

The Badawin call the cooked rice *'eysh* and the whole sheep *dhabîhah* or *salli* (lamb). Both are cooked rather crudely and for our taste there is usually far too much *samn* or *dehen* (clarified butter) mixed with the cooking. The meat is usually rather tough, unless a young lamb happens to have been killed. Nevertheless, if you are 264 hungry this form of banquet tastes remarkably good. The most tasty bits of meat and the tenderest are the strips along both sides of the

Tit-Bits

backbone, the muscles of the shoulders and the muscles of the leg near the knuckle: the tongue, the kidneys, the cheek bits and the eyes, are also well-known delicacies. The fat of the tail is always looked upon as the guest's particular right. The Arabian sheep is of the fat-tailed variety unknown in England. Round the central dish of rice and meat, the shaikh places two or three bowls of *laben*, with lumps of rather dirty butter floating in it—also a plate or two of dates. The guest, after finishing his meal, drinks *laben*, and then turns to the dates, which he eats with the butter floating in the *laben*. These dates and butter, especially if the dates are fresh (*rasal*), are delicious. 264

Prior to the meal, and after the meal, coffee is handed round. Among the Badawin coffee is rather a poor and watery stuff, and following the Najd fashion is made with lots of *hail* (cardamom) in it. After lunch, it is polite to thank your host with a *Allah i kathir khair ak* or a *'An'am Allah 'alaik* (God increase your good works! or God reward you!). 264 272 576

It is also quite correct to make pleasant remarks about the good cooking of the housewife, and if you catch a glimpse of her, as you often may behind the *qata* or curtain dividing the women's from the men's quarters, you may say *Allah i kathir khair ich ya ma'aqila* (God give you plenty, hostess of mine!). The lady will always reply with a *hawai wa 'a'afiah* or *'alaikum al 'a'afiah* (may you be satisfied!).

Having enjoyed the shaikh's hospitality, you leave after taking coffee, and the relatives, young men, big children, etc., eat up what is left of the meal: it is always amusing to see these hang back in pretended shyness, as if to say, "You know I never came here to get a meal", when the host invites them to come forward and partake with a *Yalla ya flan, gam*, or *Yalla ya rabe'a gam*, or *Thafadhala ya awlad*. He usually has to do this several times and in a rather injured voice. 264

The host of course does not eat with his guests, but later with the members of the family. It is always seemly for the guest, if he be a prominent person like a shaikh or Political Agent, to bring a present of rice, coffee or sugar with him for the tent. This gift he presents in casual manner before he leaves: if he wants to win more praise, he will also have brought with him materials for half a dozen frocks for the 574 481

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins III 34

224 A tribesman entered the tent with the information that the chief's[1] hunting-party was returning.

It was a wonderful sight as the horsemen drew up. There were about seventy of them, with hares, gazelles, and bustards hung over the withers and cruppers of their mares. A pack of greyhounds had been unleashed and they immediately sought the shade of the tent, where they stretched themselves out with heaving flanks and hanging tongues. Several slaves got up and brought them water, which they lapped up thirstily. Meanwhile, the riders had dismounted, and unloosing the casting-leads of the hooded falcons, set each bird on a padded perch before the rug of the *sheykh*.

622 576 Tai', on alighting from his horse, passed into the women's apartment. After a while he appeared before us. In honour of his guest, he had girded on an old sabre.

We all stood up and greeted him. Ali came forward and kissed the *sheykh's* hand, and pressing it to his forehead, said in his extravagant manner:

"Ya Muhafut—O Protector! God grant thee long life, most magnanimous of all Arabs!"

Then Ali presented me to the *sheykh*, who embraced me. With simple and grave courtesy he said:

"Peace be with thee."

With a polite movement of his hand, he indicated to me my seat and I sat down.

[576] After we had settled in our places, Sheykh Tai' rolled a cigarette and lighted it between his own lips before he handed it to me.

622 Our host was a man nearly as tall as Ali, but very slender and small-boned. Rarely have I seen such refined

1 [Sheykh Tai' of the Tai' Bedouins -- Analyst]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI1

CHAPTER XV

Smoking

B 276 Speaking generally, the Badawin of Central and North-East Arabia do not smoke. This is mainly due to the Wahhabi influence of Najd, but partly also because the rank and file cannot afford the luxury of a smoke. In a country where life is so hard, and 90 per B [511] cent of the population are permanently hungry, this is to be expected.

B 276 185 From 1919 to 1929 and during the revival of Wahhabi-ism under the name of 'Ikhwanism, the tribes of Najd who all became good members of the Brotherhood, eschewed smoking as a direct temptation from Satan. (I am not here referring to the Iraq desert tribes or the various septs of the 'Anizah or northern Shammar), and for a man to be seen smoking a cigarette or pipe in Wahhabi-land almost invariably meant death at the hand of a fanatic brother. In the province of Hasa, and especially among the Bahárana of Qatif and Hufuf, Bin Sa'ud allowed smoking as far back as 1920, provided it was indulged in in the strict privacy of the house. That Bin Sa'ud himself was broad minded on the subject may be seen from the fact that in 1919, when I visited him in Hufuf, he sent me round a box of Egyptian cigarettes by the hand of Dr. 'Abdullah Damluji, with a request that I should smoke only in private. I, of course, played the game according to the local rules.

K 276 In 1929, when I first came to Kuwait, the shaikh asked me as a favour not to smoke in the streets, as smoking offended some people's susceptibilities: this was shortly after the 'Ikhwan attacked their northern neighbours and made wild efforts to impose their beliefs and customs on the tribes of Kuwait and Iraq.

B 276 185 After the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929-30 against Bin Sa'ud, a revulsion of feeling appeared to have taken hold of the Badawin world. On all sides men began to speak disparagingly of Bin Sa'ud, and of his methods, and many bright souls openly took to

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI
Bedouins MJ4

smoking again: this was, however, more a gesture of defiance than a desire for tobacco.

By 1935 the vice of smoking had once more taken hold of those Badawin who could afford to indulge it, and even in Najd proper hundreds of Bin Sa'ud's own servants, *fidawiyah*, and even members of his own family, smoke openly to-day.

This renewal of smoking does not mean that there is any sort of revulsion against religion. Far from it—it only means that the Arab realises that the theory that smoking is a sin does not hold water. "Why not stop me drinking coffee?" he says, "it is an equally noxious drug and equally harmful to man."

None of the Shaikhs of Kuwait smoke; this is undoubtedly due to the strong influence of Wahhabi-ism on Kuwait in the past. They offer cigarettes to their guests, however. Neither I nor other Europeans in Kuwait ever smoke in the streets during the annual Fast of Ramadhán.

B 276 135
B 276
K 276 622

Poisoning

485 man when Shaikh Mahruth demanded that the ordeal by fire be
486 resorted to. I should have liked to agree, to see how it worked, but couldn't very well accede to the request, so released the man, much to Shaikh Mahruth's disgust.

POISONING

682 Despite the difficulty of proof, it seems certain that poison is used
• 278 pretty extensively in some parts of Arabia (especially the towns)
[369] to remove an inconvenient person, such as a private adversary or possibly an unpleasant husband.

Rulers like the Āl Rashīd, Āl Sa'ādun and Āl Sa'ud have certainly used this method in the past, when out to get the better of their political opponents, but I am glad to record that never has it been suggested or hinted (even by his enemies) that the present great ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, H.M. King 'Abdul 'Azīz al Sa'ud, has ever sunk to such methods.

Probably the commonest poison is arsenic, or some preparation of it. The reason of this is that its effects are rather like cholera, so no questions are asked. Post-mortems are of course unknown. Arsenic, moreover, is easily obtained in every town in Arabia, seeing that it forms the chief ingredient in making preparations for treating camel mange, and in the bigger towns arsenic mixed with lime is a favourite
[369] depilatory among better-class women.

The townspeople call poison *sim*, while among the Badawin it is known as *sapwa*.

I have been told by some of my Badawin friends that a common way of administering *sapwa* under the Āl Rashīd regime was by means of the coffee-cup. The coffee man kept some arsenic powder made into a paste on his thumb nail, and when he came to the person he wanted to poison he lifted his thumb over the edge of the cup and poured, as if by accident, some coffee over his thumb, and the poison went into the cup. The one to be poisoned drank it, later went sick, showed every symptom of cholera and then died.

An old 'Ajman shaikh told me (10th April, 1935) that when Ibn Rashīd tried to poison Shaikh Abdur Rahman al Sa'ud (the father of the present King) and his brother when they were his hostages in

A Cup of Coffee

Hall, he did so by the above method. The latter drank his coffee and 452
died shortly afterwards. The former spotted the coffee man's trick, 278
and did not swallow the coffee. He instead bent forward and under cover of his long sleeve spat the coffee out inside his plate and on to his chest. His chest was burnt where the coffee fell, so also was his mouth. He bore the chest scars to the day of his death.

The story is, I believe, true, though the burning is unconvincing and is probably a Badawin embellishment. If true, it suggests that an acid of some sort was mixed with the arsenic.

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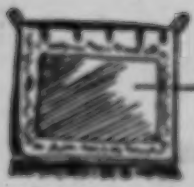
BEDOUINS 1954

495
[281]



MIZÚDA (all leather for carrying dates)

JIFFAR al TUFAQ

MIRAKA (all leather)

JIFFAR al TUFAQ (all leather)

MISHÁ'AB

'ASSA

BAKURA

MIZÚDA (all wood bag)

Method of Skinning Animals

Chap. V

Under (*b*) we get the *'akka*, the *madhara* and the *jerdi*. 415

The *'akka* is the name given to a sheepskin used for storing *dakas* (clarified butter).
The *madhara* is the same but is made out of a lamb skin.
The *jerdi* is made out of a young gazelle's skin, and is used for storing coffee beans.

RADAWIN METHOD OF SKINNING ANIMALS

(*a*) *Sheep and Goats.* 231

The carcase is suspended head down, and the skin is 231
opened up behind the hind legs and under the tail by one single cut. It is then peeled off downwards towards the head. In the finished article, the opening at the neck end becomes the filling end, while the original cut at the tail end is sewn up together with each leg.

(*b*) *Camel.*

The cut is made from the head along back of neck to top of hump and down again to tail. Both sides are then peeled off in outward direction. Finally each side is removed separately by a cut along centre of belly and under the neck.

When killing a camel, the head is drawn round to one of its flanks and tied by the halter in that position. The jugular vein is then cut close down to where the camel's neck comes out of the body. This is the exact opposite to the method used for killing sheep and goats. The incision in their case is made immediately behind the jaw bone.*

When cutting an animal's throat, be it animal or bird, the invocation [773]
"Bism Illah al Rahmân al Rahîm" (in the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate) must invariably be made before the cut is made.

* Exactly in centre of the Adam's apple.

Curtain Materials

312

man goes in for handsome black and white *rugs*, while the poor man practically always confines himself to plain brown or black ones.

These four strips are sewn together and placed round the back and sides of the Badawin tent. The patterns vary slightly, some are without the second white strip. A coarse piece is woven and sewn along the bottom edge. This goes on the ground, and is usually covered with sand to weigh it down. The shade of brown varies according to the wool available.

The weaving of the tent material is largely done by the inhabitants of the towns and villages bordering on the desert, and both in Kuwait and the neighbouring hamlets of Jahrah and the Qusur a good trade is done in this commodity. This does not mean that this work is not largely done in the tribes themselves, but the best qualities and strongest materials for shaikhs' tents probably come from the towns.

Actually every humble tribal woman makes and renews the worn parts of her own tent, and only those with means go into the towns to buy. This was confirmed to me by Rida's, wife of Shaikh Thawairan abu Sifak of the Mutair in 1934, and by many other women. The best and most sought after material is made of goats'* hair alone. It is jet black and is thicker than that made from sheep's wool. It also looks better. A good and favourite material is also of goats' hair and sheep's wool mixed. It has a smoky brown and black appearance and is handsome also. A noticeable feature are the tent ropes. They are made very long, on the principle of a ship's anchor, better to take the strain. 313

* Probably the hair are made by the Beni Lam tribe near Amara in Iraq.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins M34

213 These ropes are attached to the ground by wooden pegs if the ground
342 is firm, but if the soil is sandy the practice is to dig a hole two feet deep, tie the end of the rope round a bundle of *'arfaj* and bury the whole in the earth. An excellent anchor is thus formed, and a rope so treated
342 rarely comes away. When a man first buys a tent, he purchases the poles separately, next the necessary rolls of tent strips of the lengths he requires, then the *gubas*, ropes, side poles, etc., and lastly the back curtains.

He then hands the tent strips to his women, who start sewing them together under the experienced eye of one of the older women. Much skill and care is needed to sew up a tent so that it stands straight and does not give way at any of the seams, which are carefully drawn together and sewn with extra-strong all-goats'-hair thread.

After the tent roof has been put together the *sawrija* (plural: *saw'ij*) have to be sewn on from side to side on the underside to support the poles and take the strain of the ropes. These are extra-strong white-and-black patterned strips 6 inches in width (like the Indian *sawar*). Immediately over the spot where the roof bears on the tent poles, two strips of wood are sewn into the tent roof, each 1½ feet long, so as to prevent the tops of the poles tearing open the roof. Each wooden strip is called a *gaba*. These wooden strips are not evident to the naked eye as they are rolled sausage fashion into the tent roof where the centre strips join. Each pole is placed exactly under the centre of the wood, and when in position does not damage the tent cloth. In the north proper holes are made for the tops of the poles in the tent ceiling, but not so among the tribes of Hasa and Nejd.

Lastly the *rishak* (plural: *arsal*) or semicircular wood fasteners have to be sewn on to the ends of the *sawrija* on which the ropes are fastened to the tent sides. This is a very important operation, as there must be no weakness here. The ropes (always thick hempen ones) are now tied to the tent and everything is ready for pitching.

342 The pitching process is always done by the women, assisted by
462 servants and slaves, occasionally also by a young son. It is supposed to be the women's particular job in life. The head of the family (*rai al bait*) directs the operation, and it is surprising to see how every person has a particular task allotted to him or her, knows it and sticks to it at every tent-pitching. The daughters of the house, for instance,

Women's Quarters

Chap. IV

Last of all be places in position the *shar finjān* (brass case for coffee cups) alongside the *yed wal hāwen* (brass pestle and mortar), the *mahrrad* (wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans), the *mukhbir* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee), the *lifa* (coir piece to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and finally the *mukhbir* (incense burner). All is now ready to receive a guest, except that the actual coffee beans, the cardamum seed to mix with the coffee, the firewood ('*arfaj* bush) and the *jalla* camel manure (in place of coal) and the drinking water, is round in the women's part of the tent or outside it, and will have to be fetched. 415 272

As a guest is seen arriving these last necessities are brought and by the time he sits down, firewood, *jalla*, etc., all are ready to hand. 674

The scheme of things in a poor Badawin tent is the same, only everything is on a very much more modest scale—in fact, according to his purse.

A man leaning on the guest saddle is said to be *marwaki*; if he leans his back against a cushion (*mawad*), he is said to be *mawawwad*. If he tells a story he sits cross-legged; when eating he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel; his eating hand works outside his right upright knee; when he washes his hands he squats with knees wide apart. 58

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

Women and servants (if any) carry all cooking utensils, etc., into the women's apartment and cooking portion of the tent, the heavy baggage and bags containing rice, flour, dates, salt, sugar are stowed up against the *gata* curtain dividing the women's front the men's apartments. The camel saddle-bags are then hung up on the tent poles, as well as other odds and ends, including the owner's spare rifle and ammunition. Red *lahafs* or quilts, which take the place of blankets, are then rolled up and placed on top of the stores, and the woman of the house and her daughter's decorated *mahawi* (litters) are placed in a prominent position on the other side of the tent, so as to be seen by passers by. 415 251 352 363

Not the least importance of the women's treasures are the spindles (*magkwal*), with which the womenfolk in their spare time spin camels' or sheep's wool. These they are for ever whirling, whether on the 285

Spinning and Weaving

283 march or on camel back; indeed, the *mughal* would seem to be almost part of the *Badawiyat*. The method of spinning is as follows:

The spinner keeps the wool she is spinning under her right arm, or in her bosom, while with her left hand she prepares the wool to be spun some two feet in length, ties it to the lower end of the spindle pole, and thrusts it under the hook fixed to the top of the spindle head. Next she raises her left knee (she is sitting at the time) and, placing the lower end of the spindle pole on it, she sharply twirls the spindle handle on her knee with an outward move of the palm of her hand. This causes it to spin sharply. Next moment she holds the spinning spindle aloft in her right hand by means of the wool. When this latter has got a sufficient twist on it, she winds the completed wool round the underside of the spindle head. The other most important article of the
286 women's quarters is the hand loom (*nasu*) on which all the cloth parts of the tent are woven or replaced. Mother or daughter keeps the loom in constant action: they are never idle, these desert women. Treasures
415 such as money, coffee beans, cardamom, sugar, salt, silks and special holiday attire are kept by the housewife locked up in a small tin or wooden box. The key of this she always keeps on her person, and tied to a portion of her head veil or *milfa*. This key is one of the first things that catch the European's eye when talking to a Badawin woman.

Close to, but outside the women's quarters, and away from the guest compartment, lie the filled water-skins (*gurab*), which for coolness' sake are always placed on a thick mattress of *'arfaj* bush. Near these are kept:

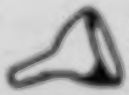
(*c*) The small leather bucket and rope (*dalla*) for drawing water out of wells, with or without the cross-piece of wood in the centre to keep it open, and

(*d*) The large leather bucket or bath (*kaudl*) standing on its curved wooden legs, from which camels and sheep drink. Both *dalla* and *kaudl* are usually bought by the owner of the tent when he comes up to Kuwait or other town to do *mashbiat*; in the same way he buys his goat water-skins which have to be renewed fairly frequently.

(*e*) The still larger camel water-skin or *rdwi* for conveying water from wells that may be distant.

Last, but not least, the *mijabab* (or *mijrad*) with gunskin hanging

MERJARAH



MAHDAW

SAHAN

[illegible]

[illegible]

MAGHRABAL

MAGHRAL or MORTAR

[illegible]

[illegible]

682
283
554
291

Abdullah Bin Faris, Sheikh of the Bin Hilf tribe, plays a game for use at Wednesday souk. Both sheiks do not think it beneath their dignity to help with watering and other everyday tasks.

p 398 (A)

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Bedouins 1434
Muntafiq

villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of confederacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a titular position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

Dickson G-4 (1919-47) [illegible] MLI Kuwait
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CHAPTER IV

The Tent and its Furnishings

A Badawin tent or *bait al sha'ar* is made up of strips of black or brown coarse cloth known as *fale'ij* (plural: *filjat*). These are woven from goats' hair or from sheep's wool, never from camel hair, so that the name "camel hair tents" is a misnomer. The length of each strip used, and the number of such strips, naturally depends on the importance and circumstances of the owner. An average shaikh, for instance, will have a tent of, say, six extra-broad strips, each seventy feet long and supported by four poles, while a poor man may have cheap narrow strips to his tent, each twenty-five feet long, with only two poles, possibly with one.

The true Badawin shaikh does not go in for bigger tents than the one described, as his movements from camp to camp would be hampered thereby. Among the leading Shaikhs of the 'Anizah and Northern Shammar, such as ibn Sha'alan, ibn Hathal, Ajil al Yarwar and also among Arabian princes like the Al Sa'ud, the Shaikhs of Balwin, Kuwait and Qatar, tents of enormous size are the fashion. These, however, are practically used only when the owners are going out for the spring months to certain standing camps, from which they will sally forth and hunt gazelle, or hawk *hubara*. They would never be used for migration purposes.

To return to the tent: the strips are all sewn together so as to form one long rectangular whole, and are then raised up on the tent poles (*'amadat*) and the sides stretched taut by means of tent ropes (*anadi*).

The tent is then divided, usually by two or three long and gaily decorated curtains, known as *gata* (pronounced *gata*), which hang on the tent poles inside the tent to a height of some six feet from the ground. They have their ends attached to the roof at the back of the tent, and to the roof and the tent ropes on the open side respectively.

Each *gata* has one of its ends especially gaily decorated (see drawing of

283 march or on camel back; indeed, the *mughal* would seem to be almost part of the *Badawiyah*. The method of spinning is as follows:

The spinner keeps the wool she is spinning under her right arm, or in her bosom, while with her left hand she prepares the wool to be spun some two feet in length, ties it to the lower end of the spindle pole, and threads it under the hook fixed to the top of the spindle head. Next she raises her left knee (she is sitting at the time) and, placing the lower end of the spindle pole on it, she sharply twirls the spindle handle on her knee with an outward move of the palm of her hand. This causes it to spin sharply. Next moment she holds the spinning spindle aloft in her right hand by means of the wool. When this latter has got a sufficient twist on it, she winds the completed wool round the underside of the spindle head. The other most important article of the
286 women's quarters is the hand loom (*sana*) on which all the cloth parts of the tent are woven or replaced. Mother or daughter keeps the loom in constant action: they are never idle, these desert women. Treasures
415 such as money, coffee beans, cardamom, sugar, salt, silks and special holiday attire are kept by the housewife locked up in a small tin or wooden box. The key of this she always keeps on her person, and tied to a portion of her head veil or *milfa*. This key is one of the first things that catch the European's eye when talking to a Badawin woman.

Close to, but outside the women's quarters, and away from the guest compartment, lie the filled water-skins (*gawal*), which for coolness' sake are always placed on a thick mattress of '*arfaj* bush. Near these are kept:

(*a*) The small leather bucket and rope (*dalla*) for drawing water out of wells, with or without the cross-piece of wood in the centre to keep it open, and

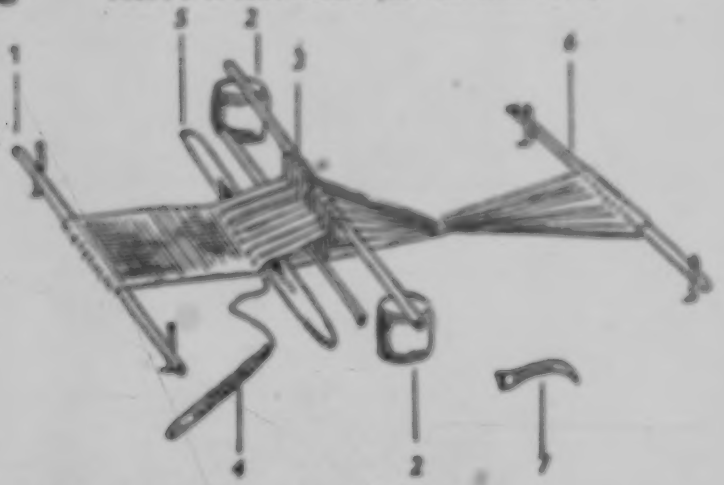
(*b*) The large leather bucket or bath (*hawdh*) standing on its curved wooden legs, from which camels and sheep drink. Both *dalla* and *hawdh* are usually bought by the owner of the tent when he comes up to Kuwait or other town to do *mandilah*; in the same way he buys his goat water-skins which have to be renewed fairly frequently.

(*c*) The still larger camel water-skin or *rawi* for conveying water from wells that may be distant.

Last, but not least, the *mijlakah* (or *mijwal*) with goatskin hanging

CAMEL CARRYING *DHALLA* ON THE MARCH

NATTU or MATTÁRDI (the Tent Hand-Loom)



1. *Al raw*—wooden rod holding the end of the threads.
2. *Marakib*—circular wooden supports holding up the *Mayar*.
3. *Mayar*—wooden rod holding up threads.
4. *Mishe*—shuttle.
5. *Mishiga* or *Nesha*—flat piece of wood for tightening up the threads of the woven fabric.
6. Piece of wood known as *Ga'ak*.
7. Gazelle horn, *Midibak* used for pulling down thread when weaving.

854 used by the northern Badawin of Arabia, who carry their children on their shoulders or, when travelling, on their hips. The *miḥbá* is not to be confused with the *habába*.

Habába—Baby's hammock for use inside tent. It is slung between two tent poles. Especially favoured in the north.

242 *Hail*—cardamom seeds for putting in coffee.

Masmár—cloves, for putting in coffee.

Zafráan—saffron, for putting in tea and coffee.

492 *Shinkar*—hooks on each side of the *makar* to hang women's saddle-bags on.

THE LOOM—MATTÁRIH, NATTU OR SADI

236 The loom gear consists of seven pieces which altogether are known as *mattárik*.

(1) Piece of wood known as *ga'ab*.
(2) Shuttle known as *mirka*.
(3) Tightener known as *mishiqqa*.
(4) Piece of wood holding up threads known as *minyar*.
(5) Circular wooden supports of *minyar*, known as *marakib*.
(6) Piece of wood holding ends of threads known as *al ras*.
(7) Gazelle horn for pulling down threads known as *middrak*.

SKIN CONTAINERS

416 These consist of:

(*a*) Water skins.
(*b*) Skin bags for storing *dehen*, coffee beans, dates, etc.

Under (*a*) we get the *rawi*, the *thilaithi*, *minán* and common *qirba* (*jirba*).

Rawi is the generic term for a water receptacle made out of a camel's skin.

Thilaithi is the name given to a water receptacle made out of one half of a camel skin doubled over and sewn together.

Minán is a gigantic water receptacle made out of the two side skins of a camel sewn together. They are always very water-tight.

Qirba is an ordinary water skin made out of a whole sheep's or goat's skin which is peeled off the animal. The best and most lasting are made from goats' skins (males) and cost in the rough about Rs.2/8 each. Sheepskins do not last.

St Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

Es Harrison D-4 (1912-1954) 1954 MI Middle East
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NOMAD BEDOUINS

facing p. 24

Jr Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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mere trifle. Probably the only part of the outfit that would have any commercial value at all is the black goat's-hair tent, which afords a poor shelter from the cold in winter and from the heat in summer. And along with extreme poverty there goes an astonishing lack of any sense of cleanliness or order. The tent of a Bedouin could be little more disorderly if it were taken by some giant hand, shaken like a dice box, and the contents allowed to rest where they fell. The furniture consists of few things and poor. There are the remnants of one or more cotton stuffed quilts. These are both bed and bed clothes. There are a few skins to hold drinking water and a few skin basins. Some shaped sticks are tied together to make camel saddles. The outfit will also include a copper kettle for the cooking of food, a battered coffee pot for the making of coffee and usually a wooden bowl. This bowl, which may be the only eating utensil belonging to the household, has probably never been washed in its history. At times milk is drunk out of it, and at times rice and meat are eaten from it. The grease with which it is covered has long since exceeded the absorption limit of the wood and for years has been plastered on to the outside. Under such circumstances the prevalence of disease excites no wonder; the wonder is that many maintain excellent health.

The Bedouins clothes are a loin cloth beneath and shirt above, which shirt resembles a loose nightgown and reaches to his ankles. Over this is worn an old disreputable *aba* or cloak, in cut resembling nothing so much as a college gown. All of these are usually in a state of great disrepair and show an acute need of laundering. The town Arabs, who look with scorn on the desert Bedouin, assert that when he buys a new undershirt, he puts

Sc Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 MI Middle East
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it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly accurate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so frequent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty. Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine because water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for such a purpose. The men apparently go without washing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected. There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

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BEDOUIN WOMEN

facing page 80

Sc Hamburn D-4 (1912-1954) 1954 MI Middle East
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A BEDOUIN SHEIKH

facing p. 158

True Bedu coffee is strong, drunk without milk or sugar but favoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the "wine of Islam", and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labne*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samnu*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 1154

hands and feet in a man,—in fact, his whole appearance was arresting. 622

For a Bedouin, he had an unusually pale complexion, set off by a brilliantly black beard and raven locks. He preferred to dress almost entirely in black. His Arab head-cloth, sandals, and soft camel-hair cloak were black, as well as the wide shawl wound round his waist. Even his mare was black, a rare thing, for most Bedouins hold black horses in disfavour. Headstalls, halter, saddle, and saddle-cloth—all were black, relieved only by delicate silver embroidery and a few silver ornaments. His silver-hilted sword, too, was carried in a black scabbard. 622 291 [825]

Sheykh Tai' was vain. He loved arms and horses, but above all he adored his little son, Farhan. According to Ali, he had not much affection for his wives, who were reputed to be beauties; but he was proud of them as he was of all his possessions—his great herds and extensive lands. 622 157

The Tai's Bedouins kept relatively few camels, but large numbers of sheep and goat, which suffer much from the depredations of wolves in winter and spring. Sheykh Tai' told me that these nimble-footed robbers from the inaccessible retreats of the Turkish Mountains had come down again into the snow-free lowlands. They had already attacked exposed Bedouin camps and caused great damage, although the watchful herdsmen had been continually on guard. 233

Sheykh Tai' was, like Nimrod, a "great hunter before the Lord", and liked nothing better than to be riding abroad. On the eighth evening after our arrival, he 224

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

493 stallions from various Bedouin tribes in the Euphrates.

Their kind is found everywhere in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Almost invariably the *Akhayl* hail from Anayza and Buraida, two large oasis-towns of Kasim in the heart of Arabia.

[497] During spring they[1] travel among the nomad Arabs and barter rice, coffee, sugar, arms, munitions, and gold [493 for camels and colts. Bedouins have only begun to sell 177] mares since the arrival of the automobile, which has displaced the horse for raiding purposes.

These traders travel unmolested throughout Arabia and they pay the *sheykh* of the tribe from which they purchase animals a small sum for the privilege of pursuing their business. Each trader has his own special tribe which he visits every year.

721 On the second day, when we came on some rain water left in the rocky hollows of a *wadi*, we decided to rest awhile and let our mares drink their fill. We had hardly dismounted when two strange Bedouins on horseback suddenly appeared. Ali jumped on his mare's back at once, and deserting me and our animals, galloped away in the opposite direction from which the Bedouins had come, obviously seeking cover.

"A *ghazu!*" he yelled, as he rode away.

The two strange Bedouins were armed. They were obviously not traders, as Ali had immediately perceived. More horsemen appeared and they began to fire at Ali and myself. My "Powerful" protector, ducking low over his horse's neck, made a comical picture. The hostile [291] Bedouins were Fid'an, as I knew from their striped shepherd's cloaks. To defend ourselves was useless, as we

1-[The Akhayl or camel and horse traders--Analyst]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

K 701 at Wafra, so I am going to enquire his reasons for being there. Ibn Shaja'an has the unsavoury reputation of being cruel and overbearing to the Badawin, and like so many of his type—though a Mutairi by origin—he has been bred in Hufuf, and has imbibed many of the harsh characteristics of his master, 'Abdullah bin Jiluwi.* It is a [K 157] curious fact that cruelty, conceit and a generally objectionable manner often spoil the character of a tribesman who for any length of time lives in a town.

K 132 We leave Kuwait at 12.30 p.m., and after a car run of 2½ hours we reach Araifjan. There is a cool *shamál* blowing, but B [291] in spite of moving with it, I need a sweater and *furwah* (sheepskin-lined, long Badawin cloth cloak with sleeves, fashionable among the 'Anizah and Northern Badawin). At 3 p.m. I catch the first glimpse of my camp. It is on the right of the rough track, and half a mile south of one of my previous camps of the year before. K 137 The tents are pitched among the thick *'arfaj* bushes which are a feature of Araifjan. Everything, however, is dry, and except for a few *gaghraf* bushes (*hamdh*) which are in full bloom, there is nothing green to be seen at all. No, I am wrong, for in the salty patches there are splashes of emerald green *harm* (also one of the *hamdh* family) which show up strangely in the dry countryside.

B 361 My camp of black hair tents is pitched in a long line, each tent facing south-east:

"A" is my tent; "B" that of my servant and huntsman; "C" is Salim's tent; "D" is Dhuwaihi's, the blind Azmi who resides with his two sons, Faláh and Násir (they are the shepherds); "E" is the tent of our *qasír* or neighbour, Sáleh, the Mutairi, who has asked permission to camp with Salim for a few days; "F" is my privy tent.

Very peaceful and quiet it all is—and I am not expected.

B 352 Suddenly we are seen, and there is much running to and fro, and carrying of *dushaks* and camel saddles from the women's quarters of Salim's tent to mine. Carpets and *galims* are quickly unrolled, the tent partitions (*qdta*) are fixed in place, and by the time the car draws up in front of my tent, everything is ready to give me welcome.

* Bin Jiluwi died on 31st October, 1935. He was according to Arab standards an undoubtedly great man, and a man of extraordinary courage. He was one of the twenty-three paladins who helped to seize Riyadh with Bin Sa'ud when the latter won his kingdom, but he was unfortunately a man without a spark of softness or mercy in his make-up.

The Badawin's Diet

511 what the world would call honest methods. Hence if he cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work [461] he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as is the case under Bin Sa'ud's regime to-day), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a "square" meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party.

262 His own food for most of the year consists of only camel's milk and a handful of dates per day. The camel-herd gets even less than this.

291 The Badawin's clothes are on the same scanty scale as his food, a thin cotton *dishdásha* (smock), replaced only when it falls off his back with age, and a threadbare *'abba* (cloak), *kaffiyah* and thin rope *agál* (head cloth and head cord), are all he has to cover his ill-nourished body. Yet all this makes for toughness and hardihood, and the average [132] Badawin seems made of steel. The lack of warm clothing is probably the hardest thing in life that he has to bear, for in winter the temperature often falls below freezing point, and the winds are of ice, and cut the body through and through. I have never in my life felt so cold as in the desert a hundred miles inland of Kuwait when a *yáhi* or *jabali* 262 wind has been blowing in December or January. Yet in spite of the 574 hard life, the Badawin is never in danger of actual starvation or of dying from want. His *ahl* (family) would never permit this, nor would the system of affording three days' hospitality to all and sundry —such a splendid feature of democratic Arabia—allow of a man reaching such straits. A person who is down and out, without a penny to his name, would in reality be far worse off in London than in Arabia, where he could always hope to find a black tent or two to sponge on.

[181] A Badawin's dream and ambition in life is to possess about a dozen 231 camels, next a wife, and afterwards a mare, half a hundred sheep and a *salúqi*—I am, of course, assuming that he starts with a rifle and a *dhalúl* (riding camel). Give the desert man these essentials and he is a made man, for both camels and sheep double themselves in three years. Any male lambs that are born, he kills for food, the females he

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

342 it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
515 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier
514 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

515 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
233 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

492 When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jamal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family
[291] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *maksars* or *ginns*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalúls*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *nauwakh al dhalúl* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

701 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
221 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalúls* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*sbúr*) have

Men's Clothes

Chap. V 492

(r) *'Assa*—camel stick (made of cane).
(s) *Bakúra*—camel stick (cane).
(t) *Miẓúda*—the small bag made of wool or leather for carrying money, *hail* or small quantities of dates when a man is travelling alone.
(u) *Risan*—camel's halter.

FALCON'S GEAR 223

(See Chapter XXVIII on Hawking)

(v) *Burqa*—hawk's hood.
(w) *Wakar al tair*—hawk's stand.
(x) *Dasma al tair*—falconer's glove.

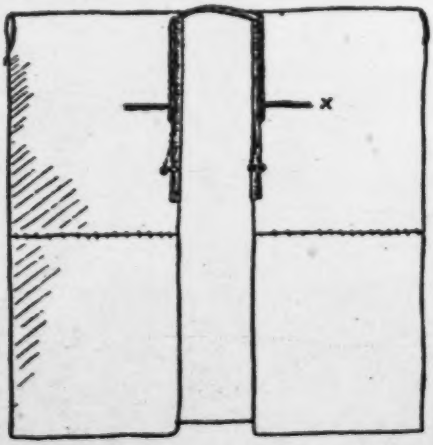
NOTE.—Other articles of furniture connected with a *well-to-do* person's tent are the— 352

Mattrah (plural: *mattarah*)—mattress for guests to sit on.
Mafrash—carpets to spread on floor.

We have also the various forms of firewood found in every tent, rich and poor alike. These are known under the general terms of— 372

Jalla—camel dung.
Hamdh—a pungent-smelling bush giving a fine white ash.
'Arfaj—a well-known bush found all over North-Eastern Arabia.

MEN'S CLOTHING 291



'ABBAH

'Abbah or *Bisht*—made of finely woven sheeps' or camels' wool in two pieces. Texture can be superfine, thin, coarse or thick according to means of weaver. Round neck and down both fronts (shaded portion) is fine gold embroidery ending in a couple of tassels on both sides. The horizontal gold braid (x) indicates that the *'Abbah* is of type worn by shaikhs of Kuwait. Colour—all shades of brown verging on to black.

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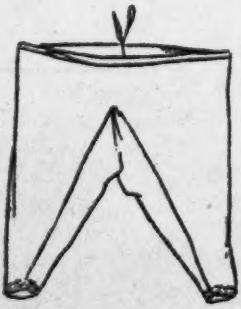
Bedouins MJ4

291

THAUB SHILLAHÁT

DÁMIR (black and gold)



SIRWÁL

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FARWAH

Farwah—gaudy coloured and braided cloak for winter wear. Made of black and blue cloth picked out in scarlet, green, mauve or maroon cloth. Braiding is pale yellow and black. Inside of cloak there is a lining of black or white lamb skins, the former commonly preferred. An extremely warm and comfortable garment. Worn by shaikhs and well-to-do Badawin only.

Thaub Shillahát—white smock with long, wide sleeves.
Dishdásha—similar to last, but with tight-fitting sleeves.
Zibún—a superior kind of *dishdásha*. It is open down the front from top to bottom and is so amply cut that one side folds over the other (dressing-gown fashion). The *zibún* is held in place by two pairs of little strings, one inside and the other outside.
Dámir—sort of Zouave jacket in black and gold. Worn by men.
Sirwál—loose Badawin trousers worn by both men and women.
'Agál—the head-cord which holds the *kaffiyah* in position.
Kaffiyah—the head-cloth worn by Arab men.

DAGGERS

411

Khúsa—dagger with single cutting edge, used for defence purposes and for cutting throat of gazelle, sheep, camels, etc.
Jiffar al khúsa—scabbard for *khúsa*.
Huárdhi—miniature *khúsa*, used for cutting throat of *hubara* and other game birds.

The *khúsa* is affixed by buckle or stud on the inside of the belt bandolier; the *huárdhi* is similarly fastened on the inside of the shoulder bandolier.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 . MI 1 Kuwait
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MUTLUQ AL SUR
A typical Mutairi Shaikh

page 122 a.

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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THE LATE HILLAL AL MUTAIRI
Pearl Merchant of Kuwait

page 122 b.

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AMSHA

page 144a

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Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER IX

Women's Secrets

THE BADAWIN WOMEN'S CLOTHES

B 291 K 291

Like her sisters the world over, the Badawin lass is vain and loves above everything to deck herself out in fine clothes. Though she has not the same opportunity as her town sister of showing off her finery, she still manages to attract in her modest way. Let me enumerate her various garments and give a short description of each.

Thaub—The black cotton overgarment.

Dishdásha—Long-sleeved dress of coloured cotton, flannelette or silk worn under the *thaub*.

Sirwál—The long coloured cotton trousers, tied with a cord round the waist and fitting close above the ankle.

'Abba—Black woollen cloak, generally bound round the edge with black silk, which is worn by every Badawin woman outside her tent if men are in the vicinity. *'Abbas* sewn with gold thread are only worn on *'Id* days or when calling on important women.

Umm Raugella—The black cotton cloth worn over the hair and hanging down over the neck of the *thaub*, consisting of four pieces joined together.

Milfa—A straight piece of transparent black cotton cloth used to cover the face of town women, and worn by Badawins in the north to hide the lower part of their face.

*Burqa** (locally pronounced Burga)—The black *jeṭṭ* (coarse silk) mask with slits for the eyes worn by all Badawin women south of Kuwait and in Najd proper. It hangs down over the mouth and neck, and is kept in place by three cords, two round the head and one round the neck. A well-made *burqa* is very becoming and shows the eyes off to great advantage.

A somewhat long form of *burqa* is worn by Mutair, Harb, 'Utaiba, Sbei, Rashaida, Bani Khalid, Beni Hajir and 'Awazim women. (Speak-

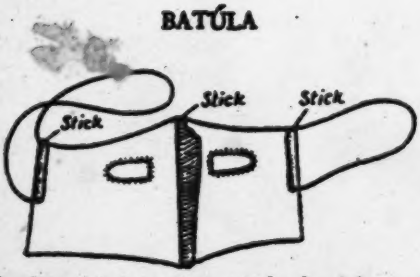
* On the island of Failaika the women wear a stiff cloth mask known as *banilá*. The same is also seen on the Trucial Coast of Oman (see sketch).

: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

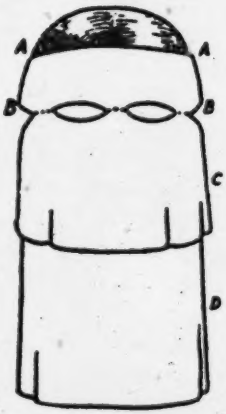
ing generally, by tribal women of east and central Arabia.) The 'Ajman women, on the other hand, wear a shorter form which ends just below the chin: some sections also sew a tiny stick, vertical fashion, into it on the centre of the forehead. The 'Ajman usually make their *burqas* of a sort of black mercerised cotton or shiny silk. The 'Ajman fashion is followed by the Murra, the Manasir and to a modified extent by the Badawin women of the Trucial Coast.

The northern Badawin never cover their women's faces with the *burqa* (or double cloth mask with eye-holes) as is done further south. All that is required is that a thin black veil (*milfa*) be drawn across the

BATÚLA



BURQA



The Burqa is bound round the head by continuous cords at A and B. C gives a double thickness to veil D which stretches up under C as far as eye-line.

lower features and mouth. Speaking very generally, Badawin women south of a line Akaba–Kuwait wear the *burqa*, those north* of that line cover the lower part of their faces only.

Zibún—A long coat opening right down the front. (Worn only by wealthy women of the town).

Bukhnug—A black cotton head-dress worn by girl children on holidays and festivals up to the age of twelve or thirteen years. It fits tightly under the chin and has its edge embroidered in gold thread round

* This statement is not quite correct as the Shammar, some of the Hijaz tribes, the 'Utaiba, south of the line do not wear *burqas*, and I understand that certain tribes in the North-West, notably the Bani Sakhr, Howaitat, Bani Attiya, do not even wear the *milfa*.

The Sulubba of course never wear the *burqa*, but at most the *milfa*; more often than not their faces are wholly unveiled.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

B 291 K 291

the face and down the front, or sometimes with a cheaper gold braid which is sewn on.

Women in the desert make most of their own clothes; they possess no scissors or thread, but tear up the cloth (using teeth) and sew with thread taken out of the cloth. Their usual scale of measurement is from thumb to first finger extended and from eye corner to eye corner (outer edge).

The year 1935 saw the fashion introduced among town ladies of Kuwait only of *saujar* or short knickers in place of the *sirwál* trouser for women. The word is a corruption from our word "soldier", and the pattern of the *saujar* is based on the khaki shorts worn by our troops in tropical countries.

WOMEN'S JEWELLERY

B 301 K 301

The list given below includes articles of jewellery worn by both town ladies and Badawin women. Wahhabi influence inhibits the use of gold among the Badawin. Their ornaments therefore are of silver only. Those articles marked with an asterisk (*) are not worn among the Badawin. *See coloured plates between pp.* 640–641.

Ring for little finger is known as *khamṣar* } silver (or gold) ring set with large
Ring for third finger is known as *wasat* } square or oval turquoise stone.

Rings, thin, in silver or plain gold (three in number) for second finger are known as *al marámi*.

One silver ring on forefinger with large square turquoise setting called *al shâhid*, is worn only by well-to-do women.

Bracelets of large amber beads—*khasir*—are universally worn. Mixed coloured bead bracelets are known as *dalag*.

Bracelets of large red coral lumps—*mirjân*—are particularly fashionable among Dhafir women.

A collar of small coloured beads with five chain metal drops in front—*ma'ainna*—is very popular with 'Ajman, Mutair and Dhafir women.

Nose-ring—*khaṣâma*, small gold, or silver with two pearls and two turquoise.

Nose-ring—*fraida*, large-size universally fashionable among the Badawin. It also has pearl and turquoise mountings like the smaller nose-ring.

**Zarâr*—Gold medallion picked out in turquoise worn in middle of neck. (Very common among Muntafiq women.)

**Khashil*—Necklace made of gold coins of varying sizes called *sankh* in Kuwait.

ɨ Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

291

THE SISTER OF SHAIKH FAISAL AL DUWÍSH
OF THE MUTAIR

page 160b

l; Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

Exclamations

Chap. IX

PRETTY CUSTOMS AND EXPRESSIONS AMONG WOMEN

B 192

(*a*) *Expressions of astonishment* (at seeing or hearing something startling).

Ya kabdi kabda—Oh! my liver. (Especially 'Ajman women.)
Ya galbi galba—My heart of hearts. ('Ajman women.)
Yummah!—Oh Mother!
Ybbah!—Oh Father!

Men have one very common expression, "'Allâh" pronounced with a long drawl on the final "a". This when they have seen or heard something really surprising or wonderful.

(*b*) *Expressions of affection.*

Ba'ad aini aini—Oh my eyes, my eyes.
Ba'ad galbi galbi—My heart, my heart.
Ba'ad ruhi ruhi—My soul, my soul.

(*c*) *Woman's expression of impatience.*

Ya waili waila—E.g. "Come here Nura, the English lady wants to speak to you, why don't you hurry you foolish one, *ya waili waila*, what is the matter with you!"

(*d*) When the head of the house, or a son, returns from a long journey or from the pearl-banks, the woman of the house hangs up on a pole, with a cross-piece to it, one of her best and most brilliantly coloured *thaubs*. Among townswomen, this is hung up on the roof of the house, for the world to see. In the case of Badawin women in the desert the pole is placed in front of the tent. This custom is almost similar to that observed when an important shaikh or personage is expected to arrive at or pass a camp, and the Badawin ladies desire to show him welcome.

K 201 B 201

The custom is known as *raiyat*.

(*e*) Another pretty custom is to show to a guest at a tent, or big man passing by and staying for coffee, a baby that is just born, when for luck he gives into its little hand a rupee or riyal.

B 574

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The statement often made that a bride never shows her face to her Arab husband is not exactly correct. As often as not the husband forcibly

B 834 291

Sex Indulgence

834 removes the *burqa* or mask from his bride's face on the first night.
●291 She invariably tries to keep it on for about ten days or so out of modesty. His Majesty Bin Sa'ud, however, told the writer that he had had, he supposed, some four hundred wives during his life, but had never seen the face of any one of them. He presumably referred to his many Badawin brides, whom he married usually for a night or two, and then divorced them. This is a custom common among important shaikhs, and involves no disgrace at all to the girl or to the
586 man. Should a child result from these one-or-two-night marriages, the shaikh or big man gives the mother a salary till the child is four or five years old, and then the child is taken away from the mother and placed in the father's house. During this nursing period the mother must not marry. If she does, the child is at once taken away and given to a wet nurse. The Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, Al Khalifah princes regularly go in for such alliances among their Badawin subjects, but usually take away at an early age any children that may be born.

515 Both man and woman must have a complete bath after sexual
833 intercourse. This is a precept of religion, and the wildest Badawin must conform to this rule. Even though only a small bowl of water may be available, the whole body must be washed all over.*

841 During her monthly periods a woman is forbidden to have inter-
515 course with her husband for full seven days. When the menstrual period is over, a woman is unclean until she washes all over; this is called "washing her hair" (*ghussal al ras*).†

833 During Ramadhan (the annual thirty-day fast) sexual intercourse is forbidden by day, but not by night.

It is no exaggeration to say that sexual intercourse is loved by the ordinary Arab above all pleasures in the world. It is the one great pleasure common to rich and poor alike, and the one moment of forgetfulness in his daily round of troubles and hardships that Badawin or townsman can enjoy. Men and women equally love the act, which is said to keep man young, "just like riding a mare".

The Arab seems to possess strength above the average for sexual

* Prayer of a woman after sexual intercourse when performing ablutions: *A sali ala Muhammad wa ali Muhammad nuwaid aghsil an il janabi fi hadha al ma al jari kurbit 'Illah ta'ali.*

† When a girl reaches womanhood, she is said to be "Now washing her head".

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

291

A MUTAIRI SHAIKH'S DAUGHTER AND FRIEND OF OURS
(A well-known beauty carefully disguised)

page 192 a

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

K
291
B
291

TWO RASHAIDA LASSES UNVEILED AND
READY FOR AN 'ID DANCE

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

291

SHAIKH RIDDAN AL SÚR OF THE MUTAIR
(A notable 'Ikhwan leader)

page 256 a.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

291

JUNAIFIR BIN HAWAILA OF THE 'AJMÁN

page. 256 b.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Mi 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MU

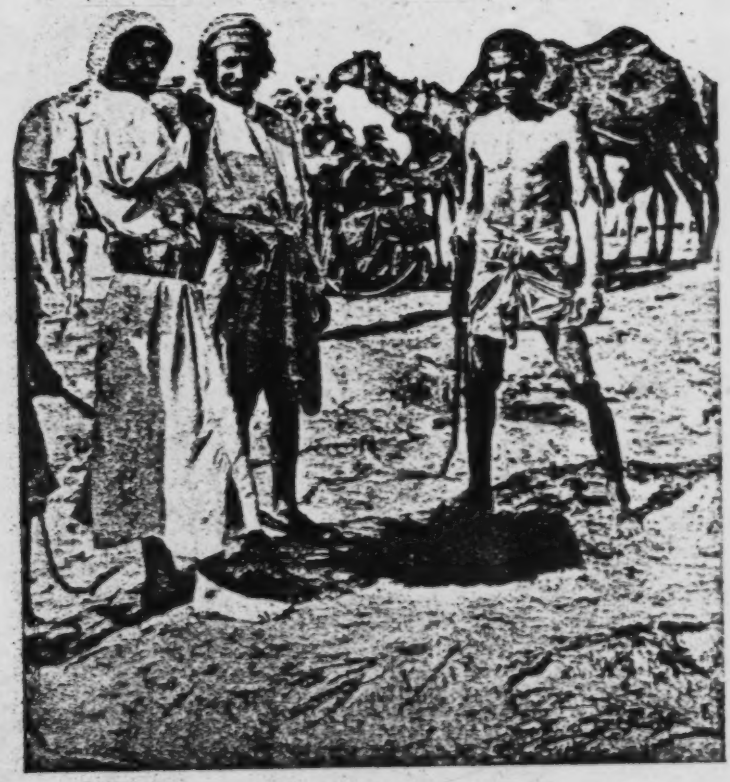
291
302

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD AL BADR AL DUWÍSH
(One of the chief Mutair leaders)

page 288 b

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Badouins MI4

223
291



SBEI TRIBESMEN WATERING CAMELS AT SUBAIHIYAH

page 384 d.

1. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

565 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-
619 Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.
[142] In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a
[361] large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

582 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his
595 people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are
565 in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs,
619 some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shennut is the Shaikh of the Mutair Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aithif is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

• 291 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

535 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of
619 the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba
174 are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4
Muntafiq

tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq 721
al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough 713
breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October 221
of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the 233
southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole 462
of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of 484
the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys [432]
laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in [291]
contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the [854]
march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

Appendix I

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Saud in 1929–30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under ibn Musaiyis, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength. 721

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Bin Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Bin Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929–30 have already largely replaced shortages. [713]

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Bin Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the 'Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Bin Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Bin Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Bin Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929–30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following: 669

(*a*) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.

(*b*) The confiscation by Bin Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Shuruf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They own the famous breed of *Krush* horses, and up to the 1929–30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of. 726 231 291 562

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929–30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon. 619

'Ajman (Singular 'Ajmi) 619

Paramount Shaikh—Ibn Hithlain* (from Shaikhly Clan al Ma'idh, subsection Najiah). 101 622

* Is also pronounced Hathlain.

Appendix I

713 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

186

(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of 291 rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious 562 feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

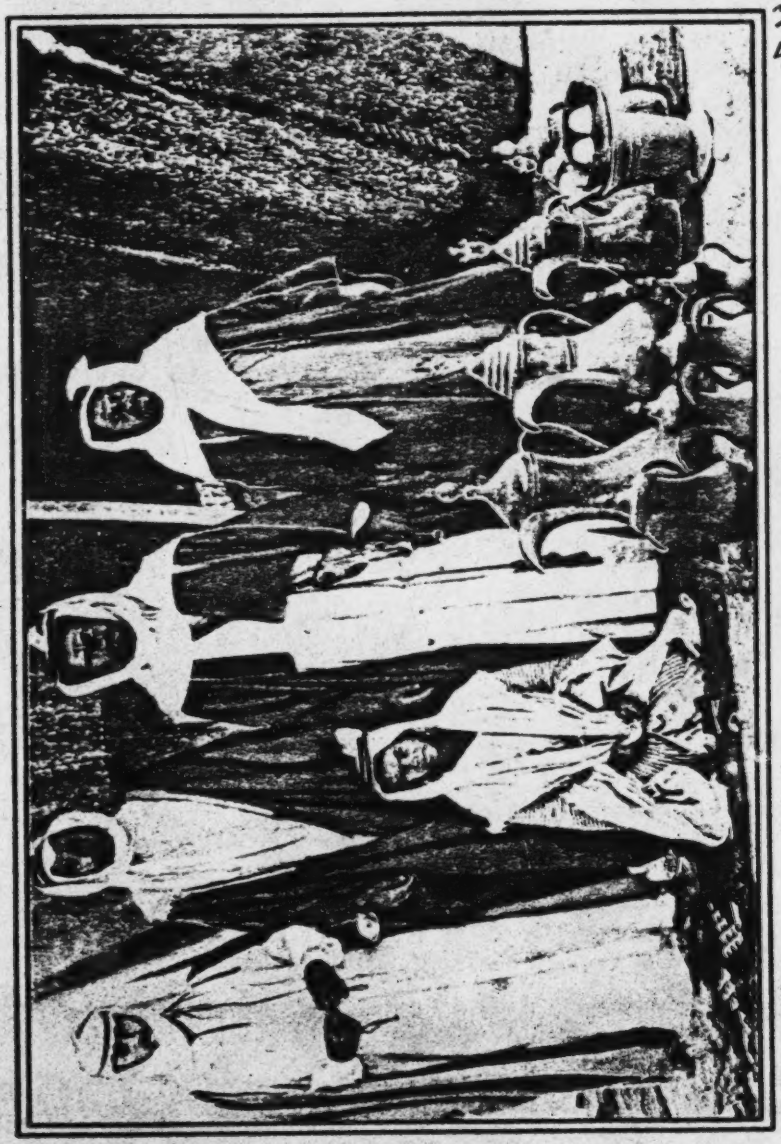
619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929–30 'Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the 'Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ4



A Bedouin shaikh's set of coffee pots

291
415

p.40 (c)

25. Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJI Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

192
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P 394 (A)

25: Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

342
291
415

P 396 (A)

[CAPTION APPEARS ON P. 396 (B). ANALYST]

25: Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

142
262
291
342
415

(Above) *One of the small black Arab tents pitched near Manwakh well. This type belongs exclusively to sand-dwelling tribes and is never used on the steppes or plateaux. Beside the tent stands its owner, who wears the long pointed sleeves of a Western Arab; in front, placed upside-down, is a leather trough from which his camels are watered. Round the Manwakh encampment romped Arab children, a hardy lot: even in winter months, when the desert cold is intense, the little girls wear* (left) *only a fringe round their hips. The children are fed mainly on camels' milk and harridge or bread made of millet obtained from the more sedentary sections of the Sa'ar tribe*

P 896 (B)

622
283
554
291

Abdallah Bin Nura, Shrikh of the Bin Ma'aruf, plaits a rope for use at Mawakh well. Bedu sheiks do not think it beneath their dignity to help with watering and other everyday tasks

P 398 (A)

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
581 leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
415 either end of the rope which runs over the
[46] pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full
the other descends empty. Men and women
draw together on the well-ropes, four or five
to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel
herds arrived and the serious work of watering
began. Great leather troughs supported on
crossed wooden hoops were set up by each
family around the well. Soon there was no
room for more watering parties, and late-
comers had to wait their turn. The buckets
rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs
about which the thirsty camels pushed and
thrust while their calves frolicked around.
Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran
in and out among them, driving away camels
which did not belong to them, and restraining
the more impatient of their own. Others
scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite
beasts, while they sang them their watering
songs to induce them to drink deep. When
they had drunk they were couched nearby, to
be watered again later in the day, before
being driven back to pasturage. Round the
well-mouth women filled their water-skins,
which then lay swollen and quivering upon
the ground, guarded from the trampling feet
of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad
only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined
freely in the constant jests and laughter.
Among them was a tall girl of startling
beauty. She had come down to the well early
in the day, carrying a water-skin and accom-
panied by her young sister. The centre of a
happy laughing group of lads, she dallied
here till the evening.

574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink
coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet
69 differed from them in their dress and way of
life. They wore indigo-dyed loincloths and
wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion
among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin
Ma'aruf were clad like the Northern Arabs in
long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell
nearly to the ground. They were returning
to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days'
[241 journey to the south. Floodcrops of sorghum
312] and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
guarded by numerous stone-built forts and
watch-towers, which look out across the deso-
609 late rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited
by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of
the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for
treachery.

F. 100 (A)

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life [262] of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, 291 463 his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

433 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work 231 for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 During the last ten years, the desert belong- 178 ing to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the polic when they are beaten or abused.

563 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism 797 721 in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst

4: Serjeant U-3 (no date) 1942 ML1 Yemen ML1 Bedouin MJ4

Norman Lewis

(Left) *Tribesman from the coastal region of the Yemen.* (Right) *Yemen beduin, with eyelids darkened with antimony powder (kohl)*

Y 142 291

B 142 302 291 y 162

p. 70 (N)

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

B 515 K 515 effect by turning the lips saffron-red. This is more commonly used by townswomen than by their Badawin sisters.

DRESS FOR THE HAJ

K 788 292 B 788 292 Just as the man wears the *'ihrám*, a white loin cloth and white shoulder wrap when performing the pilgrimage, all Arab women must wear a special costume* when they enter the precincts of Mecca on pilgrimage. This consists of

(*a*) Green *sirwál* (pantaloons).
(*b*) Green *thaub* (muslin over-dress).
(*c*) Green *dishdásha* (frock).
(*d*) Black *'abba*.
(*e*) *Milfa* (veil).

K 765 When a woman, especially a townswoman, is in mourning she also wears green clothes.

HENNA AND ITS USES

B 302 K 302 The use of black henna (*saumar*) for the soles of the feet and hands, and red henna (*hinna*) for the tips of the fingers and toes is universal among *hadhar* townswomen. The Badawin girls use only red henna and then only to decorate their hands, finger nails and toe nails. They do not decorate the rest of their feet. Usually the henna is applied three times, so as to get the right shade. The henna is powdered and mixed with water till a fairly liquid paste is made. It is then applied very thickly and carefully, with a wooden stick, on the hands or feet in accordance with the pattern desired. It is then allowed to dry quickly in front of a fire until the paste cracks and falls or is picked off. This is done three times, or four if a very dark colour is required.

Some women prefer that the henna markings should be black, especially for the feet. To arrange this, another paste is made from powdered lime (*núra*) and powdered crystal ammonia (*shanada*) and is applied over the orange henna markings. At once the orange mark-

K 841 B 841 * If a woman has her period when she enters the sacred precinct of Mecca to perform the Haj, then her pilgrimage is null and void, as she is considered unclean. Several Arab ladies of Kuwait have enquired from the lady doctor when about to go on the Haj, if she could give them medicine to delay periods when due.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

visit the grave of a dead relative once he has been buried. Even the shaikhs' graves suffer like neglect, and in the great cemetery between the Naif gate and the Jahrah gate inside the wall, few can point out the graves of Shaikhs Mubarak, Jabir and Salim, the last three Rulers of the principality. There is nothing at all to distinguish their tombs from those of any man and woman who has been buried in the same place. It is interesting to know that Shaikhs Muhammad and Jarrah, slain by Shaikh Mubarak, lie in the *Safát* or Market Square of Kuwait with nothing to indicate their burial place but a few stones flush with the ground. B 769

The washing of dead bodies in Kuwait is carried out by a regular body-washer (*ghassál*), male or female as the case may be, who is immediately sent for on a death taking place. This person is very business-like and gets to work at once. Persian (Shi'ah) men are washed in a room adjoining the mosque, while women are taken to special buildings provided for this purpose. The body-washer places the nude body on a large wooden table and pours water over it in quantities. Then with a gauntlet of coarse wool which he puts on his hands, he scrubs the corpse all over with soap and water, sousing it over and over again with copious douches of water. After this procedure he dries the body well, and dresses it up in its new white cotton shroud, or perhaps assists members of the family to do this. For preference the washing is done after dark, but this is not obligatory. k 764

Among the Badawin when a woman's husband dies, the widow keeps herself shut up in her tent, and wears a green undergarment. She goes out only when all strange men are out of sight; she must cover her hands and feet with a sort of glove and sock when she moves with her family; this is known as *háddad* or *háchim* (*tahádddád* or *taháchim*—she is mourning). B 765 292

OTHER INTERESTING POINTS CONNECTED WITH A BADAWIN DEATH B

(*a*) In the desert water is usually dropped into the mouth of a person about to die. 763 764

(*b*) The eyes of the dead person are not closed as in the West.

(*c*) The Badawin greatly dislikes having to bury his own dead. If he can, he will get some non-Badawin, a settled Arab for instance, if one is

5; Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

000 611 312 356 mere trifle. Probably the only part of the outfit that would have any commercial value at all is the black goat's-hair tent, which affords a poor shelter from the cold in winter and from the heat in summer. And along with extreme poverty there goes an astonishing lack of any sense of cleanliness or order. The tent of a Bedouin could be little more disorderly if it were taken by some giant hand, shaken like a dice box, and the contents allowed to rest where they fell. The furniture consists of [352] few things and poor. There are the remnants of one or more cotton stuffed quilts. These are both bed and bed [415] clothes. There are a few skins to hold drinking water and a few skin basins. Some shaped sticks are tied together to make camel saddles. The outfit will also include a copper kettle for the cooking of food, a battered coffee pot for the making of coffee and usually a wooden bowl. This bowl, which may be the only eating utensil belonging to the household, has probably never been washed in its history. At times milk is drunk out of it, and at times rice and meat are eaten from it. The grease with which it is covered has long since exceeded the absorption limit of the wood and for years has been plastered on to the outside. Under such circumstances the prevalence of disease excites no wonder; the wonder is that many maintain excellent health.

291 The Bedouins clothes are a loin cloth beneath and shirt above, which shirt resembles a loose nightgown and reaches to his ankles. Over this is worn an old disreputable *aba* or cloak, in cut resembling nothing so much [291] as a college gown. All of these are usually in a state of great disrepair and show an acute need of laundering. 369 The town Arabs, who look with scorn on the desert Bed- 291 ouin, assert that when he buys a new undershirt, he puts

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 MI Middle East
Bedouin M54

it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly accurate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so frequent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty. Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine because water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for such a purpose. The men apparently go without washing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected. There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

B 291 K 291

the face and down the front, or sometimes with a cheaper gold braid which is sewn on.

Women in the desert make most of their own clothes; they possess no scissors or thread, but tear up the cloth (using teeth) and sew with thread taken out of the cloth. Their usual scale of measurement is from thumb to first finger extended and from eye corner to eye corner (outer edge).

The year 1935 saw the fashion introduced among town ladies of Kuwait only of *saujar* or short knickers in place of the *sirwál* trouser for women. The word is a corruption from our word "soldier", and the pattern of the *saujar* is based on the khaki shorts worn by our troops in tropical countries.

WOMEN'S JEWELLERY

B 301 K 301

The list given below includes articles of jewellery worn by both town ladies and Badawin women. Wahhabi influence inhibits the use of gold among the Badawin. Their ornaments therefore are of silver only. Those articles marked with an asterisk (*) are not worn among the Badawin. *See coloured plates between pp.* 640–641.

Ring for little finger is known as *khanṣar* } silver (or gold) ring set with large
Ring for third finger is known as *wasat* } square or oval turquoise stone.

Rings, thin, in silver or plain gold (three in number) for second finger are known as *al marámi*.

One silver ring on forefinger with large square turquoise setting called *al shákid*, is worn only by well-to-do women.

Bracelets of large amber beads—*khazir*—are universally worn. Mixed coloured bead bracelets are known as *dalag*.

Bracelets of large red coral lumps—*sujúz*—are particularly fashionable among Dhafir women.

A collar of small coloured beads with five chain metal drops in front—*sa'aiuna*—is very popular with 'Ajman, Mutair and Dhafir women.

Nose-ring—*khazáma*, small gold, or silver with two pearls and two turquoise.

Nose-ring—*fraida*, large-size universally fashionable among the Badawin. It also has pearl and turquoise mountings like the smaller nose-ring.

**Zardr*—Gold medallion picked out in turquoise worn in middle of neck. (Very common among Muntafiq women.)

**Khashil*—Necklace made of gold coins of varying sizes called *sankh* in Kuwait.

Hair-Dressing

**Hijjil*—(plural: *hijjál*) massive anklet of gold or silver (worn above ankle). B
**Háma*—Gold cap for head, from which hangs a chain down either side 301
of face known as *tallal*. Used by brides. K
**Kitbát*—Gold drop-like ornaments hanging on strings which are woven 301
into the plaits of hair, at back of head. (These are worn by wealthy people only.)
**Mathéyid*—Plain straight gold bangles. If they are wavy they are known as *mathayid al haiya*.
**Hazzám*—Gold waistband worn over *dera'ah* or frock.
**Khuwaisat*—Thick handsome bracelets of gold, studded with turquoise.
**Gub-gub*—Gold cap worn by brides and little girls in Kuwait on festive days. It is made of small jointed squares of solid gold, each square being studded with a single turquoise. The cap is kept in place by the hair, which is threaded through loops at the back, and then braided.
Dalag—Badawin bracelet of coloured beads.

WOMEN'S HAIR

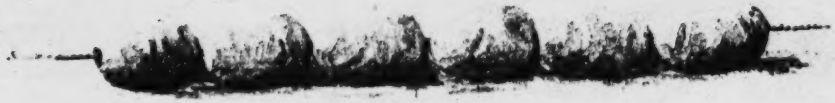
The Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Rashaida and 'Awazim women, and B
women of Central and Eastern Arabia generally, do their hair in nine 302
plaits. These are divided as follows, two on either side of the face K
which show down the side of the *burqa*, six thinner ones at the back, 302
starting from the middle of the top of the head, and one below them at the neck. The hair is washed every month, and usually redressed once a week when *dehen* (local hair oil) is put on it: sometimes a mixture of herbs—*rashúsh* or henna is also put on after. Camel's urine is a favourite Badawin hair wash, as it bleaches the hair and kills insects. The Shammar and some Mutair women use the dried leaves of *nifl* (sometimes called *hangresse*) (*Trigonella stellata*) in place of *rashúsh*. A comb (made of wood) only is used, and is called a *misht*. The townswomen use the dried and pounded leaves of the sidr tree as a hair wash after applications of henna paste.

When Badawin women dance they undo all their plaits and allow the hair to fall entirely loose.

Sim as simach (a poison used for killing fish) is also used to kill B
lice on the head. (Arsenic?) 515
K
To clean their teeth, women use a piece of the bark of a tree 515
called *darum*. This cleans remarkably well, and adds to the beauty

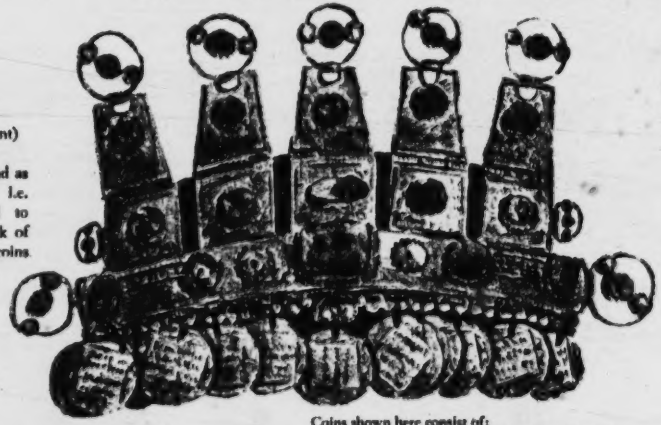
k Dickson G-6 (1929-57) 1961 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M14

301



KHUSÚR (AMBER)
(Sing: Khusir)
½ nat. size

Very commonly worn by Mutair Rashaida and 'Awazim women of the 'Arabdar or semi-nomad type. One is worn on each wrist and shows up well alongside their black garments.



GUB-GUB
(Gold head ornament)
½ nat. size

Worn on top of head as shown in plate, i.e. loops are attached to locks of hair at back of head, and gold coins hang over forehead above eyebrows.

See pages 156–7

(a) (b) (b)

Coins shown here consist of:
(a) Gulden or Ducats of the Netherlands, 1770, when an Austrian Dependency under Maria Theresa.
(b) Gulden or Ducats, 1849, when Netherlands were independent.

Austrian coinage flooded the Arab world between 1800 and 1850, and Maria Theresa silver dollars (Rials) are still specially manufactured for that market.

Authority: Sidney Smith, British Museum, Dp. 8, March 1940.

page 656 d.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

●301

DALAG

BADAWIN WOMEN'S BRACELETS

Red stones indicate coral.
Blue stones indicate turquoise.
Green stones indicate glass.
Metal portions indicate silver, gilt or gold.

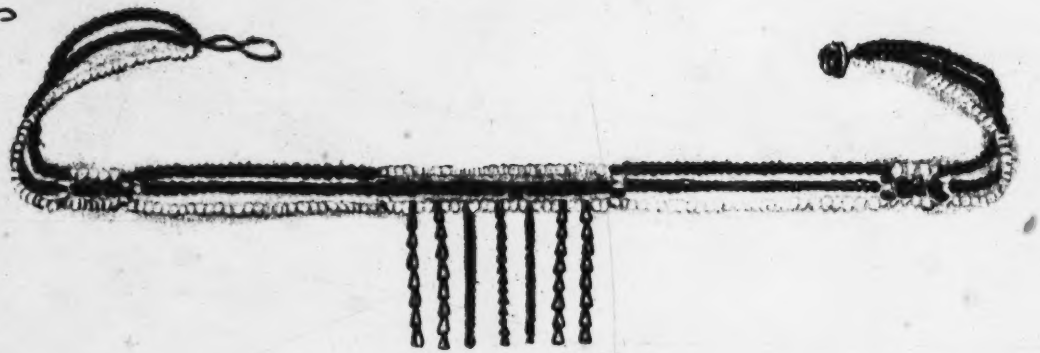
See pages 136–7

page 656 c.

L. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

301

page 652 f



MA'AIYANA

BADAWIN WOMEN'S NECKLACE

(Consisting of black and white beads with silver drop chains)

Very common

See pages 136–7

KHANJAR

HASA AND TRUCIAL COAST DAGGER

Presented to the writer by H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz as Sa'ud

(1) Mutair Badawin necklace (Galāda).
(2) Badawin woman's ring (silver and turquoise) (Al Shāhid).
(3) Pearl and gold nose ring (Khazāma), centre stones often turquoise.
(4) Gold plait pendant (Kitbāt).

page 656 8

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ4

and wealthy shaikhs, who had nothing to seek from me. Many 485
years later, I was able to acknowledge their kindness and do a very 609
little to help them.

Next morning we left the tent of Khalid and Trad, and set out 221
across the desert for the west. Before noon we came across a tribe 301
on the move, the vast flocks of camels walking and grazing slowly, the caravan of loaded camels, the shaikhs' women in gaily decorated litters ornamented with red tassels and rows of white shells, the men and boys walking or riding, and the flocks of sheep. Half a mile ahead rode the chief with the advanced guard —three camelmen and two horsemen, one with a hawk on his wrist and a greyhound trotting beside his mare. Our guide, Qasim ash Shemam, must needs trot over to them to gossip. I rode 609
parallel to the group twenty or thirty yards away. Suddenly they all looked my way, and a stentorian voice called out, "God damn the English and Ibn Shaalan who shelters them!" The infidel and the stranger were not always welcome, it seemed. It was Fayyadh ibn Jendal, a tribesman of the old school. Ten years later I was to be a close friend of his son and nephew. But the fortune of the day brought us in the evening to Melih al Ga'ga, of a family who had been themselves chiefs of the Ruwallah before the rise of the Shaalan. Here we once more met with the same cordial welcome as from Khalid and Trad. An argument arose between our host and his young son in front of the tent. We could hear an exchange of angry words between them. Qasim later informed us that the boy demanded that his father slaughter a camel for our dinner, whereas the old man said that a whole sheep would suffice. Such are the extravagancies of Arab hospitality, amongst people who themselves live perilously near to the starvation level.

The ensuing days were less eventful. A bitter north-west wind 000
howled in our faces. Sand and dust filled the air so thickly that we could see only a few hundred yards. At night we failed to find any tribal camps, and shivered cheerless in the open, beneath the gusts of stinging sand. It was not safe to light a fire for fear of raiding parties.

The camel is capable of covering great distances in twenty-four 492
hours, but the idea that the "swift dromedary" skims across the

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

369 it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are
291 ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly ac-
[515 curate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so fre-
296] quent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

515 But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty.
312 Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer
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783 before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The
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414] the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

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*Hámo—Gold cap for head, from which hangs a chain down either side 301
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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

B 515 K 515 effect by turning the lips saffron-red. This is more commonly used by townswomen than by their Badawin sisters.

DRESS FOR THE HAJ

K 788 292 B 788 292 Just as the man wears the *'ihrâm*, a white loin cloth and white shoulder wrap when performing the pilgrimage, all Arab women must wear a special costume* when they enter the precincts of Mecca on pilgrimage. This consists of

(*a*) Green *sirwâl* (pantaloons).
(*b*) Green *thaub* (muslin over-dress).
(*c*) Green *dishdâsha* (frock).
(*d*) Black *'abba*.
(*e*) *Milfa* (veil).

K 765 When a woman, especially a townswoman, is in mourning she also wears green clothes.

HENNA AND ITS USES

B 302 K 302 The use of black henna (*saumar*) for the soles of the feet and hands, and red henna (*hinna*) for the tips of the fingers and toes is universal among *hadhar* townswomen. The Badawin girls use only red henna and then only to decorate their hands, finger nails and toe nails. They do not decorate the rest of their feet. Usually the henna is applied three times, so as to get the right shade. The henna is powdered and mixed with water till a fairly liquid paste is made. It is then applied very thickly and carefully, with a wooden stick, on the hands or feet in accordance with the pattern desired. It is then allowed to dry quickly in front of a fire until the paste cracks and falls or is picked off. This is done three times, or four if a very dark colour is required.

Some women prefer that the henna markings should be black, especially for the feet. To arrange this, another paste is made from powdered lime (*nûra*) and powdered crystal ammonia (*shanada*) and is applied over the orange henna markings. At once the orange mark-

K 841 B 841 * If a woman has her period when she enters the sacred precinct of Mecca to perform the Haj, then her pilgrimage is null and void, as she is considered unclean. Several Arab ladies of Kuwait have enquired from the lady doctor when about to go on the Haj, if she could give them medicine to delay periods when due.

l; Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI
Bedouins MJ4

ings turn black and remain so for about twenty days or a month. To wash the mixture off, no soap is used, only water.

B 302 K 302

The use of henna is primarily a form of beauty culture, but for the feet especially it is recognised as hardening the surface of the skin, and rendering the soles immune to cuts and scratches.

Men employed in pearl fishing always henna the palms of their

Common henna pattern for the hand among the shaikhly ladies of Kuwait. Applied to Zahra Dickson's hand by the sister of Shaikh Hamad al Mubarak. 7.14.33

Black henna pattern used for the feet

Black henna used for the feet.

hands to make the skin hard, and less liable to blister when rowing and hauling up the divers.

In Kuwait (1935) a German black hair dye recently made its appearance. This has come into use as a quick method of applying dye to feet and hands. It is not, however, nearly as satisfactory as the vegetable product, and only lasts four or five days. The best henna comes from Mecca, and the next best from Basra.

K 302 439

BADAWIN MEDICINES AND CURES

B 757

Camel's urine—The urine of the she-camel is widely used as a purgative, also as an eye-wash and a wash for wounds. It is the common hair-wash and general tonic among the Badawin. It kills head vermin instantly.

Kahal or *kuhl*—An antimony paste which is normally used for blackening and beautifying the eyes, is applied also to the inside of the eyelids as a remedy for conjunctivitis, etc. It is supposed to keep off the sun's glare.

Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

K 548 but of course circumspectly and without the world knowing. But they have been quick to add that I must never try and persuade a nice girl to lapse. "That would be a great sin," they have said. "Thou shall not be found out" is a well-understood commandment in Kuwait.

K 548 228 735 During the absence of the pearling population, a certain amount of amateur prostitution goes on among the divers' womenfolk in Kuwait. This is not so much due to vice as to the genuine need of supplementing the family income. The advances given by the captains of boats (*naukhudas*) to the divers, and which are paid over to their families when boats go off to the banks, are so meagre that families cannot possibly live on it. These payments are known as *salaf* and *tisqâm* and are received at the beginning and end of the diving season. (See Chapter XXXVIII.)

Of recent years, and in spite of every effort on the part of the local authorities, there has been, I think, an increase in vice in Kuwait, owing to the depressed pearl trade and to Bin Sa'ud's blockade (1923–36).

Great poverty exists and even young unmarried girls have been known to sell themselves for profit, though secretly, of course. In most cases these amateur prostitutes are said to practice unnatural K 838 forms of intercourse, through fear of having a child. Another unpleasant, though I am glad to say very uncommon form of vice is to be found among widows and sexually-starved women. The Arabs call it "to have a negress woman for a husband". These vile creatures get hold of an Arab girl and satisfy her desires by cohabiting and acting the part of the man in intercourse. The method is safe, the woman is satisfied, and no questions are asked. Results for the Arab girl, however, are said to be deplorable in the extreme. She develops a depraved and absorbing affection for the negress, who becomes an overbearing, jealous tyrant and gets her protégée completely into her power. The negress is known as a *sha'dk*.

K 302 B 302 Unmarried girls never shave or remove superfluous hair from any part of their bodies, but from the day she marries every woman must religiously keep her person entirely free from hair. The well-to-do ones get this done in the public bath and use a solution of zinc and arsenic. The poor ones and their Badawin sisters pluck out the hairs by hand.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MU4

291
302

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD AL BADR AL DUWÍSH
(One of the chief Mutair leaders)

page 288 b

T 0
133 in two miles from their entrances. Thus it
502 was that the pirate tribes were able to build
721 their towns behind these natural booms, and to carry on their ruthless calling in defiance of the British and Portuguese navies — and to earn for their stronghold the much feared and romantic name, "The Pirate Coast".

TO Trucial 'Oman, as it is called today, is ruled
101 by six independent sheikhs, bound under old
631 treaties with Britain to maintain a maritime
648 truce for the prevention of piracy and slave-
628 trading. Family feuds and inter-tribal quar-
[527] relling are as common among them as are the rusty, ancient cannon. Many of the latter are no doubt from British men-o'-war, and some are still used for ceremonial occasions, a party afterwards being despatched to retrieve the cannon-balls.

TO
361 Unspoiled by time, Sharjah is one of the
504 principal little towns, but it lacks the en-
439 chantment of Dibai, a picturesque centre a few miles along the coast to the west. A wide, shallow inlet divides Dibái and its water-front of quaint little coffee-houses, and pro-

TO vides anchorage for dhows that bring trans-
443 shipped goods from other continents. In the
501 large market-place, spread on either side of
B the inlet and connected by a ferry-service of
●302 numerous little pole-propelled craft, the
411 bedouin, with his henna-dyed beard and ancient rifle, can be seen fingering everything that is on show, from modern radio sets to ladies' lingerie, but he has little use for some of the strange products of the West.

p. 191 (A)

4: Serjeant U-3 (no date)) 1942. MLI Yemen MLI
Bedouin MJ4

Y
142
291

Yemen Gov.

(Left) Tribesman from the coastal region of the Yemen, darkened with antimony powder (kohl)

(Right) Yemen bedouin, with eyelids

B
142
●302
291
Y
162

p. 70 (1)

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4
Muntafiq

TATTOOING OF WOMEN

304 Tattooing is an extremely common practice especially among the Iraq tribal women. It is less common among the Badawin tribes and rarest among those who have come under Wahhabi influence. The only tribe in Arabia proper which, as far as I am aware, never tattoos its women are the 'Ajman. They look upon the custom as disgraceful and dishonouring. The Mutair practise the custom. A whole book could be written on the subject of tattooing, for quite apart from mere beauty tattooing, every single tribe in Iraq has special tattoo marks to denote the tribe which a woman belongs to.

I recommend the study of tribal tattoo marks in Iraq to any woman who is keen to advance the cause of knowledge. She will, of course, have to examine in detail the bodies of the various young women she comes across, but with tact she should not find the task insurmountable. As an example the famous 'Abuda tribe of Shatra (Muntafiq) insist on every one of their women having one round small spot tattooed on the right cheek 1½ inches under the eye.

The following are a few tribal tattoo marks, collected by my wife in Iraq. They belong to the Ma'adan or Marsh Arab tribes of the Euphrates and to Muntafiq shepherd tribes:

A man never tattoos himself. It is *'aib*, a shameful thing.

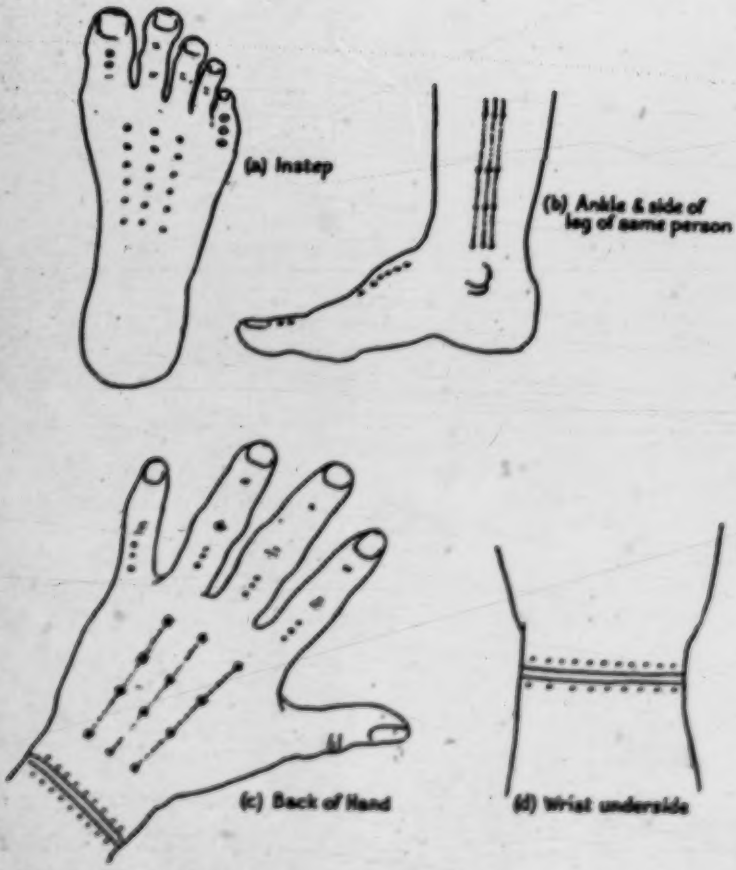
The northern Badawin, 'Anizah and its branches (the Ruwala Fida'an, Amarat, Sb'aa, Dahamsha, etc.), also the great Dhafir tribe, tattoo their women much more than those nearer Wahhabi land.

The Ma'adan or Marsh Arab tribes seem to go in for tattooing to a far greater extent than any desert Badawin, and they uncover their faces altogether.

The Ma'adan are found roughly in the triangle formed by the towns of Kerbela (on the Euphrates) and Amara (on the Tigris), and Basra, the best examples being the tribes encircling the Hamar lake. This is their home *par excellence*. In ancient days the marshes stretched from Kufa on the Euphrates down to the junction of the latter with the Tigris. To-day, even though the Northern Ma'adan have lost their marsh lands, they still retain their ancient customs, and their old name of Ma'adan, e.g. Fatla, Bani Hassan, etc., round Kufa.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

A FATLA (MA'ADAN) TRIBAL GIRL OF THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES 304
(Habitat Abu Sukhair, Iraq)

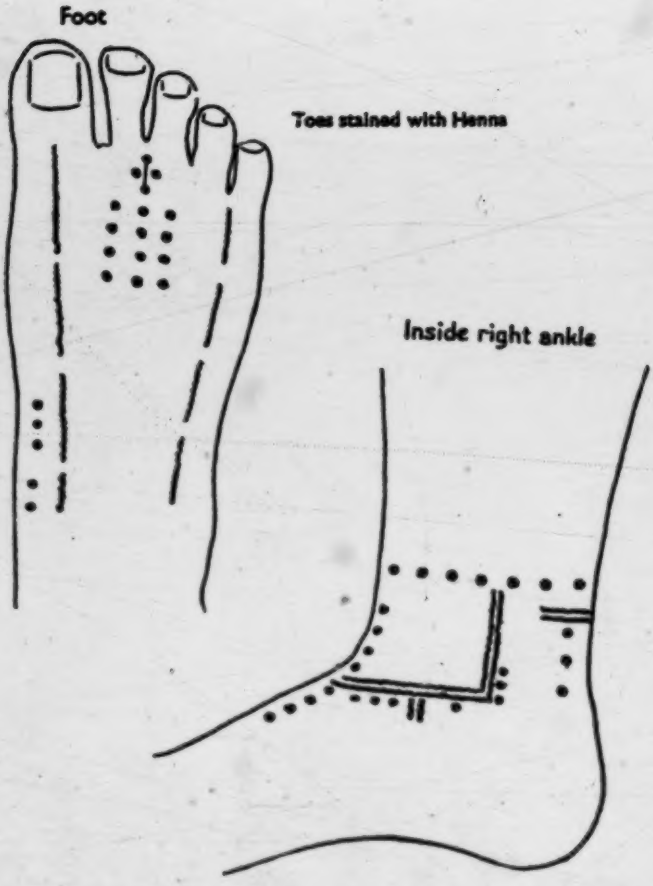


Nails stained with Henna

[From Ms, 10.9.23]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

304 ANOTHER FATLA GIRL OF MIDDLE EUPHRATES

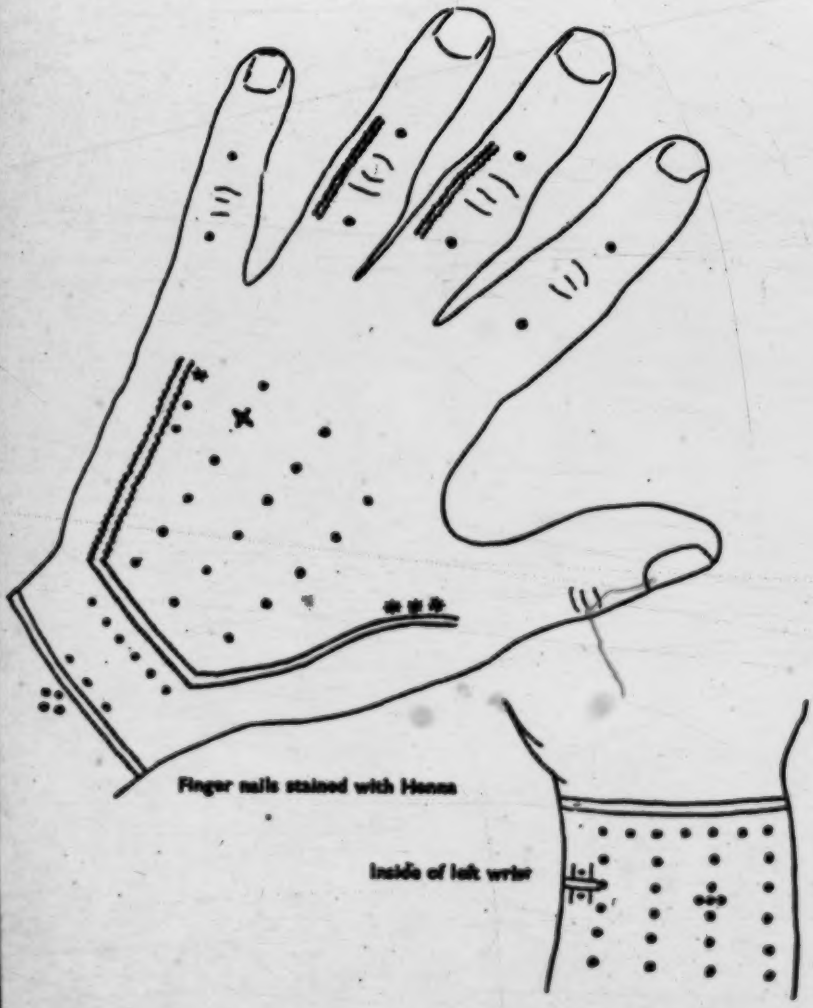


[From life, 15.9.23]

Tattooing

SAME GIRL 304

Hand



k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4
Muntafiq

304 GIRL OF THE MA'AMERAH TRIBE (MA'ADAN)
(Habitat near Hilla, Iraq)

Eyebrows plucked and replaced by one line of tattoo

Centre line from chin to navel, then round waist in form of a belt

Thigh markings

Three-line marking down the outside of both thighs (common to everyone)

A joins belt at waist. B ends 6 in. above knee.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Muntafiq

Tattooing

Chap. IX

GIRL OF THE AZAIRIJ TRIBE OF THE MUNTAFIQ 304

(Habitat, Nasriyah, Iraq)

Variation of the chin-navel tatooing

Back of leg 3 dots

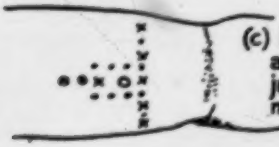
Back of heel 6 dots

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4
Muntafiq

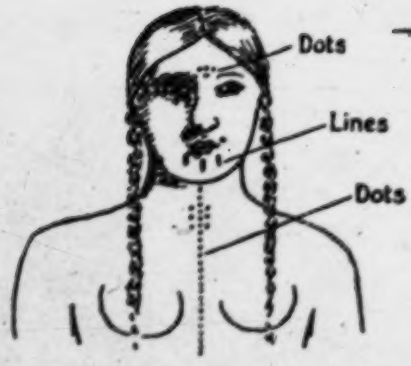
●304 UNMARRIED GIRL OF THE BADÛR TRIBE OF THE FAWÁZ SECTION, A SHEPHERD TRIBE OF THE MUNTAFIQ
(Ajwad group, Middle Euphrates)

(a) Outside edge of forearm

(b) Back of each hand



(c) Inside of each arm above elbow just below biceps muscles



(d) Face, Neck and Chest.

[Taken from the life at Kuwait, 13.3.37]

k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

Origin of Tattoo Marks

Chap. IX

I myself incline to the theory that the Ma'adan are the direct descendants of the ancient Sumerians and have inherited their wonderful tattoo markings from that ancient race. The study of this subject would therefore be of antiquarian as well as of general interest. 304

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

Chap. X

Tribal shaikhs, on the other hand, usually content themselves with one wife. In Kuwait, for instance, the ruler's Queen is a lady of the Al Subah. She is never divorced—such a thing would be a disgrace to the family as a whole. She remains the Shaikhah always. She magnanimously, however, allows the Shaikh Ibn Subah to take three other tribal wives, to amuse himself with, and to change them as often as he likes, provided he does not bring them into the town of Kuwait itself. They must remain in the desert. In this way her pride is satisfied. She remains the Queen. Here is an object lesson to the West. K 643 587

At the birth of a child to a Badawin mother, a dagger, piece of steel, or even a needle or bodkin, must be placed in the cot or attached to the clothes of the baby. The mother cannot move the child without this piece of metal going with it. Iron or steel, is the thing that counts. Gold, etc., will not do. The idea is that it wards off the Evil Eye. The custom is universal among the Mutair, Dhafir, Shammar, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, and probably will be found to exist among all the desert tribes. B 844 753

A woman is said to be *hámila* or *habla* when she is pregnant. She is said to have *walddat* or *thind'at* when the child is born. The term *thina* is always used for the unborn child. B 843

CIRCUMCISION

Among the Badawin circumcision is performed when the boy is between three and a half and seven years. B 304 852

The operation is usually done by one who has had previous practice. The day is looked upon as a family holiday, and according to a man's means, guests and neighbours are invited to a meal, best clothes are donned, and the womenfolk dance among themselves till a late hour, except the mother, who runs away (*tinhash*) and hides herself. The boy is now a "proper Muslim".

The season for the circumcision ceremony is nearly always June (*al Sifdri*) when the *bdrih* or dry north-west wind is blowing. The wound is supposed to heal quickly then. If the sea is near by, the boy is encouraged to bathe, the salty nature of the water acting as an antiseptic.

Among some Badawin the feasting of guests and neighbours goes on for the number of days that the boy has years, i.e. if he is six years

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

B 304 852 old, feasting goes on for six days, if three years then three days, and so on.

K 304 852 574 Among Najd town-dwellers and in Kuwait city the ceremony[1] is gone through with much more elaboration. Feasting and festivity continue for a full seven days before the actual ceremony. Women and girls seem to look upon the occasion as their particular feast. Every evening about 4 p.m. the women and children of the neighbourhood are invited by the mother and relatives of the boy to their house. Here refreshments, sherbet, coffee and sweetmeats are handed round, whilst singing, dancing and ululating go on. There are no men present, and any woman may dance as the spirit moves her. In Kuwait a band of some twenty-five negress minstrels, young and old, usually offer their services free, the entertainment being looked upon as a religious duty which brings luck in its train.

K 518 304 852 It is also not uncommon for half a dozen professional prostitutes to band together and come to the party unasked, to sing and dance and entertain the guests. Here again no fees are charged. The prostitutes believe that on such occasions they gain merit and favour from the Almighty by entertaining free of charge. The negress band and the gaily dressed prostitutes certainly give a dash of colour and gaiety to the proceedings and on these occasions no one, not even the most modest maiden, is shocked by the presence of her fallen sisters.

K 852 304 For seven days the entertainment and rejoicing continue, as a rule from about 4 p.m. to about 8 p.m. Then on the eighth day in the presence of the family circle only, the operator (in Kuwait he is known as *al Hindi*) arrives on the scene and with an ordinary razor cuts off the child's foreskin. His assistants are of course males, the father and one or two members of the family being the actual helpers. These assistants encourage the small boy to be brave and be "a man", and try to keep him cheerful to the end.

The mother as a rule goes off to a neighbour's house, as she cannot bear to see her son suffer. Apart from the mother, sisters, aunts and female slaves can be present, and one woman in particular acts as the child's comforter, as soon as the operation is over.

In 1933, whilst I was living in Kuwait, I was allowed to visit the house of our Muhammadan serving girl, on two occasions when the preliminary rejoicing and dancing were in full swing. It was very

[1 The circumcision of a young boy -- Analyst]

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

interesting. I was also able to insist—though friend *al Hindi* did not like my interference—on the razor being sterilised in boiling water with a permanganate solution, before the actual operation was done. After the operation, and until the wound was healed, I provided the mother with lint, bandages, boric ointment and was able to advise on the daily dressing of the wound. The patient got well inside eight days. Among the Arabs, the convalescence after the operation is often attended by most painful and unfortunate results. The wound turns septic and refuses to heal, and much inflammation with consequent agony to the child is the result. K 852 304

Dr. Mylrea of the American Mission told me in 1931 that each year he had dozens of cases brought him of male children, whose organ, as a result of circumcision, was in a dreadful state of neglect and inflammation. In 1935 he again told me that better-class Arabs were more and more learning to bring their boys to him for the operation and that this was most encouraging. He was able as a rule to return the child cured in about five or six days. K 758 304

Any neighbours whose children have to be circumcised bring them to the house where *al Hindi* is operating, and so five or six little boys are usually operated on at the same time.

Among the Badawins of North-East Arabia and Najd, and among the people of Kuwait, girls do not go through any form of circumcision ceremony. I am told, however, on very good authority that further south, and also in Basra, the little girls go through a corresponding operation. I had this from Muthi, our very dear friend the Mutairi wife of Faleh bin 'Aamir of the Mu'aha, and also from an 'Anizah woman on 22nd August, 1933. A Shammari lady on the other hand told us on 28th August, 1933, that among certain Shammar families, the operation was done quietly and without fuss. No one but the female members of the family, she said, were told, and the neighbours knew nothing about it. The operation was done by a woman well versed in her job, who was paid for it. K 304 B 304

All three women said that the Muntafiq settled tribes, and the Muntafiq shepherd tribes, as well as the gypsies* of Iraq, circumcised their girls, and that the woman who operated among other communities as a rule came from these tribes. The mode of operation was, B 304

* Known as "Kauliyah".

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq
Middle East MI

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I gathered, for a needle and thread to be passed through the clitoris, which was pulled outwards to its full length by means of the thread. When so extended it was cut off close to the body.

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According to Haji 'Abdullah al Fathil, Musulmani (Mr. Williamson) 28th March, 1933, the circumcision of females was advised by the Islamic religion, but was in no way ordained as necessary. He also added that the reason why the Sunnis of Basra generally, and especially their leading families, went in for the custom, was because of the own's Bani Tamim ancestry. The old Bani Tamim always practised female circumcision. My friend Haji 'Abdullah went further, and made the rather surprising statement that the circumcision of Islamic males was not definitely laid down as necessary in Islam. It was conceivable that an adult convert who objected to or feared the operation might evade it, though ordinary custom demanded the ceremony in almost every case. I leave my readers to discuss this last statement. I prefer not to commit myself.

B
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WOMEN'S NAMES

(Among Mutair, Dhafir, Shammar, 'Ajman, 'Awazim, 'Anizah and other great tribes.)

'Adda
'Afra
Al 'Aati
Al Jázi
Al Jidá'a—Given to a girl who has had part of her ear cut off and eaten by her mother. If a woman has lost several children the mother seeks by this procedure to save her latest. ['Ajman and other tribes.]
'Amsha
'Asheba
'Athaiya
'Atsha
'Aysha
'Azíza
Daghaima
Dahmeliya
Dhiba
Dhira—Given to a girl whose mother was frightened by bad news before her birth.
Faiha
Fátima
Filwa
Ghanima
Ghazaiyil—little gazelle ['Ajman.]
Gwai'a
Hajaja
Haiyya
Hathla
Hussa
Huwaiya
'Iyda
Jahaira
Khasna

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq
Middle East MI

ME 563 B 463 304

black tents, moving about by the aid of donkeys which seem to form their only visible means of support. These Iraq Kauliyahs are thieves, bad characters, fortune-tellers, are versed in the art of palmistry of sorts, and last but not least their women are in demand for performing the operation of "circumcision of female babies", a rite which is widely practised in Southern Iraq, and among the Muntafiq tribes of the Euphrates and Bani Tamim Arabs.

DESCRIPTION OF A SULUBBA DANCE

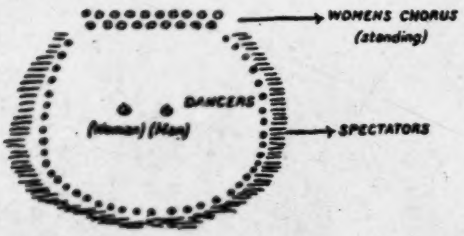
(seen on 3rd June, 1934, at Kuwait)

B 535 852

The dance took place in the Sulubba Encampment near Qasr Naif just inside the Naif Gate. The occasion was the three days' feasting preceding the circumcision of a male child. For two days dancing had taken place, but the third day was reserved for the best and biggest show.

The usual cross with half a woman's *thaub* hanging to it or draped over it was in its place over the tent which was rejoicing, a sign to all and everyone that a dance was to take place.

The chief performer and master of ceremonies combined was an elderly man whose child had just been circumcised. He entered the arena formed by Sulubbas male and female and other onlookers, waving a sword round his head and inviting the Sulubbi maidens and Sulubbi braves to come and join him. Presently, after marching round the human circle several times, there was a stir and from a



neighbouring tent a pretty young lass decked out in her festal garments (saffron, violet or green covered with her voile *thaub*), dashed into the circle, bare-headed and bare-faced with her tresses all undone

APPENDIX XXXI

BADÚR (FAWÂZ SECTION) TRIBAL GIRL (continued) 304

(see page 170)

Markings of second girl taken in Kuwait desert on 18-3-38.
[Name—THAMAMA mart KHAZĀR].
Subject a married girl as taken from life.

(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)

Eyebrows also tattooed in straight lines.

"AL BAKSHA" Pattern.

Tattooed on left and right wrists on inside. Pattern "AL BAKSHA" 2" long.

Pattern right round ankle.

This line in centre of instep. Nothing on reverse side.

Tattoo-marks on forearm and upper arm as in previous sketch.

TATTOO MARKINGS

TRIBE BANI MALIK, hab: SUQ esh SHUYUKH, MUNTAFIQ—IRAQ

Taken in KUWAIT DESERT (from life) 1945

Name of girl NAUFA, (married)

Outer edge of left arm between wrist and elbow

Back of left hand and wrist

Palm of hand

Back of right hand and wrist (no marks on arm or inside wrist)

"AL BAKSHA" pattern

Right wrist underside

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

619 dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another
622 chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe
631 has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its
253 goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all.
311 There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert
132 and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh,
135 where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

233 Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number
422 of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is
262 the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high
291 days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his
419 back affords the only method of transportation possible
231 in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

000 Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin 1934

main away from regions where guests are likely to be 574
numerous. The road between Hofuf, the capital of [31]
Hasa, and Oqair, its nearest port, affords excellent pasturage for goats and camels, and water is easily available for watering the stock. The traveler, however, will probably not see so much as one tent in that whole region. Caravans are coming and going continually, and the poor Bedouin cannot possibly entertain so many. Stern necessity compels him to go where the demands on his very slender resources will be smaller.

But the finest hospitality that I have ever enjoyed has been at the hands of the Bedouins. Ten years ago in the vicinity of Kuwait we saw a good deal of them, for there is always a fringe of Bedouin tents surrounding that city. The American missionaries were far from welcome in [40]
the town. A rival Turkish doctor had been imported by a local Mohammedan society and stocked with medicines and instruments so the poor might be treated free and every excuse for visiting the missionary's establishment removed. But there was no trace of hostility among the Bedouins and it was a great pleasure to visit their tents. We had a number of patients there and had to visit them often. When the dressings and treatments were finished, we stayed and visited together. There were questions about America, and the way to come from there to Arabia, and I in my turn learned a great deal about them and their utterly poverty-stricken lives. The way in which the medical missionary was admitted to the circle as one of the family is perhaps the most prized memory that twelve years' experience affords.

In the calendar of the desert the real red letter days 57
are those when a wedding in the sheikh's family or some 574
other event is the occasion for a great feast. Every

8: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin 1854

Anything less

spacious[1] chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and 565 186
pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will [562] swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The 463 hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with 461 leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that 311 not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement [795] of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over 168 all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts 361 of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

1 [from the desert -- Arabet]

BEDOUINS MJ4

a chronological sequence in this division as the simpler economic activities of food-gathering and hunting invariably precede the more advanced pursuits of tillage and animal husbandry.

While for a long time the theory was upheld,[1] that human civilization developed in three stages; hunting, breeding and farming, a number of students of human culture[2] have pointed out that stock-breeding does not necessarily precede agriculture, as there have been primitive peoples who began cultivation without ever passing through the pastoral stage. A more suitable gradation of human society was introduced by its dichotomy according to the economic activities of food-gathering and food-producing. This classification distinguishes the parasitic existence of the collectors from the productive life of the breeders and farmers. The pastoral nomad shares with the primitive food-gatherer the constant need for wandering, while as breeder of animals his economy is productive.

Nomadism cannot be regarded as a primitive stage of human civilization, but must be viewed as a mode of life which developed in response to certain geographical conditions. In the final analysis it is not the people, but the natural conditions of soil, climate and water which will determine the forms of existence, pastoral or settled agrarian.

Pastoralism in the Middle East has been regarded[3] as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture. Considering the

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1. Boas, 1938, p. 283
2. Edward Hahn, Alexander von Humboldt and others
3. Fisher, 1950, p. 119

361 desert with its limited opportunities for finding means of
311 sustenance has been held the only possible answer to the rigors of the geographical environment.

This view, however, can be challenged. In the Arabian peninsula nomadism may be inevitable, but with regards to the potentially cultivable areas of Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Transjordan, for centuries used by the tribes as grazing grounds for their flocks, the situation is different. The land was not always barren, vast stretches of fertile soil turned into desert because of the nomads whose destructive way of living was victorious, where settled society was not powerful enough to check Bedouin incursions.

361 While the nomads contribute their share to the general
433 economy, it cannot be maintained that the roving existence is a geographical necessity. The nomad in general responds and adapts himself to the desert, but sometimes he actually creates it. Only on a higher level of civilization is the attempt made by people to liberate themselves from the limitations of the environment. In the past and at present settlers have often displayed the tendency to condition the land to suit them. The relationship of man towards the land and the amount of care he gives the soil that sustains him can serve as a measuring rod for the standards of his civilization.

361 Prosperity in the Middle East of antiquity was the result
311 of intelligent utilization of land and water resources. Present day devastation is to a great extent the outcome of Bedouin economy and neglect.

BEDOUINS MJ4
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members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he imposes and collects his own levies.[1]

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Bedouin tribe Abu Kishk that owned 20 000 dunams of land in the Sharon.[2] The sheikh's family in whose name the land was registered, sold 10 000 dunams to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunam orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh.

CHAPTER XI

Attitude of the Tribesmen towards Settlers.

The Bedouin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Transjordan Bedouin was desperate; 1946/47 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen

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1. Himadeh, 1930, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted to sheep and goats — 40%, cattle — 45%, camels — 50%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1949, p. 10

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4
Bedouins MJ4

Hunting and Warfare

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal,
B where our camels and horses were watered. One of the
3 12 Fid'ans scraped a shallow hole in the soil and spread the
415 saddle leather from one of the camels over it. Into this simple but practical trough we poured the stale water from the well.

R After we had watered our animals, we travelled on-
721 ward in the dry bed of the Al-Hajal *wadi*. We were crossing a flat between two branches of it when suddenly shots rang out and bullets whistled over our heads.

The Fid'an wheeled instantly to gallop out of range, but they did not get far. Our assailants, imperfectly visible but obviously numerous, followed up their warning volley with a raking fire that in as many seconds unhorsed four of the fugitives. Seeing that to escape was impossible, and to fight hopeless, they all stopped and signalled their surrender to the advancing force of camel-riders. More than a hundred of these had grown out of the ground, as it were, before my astonished eyes. The Fid'an had walked into a trap. They had been too
R reckless even to send scouts ahead.

[492] I knew instantly that the newcomers were Ruala. The Saba have as intimate a knowledge of that region, but only the Ruala take the field with so many fine racing-camels; the Saba, like the Fid'an, favour horses.

"The Lord be with us!" exclaimed Matan, the leader
R of the Fid'an freebooters, now thoroughly frightened.
[627] He clearly thought himself lost; and he had every reason to believe that I should use the opportunity of paying him back in kind. But I reassured him. "We have made peace with thee," I said, "and I shall tell the leader of

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ1
Bedouin MJ4

SA 136 to be seen all along the way. One large variety is about a foot and a half long, and its meat is esteemed a great delicacy by the Bedouins, who call it "the fish of the desert." Many smaller lizards are found, and a few birds. There are also tracks of a wolf to be made out occasionally, but that is a rare occurrence, as is also the sign of a fox. The lizards may be able to dig down far enough in their holes to reach damp soil, but certainly the gazelles must get their necessary water from the few plants that remain succulent and fresh in the summer months.

B 162 And there are people who live in that desert, not trav- 312 elers only, but permanent residents. They live there not 233 merely during the spring when there is a little rain, but the 361 year around. How can men live in a country like that? The well is the answer. The little green vegetation to be seen in the spring when the meager rains come soon dries down, and the inexperienced eye of the stranger would scarcely find it. Nevertheless, it is sufficient for goats and camels and perhaps sheep to graze upon if wells can be found in addition where they can be watered every evening. So it happens that the most precious things in Arabia are the wells. Caravan routes may be crooked, but the reason is never far to seek. For three or four days camels can travel without a drop of water, but eventually they must drink like all the other animals in the world. Some parts of the desert which are richest in vegetation are quite deserted as far as human beings SA are concerned, and the reason is the same. In the sum- [132] mer when the thermometer may occasionally reach 135° at noon, it is no use to discover an area covered with abundant dry fodder. It is the well that is the essential thing. Wherever water can be secured, there men OOO can live. It is not such a life as would be popular in

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

where wells are somewhat close together and the for- 312
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these 283
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair 842
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage 234
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised, 439
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is 262
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les- 514
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty 231
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an 556
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure luxury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk just as humans do. They are kept and treated as household pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail 731
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou- 789
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a 262
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the land. Little children die because there is no food suitable for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed, and the whole community waits and prays for more rain the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a 511
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a mere trifle.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly accurate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so frequent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty. Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine because water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for such a purpose. The men apparently go without washing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected. There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East Bedouin MJ4

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

Hawking

B 224 251 prepare the venison with salt into what they call *yellah*, a sort of biltong, slashing it into long slices to allow the salt to penetrate and to enable ribbon-like strips to be easily removed at home for food.

k 132 This is a season[1] for rejoicing, the rains are close at hand, there is a nip in the air of a morning and fires are in demand at night. Once again the desert comes to life after the long, weary, soul-killing heat of summer, the scorching suffocating duststorms, the need to stay close-camped near water, and the ever-present dread that your enemy knows where you are and by a sudden dash may carry off your camels, nay, all you possess, in one swift raid.

B 312 132 For water, the various tent dwellers send in camels to the nearest wells, often as far as 30 miles away, once in five, six or seven days. Neither camel, sheep nor man is very thirsty these days, so water is no longer the immediate necessity of life. As the first rains fall and grass begins to come up, water is less and less required by the livestock, till finally in the full *rabi'* (spring) when grass is well up and succulent, only man requires it.

B 223 k 223 This is the season also when the Shaikhs of Kuwait, as well as all other rulers in Arabia, start going deep into the high desert in search of *hubara*. The practice of hunting on camel-back has gone. The motor car serves the purpose better. Great hunters, like His Highness Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah and Shaikh Salim al Hamud, are out two or three times a week. They nearly always spend at least one night bivouacking in the blue (*khalla*) without tent or covering beyond their *'abbas*. It is unmanly and soft to take even a small shelter. The huntsman and falcon bearers (*khaddám*) are all of the Rashaida tribe, born Essus all, with eyes like their own hawks, and with the uncanniest knowledge of the habits of the *hubara*. The courtly and religious Nazzal, famous over North and Central Arabia for his knowledge and eye for country, is there, so are Sa'ud bin Nimran, the lion-hearted and jovial; Addas, the hawk-eyed; Gharaiyib, the smeller of *hubara* from afar, and great raider of war days; Sa'ad, the tracker; Mirshid al Shammari, of the renowned Ibn Twala clan, and old Saif bin Ta'ami, companion of the great Mubarak in many a past raid.

Of hawks we have the famous "Dhifb", "Kabeir", "Sultán" and

1 [early November -- August]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

000 of Arabia lead makes for religion, and instils into the heart of man the greater virtues that make life worth living.

THE TRIBAL DÍRAH

619 Every Badawin tribe in Arabia has its *dírah* or tribal country,
[621] through which it roams with its camels in the autumn, winter and
312 spring, and in which lie its permanent wells, the jealously treasured
361 possessions of various sections of the tribe, on which these sections camp in summer.*

Let us take, for example, the great Mutair tribe ('Ilwa and Wasil) of North-East Arabia. Its *dírah* is roughly enclosed by the following boundaries:

On the north—By the Iraq Neutral Zone (Tawál al Dhafir) and the Kuwait frontier as far east as the Shaqq.
On the east—By the Shaqq depression and a line running south of same to Jariya al Sifla, Taraibi and al Khafaisat.
On the south—A rough line from the town of 'Anaiza, Zilfi, Majma'a to al Khafaisat including the town of Artawiyah.
On the west—A rough line from the Tawál al Dhafir (Iraq Neutral Zone) through Thamani (south end of Bátin) to Buraida and 'Anaiza.

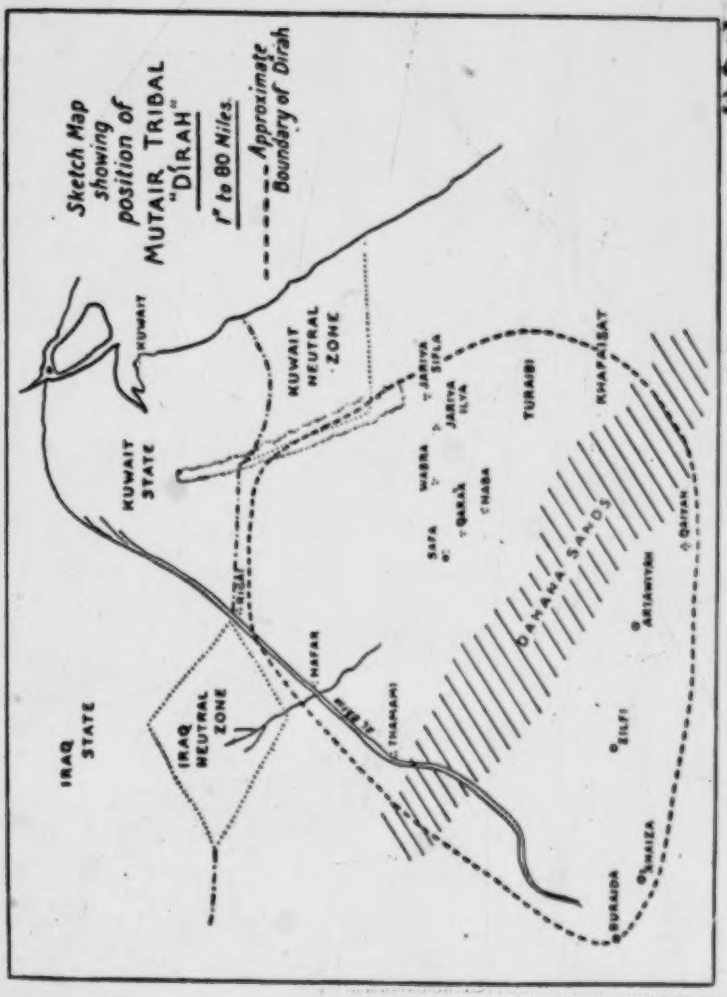
Its chief group of wells which need be mentioned are:

(*a*) Hafar al Bátin, the property of ibn Ashwan (Braih group of the Wasil Mutair).
(*b*) Sáfá, the property of ibn Lami (Jiblan).
(*c*) Jariya Iya, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*d*) Jariya Sifla, the property of Al Fugum (Al Sahabba).
(*e*) Hábá, the property of Al Májid (Dushan).
(*f*) Qara'a, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*g*) Wabra, the property of the Dushan.
(*h*) Qaiyah, the property of Al Faisal (Dushan).
(*i*) Dijani, the property of Al Bara'asa (Muaha).

[622] The Dushan being the ruling clan, with its Shaikh Al Duwish,
361 controls also the tribal capital, or head village of Artawiyah.
619 This latter is an 'Ikhwan centre, and the creation of the present Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, who for political reasons placed in each tribal

* A reference to the tribal map at the end of this book will be found convenient.

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4



361
619
312

P46a

The Mutair Country

619 361 *dirah* a small township as a sign that the whole tribe had embraced Wahhabi-ism, and abandoned its old ignorant and roaming existence.

133 312 233 The terrain included in the Mutair tribal *dirah* consists of part of the sandy *Dahana* region in the south, the rocky and broken *Summân* and *Wiriya* regions in the centre, and the steppe-like tablelands of the *Mujdair—Qara'a-* and *Musannat* regions in the north.

The whole *dirah* is a choice and good one, and *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh*, the mainstay of camels and most perfect of all grazing for these animals, are to be found in plenty when the rainfall is good.

This Mutair *dirah* is approximately 120 miles broad by 180 miles long, and may be taken as a typical example of an average tribe's homeland. There are, of course, other tribes who own larger and more extensive areas, but then scarcity of water and poorer grazing has compelled them from earliest times to seize and hold these bigger blocks of land. For in actual fact a tribe does not want a larger tract than is sufficient for its needs. So if a tribe's country is rich in water and all forms of grazing, all it requires is an area as big as that of the Mutair.

361 619 The tribes surrounding the Mutair, who own *dirahs* similar to theirs, are as follows:

The 'Awazim and 'Ajman on the east and south-east.

The Sbei and Sahul on the south.

The Harb, Shammar and Dhafir on the west, and Kuwait territory on the north, which in olden times, and before boundaries of western conception were introduced, all belonged to the Mutair, except for the narrow coastal strip which was included in the 'Awazim *dirah*.*

619 221 A tribe does not, of course, remain always isolated in its own *dirah*. If rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it naturally stops at home, but if rains fail it must migrate to places where grazing exists, and so overflows into the territories of its neighbours. It cannot, of course,

* It should be realised that there are two other great groups of the Mutair tribe, stretching from the Qasim in the centre of Arabia to near Madina in the Hijaz. They are known as the Bani 'Abdillah Mutair, and Maymun, and in numbers and strength are perhaps superior to their cousins the 'Ilwa and Braih described above. The whole tribe, of course, is one, and though the Bani 'Abdilla have their own powerful Shaikhs, they will all follow the standard of Al Duwish the hereditary Shaikh who resides at Artawiyah.†

† For the names of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Shammar Shaikhs see Appendix II. A map of the Mutair Tribal *dirah* will be found at the end of the book.

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THE ANNUAL MOVES

312 During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September
361 and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concen-
283 trates on its wells (*gulbán*), which in each case are groups of wells
182 lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here
221 they camp (*igaiyathun*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *musábilah* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring
735 them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the
651 time when the *zakát* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *sarîya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer.

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

221 At long last October, or the *wasm* season (the rains) arrives and
132 small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

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in of firewood goes on, and the girls and children get in a two- or 512
three-mile walk every morning. It is good for them and makes them 462
strong, straight and fit to bear children later on, and they know it. 313

Two hours later they return, each bearing an enormous load of *'arfaj* bushes on their heads, and followed by the tired little mites who have gone with them. In the meantime the woman of the tent has 512
not been idle. She, with her sister, or old mother if she has one to 462
help her, has been sunning the family bedding (*lahdf*) and putting it away, or has been cleaning pots and pans from the previous night's meal and has tidied up the tent. She has sent off the spare shepherd 512
to go and fetch water from the wells they have just vacated, perhaps 462
10 miles back. He takes for the purpose a couple of male camels 312
kept back from the herd, on whom he loads up either two large camel water-skins, or four goatskins. This will suffice for the needs of the tent and its neighbours. Should a small *thamila* exist near them, as is often the case after rains, the daughters of the house will once again be sent off with goatskins (*garab*) to collect the water—(a *thamila* is a small supply of water lying under the surface of a dry, sandy water-course which does not sink deep and disappear completely, because it lies on subsurface rock or clay). The girls scratch away the sand to a depth of two or three feet to reach the brown, muddy liquid. They ladle it into skins by means of a small cup (*jiddd*) of tamarisk wood, and keep it on one side for drinking purposes only. The water is at first opaque and yellowish, but the silt soon settles.

To keep the water-skins cool during the day, a bed of *'arfaj* bush is made just outside the women's quarters, and all skins are laid on the bed.

By now it is time to prepare the midday meal. If the family is a 512
fairly prosperous one, rice will be cooked and made tasty with *semen*, 264
clarified butter of sheep's milk, and all will sit down and eat their fill. 462
If the family is a poor one, there will be no meal till sundown.

After the midday meal, the woman of the house will first clean the cooking pots, and then start weaving any cloth that may be required for the tent, or if the tent is complete she will work on a *qdta* or *mamad*, which in due course she will sell when she visits a town to do *musdbilah*. A *qdta* if well and artistically made will bring her in [435]
Rs.45 to Rs.50—a vast sum of money for a Badawin family.

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512 all he wants. Coffee then goes round, and master, servants and women
264 go early to bed.

132 That night Allah the All-seeing, the All-merciful, is good to his
512 people. As the camp sleeps, a great thundercloud appears and gradually creeps up from the far north-west. Nearer and nearer it comes till at 3 a.m. it is exactly overhead. There is a death-like stillness, and even the camp dogs cease their baying and the sleepers turn uneasily in their sleep. The air is oppressive, even hot. Suddenly a cold chill wind begins to blow; the shepherd watching his sheep in front of the tent wakes his master and whispers, "Allah Kerim, Insha'llah it will rain, the mercy of God is coming, Oh Allah, give us of thy blessing". Suddenly there is a soul-raising thunderclap followed by a simultaneous blaze of forked lightning, which lights up the whole landscape a vivid bluey-white. Clap after clap follows; each rolling away in the distance like salvos of great artillery. Shouts and cries rise from the camp. The men rush to the camels and sheep, the women to the tent ropes, and then with a dull roar growing every instant deeper and closer, the rain comes at last. At first great heavy drops the size of small saucers, then in a few seconds the downpour. And what a downpour! Fortunately there is no wind but just a deep booming roar, as the water pours down in sheets. For ten minutes everyone holds on to what he can grip, expecting the squall which usually follows such rain. But none comes. Then cries of joy as the open spaces round the camp site begin to fill with water. The tents perched up on higher ground than the surrounding country are safe from flood, but by 3.30 a.m. the countryside is a vast shallow lake. By
312 3.45 a.m. the rain thins off. Regardless of everything, men, women and
512 children rush forth to collect the delicious rain-water into every kind of utensil they can lay hands on: water-skins, basins, tins and cooking pots of every description are made to serve. When these are filled women and children sit in the water and literally wallow in it for sheer joy. The men rouse the camels and make them drink knee deep in the fresh brown sea. Everyone is delirious, for they have been drinking brackish and even salt water for the last nine months. The great blessing has come at last. God is great, God is good to the *Muslimin*. The incongruous part of it all is that it is still pitch dark.
000 No one has a lantern, no one cares. At length dawn breaks. Prayers,

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plenty of grazing, he postpones this final move as late as possible, but if the reverse, then the 20th May may see him settled down for his enforced five months of idleness and physical discomfort. K 132 B 221

As far as North-Eastern Arabia is concerned the following are the great Badawin camping grounds from north to south: B 361

(a) *Safwan*—immediately north of Kuwait Border, in Iraq territory. K
(b) *Jahrah*—at the head of the Bay of Kuwait. 361
(c) *Kuwait*—(Shamiyah and Dasma wells) outside the walls of Kuwait.
(d) *Subaihiyah*—on the southern border of Kuwait.
(e) *Tawil*—S.W. of Jabal Wara and 10 miles N.W. of Subaihiyah in Kuwait.
(f) *Wafra*—in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.
(g) *'Ark*—on the southern border of Neutral Zone.
(h) *Jeriyah Ilya*, *Jeriyah Sifli*, *Safa*, *Haba*, *Qara'a* — in the Mutair Summan country 170 miles S.S.W. of Kuwait (Sa'udi Arabia).
(i) *Hafar al Bátin*—in the Bátin Valley (Sa'udi Arabia) 150 miles S.W. of Kuwait.
(j) *'Ajibba*—in the Harb tribal country, S.W. of the Mutair Summan (Sa'udi Arabia).
(k) *Ingair*, *'Nta*, *Awaina*, *Sarrar* — in mid Hasa, Wadi al Miyah region (Sa'udi Arabia).
(l) *Qatif*, *Hufuf*—in South Hasa (Sa'udi Arabia).

There is also the well-known camping quadrilateral in the Iraq Neutral Zone lying 140 miles west of Kuwait, known under the general term of *Tawal al Dhafir*, and consisting of several well-areas such as Dulaimiyah, Arkhaimiyah, Julaida, Al Thamiriyah, etc.

By tribal law each of the above wells belongs to a different tribe or section of tribe, and strangers can theoretically be kept away from them. Actually under the strong rule of the Al Sa'ud and the Al Subah, other tribes or parts of tribes are to-day allowed to make use of them, provided there is no overcrowding and there is no enmity between the actual owners of the water and the strangers. It goes without saying that should a tribe of a foreign State camp for summer B 312

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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B 312 on such wells, then it will have to pay *zakát* for that year to the Central Government in whose state it is a guest.

K 132 B 132 The first signs of the coming summer are the drying up of all desert grasses (*'ashib*), the mirage—which now flickers everywhere and seems to fill every small depression in the countryside with a little lake of water—and the sandstorms. The glare also becomes intense and makes the desert-dweller fold his *kaffiyeh* or head-cloth across his face. The winds are hot as though driven out of a great furnace by some gigantic bellows. The traveller now finds himself mistaking bushes and animals for distant tents and men, especially at midday and as night draws near.

Men and animals now want to drink more often, so of necessity tents are brought closer to water.

The women in their *biyút sha'ar* (hair tents) also feel the effects of the sun and erect false roofs of saffron or other coloured rugs above their heads inside their tents, to keep out the stinging rays.

Both men and women grow palpably thinner, while all develop a much deeper tan than during the winter.

The most unpleasant feature of this half-season period is the sandstorm. These storms grow more and more frequent and vicious until by June the countryside seems to have taken on a permanent canopy of sand-haze which lodges in nostrils, eyes and throat. Alternating with these sandstorms come gentle south-east winds, or dead calms which bring up heavy dews in their train. These too are most trying.

B 221 312 By the 5th June the desert world, which has slowly been converging on the well-areas, now definitely goes to ground and camps on water. If these well-areas are popular, several thousand tents will congregate close together and as near to the well-heads as possible—the tents of the shaikhs and prominent men standing out of the general mass by reason of their size and the number of their poles.

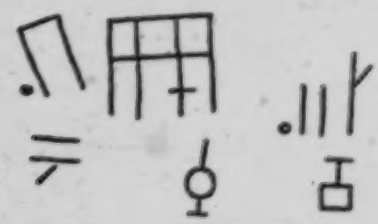
At Jahrah in 1935, for instance, when Kuwait tribes as well as Dhafir, Shammar (Abda), Dahamsha ('Anizah) and 'Ajman details were camped there, the sight was a remarkable one, for well over three thousand black hair-tents were congregated in an area only 1 mile square.

K 132 About 10th June, if the year is a normal one, North-East Arabia and especially the Persian Gulf seaboard is visited by what is known as

A TYPICAL WELL IN THE DESERT (AL RUMÁH)

Wasms in Wells

619 Below are some odd *wasms* found on north side of Wára.



WELLS

619 Almost all the great permanent wells of Arabia belong to some
● 312 tribe or other, and have been in their possession since earliest times.
423 Hence, if they are examined carefully, the *wasm* of the tribe to which they belong will usually be found, cut in the rocky sides some way down on the inside, or engraved on one of the large stones built round the well mouth.

It is important to know this, as the ownership of disputed wells and their surrounding grazing grounds can nearly always be determined by such marks if it is known where to look for them.

This right to own wells is not confined only to tribes, but is also the prerogative of individual Badawin, and has in the past been the cause of many a fierce fight. For instance, supposing a man camping alone in summer selects a suitable site for his family's tents, near where he thinks he will find water, and does dig a well, and does find water, then that well becomes his *mulk*, or personal property, and no other person may draw water from it, or use it for the future except with the owner's express permission. In the Kuwait hinterland, where there is sub-surface water nearly everywhere, such wells are frequent, and many are the disputes that arise from strangers attempting to use them.

NATURAL WELLS

312 The Natural Wells (*dákal*, plu. *dukál*) of the Summán region occupied by the Mutair Thwa (150–200 miles south-west of Kuwait).

There are some one hundred *dukál* scattered along the northern

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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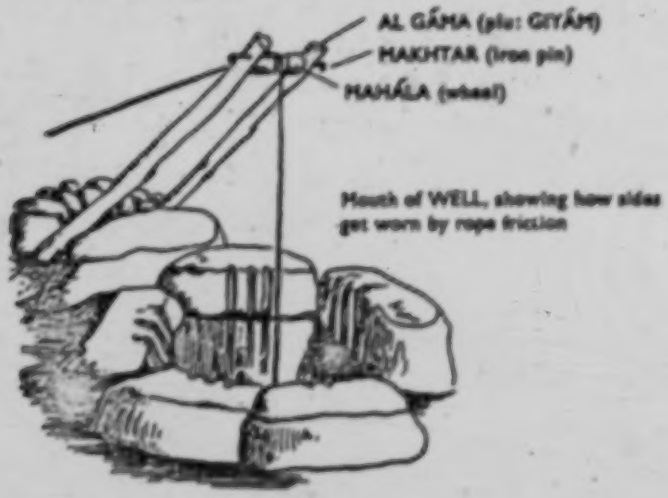
edge of the Dahana where it joins the Summán, but only some eighteen are well-known ones having permanent water. 312

The entrances are usually fissures in the rocks (or more often a hole like a well), which open out thirty or forty feet below into an



Desert Well.

open dry cavern. From these, passages leading to a series of other caverns lead off in various directions, one or more of which contain large natural cisterns or subterranean lakes.

The *dahál* are excellent places for travellers or smugglers to drink from, but useless for camels or sheep, as the water cannot be drawn up to the top and poured into leather watering basins. A man has to go down with his water-skin, and crawl for many yards on his stomach, or on all fours, before he can even get one skinful of water.

The water is usually very good and clear, and is rain water pure and simple.

Some remarkable examples of *dahál* also exist in the northern desert, fifty to one hundred miles south of the Amman–Baghdad desert route.

Following are the most important of the Summán *dahál*:

Al Raggas	Um Jamd
Al Thaiyib	Bith al Ashafi

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

List of Nat ral Wells

•312

Ab al Dhaiyán
Al Jarábi
Um al Qurún
Al Khalifa
Al Aziyir
Um Warchan
Al Khuraishif
Um Nakhla
Abu Sudaira
Al Futaih
Al Shamshál
Al Ajáji
Abu Sukhaim
Abu Tumba
Al Marrár
Al 'Ashámi
Abu Harmala
Al Furaih
Shilahum

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJI Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

133 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
312 stand the land in which they live—a harsh, unforgiving land which conditions their lives so that they, too, are hard, hard in body and mind. They live in the desert—that is to say, in country which, judged by ordinary standards, is waterless. This applies equally to the barren, broken limestone mountains near the southern coast, to the flat, featureless gravel plains, and to the sands of the Empty Quarter itself, where the mountainous dunes, some of which are 700 feet high, run one behind the other for hundreds of miles. There are, of course, some wells in this desert, but they are usually few and far between: the Sa'ar country has two permanent wells in it, Manwakh and Zamakh; the Manahil country has three or four. Thus in an area the size of Norfolk there might be two wells. I have myself twice travelled four hundred miles between wells. I admit that this is exceptional, but Badu have raided across these very stretches of desert, riding out and back again without touching at a well. You can think what this means when you realize that this distance is twice as far as from Dover to Edinburgh, and that these Arabs travelled at a speed of three miles per hour, relying only on the water which they could carry with them without foundering their camels, and that the camels themselves did not get a drink until they returned a month later.

137 It seldom rains in this desert; in many parts it has not rained for five
221 years, and I have been in places where not a drop of rain has fallen for twenty-five years. By Badu standards a couple of hours' heavy rain in the
132 year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
233 depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances. Most of this vegetation is not grass, but desert plants like the succulent yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
233 acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the
262 Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

411 hand and all were the distinctive carnelian-
151 studded dagger, and one and all impressed
me as virile, reckless and uncontrolled, but
701 humorous and friendly. While we sat among
621 them talking there was a sudden stir, for they
had noticed a dozen mounted Arabs approaching rapidly across the dunes. Then someone recognized one of the camels and they relaxed. These camels were stretched out and travelling very fast, yet were urged to even greater efforts by the wild yells of their riders. They were the scouts, sons of sheikhs and the very pick of the tribe, who set out each dawn to scour the surrounding desert, keen-eyed for the tracks of strangers. Lithe, hard-bodied and alert, these lads rode their splendid beasts with effortless mastery. They had heard the firing and, thinking the camp attacked, had ridden back to help.

621 Scattered upon the dunes around us were
592 small black tents, round which naked infants
romped, while dark-clad women moved about gathering sticks and tending herds of goats. Sometimes a family changed its site, for, though fear of raiders had imposed upon them the need to keep together, their restless nomad instincts drove them to constant movement within the wide confines of the camp. Such short migrations provided an interesting sight as they moved slowly past. The children drove the camels, laden with tents, cooking-pots, watering-troughs and ropes, the simple requirements of their life; while the Bedu mothers and the virgin beauties of the tribe rode in the slow swaying camel-litters.

574 That evening they feasted us on meat and,
after the camel herds had drifted in at dusk,
brought us great frothing bowls of milk, the nectar of the Arabs. The night was filled with the haunting sounds of an Arab camp—the ceaseless restless moaning of camels, the barking of dogs, the rise and fall of Arab voices from their gathering-places round the fires, and sometimes the distant harmony of song.

312 Next morning when the sun was warm we
drove our camels across the sandy plain to water at the well, which is situated close under high limestone cliffs on the northern
401 edge of the valley. A few Arabs had already
312 arrived and were fastening their pulleys to the scaffolding around the well. It is over 200 feet in depth and stone-lined, a monument to some forgotten people in the dim past. At the deep wells in the Najd the Arabs use their

1-588(B) (TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 400(A)--ANALYST

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• 312

P 399 (A)

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(Above) *Watering at Mawakh well. The ropes, at either end of which a leather bucket hangs, run over pulleys attached to scaffolding above the well, and the water is invariably raised by hand—never by camels, as in the Nejd. The well-ropes (made of palm-fronds), pulleys, buckets and troughs are brought down to the well by each family, and taken away after watering is complete. There was always an impatient crowd of Arabs and a milling throng of camels round the well, which was usually exhausted by midday.* (Right) *To Arab women falls the duty of filling the goatskins used for carrying water in the desert*

[462]

P 399 (B)

1 [SEE P. 399 (A) -- ANALYST]

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
571 leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
415 either end of the rope which runs over the
[46] pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full
the other descends empty. Men and women
draw together on the well-ropes, four or five
to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel
herds arrived and the serious work of watering
began. Great leather troughs supported on
crossed wooden hoops were set up by each
family around the well. Soon there was no
room for more watering parties, and late-
comers had to wait their turn. The buckets
rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs
about which the thirsty camels pushed and
thrust while their calves frolicked around.
Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran
in and out among them, driving away camels
which did not belong to them, and restraining
the more impatient of their own. Others
scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite
beasts, while they sang them their watering
songs to induce them to drink deep. When
they had drunk they were couched nearby, to
be watered again later in the day, before
being driven back to pasturage. Round the
well-mouth women filled their water-skins,
which then lay swollen and quivering upon
the ground, guarded from the trampling feet
of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad
only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined
freely in the constant jests and laughter.
Among them was a tall girl of startling
beauty. She had come down to the well early
in the day, carrying a water-skin and accom-
panied by her young sister. The centre of a
happy laughing group of lads, she dallied
here till the evening.

574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink
coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'arof, they yet
49 differed from them in their dress and way of
life. They wore indigo-dyed loincloths and
wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion
among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin
Ma'arof were clad like the Northern Arabs in
long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell
nearly to the ground. They were returning
to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days'
[54] journey to the south. Plantations of sorghum
312] and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
guarded by numerous stone-built forts and
609 watch-towers, which look out across the dou-
bate rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited
by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of
the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for
treachery.

P. 310 (A)

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 [262] 290 463 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

438 281 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

921 178 During the last ten years, the desert belonging to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 799 721 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst

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way, riding monkey-like on the hindquarters of one of the better-conditioned animals, and looking as if every minute he would slide off over the animal's tail. The herdsman's song is wild and weird, rising and falling in semitones. As often as not he starts off with a description of the beautiful grazing that his charges are going to find ahead of them. He pleads with his camels and says they are to trust him, their guide and helper. He it is who is leading them to pastures fair, and grass that is green and succulent. The camels seem to understand, for with sundry groans and moans, they slowly follow him in single file. As they disappear into the early morning mist, the last you see or hear of the party is the distant singing of the camelherd. Then all are swallowed up in the morning fog. Like the sheep, the camels will not go far. Five to eight miles is their limit just now. Grazing has been so pitifully scarce in their long summer camp they must be allowed to get fit slowly; presently they will go further afield. The camelherd does not sleep by day. His is a much more valuable herd. He watches, with rifle ready, even though there is not the slightest rumour of danger or trouble in the air. To while away the long day, he may look for truffles on the hilltops or occasionally try and catch a jerboa. In the main, however, he watches and watches till the time comes to go home.

The camels and sheep having gone out to graze and the sun being up, the tent family will have a meagre breakfast consisting of a little tea without milk, and some dates. If the housewife is in funds she may issue a small ration of bread to all; more often than not they go without.

The daughter of the house with her small sister, or her girl friend from the neighbour's tent, now starts off to collect brushwood for the day's needs. *'Arfaj* is what they seek, and as this has a tough root, they arm themselves with a small axe and several yards of goat's hair rope to carry home the firewood on their heads. Other children of from five to ten years old often accompany the girls to see if they can find an early flower or a truffle. It is their one way of enjoying themselves, they have few other amusements. The girls move off with strong healthy stride, their long sleeves bound behind their necks to free their arms, and their skirts hitched up at the waist to give freedom of movement. How straight and supple they are! Daily this fetching

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in of firewood goes on, and the girls and children get in a two- or three-mile walk every morning. It is good for them and makes them strong, straight and fit to bear children later on, and they know it.

Two hours later they return, each bearing an enormous load of *'arfaj* bushes on their heads, and followed by the tired little mites who have gone with them. In the meantime the woman of the tent has not been idle. She, with her sister, or old mother if she has one to help her, has been sunning the family bedding (*lahdf*) and putting it away, or has been cleaning pots and pans from the previous night's meal and has tidied up the tent. She has sent off the spare shepherd to go and fetch water from the wells they have just vacated, perhaps 10 miles back. He takes for the purpose a couple of male camels kept back from the herd, on whom he loads up either two large camel water-skins, or four goatskins. This will suffice for the needs of the tent and its neighbours. Should a small *shamlla* exist near them, as is often the case after rains, the daughters of the house will once again be sent off with goatskins (*gwal*) to collect the water—(a *shamlla* is a small supply of water lying under the surface of a dry, sandy water-course which does not sink deep and disappear completely, because it lies on subsurface rock or clay). The girls scratch away the sand to a depth of two or three feet to reach the brown, muddy liquid. They ladle it into skins by means of a small cup (*jidd*) of tamarisk wood, and keep it on one side for drinking purposes only. The water is at first opaque and yellowish, but the silt soon settles.

To keep the water-skins cool during the day, a bed of *'arfaj* bush is made just outside the women's quarters, and all skins are laid on the bed.

By now it is time to prepare the midday meal. If the family is a fairly prosperous one, rice will be cooked and made tasty with *samn*, clarified butter of sheep's milk, and all will sit down and eat their fill. If the family is a poor one, there will be no meal till sundown.

After the midday meal, the woman of the house will first clean the cooking pots, and then start weaving any cloth that may be required for the tent, or if the tent is complete she will work on a *gata* or *mamad*, which in due course she will sell when the visits a town to do *mandhilah*. A *gata* if well and artistically made will bring her in Rs.45 to Rs.50—a vast sum of money for a Badawin family.

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves.
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 511
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badui often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 577
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 461
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com-
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure. 315
There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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511 paid into the bargain. Family ties and a certain restlessness draw some of
166 them back into the desert, but, as I have said, desert life is becoming more and more difficult and may soon become altogether impossible.

177 The hardy Badu tribesmen, the best stock in Arabia, may become, as a
315 result of circumstances outside their control, a parasitic proletariat squatting in the fly-blown squalor of shanty towns on the outskirts of the oilfields in some of the most barren and inhospitable country in the world. I do not wish to suggest that the oil companies will not take adequate care of their workers and provide them with the best possible accommodation. Many of the Badu will certainly find employment with these companies; many of them have already shown considerable aptitude as drivers and mechanics, but it is uncertain whether as a race they are capable of the sustained effort required on an oilfield. At any rate, there will be great numbers who are unadaptable, inept, or physically incapable of finding work, and there will be the women and the children. Stranded in these salt-impregnated wastes, which can produce nothing but oil, and deprived of their old mobility, they may be unable to adjust themselves almost overnight to these new conditions and so become demoralized. Tribesmen who have never seen a car or an aeroplane or even a European will find themselves suddenly working with Englishmen and Americans who have met their first Arab ten days before. Lads who have never seen an unveiled woman are going to come in contact with European women, not only unveiled, but, in their eyes, undressed. At first they will think our dress indecent, many of our customs revolting, and our lack of religion
[157] appalling. The virtues of the desert nomads are, however, enforced by their circumstances, not by a natural preference for the ascetic way of life. In their own surroundings they are forced to be continent and self-restrained, but by nature they are self-indulgent and indolent. Their nomadic way of life, their tribal loyalties, their old interests, and the conventions which have governed their lives, will soon be swept away. Bored and disillusioned, they will, I fear, fall an easy prey to the vices and diseases of
[186] town life. They have always regarded themselves as the aristocracy of Arabia. They have taken a pride in surviving when others would succumb, and it is this pride in his manhood which the nomad expresses when he boasts, "I am a Badui." In the future they may easily drop to the bottom of the social scale, below those whom they know to be their inferiors in every way but that of adaptation to urban conditions.

A problem which confronts the rulers of Arabia is how to avoid pauperizing the nomads who will inevitably drift to the oilfields in ever-increasing numbers, and whose birth-rate is likely to rise considerably once they have settled there. It will indeed be tragic if they become the slum-dwellers of an industrialized Arabia. Poverty has been their constant lot, but it was a poverty shared by all. Now they will see Europeans and Arabs living in luxury in air-conditioned houses and provided with all the amenities of modern life. They will see wealth beyond their wildest dreams poured into the hands of a few; the Sheikh of Qatar, for instance, who until recently was the ruler of a few impoverished fishing villages and whose father sold headclothes in the market-place for a living, is now receiving royalties from an oilfield which may be one of the richest in the world.

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619 (1) *In Hasa and Kuwait* (East Arabia).

565 The 'Awazim tribe, probably of Hutaim origin, and originally a serf-community of the 'Ajmán.

The Rashaída Tribe—certainly of Hutaim origin; originally serfs of the Mutair, and retainers of the Shaikhs of Kuwait from earliest times.

(2) *In North-West Arabia.*

The Hutaim—A large and very powerful group of tribes, who generally acknowledge the overlordship of Shaikhs Ibn Barak and Ibn Naumas. (The Shararat tribe, for instance, forms part of the great Hutaim group.)

(3) *All over North and North Central Arabia.*

The Sulubba—The lowest, most despised of desert men, and said to be descendants of the Christian Crusaders. Great guides and hunters. (See Chapter XLI.)

(4) *Central and North Arabia.*

The Aqail or Agail*—residents of Qasim and Baghdad. From time immemorial camel-dealers of the desert.

The great house of Al Bassam are Aqailis.

[326] (5) Not to be confused with the above, are the Al Sana,† a community of ironmongers, farriers and arms-repairers, sections of whom each Sharif tribe [illegible] and possesses as part of itself. *Sanna* is the plural of *Sana*, e.g. Sanna al Mutair, Sanna al Rashid, etc.

[582] No Sharif Ar[illegible] take a daughter from (or give a daughter to) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) above. His own tribe would not tolerate it, and his relations would kill the offender. The excuse would be that he [628] was spoiling the tribe's blood. Everyone will remember the shooting of the capable 'Abdullah Beg al Sana, Governor of Baghdad in 1932, by His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha al Sa'adun, because of the former's foolish attempt to marry the Europeanised daughter of His Excellency 'Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Prime Minister of Iraq. The true Arab of the desert, from Bin Sa'ud downward, not only condoned the murder, but highly approved it.

361 * The Aqail or Agail are, of course, not a Badawin tribe in any sense of the word, for they live in the towns. They more correctly should be termed a *hadhar* community.

† Members of this clan have often risen to the highest positions of trust under various Arab Rulers as well as under the Turks.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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from the kin of the Ka'ṭa'a. Sa'lân was the son of worthy parents. Although he had no property of his own, he had charge of the camel herdsmen of the al-Mur'êz kin in the capacity of a fedâwi, free born servant. The herds grazed in the environs of a certain settlement in Negd. The Ka'ṭa'a once stole flocks of sheep and goats from the settlers and drove their camels into their fields. The settlers rushed out, captured the herds of camels, and hid them in the enclosed palm gardens. The Rwala surrounded the settlement, but they could not break down the defence, and the settlers threatened that the captured camels would die of hunger if the Rwala did not abandon the blockade. Accordingly the head chief of the Rwala made an offer of peace to the elder of the settlers. The elder declared that he would not negotiate except with his acquaintance Sa'lân and that he would not give up the camels except to him. The representatives of the Frege and Ribillân pleaded with the chief to give Sa'lân the seal ring, and this was done. Sa'lân went to the elder and came to terms with him. The settlers returned the captured camels. All praised Sa'lân and said that he was a gentleman. Sa'lân remained in the settlement and did not return the ring to the head chief. The settlers, the Frege, and the Ribillân supported him, and after four years he overthrew the head chief and himself guided the destinies of all the Rwala. A struggle for priority ensued between the head chief Eben Sa'lân with his Rwala and chief al-Seyfi of the Kwalbe. The latter belonged to the Kahaṭan division of the 'Anazah. Originally they camped in Negd. Under their chief al-Seyfi they advanced to the territory of the Rwala and encamped to the east of al-Gowf.[30] They wished to act and rule in complete independence, but the Rwala declared that they must acknowledge the Rwala supremacy or else withdraw. Thereupon the Kwalbe joined with the Sammâr and Zefîr[31] and undertook a great raid upon the tribes obeying Eben Sa'lân. They were led by the seven sons of al-Seyfi. The Kwalbe and Sammâr wished to avenge their great

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30 al-Gowf: oasis, northern Negd; Arabic *ḡ* or *G* – *Gowf al-'Amir*. *Gowf al-'Amir*, the ancient Dûmat al-Gandal, a great oasis and suburbs in the south of the Syrian Desert and on the border of the Nefûd. *Gowf* signifies a hollow or low ground. The Sami's of *Gowf* are greatly esteemed in all northwestern Arabia and in the lands beyond the Jordan for their skill in metal- and marble-working (coffee mortars and pestles). There is a sale traffic from the neighborhood of *Gowf* to the Hawrân, whither there came every year many poor Gowfan to labor for the Druses. Cf. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*: *Gowf* (North), pp. 18, 36, 116, 137 ff., 162 ff., 170, 173, 247, 250 ff., 256, 266 ff.; *Gowf* (South), pp. 31, 36, 198, 200, 201, 210, 214. On the occupation of *Gowf* by Eben Sa'ûd and the abandonment of the oasis by the ar-Rwala consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, etc., p. 19. *Gowf* is mentioned by T. E. Lawrence in the First World War as Nuri Eben Sa'lân's capital (*Revolt in the Desert*, p. 39).

31 On the tribe of *Az-Zefîr* consult Abûn Musli, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 24; *idem*, *Northern Negd*, p. 169; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 13.

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5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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where wells are somewhat close together and the for-
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised, chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a lesser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure luxury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk just as humans do. They are kept and treated as household pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail partially or completely, and then the animals die by thousands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the land. Little children die because there is no food suitable for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed, and the whole community waits and prays for more rain the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a

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mere trifle. Probably the only part of the outfit that would have any commercial value at all is the black goat's-hair tent, which affords a poor shelter from the cold in winter and from the heat in summer. And along with extreme poverty there goes an astonishing lack of any sense of cleanliness or order. The tent of a Bedouin could be little more disorderly if it were taken by some giant hand, shaken like a dice box, and the contents allowed to rest where they fell. The furniture consists of few things and poor. There are the remnants of one or more cotton stuffed quilts. These are both bed and bed clothes. There are a few skins to hold drinking water and a few skin basins. Some shaped sticks are tied together to make camel saddles. The outfit will also include a copper kettle for the cooking of food, a battered coffee pot for the making of coffee and usually a wooden bowl. This bowl, which may be the only eating utensil belonging to the household, has probably never been washed in its history. At times milk is drunk out of it, and at times rice and meat are eaten from it. The grease with which it is covered has long since exceeded the absorption limit of the wood and for years has been plastered on to the outside. Under such circumstances the prevalence of disease excites no wonder; the wonder is that many maintain excellent health.

The Bedouins clothes are a loin cloth beneath and shirt above, which shirt resembles a loose nightgown and reaches to his ankles. Over this is worn an old disreputable *aba* or cloak, in cut resembling nothing so much as a college gown. All of these are usually in a state of great disrepair and show an acute need of laundering. The town Arabs, who look with scorn on the desert Bedouin, assert that when he buys a new undershirt, he puts

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parently meeting with no great obstacle on the way. In five minutes everybody is filled to repletion. Pounds of meat have been consumed and bushels of rice. The side dishes are empty. Enormous wooden bowls of buttermilk are brought in and the meal washed down with great draughts of this favorite Arab drink. It is not remarkable that after a feast everybody expects to take a nap. So ends the festivity and the Bedouin settles down once again to his meager and poverty-stricken existence in the desert.

Life as a nomad shepherd brings the Bedouin into naked and constant contact with nature. He is out of doors almost all of the time, and his tent with its rents and holes hardly serves to separate him from the outside world to any significant degree even when he is inside. The sun over him by day and the moon and stars by night, the long stretches of sand and the rough rocky plains, the sand storms which are the terror of the desert, the fierce heat of the summer and the frosts of the winter, all of these are his constant companions. He learns to know the wilderness as few know it. The tracks of the various animals in the sand are to him an easily legible history of the happenings of several days back. Thus he lives not simply in contact with nature but rather immersed in it. The desert may be cruel, but he pines away if transplanted. His life may be hard, but he wants nothing else.

Yet strangely enough, in spite of his intense love for the desert and its freedom, all the beauties in nature around him fall on blind eyes as far as the Bedouin is concerned. Even the desert sunset and the moon-lit sand dunes apparently stir no responsive chord in his heart. It is as if all such things had been stripped off

2k. Fisher S-4 (no date) 1960 M1 Middle East M1
Bedouin MJ+ 15

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

Shawat, Bamjra and the Beiliyin. Until recently these nomads were chiefly engaged in sheep and goat rearing, while camel-breeding has been progressively abandoned. 361 283

Already in the 1930's all the Beersheba tribes were in an advanced stage of the process of transition to permanent settlement. While before the First World War the Bedouin depended almost exclusively on stock-breeding, in 1931 42 868 of them claimed cultivation, and only 5 113 animal rearing, as their chief source of livelihood.[1] 166x 233

This development was the result of a series of economic factors: the decline of the camel market,[2] successive years of drought and famine in the Negev,[3] the increased value attached to land in the wake of Zionist land purchases and the ready market that agricultural produce found in the growing Jewish settlements. 178 166x

Many Bedouin began to attend to cultivation in a more regular fashion although they remained for the time being semi-nomads wandering with their flocks except for the seasons of sowing and harvesting. 361 241 166x

The sheikhs and more prominent members of the tribes began 342

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1. Report of 1931 census of Palestine
2. This loss was largely compensated by breeding other types of livestock.
3. More than half of the years 1871 - 1909 were seasons of drought. The war years 1914-18 constituted a continuous period of famine the severity of which the Negev had not experienced prior to the war. מלר

ספר ארץ-ישראל, 1939 ,ר' 180-181

342 as early as the 1930's to have stone houses constructed for their private use.[1]

361 During the years of prosperity in the middle of the 30's a
241 number of Bedouin groups in the Negev made use of mechanical harvesters which they borrowed from the Jewish colonists of Gedorah.[2] Not all the tribesmen, however, were actively engaged in agriculture. As late as 1942 the Tarabin had their lands cultivated by tenant farmers and day laborers from South Judean villages.[3]

K166 Among the Bedouin of Northern Palestine the trend towards
241 sedentarization dates back to the 1920's, when many of the tribes-
243 men began to engage in agriculture.[4] In the 1930's all the nomads of the Sharon, Jezreel and the Galilee were in the possession of land which was cultivated either by the tribesmen or tenant farmers.[5] Contrary to the Bedouin of the Beersheba district the nomads of Northern Palestine were quick to learn the value of law and order.[6] Under the influence of neighboring fellahin the tribesmen have become increasingly attached to the land and pre-occupied with agriculture. Although methods of cultivation remained very primitive, an improvement of conditions has been observed since the 1930's.[7]

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1. Ashbourne, 1938, p. 17
2. Ibid.
3. Polish, 1942
4. Ashbourne, 1938, p. 15
5. Ibid., pp. 3-4
6. Ibid., p. 16
7. Ibid., p. 27

Social transformation of the Bedouin

When the Bedouin settle down, they gradually adopt the 177
fellah's mode of living. As their contact with village and city 178
increases, they become familiar with modern implements, matches,
oil-lamps, etc.

The Ghawarneh of Northern Palestine, for example, live like 241
peasants engaged in intensive cultivation.[1] They grow rice, 166x
maize and peas. The women are occupied with net weaving, the 178
men join them in this work during the slack season in the fields. 511
They still dress like Bedouin, and most of them live in tents.
There are stone houses in which the family chief's dwell.[2] After
settlement, Bedouin customs and habits give way gradually to those
of the fellahin.

In the Ein-Fiem refugee camp (southern Syria) there are
Arab refugees who claim to be members of tribes that lived until
recently in Upper Galilee, around Lake Tiberias, near Beauvoir
and Safed. In July 1948, an inquiry was conducted among the
members of the camp concerning tribal habits and health conditions.[3]
The members of the tribes were agricultural folk, some small traders
and artisans. A part of them used to live permanently in stone 342
houses, others dwelt in houses during the winter months, in tents 166x
during the harvesting season. In a number of tribes only the
wealthy had houses, the poorer members lived permanently in tents.
Most of the tribal people were settled, one group for only 50 to
70 years.

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1. This was the situation prior to the Arab-Israeli war of 1948.
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 48
3. Gabrieli, 1950

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M24

621 about. Yet gossips they are, and expert in tearing others' reputations.
658 Many a desert tragedy has resulted from too glib a tongue. Ordinary sexual matters are discussed before small children with a frankness
664 and simplicity which modern educationists might approve, but which an English person may find at times embarrassing. The bearing of their young by camels, mares and ewes is not only an everyday topic, but mothers will take their children to watch the progress of such events, alongside their menfolk.

637 On the whole, Badawin women are extremely moral, though they might readily succumb to temptation were it to come their way. Fortunately it does not.

They go in for love affairs, of course, and married women are not above falling desperately in love with other men than their husbands. A woman's only hope in such a case (unless her man happens to be her first cousin) is to tell her husband the whole truth, and beg him to divorce her. This happens fairly often among the rank and file, though not among the senior ladies of the tribe or the shaikh's wives. Sir Richard Burton has said somewhere that among Badawin women who were separated from their menfolk during long absences in the desert when at war, abnormal and unnatural living was not uncommon. This I think a libel, or at least a grave exaggeration.

THE DAILY ROUND OF A BADAWIN FAMILY—"AN AUTUMN STUDY"

192. Time, Early November; Place, Wafra, 30 miles from the sea in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.

[342] The tent is pitched on a slight rise in the ground, so that if rain
612 comes the water will not flood the interior. Everyone is busy from earliest dawn to nightfall, especially the women and girls. A little rain has fallen, the first for eight months, and grass has just started sprouting in the hollows. Both camels and sheep are thin and scarcely able to walk any distance. The summer has been a terribly severe one. More rain is urgently needed, else the grass that has come up will wither again. The head of the family has ridden off on his mare the previous evening to see if better grazing exists 20 miles away. He will not be back till sunset to-day.

000 At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the 'adhan (call to prayer),

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJH

CHAPTER IV

The Tent and its Furnishings

A Badawin tent or *bait al sha'ar* is made up of strips of black or brown coarse cloth known as *fala'ij* (plural: *fijala*). These are woven from goats' hair or from sheep's wool, never from camel hair, so that the name "camel hair tents" is a misnomer. The length of each strip used, and the number of such strips, naturally depends on the importance and circumstances of the owner. An average shaikh, for instance, will have a tent of, say, six extra-broad strips, each seventy feet long and supported by four poles, while a poor man may have cheap narrow strips to his tent, each twenty-five feet long, with only two poles, possibly with one.

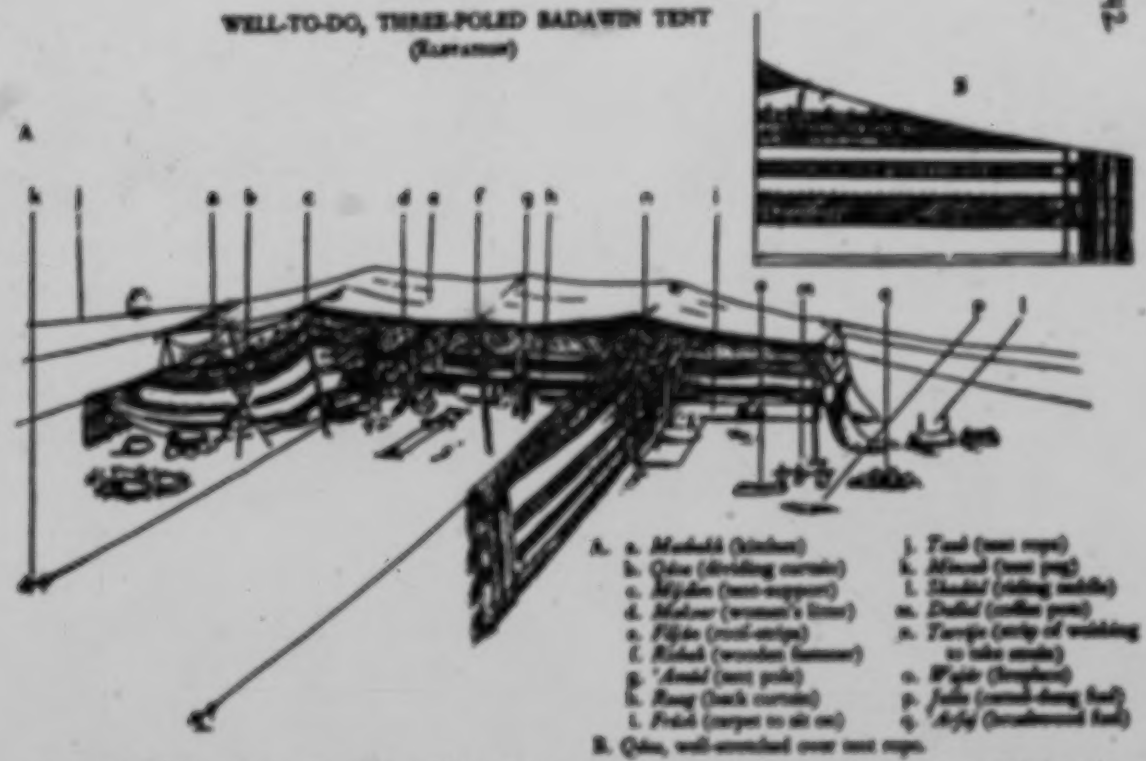
The true Badawin shaikh does not go in for bigger tents than the one described, as his movements from camp to camp would be hampered thereby. Among the leading Shaikhs of the 'Aniizah and Northern Shammar, such as Ibn Sha'alan, Ibn Hathal, Ajil al Yawwar and also among Arabian princes like the Al Sa'ud, the Shaikhs of Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar, tents of enormous size are the fashion. These, however, are practically used only when the owners are going out for the spring months to certain standing camps, from which they will sally forth and hunt gazelle, or hawk *hubara*. They would never be used for migration purposes.

To return to the tent: the strips are all sewn together so as to form one long rectangular whole, and are then raised up on the tent poles (*'amdah*) and the sides stretched taut by means of tent ropes (*amdil*).

The tent is then divided, usually by two or three long and gaily decorated curtains, known as *gata* (pronounced *gata*), which hang on the tent poles inside the tent to a height of some six feet from the ground. They have their ends attached to the roof at the back of the tent, and to the roof and the tent ropes on the open side respectively.

Each *gata* has one of its ends especially gaily decorated (see drawing of

WELL-TO-DO, THREE-POLED BADAWIN TENT
(Elevation)



Note.—A wall of 'arfaj bushes (Tamar or Andhra) is built in a semicircle round the front of the tent to keep out wind in winter. Not shown in the diagram.

A THREE-POLED BADAWIN TENT (Elevation)

NOTE.—A wall of 'aqfa is built up outside the tent on one or two sides to keep out the wind in winter. It is known as 'Tent or Buffer'.

a. kitchen
b. gaba (dividing curtain)
c. rafidan (front tent pole)
d. mahram (door)
e. fijlan (roof edge)
f. ridab
g. rafidan
h. 'amud (rear pole)
i. rang (back curtain)
j. gaba
k. general position of tent
l. rang
m. women's quarters
n. amud (rear angle)
o. ridab (rear pole)
p. shadad (middle)
q. ridab (front middle pole)
r. sarrija (webbing on arrangement over upper edge of angle)

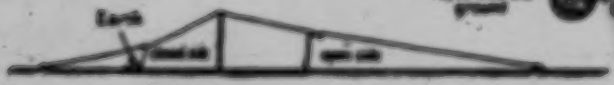
Tent Attachments

pole pp. 67 and 68). This downward end must face outwards on the side of the tent which is open. If the wind changes, and the reverse side of the tent is used, the pole must be taken down, turned round and refixed.

DETAILS

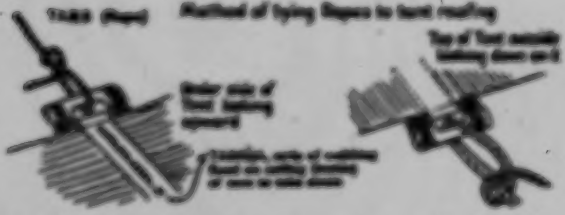
(a) Profile

(b) Elevation

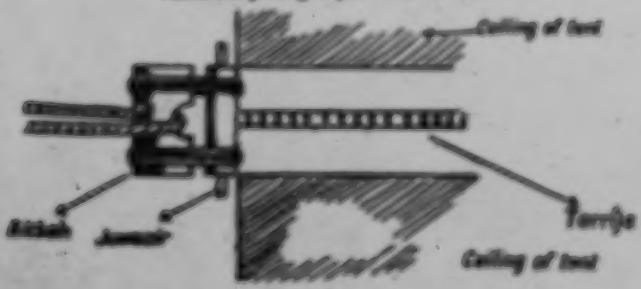


(c)

Method of lying Ropes to tent roofing



Method of Joining Ropes to Side of Tent



L. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Berkeley 1974

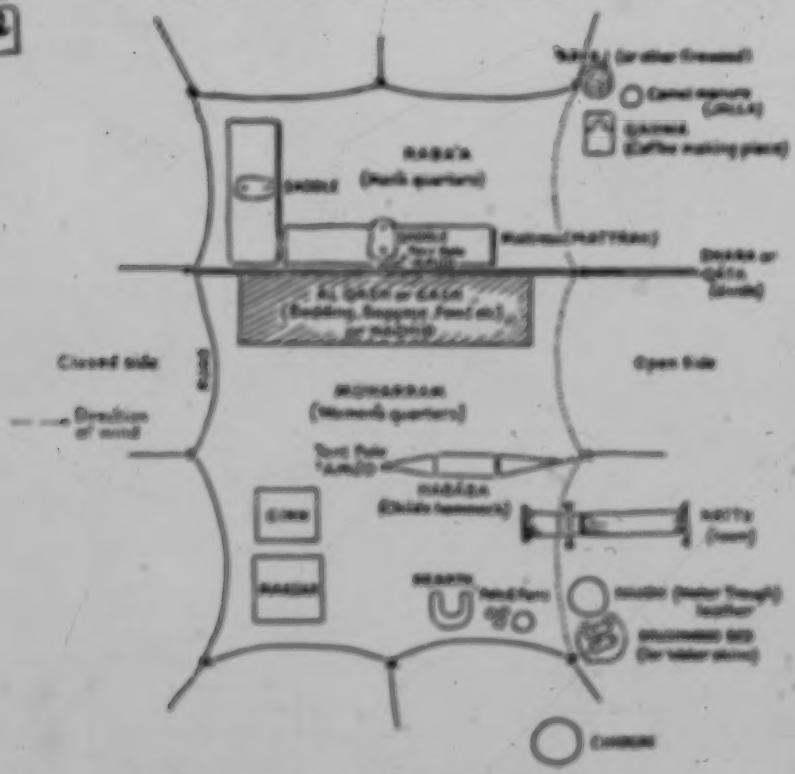
342. The number of tent ropes which support a tent in front and rear depend on the number of poles the tent has. Opposite each pole there will be two ropes, one in front and one behind, so that a tent of three poles will have six ropes (three on either side). Apart from these front

WELL-TO-DO, TWO-POLED BADAWIN TENT

(PLAN)

NOTE.—In Eastern Arabia the *Raba'a* (the men's portion of the tent) is always at the eastern end.

In a stone or mud house the men's portion is known as Al Diwaniyah.



and rear ropes, the two ends of the tents are kept stretched out taut by six other ropes, three at each end.

On the reverse side of each tent and stretching well round so as to shut in the two open ends, and with enough material to spare to close them at night from the front, are two long stretches of cloth known as

Tent Curtains

rusg, made up of four narrow strips each, which join in the centre 342
of the reverse side of the tent; these are attached to the tent sides by a series of bodkins known as *khilal*. The whole then hangs down in the form of a heavy curtain which, where it meets the earth, is buried in the sand for its whole length, or pegged down if the ground is hard.

The lowest strip which always is covered or buried in sand is of inferior material, as it gets most wear and damage from white ants and rain.

We thus have in the completed pitched tent the following main parts:

(a) The roof of the *bait al sha'ar* consisting of six strips *fijin* (singular: *fida'i*) joined together.
(b) The poles *'amdin* (singular: *'amud*).
(c) The partition curtains *gita*.
(d) The two rear curtains *rusg* joined together at centre of the back of the tent and stretching round the two ends.
(e) The tent ropes *amal* (singular: *mal*).

THE QITA OR DIVIDING CURTAIN

Patterns commonly found on Mutair and 'Ajman *gitas*, or the curtains which divide the tent, together with the particular names under which they are known, are given below. Although the number and name of each strip always remain the same, the actual pattern on each strip varies according to the tribe, and the time that is given to the making of each strip. This in particular applies to strips (1), (2) and (3).

The *gita* or divide is composed of four strips sewn together as under, and commencing from the top.

(1) The first strip or *saif* is all black with pattern (a) in the centre and pattern (b) above. Width one span plus four fingers.

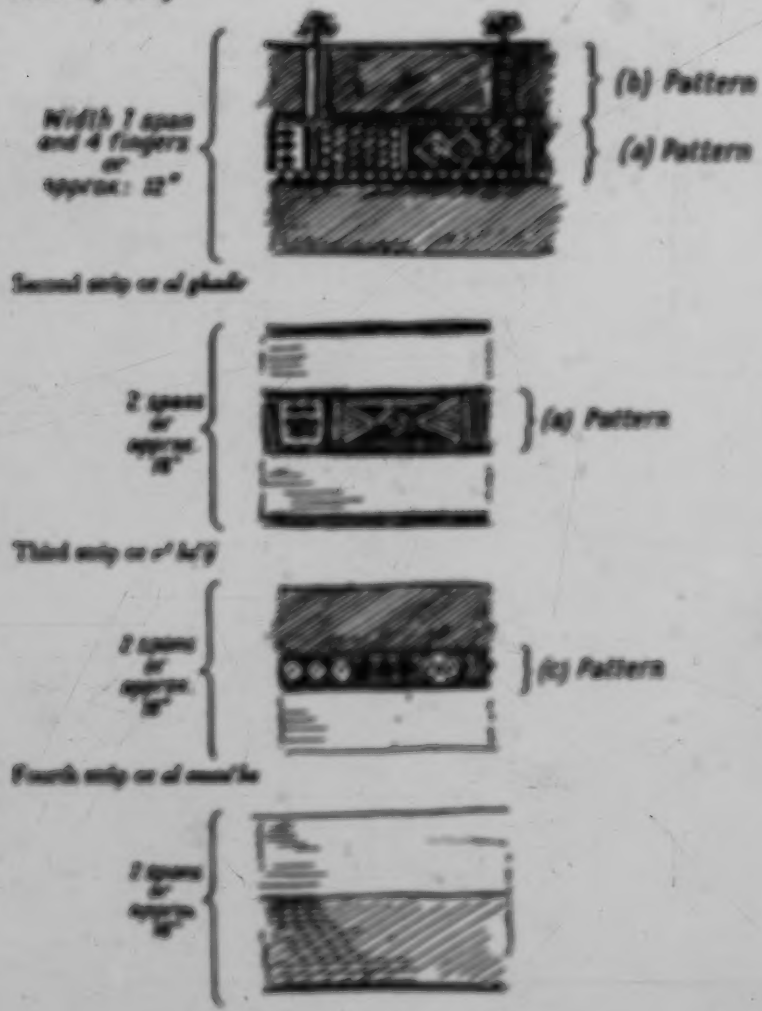
(2) The second strip or *al ghadir* is a white strip with a one-inch-wide black border in the centre of which is pattern (a). The width of *al ghadir* is two spans.

(3) The third strip or *al ha'ij* follows below *al ghadir*. Its upper half is black and lower half white with pattern (c) in the centre. Width also two spans.

(4) The fourth and last strip is *al mutu'ba*. This is the lowest piece and lies along the ground. Its upper half is white and its lower half light or dark brown. Width two spans.

h. Dickson G-5 (1939-47) 1951 Mi I Kuwait
Archives M24

342. DIAGRAM OF THE QĀTA



THE HAAN (or back curtains of a tent)

These consist of four strips sewn one on top of the other horizontally so as to form a long narrow curtain. Below is given a pattern very commonly used in the Kuwait and Hasa desert. The well-to-do

I. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Mt I Kuwait
Bedouin M14

342

men goes in for handsome black and white rugs, while the poor man practically always confines himself to plain brown or black ones.

These four strips are sewn together and placed round the back and sides of the Bedawin tent. The patterns vary slightly, some are without the second white strip. A coarse piece is woven and sewn along the bottom edge. This goes on the ground, and is usually covered with sand to weight it down. The shade of brown varies according to the wool available.

The weaving of the tent material is largely done by the inhabitants of the towns and villages bordering on the desert, and both in Kuwait and the neighbouring hamlets of Jahrah and the Qasr a good trade is done in this commodity. This does not mean that this work is not largely done in the tribes themselves, but the best qualities and strongest materials for shakhat' tents probably come from the towns.

Actually every humble tribal woman makes and renews the worn parts of her own tent, and only those with means go into the towns to buy. This was confirmed to me by Rifa'a, wife of Sulaih Thawainen ibn Sifra of the Mutair in 1934, and by many other women. The best and most sought after material is made of goats'* hair alone. It is jet black and is thicker than that made from sheep's wool. It also looks heavier. A good and favourite material is also of goats' hair and sheep's wool mixed. It has a smoky brown and black appearance and is handsome also. A noticeable feature are the tent ropes. They are made very 288
long, on the principle of a ship's anchor, heavier to take the strain. 342

* Probably the best are made by the Beni Lam tribe now known in Iraq.

Construction of Tent

283 These ropes are attached to the ground by wooden pegs if the ground
342 is firm, but if the soil is sandy the practice is to dig a hole two feet deep, tie the end of the rope round a bundle of *'arfaj* and bury the whole in the earth. An excellent anchor is thus formed, and a rope so treated
342 rarely comes away. When a man first buys a tent, he purchases the poles separately, next the necessary rolls of tent strips of the lengths he requires, then the *gatas*, ropes, side poles, etc., and lastly the back curtains.

He then hands the tent strips to his women, who start sewing them together under the experienced eye of one of the older women. Much skill and care is needed to sew up a tent so that it stands straight and does not give way at any of the seams, which are carefully drawn together and sewn with extra-strong all-goats'-hair thread.

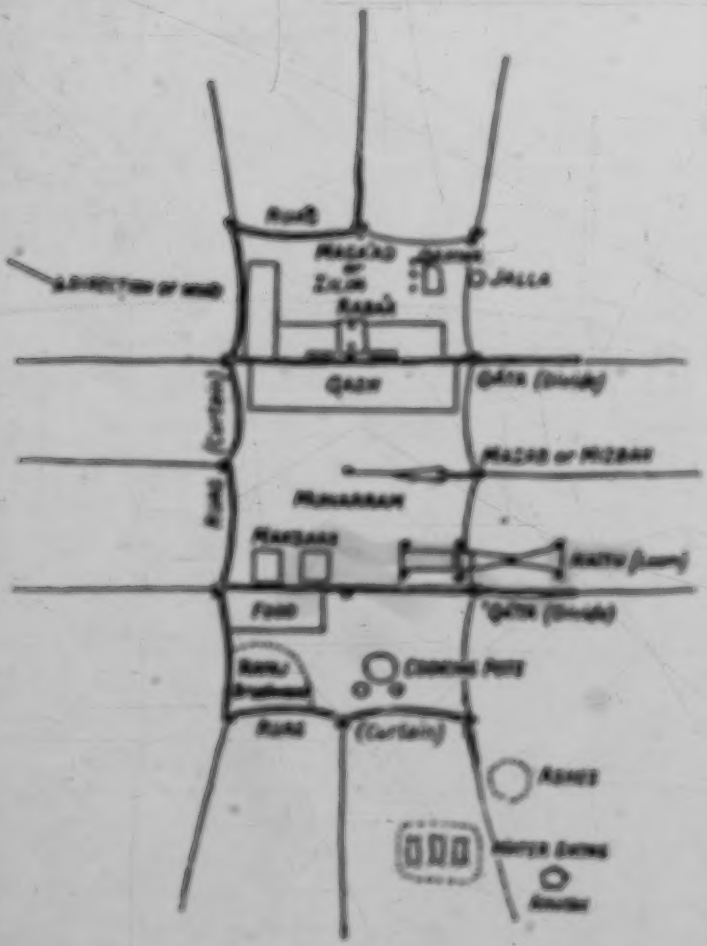
After the tent roof has been put together the *sarrijs* (plural: *sara'ij*) have to be sewn on from side to side on the underside to support the poles and take the strain of the ropes. These are extra-strong white-and-black patterned strips 6 inches in width (like the Indian *sawar*). Immediately over the spot where the roof bears on the tent poles, two strips of wood are sewn into the tent roof, each 1½ feet long, so as to prevent the tops of the poles tearing open the roof. Each wooden strip is called a *gatta*. These wooden strips are not evident to the naked eye as they are rolled sausage fashion into the tent roof where the centre strips join. Each pole is placed exactly under the centre of the wood, and when in position does not damage the tent cloth. In the north proper holes are made for the tops of the poles in the tent ceiling, but not so among the tribes of Hasa and Nejd.

Lastly the *rishak* (plural: *arsal*) or semicircular wood fasteners have to be sewn on to the ends of the *sarrijs* on which the ropes are fastened to the tent sides. This is a very important operation, as there must be no weakness here. The ropes (always thick hempen ones) are now tied to the tent and everything is ready for pitching.

342 The pitching process is always done by the women, assisted by
462 servants and slaves, occasionally also by a young son. It is supposed to be the women's particular job in life. The head of the family (*rai al bait*) directs the operation, and it is surprising to see how every person has a particular task allotted to him or her, knows it and sticks to it at every tent-pitching. The daughters of the house, for instance,

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins M/4

A THREE-POLED BADAWIN TENT (PLAN)



usually do the hammering in of the pegs with the long stone instru- 342.
ment known as *al fir*, while the manservants attend to the poles and 462.
supports, etc.

The following are the orders the owner of the tent gives to his women and servants in the form of a regular drill, addressing individuals by name. Of course they are accompanied by a lot of chat and talk which need not be detailed here.

L. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) DSI Ml I Kuwait
Reference 1424

942. (1) "Spread out the tent *ya 'ajuz!*" (O my people) (from its rolled up
1342. position when taken off the camel's back).
(2) "Smooth out the ropes *ya auldd!*" (O children) (so that they are at right angles to the tent).
(3) "Anchor the rope ends in the ground *ya fulan wa fulan!*" (O So-and-So).
(4) or "Drive in the pegs and wind the ropes round them — *Nuair.*"
(5) "Tighten the ropes *ya Hassa, ya Wadha.*"
(6) "Take a pull on the end ropes *ya Marzuk, ya Nuair.*"
(7) "Affix the *mujadar*" (front-side, support-poles.) This is done on side away from wind.
(8) "Raise the centre poles"—the men's job.
(9) "Raise the back side poles and remaining end side poles."
(10) "Now lay to and take a pull at all the ropes once more."
(11) "Now *rawwaga al bait*, i.e. attach the *rwag* or back and side curtains, and cover the lower edge with sand to keep them down."
(12) "Now affix the *gim* or partition curtains."
(13) Lastly, "Spread out the carpet and the *dawakhah* and get ready the women's and men's portions of the tent". Women's quarters centre and left (*marqad al hareim*), men's quarters right (*marqad al rijal*).

The tent is now fully pitched and the women place their treasures and stores in the centre portion of the tent, including their linens (*makaw, gim*, etc.), sleeping gear, blankets, food, etc., and transfer to the end compartment the cooking pots, cooking utensils, etc., turning it into a sort of kitchen.

MEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

952. In the men's portion of the tent are then unrolled a well-worn carpet
879 or two, the best *dawakhah* (mattresses), to sit on, and the master's own camel saddle covered with white or black sheepskin. Pillows (*mawsad*) are placed on both sides of this camel saddle, and also behind it for the guest's back to rest on, and generally the place is turned into a neat guest chamber for anyone who may
[411] come. The master now hangs up his rifle on a hook attached to the
415 tent pole in the guest chamber, and prepares a fireplace to make coffee
272 in the centre of the floor by digging out a shallow circular hole (*wajir*). This done, he gets out his row of three coffee pots (*dalla*), also a fourth "stock" pot, and lays them alongside the fireplace, together with the *mahawas* (coffee roasters) and *yad al mahawas* (coffee-berry stirrer).

below it ready to make *laben* (sour milk) with, or, if necessary, to hang 415
a sheep's carcass on, preparatory to skinning it.

A fuller description and names of the articles found in both men's and women's portions of the tent will be found in Chapter V.

POSITION OF TENT WITH REGARD TO THE WIND

Tents are always pitched with one of their long sides facing in the 342
direction of the wind. Hence in the eastern and north-eastern part of 192.
Arabia, where there are two very common prevailing winds, the *Shamal* (north-west wind) and the *Kaus* (south-east wind), it is the general rule to see black tents pitched with their longer axis facing towards the north-west. This does not mean that tents are opened towards the side from which the wind is blowing—the contrary is the case, and the side of the tent is always closed in the direction from which the wind is blowing, and the sheltered side opened.

The side which is open is called *wajh al bait* (the face of the tent), the closed side *gafa al bait* (the back of the tent). Should the wind suddenly change, as often happens during the rainy seasons, it is necessary for the inhabitants of the tent to change the "face" of the tent at once. Otherwise the wind gets under the tent, billows it up, and if it does not carry it away, at least causes the tent poles to fall and lets the tent then collapse upon its occupants. A sudden change of wind therefore means confusion and loss of sleeping. The owner's first and immediate orders are, "Change the back wall, my children, the wind has come", or in Arabic, *Jaina al hawa, dakhara al bait ya awalad*. The excited women and servants thereupon rush about, drop the front bamboo supports (facing the wind), quickly unpin the back curtains and carry them round to the side from which the wind is blowing, and again as quickly pin them on to the tent roof, and bury their bottom edges in the sand; the side poles are next put out at the edge of the tent roof facing away from the wind, each under a rope, and lastly the tent partition curtains are taken down, reversed and fixed up again with the embroidered ends extending out of the tent and thrown back over the tent ropes. The whole process takes a surprisingly short time.

Of course, in very hot weather the Badawin wants to take advantage of the slightest breeze, so he rolls up the back curtain or unpins several

b Dickson c-3 (1929-47) 1951 Ml 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M34

342 yards of it so as to let portions of it lie on the ground: the breeze in
132 this manner percolates into every part of the tent. If the sun is very strong, a locally woven carpet (usually some shade of orange) is hung up near the tent roof between poles and is pinned to the underside of the tent roof. This doubles the thickness of the tent and brings relief.

In very cold weather, on the other hand, the tent can be closed from the front by drawing inwards the embroidered ends of the *ghiu* (which already extend several yards outside the tent) and by joining the ends near the middle of the tent side. The top edge is then pinned to the edge of the roof of the tent as is done in the case of the back curtain. This encloses the tent completely and gives great cosiness and warmth to the occupants. Similarly, the ends of the *rusg* are brought right round the guest quarters and the woman's cookhouse respectively, and turn those places into warm corners to sit in.

NOTE.—The men's quarter of a tent or *rahe'a* is always situated at the east end of the tent, irrespective of which way the tent is facing. This is the universal rule in Eastern and North-Eastern Arabia.

Similarly it is the rule for a tent to be pitched with its longer axis at right angles to the north-west wind (*Shawal*). In inner Najd, and especially among 'Utaiba tribe, the longer axis facing the north-west is the rule, and the tent is opened at its ends only. The *rahe'a* here is at southern end.

THE TENT DOGS

231 Every tent has its watch-dogs, and also (especially amongst the 'Ajman, 'Awazim and Mutair) a *salûqi* or two. The former are fierce, shaggy animals who usually have their ears cut off short to make them good fighters. Their heads are broad, rather like our bull-terrier type, and they are fierce and very powerfully built. These dogs guard the camels and sheep at night from wolves and strangers, and are trained to move round and round the tents all night in a large circle. The incoming or departing guest usually has a busy time keeping off these savage dogs, who bark at his heels in a most disconcerting manner, and are only kept back by a continual motion of his cane behind him, or
231 by the shouts of the occupants of the tent. The watch-dog usually
225 sleeps outside the women's apartments and is fed with little bits of rice, bread and dates that are left over from the meals. It is never allowed inside the tents, being unclean (*najis*). The *salûqis* (pronounced *salûqi*,

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

231 plural: *salag*), on the other hand, are regarded as clean, especially by
325 those Badawin following the Maliki tenets of Islam (who are in the majority in Hasa and Kuwait), and they are allowed to enter tents and sleep in the women's portion at will. They are valued for hunting purposes, and are taught to kill hare and gazelle for the pot. Great care is taken that there shall be no interbreeding between the tent watch-dogs and the *salúqi*, and when the female *salúqi* of the household is on heat one of her hind legs is attached by a leather thong to her collar, thus forcing her to sit down, which effectually prevents a heavy dog covering her.

A STRANGER ARRIVING AT A TENT

516 A stranger arriving must approach a Badawin tent from the front only. It is the worst of bad form to come up from the back. He must then approach the guest side of the tent and halt and make his camel kneel while some way off. This shows that he wants a night's rest or some food. He must never approach or halt his camel near the women's end of the tent (*muharram*). The purpose of this custom is to give the women time to adjust their *burqas* or veils whilst the visitor is some distance off. Were the visitor to come up from behind, he might come upon an unveiled woman attending to nature or washing her hair, or cleaning kitchen utensils.

FAVOURITE SPOTS FOR PITCHING TENTS

342 In choosing a tent site the proximity of water is, of course, the first essential. Next, the nature of the grazing decides where a man will wish to pitch his tent. If he is migrating with the tribe or part of the tribe, the tent owner leaves the selection of the area to be camped on to the shaikh, but tries for the convenience of himself and his family to get as close as possible to a sandy nullah or dry water course with
342 high banks. This is very important, for it allows the whole household,
515 and especially the women, to attend to their toilet and other sanitary
514 duties out of sight and in sandy surroundings which are ideally healthful. In this connection a Badawin (male or female) never unnecessarily soils the ground, but makes a point of digging a small hole in the sand, which he afterwards fills in. If water is scarce, as more often than not

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJH

342 it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
515 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier
514 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

515 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
233 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

492 When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jamal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family
[291] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *maksars* or *ginas*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalâls*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *mawakh al dhalâl* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

701 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
221 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalâls* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*shâr*) have

A Lewd Story

Chap. XLIV

AN 'AJMAN STORY TOLD AT THE EXPENSE OF THE 'AWAZIM

539 The 'Awazim tribe use a curious expression which differs from
342 that of all other tribes. When they want to put up the back and side walls of their tent (*rawg*) instead of saying, *Ya falan rawg al bait* ("O, So-and-so, place the side curtains round the tent"), as it is said by all self-respecting tribes, they say, *Ya falan, izir al bait* ("So-and-so, make the tent respectable"). This particular expression is said to recall a rather lewd story about their tribe, of which they are heartily ashamed. The story is of 'Ajman origin and is as follows:

639 A young 'Ajman warrior once had his tent close to that of an 'Azmi (singular of 'Awazim), who was on very friendly terms with him. Both young men had pretty sisters who often played together, when their brothers were out with the camels or away raiding. The young men themselves were unmarried, as neither had the wherewithal to buy himself a wife. One day as the two lads were coming home after a long day's hunting, the 'Ajman youth said to the 'Azmi, "What do you say to exchanging sisters this evening—I take yours and you take mine, no one is about or near us, let us enjoy ourselves?" The 'Azmi having agreed, both on reaching their camp told their sisters. The girls also agreed, but the 'Ajman youth before he actually sent his sister off to his friend's tent warned her saying, "Be very careful not to let that low-born 'Azmi really mishandle you; if you do, I shall certainly kill you. When he comes to make love you must roll about the floor and avoid his embrace, and generally prevent him working his will on you."

The two youths then took each the other's sister to bed, but the clever 'Ajman girl would not allow the 'Azmi to get near her, and by rolling about and ever escaping his clutches, managed to do as her brother had told her. Maddened with disappointment the 'Azmi called out to his sister in the other tent saying, "Do not let my friend touch you but do as this one is doing, roll about, roll about (*rawagi, rawagi*)". His sister's voice came in reply, "My brother, I cannot, I cannot, it is already too late".

Since that time the 'Awazim tribe never use the expression *rawagi al beit* to a woman, or to a man *rawag al bait*.

174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
69 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Banī Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Rawālah 'Anizah, the Shawāfir, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Jawārin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shāhib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khuzaibah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Banī Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Banī Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Banī Sa'īd, a tribe of the Jazīrah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

69 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
101 groups. The Banī Sa'īd, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawīn more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

69 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
101 and the Euphrates above and below Nāsiriyah; they are therefore
233 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawīyah type (Shawāwī), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the [342] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed [241] villages by the rivers to till the fields.
330

Appendix I

Arms.—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish manner, while the long .303, short .303, German manner, and Turkish cavalry manner are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Ibn Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Ibn Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

(a) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(b) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(c) Their remarkable propensity for charming. They love a joke.

The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Murair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Murair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Murair, Shammar, Sbai, and Sahul tribes.

In the 1929–30 Ikhwan rebellion against Ibn Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Murair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (Ibn 'Urbain) destroyed fourteen of Ibn Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Ibn Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

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P 396 (A)

[CAPTION APPEARS ON P. 396 (B). ANALYST]

35: Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

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[illegible] One of the small black Arab [illegible] Hamerdah [illegible]. This type belongs exclusively to sand-dwelling tribes and is never used on the stagnant or plain [illegible]. Beside the two canoes in [illegible], [illegible] the long pointed shovel of a Western Arab; in front, placed upside-down, is a ladder brought from which his canoes are [illegible]. Behind the Hamerdah are [illegible] Arab children, a lively lot, [illegible] [illegible], where the desert sand is [illegible], the little girls wear [illegible] [illegible] round their hips. The children are fed mainly on camel's milk and [illegible] a broad mash of millet [illegible] from the more [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible]

P 896 (B)

/s/ woman. Their mode of life is very much like
543 that of other Anaiza Beduins (not like Sulubba), but owing to the taint in their blood, no Beduin tribe will intermarry with them.

OTHER BASE-BORN TRIBES

While the Sulubba are the lowest of the ignoble tribes, they are not alone. Arabia is full of base-born tribesmen, with whom the "thoroughbred" Beduin will not intermarry.

Hazim

These people seem to be a tribe of almost
[463] as low standing as the Sulubba. They do not, however, work as tinkers or hunters, but live a pastoral life, like the Beduins. The Hazim live around Jauf or with the Ruwalla.

Sherarat

They live principally around Jauf, where they are collected into a considerable tribe, but members of the Sherarat are found scattered among the Ruwalla, Beni, Sakhr, Huwaitat, and
[463] Shammar. Among these tribes the Sherarat perform the menial tasks of servants and herdsmen.

The origin of the Sherarat is unknown. They are not as debased as the Sulubba, but they are
● 542 far inferior to the Beduins. Their tents are
515 usually very small and ragged, and their clothing even dirtier and much scantier than that of the ordinary Beduins.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 1434

At that time I had vainly tried to find the sons of a *shrykh* called Achmed Hafiz, whose name will be known to readers of Homer Davenport's book, "My Quest of the Arab Horse" (New York, 1908). It was from this Achmed Hafiz that Davenport (with whose sister I became well acquainted in California) bought twenty-seven Arab horses in 1906.

On my arrival in Aleppo, my first task was to find the *wakil*. The directions led me to a mediæval building near the citadel. The entrance was barred by an enormous iron-studded timber gate. From the courtyard behind it I could hear the well-known guttural accents of Bedouins. I knocked repeatedly without response. Suddenly, however, with creaking hinges, the huge gate flew wide open, and out galloped four horsemen, almost running me down. Squeezed flat against a stone pillar, I looked in amazement after the small cavalcade that disappeared in a cloud of dust round the beetling ramparts of the old Crusader's castle.

When I turned my eyes to the entrance again, I saw standing before me in the doorway a Bedouin unusually big for his race, a good six feet high, who scrutinized me critically without "batting an eyelid" and without responding to my greeting. At length he coolly laid an arm round my shoulders and, in no very amiable manner, pulled me within, while with his other arm he gave a tug at a long rusty chain, which effectively closed the gate.

My eyes fell on a caravanserai that made me fancy myself back in the days of the Caliphs. The yard was not exactly tidy, but it looked better than many a khan

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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P. Rasan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 54

I had seen in Istambul and Baghdad. Scattered about 351
higgeldy-piggeldy, in peaceful contentment, was a min- 231
gled assortment of camels, horses, asses, goats, and sheep. Lazily the lean, shaggy beasts munched the chaff spread for them on worn-out bast mats and hides. Camel-drovers, muffled in their frayed cloaks, were squatting about. Dirty children tumbled boisterously over the humps of the camels and darted in and out between their legs, while the animals, with blinking eyes and drooping ears, patiently put up with the sport. Pigeons continually fluttered between the court and the old bastions and turrets, and, sailing low over the battlemented walls, small vultures circled on motionless wings, croaking hungrily, with baleful eyes ever on the watch for a meal.

"Whence cometh thou?" the big fellow questioned 604
without any form of introduction and with scant courtesy. I reached into my breast pocket and drew from it the letter of recommendation, much crumpled and stained, and with it, inadvertently, a photographic reproduction of Homer Davenport's well-known drawing, "Haleb's Farewell to the Desert." The picture shows Sheykh Achmed Hafiz and his Bedouin friends witnessing the departure of that celebrated Arab stallion, Haleb, which the Turkish governor of Syria had given Davenport as a present. My tall friend grabbed both letter and picture from my hand and fingered them clumsily. Suddenly he discovered on the photograph familiar faces and figures. A thunderbolt could not have produced greater consternation in the tranquil courtyard than did the giant's frantic exclamations at this sudden recognition. His surprise was comical. Stuttering

Ex Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M.34

mere trifle. Probably the only part of the outfit that would have any commercial value at all is the black goat's-hair tent, which affords a poor shelter from the cold in winter and from the heat in summer. And along with extreme poverty there goes an astonishing lack of any sense of cleanliness or order. The tent of a Bedouin could be little more disorderly if it were taken by some giant hand, shaken like a dice box, and the contents allowed to rest where they fell. The furniture consists of few things and poor. There are the remnants of one or more cotton stuffed quilts. These are both bed and bed clothes. There are a few skins to hold drinking water and a few skin basins. Some shaped sticks are tied together to make camel saddles. The outfit will also include a copper kettle for the cooking of food, a battered coffee pot for the making of coffee and usually a wooden bowl. This bowl, which may be the only eating utensil belonging to the household, has probably never been washed in its history. At times milk is drunk out of it, and at times rice and meat are eaten from it. The grease with which it is covered has long since exceeded the absorption limit of the wood and for years has been plastered on to the outside. Under such circumstances the prevalence of disease excites no wonder; the wonder is that many maintain excellent health.

The Bedouins clothes are a loin cloth beneath and shirt above, which shirt resembles a loose nightgown and reaches to his ankles. Over this is worn an old disreputable *aba* or cloak, in cut resembling nothing so much as a college gown. All of these are usually in a state of great disrepair and show an acute need of laundering. The town Arabs, who look with scorn on the desert Bedouin, assert that when he buys a new undershirt, he puts

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek "protection" from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

Arrival in Camp

K 701 at Wafra, so I am going to enquire his reasons for being there. Ibn Shaja'an has the unsavoury reputation of being cruel and overbearing to the Badawin, and like so many of his type—though a Mutairi by origin—he has been bred in Hofuf, and has imbibed many of the harsh characteristics of his master, 'Abdullah bin Jiluwi.* It is a [K 187] curious fact that cruelty, conceit and a generally objectionable manner often spoil the character of a tribesman who for any length of time lives in a town.

K 132 We leave Kuwait at 12.30 p.m., and after a car run of 24 hours we reach Arsifjan. There is a cool *shamal* blowing, but [K 291] in spite of moving with it, I need a sweater and *farwah* (the *ghitr*-lined, long Badawin cloth cloak with sleeves, fashionable among the 'Anizah and Northern Badawin). At 3 p.m. I catch the first glimpse of my camp. It is on the right of the rough track, and half a mile south of one of my previous camps of the year before. K 187 The tents are pitched among the thick *'arfaj* bushes which are a feature of Arsifjan. Everything, however, is dry, and except for a few *gaghraf* bushes (*hamdh*) which are in full bloom, there is nothing green to be seen at all. No, I am wrong, for in the rainy patches there are splashes of emerald green *hawa* (also one of the *hamdh* family) which show up strangely in the dry countryside.

B 24 My camp of black hair tents is pitched in a long line, each tent facing south-east:

"A" is my tent; "B" that of my servant and huntsman; "C" is Salim's tent; "D" is Dhuwaihi's, the blind Azmi who resides with his two sons, Falih and Nâsir (they are the shepherds); "E" is the tent of our *gasir* or neighbour, Sâleh, the Mutairi, who has asked permission to camp with Salim for a few days; "F" is my privy tent.

Very peaceful and quiet it all is—and I am not expected.

B 352 Suddenly we are seen, and there is much running to and fro, and carrying of *dukhaks* and camel saddles from the women's quarters of Salim's tent to mine. Carpets and *galins* are quickly unrolled, the tent partitions (*gata*) are fixed in place, and by the time the car draws up in front of my tent, everything is ready to give me welcome.

* Bin Jiluwi died on 31st October, 1935. He was according to Arab standards an undoubtedly great man, and a man of extraordinary courage. He was one of the twenty-three paladins who helped to seize Riyadh with Bin Sa'ud when the latter won his kingdom, but he was unfortunately a man without a spark of softness or mercy in his make-up.

L. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MS I Kuwait
Bodleian 5434

N2. The number of tent ropes which support a tent in front and rear depend on the number of poles the tent has. Opposite each pole there will be two ropes, one in front and one behind, so that a tent of three poles will have six ropes (three on either side). Apart from these front

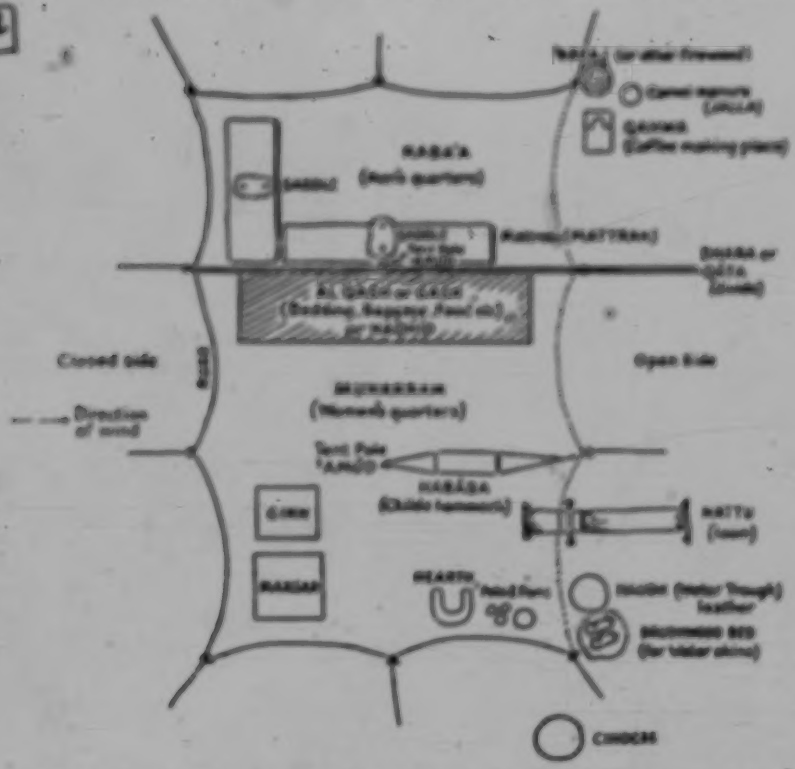
WELL-TO-DO, TWO-POLED BADAWIN TENT

(Plan)

Note.—In Eastern Arabia the *Raba'a* (the men's portion of the tent) is always at the eastern end.

In a stone or mud house the men's portion is known as Al Diwaniyah.

[Pl. 162]



and rear ropes, the two ends of the tents are kept stretched out taut by six other ropes, three at each end.

On the reverse side of each tent and stretching well round so as to shut in the two open ends, and with enough material to spare to close them at night from the front, are two long stretches of cloth known as

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

342 462 (1) "Spread out the tent *ya 'aiyál*" (O my people) (from its rolled up position when taken off the camel's back).
(2) "Stretch out the ropes *ya auládi*" (O children) (so that they are at right angles to the tent).
(3) "Anchor the rope ends in the ground *ya fulan wa fulan*" (O So-and-So).
(4) or "Drive in the pegs and wind the ropes round them *ya Nasir*."
(5) "Tighten the ropes *ya Hussa, ya Wadha*."
(6) "Take a pull on the end ropes *ya Marzuk, ya Nasir*."
(7) "Affix the *majadim*" (front-side, support-poles.) This is done on side away from wind.
(8) "Raise the centre poles"—the men's job.
(9) "Raise the back side poles and remaining end side poles."
(10) "Now lay to and take a pull at all the ropes once more."
(11) "Now *rawwagu al bait*, i.e. attach the *ruag* or back and side curtains, and cover the lower edge with sand to keep them down."
(12) "Now affix the *qáta* or partition curtains."
(13) Lastly, "Spread out the carpet and the *dawáshaks* and get ready the women's and men's portions of the tent". Women's quarters centre and left (*margad al harim*), men's quarters right (*margad al rijál*).

The tent is now fully pitched and the women place their treasures and stores in the centre portion of the tent, including their litters (*maksar*, *ginn*, etc.), sleeping gear, blankets, food, etc., and transfer to the end compartment the cooking pots, cooking utensils, etc., turning it into a sort of kitchen.

MEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

352 574 In the men's portion of the tent are then unrolled a well-worn carpet or two, the best *dawáshaks* (mattresses), to sit on, and the master's own camel saddle covered with white or black sheepskin. Pillows (*masanad*) are placed on both sides of this camel saddle, and also behind it for the guest's back to rest on, and generally the place is turned into a neat guest chamber for anyone who may [411] come. The master now hangs up his rifle on a hook attached to the 415 tent pole in the guest chamber, and prepares a fireplace to make coffee 272 in the centre of the floor by digging out a shallow circular hole (*wujár*). This done, he gets out his row of three coffee pots (*dalla*), also a fourth "stock" pot, and lays them alongside the fireplace, together with the *mahmása* (coffee roaster) and *yed al mahmása* (coffee-berry stirrer).

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Last of all he places in position the *shat finajin* (brass case for coffee 415
cups) alongside the *yed wal hdwan* (brass pestle and mortar), the 272
mubarrad (wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans), the *mukhbát* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee), the *lifa* (coir piece to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and finally the *makhbár* (incense burner). All is now ready to receive a guest, except that the actual coffee beans, the cardamum seed to mix with the coffee, the firewood (*'arfaj* bush) and the *jalla* camel manure (in place of coal) and the drinking water, is round in the women's part of the tent or outside it, and will have to be fetched.

As a guest is seen arriving these last necessities are brought and by 574
the time he sits down, firewood, *jalla*, etc., all are ready to hand.

The scheme of things in a poor Badawin tent is the same, only everything is on a very much more modest scale—in fact, according to his purse.

A man leaning on the guest saddle is said to be *murtachi*; if he leans his back against a cushion (*masnad*), he is said to be *mutasannad*. If he 516
tells a story he sits cross-legged; when eating he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel; his eating hand works outside his right upright knee; when he washes his hands he squats with knees wide apart.

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

Women and servants (if any) carry all cooking utensils, etc., into 415
the women's apartment and cooking portion of the tent, the heavy 251
baggage and bags containing rice, flour, dates, salt, sugar are stored 352
up against the *qáta* curtain dividing the women's from the men's 353
apartments. The camel saddle-bags are then hung up on the tent poles, as well as other odds and ends, including the owner's spare rifle and ammunition. Red *lahdfs* or quilts, which take the place of blankets, are then rolled up and placed on top of the stores, and the woman of the house and her daughter's decorated *maksars* (litters) are placed in a prominent position on the other side of the tent, so as to be seen by passers by.

Not the least important of the women's treasures are the spindles 283
(*maghzal*), with which the womenfolk in their spare time spin camels' or sheep's wool. These they are for ever whirring, whether on the

Men's Clothes

Chap. V 492

(r) *'Assa*—camel stick (made of cane).
(s) *Bakúra*—camel stick (cane).
(t) *Miqúda*—the small bag made of wool or leather for carrying money, *hail* or small quantities of dates when a man is travelling alone.
(u) *Risan*—camel's halter.

FALCON'S GEAR

(See Chapter XXVIII on Hawking) 223

(v) *Burqa*—hawk's hood.
(w) *Wakar al tair*—hawk's stand.
(x) *Dasma al tair*—falconer's glove.

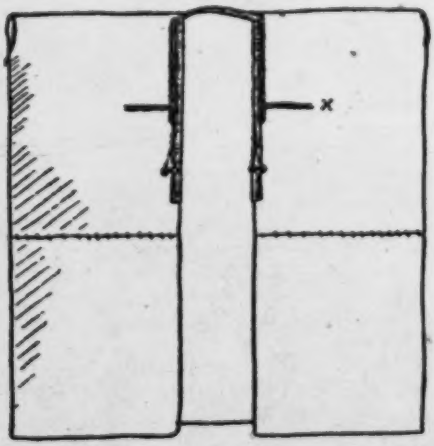
NOTE.—Other articles of furniture connected with a *well-to-do* person's tent are the— 352

Mattrah (plural: *mattarah*)—mattress for guests to sit on.
Mafrash—carpets to spread on floor.

We have also the various forms of firewood found in every tent, rich and poor alike. These are known under the general terms of— 372

Jalla—camel dung.
Hamdh—a pungent-smelling bush giving a fine white ash.
'Arfaj—a well-known bush found all over North-Eastern Arabia.

MEN'S CLOTHING 291



'ABBAH

'Abbah or *Bisht*—made of finely woven sheeps' or camels' wool in two pieces. Texture can be superfine, thin, coarse or thick according to means of weaver. Round neck and down both fronts (shaded portion) is fine gold embroidery ending in a couple of tassels on both sides. The horizontal gold braid (x) indicates that the *'Abbah* is of type worn by shaikhs of Kuwait. Colour—all shades of brown verging on to black.

Women's Quarters

Last of all he places in position the *shat finajin* (brass case for coffee 415
cups) alongside the *yed wal hâwan* (brass pestle and mortar), the 272
mubarrad (wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans), the *mukhbât* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee), the *lîfa* (coir piece to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and finally the *makhbâr* (incense burner). All is now ready to receive a guest, except that the actual coffee beans, the cardamum seed to mix with the coffee, the firewood (*'arfaj* bush) and the *jalla* camel manure (in place of coal) and the drinking water, is round in the women's part of the tent or outside it, and will have to be fetched.

As a guest is seen arriving these last necessities are brought and by 574
the time he sits down, firewood, *jalla*, etc., all are ready to hand.

The scheme of things in a poor Badawin tent is the same, only everything is on a very much more modest scale—in fact, according to his purse.

A man leaning on the guest saddle is said to be *murtachi*; if he leans his back against a cushion (*masnad*), he is said to be *mutasannad*. If he 516
tells a story he sits cross-legged; when eating he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel; his eating hand works outside his right upright knee; when he washes his hands he squats with knees wide apart.

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

Women and servants (if any) carry all cooking utensils, etc., into 415
the women's apartment and cooking portion of the tent, the heavy 251
baggage and bags containing rice, flour, dates, salt, sugar are stored 352
up against the *qâta* curtain dividing the women's from the men's 353
apartments. The camel saddle-bags are then hung up on the tent poles, as well as other odds and ends, including the owner's spare rifle and ammunition. Red *lahâfs* or quilts, which take the place of blankets, are then rolled up and placed on top of the stores, and the woman of the house and her daughter's decorated *maksars* (litters) are placed in a prominent position on the other side of the tent, so as to be seen by passers by.

Not the least important of the women's treasures are the spindles 283
(*maghzal*), with which the womenfolk in their spare time spin camels' or sheep's wool. These they are for ever whirring, whether on the

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

000
611 mere trifle. Probably the only part of the outfit that
312 would have any commercial value at all is the black goat's-
356 hair tent, which affords a poor shelter from the cold in winter and from the heat in summer. And along with extreme poverty there goes an astonishing lack of any sense of cleanliness or order. The tent of a Bedouin could be little more disorderly if it were taken by some giant hand, shaken like a dice box, and the contents allowed to rest where they fell. The furniture consists of
[352] few things and poor. There are the remnants of one or more cotton stuffed quilts. These are both bed and bed
[415] clothes. There are a few skins to hold drinking water and a few skin basins. Some shaped sticks are tied together to make camel saddles. The outfit will also include a copper kettle for the cooking of food, a battered coffee pot for the making of coffee and usually a wooden bowl. This bowl, which may be the only eating utensil belonging to the household, has probably never been washed in its history. At times milk is drunk out of it, and at times rice and meat are eaten from it. The grease with which it is covered has long since exceeded the absorption limit of the wood and for years has been plastered on to the outside. Under such circumstances the prevalence of disease excites no wonder; the wonder is that many maintain excellent health.

291 The Bedouins clothes are a loin cloth beneath and shirt above, which shirt resembles a loose nightgown and reaches to his ankles. Over this is worn an old disreputable *aba* or cloak, in cut resembling nothing so much
[291] as a college gown. All of these are usually in a state of great disrepair and show an acute need of laundering.
369 The town Arabs, who look with scorn on the desert Bed-
291 ouin, assert that when he buys a new undershirt, he puts

162, 166, 101, 619, 643, 622, 361, 438

/For information on the settled tribes of the Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut in 1920, the territory occupied, the paramount rulers and tribal chiefs, brief history, their settlements, means of livelihood, etc., see 30: Great Britain, MJ1 Saudi Arabia, category 116, pp. 509-546./

5; Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M J4

361

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BEDOUINS IN THE DESERT

[facing page 20]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ1
Bedouin MJ4

SA 136 to be seen all along the way. One large variety is about a foot and a half long, and its meat is esteemed a great delicacy by the Bedouins, who call it "the fish of the desert." Many smaller lizards are found, and a few birds. There are also tracks of a wolf to be made out occasionally, but that is a rare occurrence, as is also the sign of a fox. The lizards may be able to dig down far enough in their holes to reach damp soil, but certainly the gazelles must get their necessary water from the few plants that remain succulent and fresh in the summer months.

B 162 And there are people who live in that desert, not trav-
312 elers only, but permanent residents. They live there not
233 merely during the spring when there is a little rain, but the
361 year around. How can men live in a country like that? The well is the answer. The little green vegetation to be seen in the spring when the meager rains come soon dries down, and the inexperienced eye of the stranger would scarcely find it. Nevertheless, it is sufficient for goats and camels and perhaps sheep to graze upon if wells can be found in addition where they can be watered every evening. So it happens that the most precious things in Arabia are the wells. Caravan routes may be crooked, but the reason is never far to seek. For three or four days camels can travel without a drop of water, but eventually they must drink like all the other animals in the world. Some parts of the desert which are richest in vegetation are quite deserted as far as human beings SA are concerned, and the reason is the same. In the sum-
[132] mer when the thermometer may occasionally reach 135° at noon, it is no use to discover an area covered with abundant dry fodder. It is the well that is the essential thing. Wherever water can be secured, there men
000 can live. It is not such a life as would be popular in

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

Anything less

spacious[1] chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

1 [than the desert -- Analyst]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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168 if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort
361 of existence.

461 But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard
463 and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to
552 his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate
231 enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky
461 or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates,
565 and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level
186 as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

181 Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the des-
611 ert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out
735 of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

a chronological sequence in this division as the simpler economic 000
activities of food-gathering and hunting invariably precede the more advanced pursuits of tillage and animal husbandry.

While for a long time the theory was upheld,[1] that human civilization developed in three stages; hunting, breeding and farming, a number of students of human culture[2] have pointed out that stock-breeding does not necessarily precede agriculture, as there have been primitive peoples who began cultivation without ever passing through the pastoral stage. A more suitable gradation of human society was introduced by its dichotomy according to the economic activities of food-gathering and food-producing. This classification distinguishes the parasitic existence of the collectors from the productive life of the breeders and farmers. The pastoral nomad shares with the primitive food-gatherer the constant need for wandering, while as breeder of animals his economy is productive.

Nomadism cannot be regarded as a primitive stage of human civilization, but must be viewed as a mode of life which developed in response to certain geographical conditions. In the final analysis it is not the people, but the natural conditions of soil, climate and water which will determine the forms of existence, pastoral or settled agrarian.

Pastoralism in the Middle East has been regarded[3] as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture. Considering the 361 311

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1. Boas, 1938, p. 283
2. Eduard Hahn, Alexander von Humboldt and others
3. Fisher, 1950, p. 119

361 desert with its limited opportunities for finding means of
311 sustenance has been held the only possible answer to the rigors of the geographical environment.

This view, however, can be challenged. In the Arabian peninsula nomadism may be inevitable, but with regards to the potentially cultivable areas of Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Transjordan, for centuries used by the tribes as grazing grounds for their flocks, the situation is different. The land was not always barren, vast stretches of fertile soil turned into desert because of the nomads whose destructive way of living was victorious, where settled society was not powerful enough to check Bedouin incursions.

361 While the nomads contribute their share to the general
433 economy, it cannot be maintained that the roving existence is a geographical necessity. The nomad in general responds and adapts himself to the desert, but sometimes he actually creates it. Only on a higher level of civilization is the attempt made by people to liberate themselves from the limitations of the environment. In the past and at present settlers have often displayed the tendency to condition the land to suit them. The relationship of man towards the land and the amount of care he gives the soil that sustains him can serve as a measuring rod for the standards of his civilization.

361 Prosperity in the Middle East of antiquity was the result
311 of intelligent utilization of land and water resources. Present day devastation is to a great extent the outcome of Bedouin economy and neglect.

The Bedouin Problem

The Bedouin cannot live in the desert without maintaining regular contact with the domain of settled society where he trades the surplus products of his economy for essential provisions. 361 609 621

In the past, the Bedouin have entered the cultivated zone either as conquerors, reducing the peasants to a state of semi-slavery and transforming fertile land into pastures for their herds, or as peaceful guests.[1)]

The conduct of the Bedouin on the outskirts of the settled region is determined by the ability of the government to defend the country and impose restrictive measures on the nomads. Once they accept the idea of compliance with certain conditions, they will soon become semi-nomadic and evolve towards sedentarization.

The substance of Bedouin policy in all the countries of the Middle East is the attempt by the political authorities to subject the nomads to a restrictive code of behavior calculated to protect the settled population, and to organize, facilitate, direct and accelerate their sedentarization. 361 166x

The Crisis in the Bedouin World

In modern times the settlement of the nomads has been regarded as one of the outstanding domestic problems in Arabia and the countries of the Fertile Crescent. The issue has been forced to a head by the crisis which the Bedouin world is under- 361 166x 178

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1. Muller, 1931, pp 18-19

361 going in the wake of profound political, economic and social
X166 changes:
178 a. political

The national governments of the Bedouin-inhabited countries, unwilling to have the tribes under their territorial jurisdiction remain as a separate social unit outside the national community, consider their permanent settlement on land absolutely essential to insure stability and progress. They are aware that, once the nomads become tied to the soil, the tribal system will begin to disintegrate and cease being a "state within a state." By controlling the Bedouin and encouraging their settlement, the administrations are putting an end to the special political status which the tribes enjoyed on the borders of the desert.

b. economic

361 With the conquest of the desert by modern means of trans-
X166 portation the camel-breeding industry of the true Bedouin has
178 been severely hit. Enforcement of public security destroyed
433 additional sources of livelihood, such as the plunder of caravans, inter-tribal raiding and the extortion of khuwa[1] from village communities and weaker semi-nomadic tribes. Extension of cultivation in the area is rapidly limiting the wandering territory of the tribes and thus adversely affecting their traditional pastoral economy.

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721 1. Bedouin raids are usually directed against other tribes or
728 caravans which are attacked and plundered. The toll which is frequently levied on the agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert is called by the name khuwa, protection money.

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
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With the improvements of communication and construction of pipe- 369
lines there has been an ever-increasing mutual contact between the 178
nomads and the settled people of village and town. While tribal sheikhs are the first to come under the influence of modernization, the tribesmen are also gradually adopting the mode of existence of settled society.

CHAPTER 1

Definition of the Area under Consideration

This paper will limit itself primarily to the problem of 361 121
sedentarization of the nomadic populations in the countries of the Fertile Crescent, that is: Iraq, Syria, Jordan (Transjordan) and Israel (Palestine), an area which distinguishes itself by its Moslem Arab majority,[1] its striking similarities of natural environment and social organization. Saudi Arabia was included in this study because of the inter-relations which exist between the Bedouin of the Arabian and Syrian deserts. Tribes of the Anezeh Confederation wander from Saudi Arabia through Jordan into Syria and back and sections of the Shammar migrate back and forth between Arabia and Iraq.

Desert and Soil

The chief common natural feature of the area is of a gen- 132 133

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1. With the exception of the Kurdish language used by the Kurds in Syria and Iraq, Aramaic spoken by the Nestorian Christians in Kurdistan and in a few villages in Syria, and Hebrew spoken by the Jewish community of Israel, the area is Arabic in character.

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132 graphic-climatic characters[1] Regions with hot, rainless summers
133 and cool, wet winters where cultivation is possible and enormous expanses of desert with extremes of high temperatures and almost complete dryness where nothing but rough grasses, hardier shrubs can grow. The amount of annual precipitation will make the difference between the desert and sown, it is ultimately the climatic conditions which will determine where and when cultivation is possible and what types of crops may be selected. The dividing line between the arid desert and the cultivated land is not a rigidly defined boundary. Generally there is a gradual transition from the sown to the barren desert, steppe land[2] as a rule constituting the intervening belt. The width of the semi-desert or steppe land is not identical in all the regions, and it is not static. Throughout the ages it has varied in response to human factors.[3]

133 The steppe is the permanent domain of the nomads who breed
361 sheep and goats, and the camping area of the camel Bedouin during the hot summer months when life in the desert is intolerable.

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1. For a more detailed description of the common geographic characteristics of the Middle East see Patai, 1952. As the author deals with the entire area of the Middle East: North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, the Iranian Plateau and Asia Minor, his numerical percentages of desert and sown as well as settled and nomadic people are not necessarily applicable to the more limited region which is considered in this paper.
2. Districts receiving 200 - 300 mm of rain have steppe character, while tracts whose annual precipitation remains below this figure may be regarded as desert. Cf. Romme, 1948, p. 149.
3. The shifting boundary line between desert and sown is not the result of changing natural conditions like climatic changes as it has been variously suggested.

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
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already settled, have resumed their nomadic mode of existence when political conditions permitted it.[1] M. F. Jamali mentions a number of instances where fully settled tribes of Iraq turned semi-nomadic. Joseph Baralavsky concludes[2] that certain families of the Tayaha tribe in the Negev seem to have descended from the settled population of Zoar. A. Konikoff states[3] that economic reasons forced settled families of southern Transjordan to form themselves into tribes and adopt the way of life best suited to desert conditions. Max Oppenheim mentions[4] that the powerful Howeitat tribe of Transjordan descended from merchants and peasants.

Classification of Nomads

The constant changes of the social structure make a proper classification of Bedouin society extremely complicated.

Bonne divides[5] the nomadic population into the following groups:

a. Desert Bedouin who are the genuine nomads roving over the vast areas lying between the Syrian desert in the north and the center of the Arabian peninsula in the south, and who engage in camel-raising exclusively.

b. Steppe Bedouin who, in addition to camels, also keep large numbers of cows, sheep and goats, and wander in the steppe, nearer the cultivation.

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1. Jamali, 1934, p. 67
2. ברסלבסקי, 1946, pp. 89 – 100
3. Konikoff, 1946, p. 18
4. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 291
5. Bonne, 1948, pp. 332 seq.

361 c. Semi-Bedouin who occupy a position between Bedouin and
178 Fellahin. They are already engaged in agriculture.
233 While they still live in tents, they ultimately turn to
621 the construction of permanent huts and houses.

Muller introduces the following classifications[1]

1. Nomadic Tribes

361 a. Camel tribes, so called because they engage primarily
233 in camel-breeding although they possess flocks of sheep. They are the true Bedouin of Syria, all belonging to The Anezeh and Shammar groups.[2] Their mobility enables them to maintain a 600 - 800 kil. radius of migration. They wander in the desert from September till late in June when they return to the border of the cultivated zone in order to trade their surplus livestock and
x [166] purchase necessary supplies. They do not display the least interest in sedentarization.[3]

b. Sheep tribes, so called because they are chiefly preoccupied with intensive sheep-raising. The need for water for their animals restricts their wandering in time and in space. Early in the spring, before the

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1. Muller, 1931, pp. 96 seq.
2. The study of V. Muller is based on his observations of tribal life in Syria.
186 3. This statement was made by V. Muller in 1931. It seems highly questionable that within 18 years the situation among the true Bedouin should have changed so radically to enable Fauas Sha'lan, Chief of the Rwala, to declare that "all the tribesmen now wanted land" (for settlement) cf. New York Times, September 6, 1949. Even changing circumstances have never had such an effect on the conservative mentality of the Bedouin, and it seems, therefore, that the declaration of Sha'lan, made for political reasons, must be taken with a note of caution.

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excessive heat sets in, the sheep tribes come back to the cultivated zone. Frequently their radius of movement does not exceed a dozen of miles. The members of the sheep tribes are in regular contact with the settled population and practically all of them evince more or less an interest in settlement. 361 233 [166]

2. Semi-Sedentary Tribes

While the semi-sedentary tribes continue to breed livestock, they are already attached to the soil which they cultivate. 361 233 241

Part of the tribe engages in cultivation, while the other tends to the flocks. After the season of ploughing and sowing is over, the tribe gets on the move in search of pastures, leaving behind only the necessary number of men for guard and irrigation duties. Early in spring the semi-sedentary come back to their fields. Right after harvesting they begin sowing the summer crops. They spend the winter and spring in tents; during the summer they live in huts which they make out of trunks and branches of trees. Village settlement is a rare exception.

3. Sedentary Groups

This group is the least numerous and important. The members live in towns and villages like settled people with the difference that they still retain their tribal character. 361

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361 Whatever categories the various observers introduce for the stratification of Bedouin society, the chief criteria are:

a. the radius and duration of the annual migrations

b. the type of livestock on which the pastoral economy of a group is based

c. the extent of attachment to the soil.

Nomad society in the Arab Middle East includes groups which are separated by centuries of evolutionary development. On the one side we have the true desert Bedouin who breeds camels exclusively, has a wide radius of migration and no attachment to the soil and on the other side we find the almost settled semi-nomad whose regular agricultural activities have led him to cultivation and a subsequent limitation of animal husbandry.

Demographic facts and figures

162 Demographic statistics of the Middle East are available only for Turkey, Egypt and Israel (Palestine). Population figures for Arabia, Iraq, Syria and Jordan are computed on the basis of estimates and cannot be considered reliable. In 1947 censuses were taken for the first time in Iraq and Syria, but the accuracy of these reports may be seriously questioned.

The nomadic element constitutes about one third of the population in the Arabian peninsula and about one tenth in Iraq and Syria.[1] This latter estimate must exclude semi-nomads in an

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1. Review of Economic Conditions, 1951, p. 8

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
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619 The tradesmen pay no attention to political boundary lines. When convenient, however, the Bedouin will take advantage of the frontier. An ambitious government collector of sheep and camel taxes, for example, may make it advisable for the tribes to assume a different nationality merely by shifting their tents into a region where the government authorities may be less exacting.[1]

619 x166 656 The nomads thus represent a national problem, and tribal settlement on land has become an important domestic issue in the Bedouin inhabited areas. On the one hand, the governments have checked and tried to eliminate the abuses perpetrated by the nomads, and on the other they have encouraged the process of transition to agriculture. Raiding was stopped, collection of khuwa outlawed, encroachment on areas of cultivation prohibited.

The positive measures for solving the Bedouin problem were on the whole inadequate, but settlement was given an appreciable impetus by the distribution of land, extension of financial aid, education and technical advice.

CHAPTER V

361 x166

The conflicting attitudes towards the Bedouin problem

There are two, basically opposing attitudes towards the Bedouin problem:

a. that of the realists who propose settlement of the nomads

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1. Report, 1923-24, p. 23

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whose desert economy and social organization have collapsed; and

b. that of the romanticists who are more interested in saving the "noble" Bedouin society than suggesting alternate means of livelihood for the nomads who have suffered a serious economic crisis.

These two approaches to the Bedouin problem are reflected in and interesting and instructive argument between Eliahu Epstein and Major J. C. Glubb in connection with recent changes among the nomads of Transjordan.[1] Epstein stated that there has been since the end of World War 1 a progressive impoverishment among the Bedouin of Transjordan. The pastoral economy, based on camel-breeding and sheep-raising, has according to him undergone a serious crisis because the camel cannot hold its ground in the face of competition with modern means of transportation. Sheep-raising, on the other hand, is more profitable when practiced in permanent settlements which do not have to suffer livestock losses on account of raids. Epstein further points out that Bedouin migrations have become restricted since the boundary lines were drawn in the desert. In times of drought the nomads cannot save their animals any more, simply by moving them into regions where rains are more abundant. Raiding which constituted an additional source of income for the Bedouin has been outlawed. Epstein's

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1. Epstein, 1938, pp. 228-236
Glubb, 1938, pp. 448-454
Epstein, 1939, pp. 177 seq.

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answer to the problems of the Bedouin is their rapid settlement on land.

Glubb stated that the economic condition of the Transjordan tribesmen is not critical. In the old days the Bedouin had to rely on the merchants who used to come into the desert, purchase the camels and take them to the market. The establishment of public security has enabled the Bedouin to take their animals across the territory of hostile tribes and sell them directly, thus cutting out the middle-man's share of the profit. While the demand for camels for long-distance transport has been reduced, the camel market has according to Glubb not been destroyed. There is still a considerable demand for camels to be used in agricultural work. The chief customer, however, is the butcher's shop, particularly in Egypt where camel's meat is consumed in great quantities. Sheep always enjoy a ready market. The tribesmen seem poor to many Europeans, but the Bedouin of Transjordan are financially more prosperous than most Oriental peasants, and they enjoy more material comforts than they did before the First World War.

Glubb is critical of Epstein's view that the drought years of 1931 and 1932 have made the issue of Bedouin settlement in Transjordan urgent. Otherwise the statements of Glubb lack realism. He is gravely concerned about that modern civilization may do to a "simple, smiling people." Glubb represents the view of the British "romanticists" who deplore the vanishing of the "glorious" desert-tent Bedouin society.

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Another example of this attitude is the statement of General Sir Percy Cox before a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society: "The true Bedouin are attractive people, and I hope they will not be swept away too rapidly with the spread of civilization."[1]

This type of approach has often found its way into official records of the British Colonial Administration. In the Special Report on the Administration of Iraq we find the statement that "the tribe has little to gain and much to lose by settling."[2] The report becomes slightly ridiculous when it refers to the body-lice and the unwashed clothes of the Bedouin as "clean dirt."[3]

Epstein's study, however, must be subjected to criticism on several points. He attributes the progressive impoverishment of the desert Bedouin largely to the decline of the camel market and the tracing of the political boundary lines. While recognizing that not all the Bedouin can be reduced to a sedentary life, he maintains that the problems of Transjordan can be solved only by settlement of the nomadic population. There seems to be an exaggeration in the significance which Epstein attaches to an economic crisis among the Bedouin. Developments clearly show that the nomads are quick in making changes within their pastoral economy, from camel-breeding to sheep-raising, but reluctant to take up cultivation. Although camel economy is disintegrating, this phenomenon in itself does not necessarily lead to a permanent impov-

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1. Glubb, 1935, p. 31
2. Special Report, 1932, p. 185
3. ibid.

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361 x166 178 erishment of the nomads. The economic crisis may be temporary, till adjustments within the nomad economy have been carried out. The need for the camel has declined, but the importance of the sheep and goats has remained unchanged. Sheep and goats supply the people of the area with meat, dairy products and wool.

In fact, the suggestion may be ventured that in the near future the importance of the pastoral economy will considerably increase when the Arab masses will change to a healthier, more balanced diet which presently lacks vital protein elements.

According to Epstein the transition from nomadism to agriculture is made urgent by the unprofitability of camel-breeding, stoppage of raiding(heretofore a source of revenue), and the partitioning of the Syrian Desert. While these phenomena undoubtedly had serious repercussions in the Bedouin world, they do not seem to be chiefly responsible for the disintegration of tribal society and pastoral economy.

CHAPTER VI

233 178 The Camel Economy of the Nomads and Recent Changes

In the past the economy of the Bedouin was principally based on camel-breeding. With the construction of railways in the Middle East and the introduction of the automobile in the desert, the value of the camel declined rapidly and substantially. Prices

233 only 3 437 camels,[1] and within a short time this trade became so
178 insignificant that since 1937 camel export figures were no longer
439 listed in official statistical abstracts. Although 40 000 nomads of Transjordan are classified as full Bedouin, they cannot possibly live on camel-breeding. The following figures will show the dwindling camel stock in Transjordan:

1927	13 800	2)
1929	33 500	2)
1935	3 400	2)
1943	6 000	2)
1948	2 500	3)

Figures are probably understated as information on animal holdings was furnished for taxing purposes, but they indicate the trend.

The decline of camel trade and the slump in market prices have severely hit the camel-breeding Bedouin. Transjordan was selected as an example, but the same phenomenon is apparent among the nomads of Syria and Iraq.

Changes within the pastoral economy

361 The camel Bedouin coming from the Arabian desert into the
x 178 lands of the Fertile Crescent will sooner or later become a sheep
166 nomad. This transformation has been going on for centuries, long before the decline of the camel market made it necessary. The change was in the past an adaptation of the pastoral economy to

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1. Epstein, 1939, p. 180
2. International Yearbooks of Agricultural Statistics for 1931/2 and 1940/41
3. Final Report, 1949, Part II, p. 10

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the natural conditions of the environment, while in recent years it has also been an adjustment to economic circumstances.

The type of animal industry is determined by geographic factors and climatic conditions. In Iraq "in many parts of the alluvial lowlands, terrain is too soft and swampy, so that these animals (camels) are few outside the steppes."[1] Syria, especially the northern part, where rigorous winters frequently occur, is not an ideal region for camel-breeding while in parts of the Arabian desert sheep and goats cannot survive.

The profitability and the increase of sheep and goat rearing is apparent from the following Transjordan export-trade figures:[2]

	1937	1939	1941	1943
goats	6 988	7 637	32 638	31 041
sheep	12 064	37 896	56 735	52 487

While the camel trade declined, the sheep and goat business has been constantly rising.

Mr. Epstein states[3] that sheep raising is more lucrative when practiced in permanent settlements which do not have to fear losses incurred as result of inter-tribal raiding. With the establishment of Public Security, however, raids have practically ceased, and the desert has been made secure. Today, throughout the area the animal industry is largely in the hands of the nomads.[4]

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1. Fisher, 1950, p. 362
2. Kouikoff, 1946, p. 112 Table 16
3. Epstein, 1938, p. 228
4. In Iraq the breeding of sheep is practiced almost exclusively by the nomadic population, cf. Royal Institute, 1950, p. 259

361 The pastoral people are fulfilling an important economic function
433 by:

a. supplying the home markets with essential products, and

b. furnishing valuable export articles.

237 Iraqi wool is considered of good quality and finds a ready market
439 in the United States of America and in continental Europe for carpet manufacture.[1] In 1947 Iraq exported 2794 tons of wool at I D 372 349.[2] In 1946 and again in 1948 the wool export was about three times that of 1947.[3] Syria exports products like wool, butter, hides, etc.

233 The following statements will illustrate the valuable contri-
361 bution which the nomads are making to the general economy:
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> "The Bedouin are experts in the breeding of livestock and form a class who afford a valuable contribution to the economic life of Transjordan." 4) "Their (Bedouin of Iraq) occupation of raising livestock is vital to the economy of the country." 5) "Syria cannot afford to lose the meat, milk and wool which are derived from the harvesting of the desert herbage." 6)

Thus in all the countries of the Fertile Crescent, livestock breeding, the primary occupation of the nomad population, appears to be an essential and lucrative industry.

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1. Gamble, 1949, p. 20
2. ibid. p. 13
3. Data Book, 1951, p. 40
4. Report, 1938, p. 318
5. Jawad, 1945, p. 7
6. Report of the United States-Syrian Agricultural Mission, 1947, p. 23

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East M1
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CHAPTER VII

The Boundary Lines and their Bearing on Bedouin Migration

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With the conclusion of the First World War and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire the Syrian Desert was partitioned among four new states: Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and Saudi Arabia.

Epstein states[1] that the political boundary lines impose limitations on the Bedouin who can no longer freely wander over vast areas. In times of severe drought they cannot migrate with their flocks across the border where rains may have been more abundant. As an example he cites the case of a number of large Transjordanian tribes who were accustomed to have their winter quarters in Wadi Sirhan, which is now part of Saudi Arabia. New political conditions force the Bedouin to remain with their herds in the cold plains of Moab and Edom. Epstein, however, fails to explain why the tribes in question could not avail themselves of the provisions made in the Saudi Arabian (Nejd)-Transjordan agreements of 1925 and 1927 for cross-border migrations of the Bedouin. Article 9 of the Treaty of Friendship and Bon Voisinage concluded in 1927 at Jedda between Saudi Arabia and Transjordan reads as follows:

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> "The tribes of the two parties which habitually frequent both sides of the frontier for purposes of grazing or "musebale" shall be free to move from place to place in

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1. Epstein, 1938, p. 229

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In our days sedentarization is the product of the nomad's 166x
contact with settled society during the regular periods of his 177
encampment on the outskirts of the cultivated land.

At present, the tribal population of Syria, Iraq, Palestine 166x
(Israel) and Transjordan (Jordan) is in all stages of transition 178
to a sedentary existence. A. S. Kirkbridge has outlined[1] the various stages that the Transjordan nomad passes on his journey to the settled life of an agriculturalist. With insignificant changes the description of the steps can be made applicable to the process of sedentarization as a whole.

Stages of Sedentarization

1. The true desert Bedouin, raising mainly camels,[2] lives 166x
in a world where nature makes cultivation impossible. 221
He migrates in accordance with the existence of water 434
and grazing and supplements his meager income by raiding 361
if conditions permit. He despises the villagers.

2. In spite of the contempt that the Bedouin have for the 609
settled peasants they come to realise that the fellah 434
lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a better diet, compared to the standards of the nomad.

3. The next step is the occupation of cultivable land by 166x
the nomadic tribe. Agriculture is practiced only as a 361
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1. Kirkbride, 1945, March-April
2. Kirkbride does not discuss the Bedouin that came from Arabia subsisting exclusively on camel-breeding. Since practically all Transjordanian nomads have crossed the first stage, the conversion of exclusive camel economy to mixed pastoral economy of sheep and camel-breeding.

X166 supplemental means of livelihood. The tribesmen stay on
●361 their fields only to harvest and then to sow next year's
241 crop. Then they migrate with their flocks in search of pastures. But they soon realize the drawbacks of protracted absence:

a. the grain will be eaten by birds and insects before it takes root

b. neighbors will graze their herds on the fields.

Sooner or later the amateur cultivator comes to the conclusion that it will pay him to remain nearer his land.

X166 4. The decision to remain close to the cultivated land
241 implies the first real change in the nomad's mode of living:

a. the radius of migration must be reduced

b. the restriction of movement, in turn, makes it mandatory to reduce the amount of livestock in proportion to the grazing areas within the limited wandering orbit.

c. the fewer the animals, the greater the dependence of the tribe on cultivation.

X166 At this phase the nomads still live in tents. But in
178 raising crops, they adopt more and more the methods of the sedentary neighbors.

437 In the trading of the surplus grain the behavior of the

The conditions of land tenure in Arabia are obscure. Most of 423
the land is still utilized by the nomadic tribes for grazing their flocks. When the settlers are assigned land, it is not clarified who holds the title, the state, the tribe or the individual cultivator.

Although Arabia is still predominantly pastoral, the nomadic 361
character of the population is being rapidly changed as the result 166x
of government action and under the impact of increasing contact with the West.

Iraq (Mesopotamia)[1]

Iraq has a history of sedentarization that goes back to the 174
19th century when the Turks began to take steps towards reducing 166x
the nomads to a sedentary agricultural existence.

Up to 1869 it was the Bedouin policy of the Ottoman authorities to crush or settle the tribes, to break or conciliate their leaders.[2] Government action, however, was not accompanied by any concrete plans of providing for the Bedouin alternate means of sustenance.

Midhat Pasha, who became Wali of Baghdad in 1869, approached the issue more constructively. He viewed tribal settlement as an agrarian problem. Bedouin cultivation was encouraged by the sale of state-land on reasonable terms. Midhat Pasha felt that only settlement can permanently solve the tribal problem. He was con-

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1. Certain parts of former Mesopotamia like Deir ez-Zor belong to modern Syria. When an instance of nomad settlement in the Deir ez-Zor area refers to times previous to the establishment of modern Iraq it was included in this chapter although the locality may be now Syrian territory.
2. Ireland, 1938, p. 90

X166 tributed among them, and the construction of houses facilitated.[1]

In 1934 the tribal office of the High Commissioner prepared a vast program of settlement. The project provided for:

a. the construction of 500 houses in the Upper Jezirah for those Bedouin ready to settle

b. the digging of 12 new wells so that the nomads should not be forced to wander in search of water

c. the assignment of technicians to teach the Bedouin modern methods of breeding and feeding animals.[2]

In 1935 a program was formulated for the settlement of 500 Bedouin families in the villages on the edge of the desert and supply them with specialists to teach them the techniques of agricultural work.[3]

All these attempts of the government to induce the nomads to take up agriculture had little success. In spite of the catastrophic livestock losses no unusual or large scale movement towards sedentarization was apparent. More discernible, however, was a change within the pastoral economy itself, camel-breeding having been progressively abandoned in favor of sheep-raising. Also the slow and gradual process of sedentarization, which started long before the modern government measures, continued.

● 361 The Weld Ali had already in the 1860's begun cultivation.[4]
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X166 At present part of the tribe is in the process of becoming perma-

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1. Oriente Moderno, XIV 1934, p. 285
2. ibid.
3. Oriente Moderno, XV 1935, p. 125
4. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 85

nantly settled in the neighborhood of Homs and Hama. The Kemesa, (part of the Sba'a) began agriculture after the First World War.[1] The Hesene who had started cultivation already at the end of the 19th century,[2] are settling down in the villages which they own east of Homs.[3] Several thousand tribesmen of the Fed'an work in the fields belonging to the estates of their sheikh Mejhem, although the majority of the tribesmen prefer livestock-breeding to cultivation.[4] In the Jezirah, in Hauran, in the Homs-Hama-Aleppo region and in other parts of the country tribes are abandoning their nomadic mode of life and begin to engage in agriculture, first as supplementary, then as primary occupation. Ultimately they become fully settled peasants.

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This process has been going on ever since the Bedouin have infiltrated into Syria. In recent years the slow pace of transition was somewhat quickened under the impact of rapidly changing conditions in Syria, but not as the result of economic adversities which plagued the nomads for a season or two. A catastrophe in the pastoral economy will not cause the Bedouin to turn to agricultural pursuits. After the drought years of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Bedouin was desperate, but the abundant season of 1933 made the nomads forget the sufferings of preceding

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 85
2. ibid., p. 84
3. ibid., p. 85
4. Hassan, 1930, p. 496

361 241 years. There was not much of a response to the efforts of the
X166 178 government during 1934 and 1935 to encourage settlement on land.

Where sedentarization took place it was the social process
X166 178 of assimilation, stimulated by economic, social and political factors. Where societies meet, the phenomenon of assimilation is inevitable; one section of the social group may be more rapidly affected than the other, but even if no extraordinary conditions arise, the evolutionary process of assimilation and subsequent sedentarization will take its course and ultimately embrace all strata of society.

361 Tribal leadership spearheaded the movement towards sedentar-
X166 ization which by 1935 was sufficiently advanced among the tribal groups of the Aleppo-Homs-Hama region for 14 tribes representing 3 500 tents or 15 000 individuals to be placed by the authorities under a regime of ordinary administration.[1]

423 For those nomads who are at present ready to settle down,
425 the greatest problem is that of land-tenure. Bedouin tribes as a
X166 whole have more land at their disposal than they can possibly exploit by agricultural cultivation. The area inhabited by the nomads is not less than 10 693 000 hectares.[2] However, when the tribesmen are willing to take up agriculture, they find that all the tribal land has become the private property of the sheikhs.

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1. Rapport, 1936, pp. 26-27
2. Salem, 1950 p. 305

423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1952 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on Syrian Domains by the rich landrenting families, and it was alleged that in the Jezirah tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing every land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights.[1]

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holding tends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged as long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Nomadism Palestine

162 361 Since World War I there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 902 out of the 64 552 nomads of Palestine[2] were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Tarabin, Tayaha, Azazma,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1952
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

68: Neubert S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
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Jubrat, Ramjan and the Saidiyin. Until recently these nomads were chiefly engaged in sheep and goat rearing, while camel-breeding has been progressively abandoned. 361 233

Already in the 1930's all the Beersheba tribes were in an advanced stage of the process of transition to permanent settlement. While before the First World War the Negev Bedouin depended almost exclusively on stock-breeding, in 1931 42 066 of them claimed cultivation, and only 5 113 animal rearing, as their chief source of livelihood.[1] 166x 233

This development was the result of a series of economic factors: the decline of the camel market,[2] successive years of drought and famine in the Negev,[3] the increased value attached to land in the wake of Zionist land purchases and the ready market that agricultural produce found in the growing Jewish settlements. 178 166x

Many Bedouin began to attend to cultivation in a more regular fashion although they remained for the time being semi-nomads wandering with their flocks except for the seasons of sowing and harvesting. 361 241 166x

The sheikhs and more prominent members of the tribes began 342

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1. Report of 1931 census of Palestine
2. This loss was largely compensated by breeding other types of livestock.
3. More than half of the years 1874 - 1909 were seasons of drought. The war years 1914-18 constituted a continuous period of famine the severity of which the Negev had not experienced prior to the war. ofr

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342 as early as the 1930's to have stone houses constructed for their private use.[1]

361 During the years of prosperity in the middle of the 30's a
241 number of Bedouin groups in the Negev made use of mechanized harvesters which they borrowed from the Jewish colonists of Gederah.[2] Not all the tribesmen, however, were actively engaged in agriculture. As late as 1942 the Terahin had their lands cultivated by tenant farmers and day laborers from South Judean villages.[3]

166 Among the Bedouin of Northern Palestine the trend towards
241 sedentarization dates back to the 1860's, when many of the tribes-
243 men began to engage in agriculture.[4] In the 1930's all the nomads of the Sharon, Jezreel and the Galilee were in the possession of land which was cultivated either by the tribesmen or tenant farmers.[5] Contrary to the Bedouin of the Beersheba district the nomads of Northern Palestine were quick to learn the value of law and order.[6] Under the influence of neighboring fellahin the tribesmen have become increasingly attached to the land and pre-occupied with agriculture. Although methods of cultivation remained very primitive, an improvement of conditions has been observed since the 1930's.[7]

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1. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 17
2. ibid.
3. Polink, 1942
4. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 15
5. ibid., pp. 3-4
6. ibid., p. 16
7. ibid., p. 17

PALESTINE ISRAEL BEDOUINS MJ4

The British Mandatory regime had no concrete tribal settlement policy although assistance was rendered to the Bedouin, whenever necessary, by means of relief measures such as employment in public works, monetary gifts, assignment of land, etc. 657

Six desert schools were founded in the vicinity of Beersheba to serve the educational needs of the southern tribes. No special Bedouin school was established in the North. The nomads who were concerned with the education of their children had to send them to the government school. 658 361

Settlement Policy of the Government of Israel

Similarly to the policies of Ibn Saud the government of Israel is pursuing a vigorous policy of transforming the remaining 17 500 nomads of the Negev into settled communities of farmers and pastoralists. 166x 656

The Israeli authorities have closed the southern border to prevent Bedouin infiltration from across the frontier.

After the occupation of Beersheba in 1948, sheikhs representing 16 large and small tribes pledged their loyalty to the State of Israel. In the Arab-Israel war of 1948/49 they were friendly or at least neutral.[1]

The following extract from a report will clearly illustrate the changes which are taking place among the nomads of the Negev as result of Israel's Bedouin settlement policy: 166x 361

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1. Lowrie, Palestine Post, November 24, 1949

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361 "The sixteen tribes recognized as bona fide residents of
x166 Israel have all been counted and are now given identity cards. They are being assisted in ploughing and breeding cattle — three tractors have been recently allotted to them by the Department of Agriculture, and Bedouins have already learned to drive them — as the beginning of a long term scheme to convert these tribesmen from a nomadic way of life to that of settled cultivators or fellahin. Migration of Bedouins, for centuries the scourge of the country, is being stopped, and the tribes are being settled in certain definite area." 1)

x166 Of course, not all the Bedouin of the Negev are ready to settle down permanently. In the summer of 1950 a number of tribes crossed voluntarily into Jordan because their pastures in the Negev had shrunk to the point of inadequacy on account of a serious drought. Under an agreement of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Commission the Bedouin were granted the permission to re-enter Israeli territory (not later than July 1951); none of them, however, returned, preferring to stay in Jordan where they could continue their nomadic mode of living. 2)

361 425 Practically all the remaining nomads of Israel are by now settled down to a regular agricultural and pastoral existence.

Early in 1951 the Ministry of Agriculture allocated to the Bedouin I L 20 000 for the ploughing of about 50 000 dunums of uncultivated land in the Negev, because the Government of Israel was aware of the difficulties which confronted the tribes whose winter crops had been destroyed by the severe drought. 3)

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1. Lourie, Palestine Post, November 24, 1949
2. The Jewish Agency's Digest, 1951 b, p. 1734
3. The Jewish Agency's Digest, 1951 a, p. 1071

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Transjordan (Jordan)

Since the Bedouin invasions of the seventh century Transjordan has been a country of nomads. According to statistics the majority of the people are settled, but in reality even the sedentary population of Transjordan is to a certain extent tribal-nomadic, and the inhabitants of the towns and villages south of Ajloun[1] share with the Bedouin their language, customs and tribal organization. 361

Not all the nomads of Transjordan are of Bedouin origin, many of them having descended from settled fellahin who gradually adopted Bedouin patterns of living. This unique phenomenon, not found to such an extent in any other region of the Middle East, is not limited to the Muslim community. Christians, settled in the towns of Salt, Kerak and Madabah, found it necessary or convenient to form themselves into nomadic tribes and take up a pastoral mode of existence.[2]

The pages of Transjordan history during the 19th century are filled with the inter-tribal wars which were fought between the Adwan and Beni Sakhr. The Beni Sakhr captured all lands of Eastern Belqa and forced the Adwan back to the Jordan valley. They left the fellahin to continue the cultivation of the land in return for an annual tribute.[3] The tribesmen returned to 174

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1. With the exception of places like Amman where most inhabitants are newcomers.
2. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 184
3. ibid., p. 237

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174 their nomadic life in the desert, raising camels, sheep and goats.

The first to become interested in agriculture was Sheikh Sattan ibn Fais. Although he personally remained a wandering nomad with his Beni Sakhr tribesmen, he attended to the supervision of his estates at Umm el-'Amad, north east of Madabah.

361 Père Jaussen reported in 1908[1] that already at that time
241 small tribes[2] of Gilead, the Jordan valley, Belqa and northern Moab were engaged in agricultural work.

423 Most of the cultivable tracts of the tribal land had already
425 prior to the First World War become the private property of the sheikhs who acquired those lands simply by occupying them[3] as they belonged to nobody. Another method of increasing land-holdings was by encroachment on adjacent fields and putting them under cultivation. By this latter system a large territory, originally belonging to the Adwan, was acquired by Sheikh Sattan and his sons.[4] After World War 1 many sheikhs purchased Giftlik land[5] from the government on favorable terms.

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1. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 237-8 and pp. 240-55
2. All the tribes of Transjordan are small when compared with the powerful Iraqi and Syrian tribes such as the Ruala (4 250 tents) or the Sha'a (3 400 tents) cf. Fisher, 1950, p. 116. The Beni Sakhr, the largest tribe of Transjordan, has about 1 140 tents.
3. They set foot on a certain terrain, belonging to nobody (ارض سبحة) and declared it personal property (ارض سبحة) by virtue of occupation.
4. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 136-7
5. Giftlik is the land which had belonged to the Turkish Sultan and become government property after World War 1.

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breeding.

A decisive change in the opposite direction occurred in the economic structure of the Howeitat when their two Sheikhs Abtan ibn-Jazi and Audah abu-Tayy evinced more interest in raiding than in peaceful agricultural pursuits. In a short time the Howeitat became one of the most warlike tribes in North Arabia and the Syrian Desert. Cultivation was discarded, the tribesmen rented their farms to fellahin and tenants, and they themselves roamed the desert.[1]

Since the end of the First World War the Howeitat have been reverting to the land. The tribesmen again engaged in the agricultural work, and their transition to a completely settled existence should not be difficult to accomplish.

By 1931 all sections of the Beni Hasan[2] were settled on their land, in that year 5 000 title deeds having been issued to the tribal cultivators.[3] In the drought years of 1932 and 1933 the flocks of the Beni Hasan were severely hit. Like the situation among all the big tribes of Transjordan, the Beni Hasan were economically ruined, but unlike them they were willing to take up cultivation. Government financial assistance was requested to enable the tribe to develop its fertile lands, but no constructive help was forthcoming.

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1. Père Jaussen observed the Howeitat in 1908 after they had resumed their nomadic existence. But his statement that "les Howeitat n'ont jamais touché la charrue" (The Howeitat never touched the plow) (cf. Jaussen, 1908, p. 241) is incorrect.
2. The Beni Hasan have about 860 tents and dwell in 'Ajloun, one of the most fertile parts of Transjordan. They own about 372 000 dunams of land.
3. Report, 1931, p. 193

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361 The Committee of the first seminar recognised that, at the
652 present time, the financial provisions for the nomadic tribes
648 are relatively inadequate and submitted the recommendation that a higher percentage of the budget of each State should be allocated for the social and economic needs of the nomadic population.[1] The same Committee recommended that:
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> "the policy of the Arab States should aim at the settlement of a number of tribes by distributing them in the arable areas owned by the states and allotting small-holdings to individuals. In this connection the Committee refers to the existence especially in the Syrian Gezirah and Iraq, of extensive areas for the application of agricultural projects which should be based on the most up-to-date techniques of agriculture." 2)

CHAPTER XIII

361 Conclusions and Summary of the Settlement Problem

Nomadism has been chiefly responsible for the decline of agricultural prosperity in the Middle East.

361 The Bedouin tribes have always, through social and economic
x166 assimilation, become absorbed by the settled population. The process of sedentarization, the gradual transition from the nomadic mode of life to a settled existence, is a sociological phenomenon, inseparably connected with the history of Bedouin migrations from the desert into the fertile lands on its borders In the past few decades the pace of the evolutionary process of transition has been considerably quickened under the impact of economic, social and political stimuli, mutually interlocked and overlapping.

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1. UN Social Welfare Seminar, 1950, p. 36
2. ibid., p. 37

Economic

361 233 178 241 The Pastoral economy of the Bedouin[1] has been seriously affected by the rapid development of the area. Former pasture lands are increasingly brought under cultivation with subsequent restriction of tribal grazing areas.

Although an exaggerated significance has been attached to the effects of the declining demand for the camel, this factor has dealt a severe blow to the economy of the true desert Bedouin who subsisted in the past exclusively on camel-breeding.

Social

178 621 Tribal society has progressively disintegrated as the result of the sheikh's emergence as a big landowner. The interest which tribal leadership displays in agricultural life, is bound to influence the thinking and acting of the tribesmen. Sooner or later, they will follow the examples set by their sheikhs and settle down.

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1. The statement of Alfred Bonne that "the term Bedouin economy is a contradiction in itself" and that "this economy is no economy in the accepted sense of the word" (Bonne, 1948, p. 366) may be exaggerated because the nomads make a valuable contribution to the economy by:
   a. profitably utilizing the scanty patches of grass that grow for fleeting moments over widely separated stretches of desert area, a resource which would remain otherwise exploited
   b. by supplying the people of the area with their needs of meat, wool and dairy products
   c. producing for local industry and export trade items like wool, skins, hides, and live animals and their edible produce.

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178 621 As a member of a well-knit patriarchal society the individual Bedouin enjoyed a relative sense of security, and his precarious existence in the desert was made possible by tribal solidarity and experienced and devoted leadership. With the dissolution of the traditional ties the Bedouin may ultimately come to realise the benefits that will accrue to him as part of a new social order, that of the settled community.

Political

166 657 361 The administrations of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Israel have been concerned with integrating the nomadic element within their borders in the national community.

Saudi Arabia and Israel have formulated and are carrying out definite settlement policies, while the other governments of the area stimulate sedentarization by the creation of suitable conditions. Inadequate as the measures of the governments may be in themselves, they are bound to show results, once the disintegration of the tribal group is sufficiently advanced.

In order to make Bedouin sedentarization a lasting success, government-sponsored settlement projects must be designed and carried out.

For a long time the issue of "settling the tribes" has been a political slogan in the cities of the Arab countries, but only infrequently have the administrations of Syria, Iraq and Jordan taken concrete steps in direction of Bedouin settlement.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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XXIV

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

101 ●361 233 LUCK FAVOURED US in eluding the vigilance of the French on our second attempt to reach the grazing grounds of the Tai' Bedouins under their *sheykh,* Muhamed Abd-er-Rachman at-Tai'.

His great camp spread out in a verdant valley, threaded by a long chain of rain pools. The snow-covered mountain ranges of Kurdistan, stretching beyond the Turkish frontier, formed a picturesque background. Camels and great flocks of sheep grazed over the desert, which recent rains had turned into rich pasture. Dotted about in groups were the black tents of the Bedouins. A horseman came to meet us. A foal, so it seemed in the distance, pranced round its mother, but as the rider drew nearer, we saw that the playful creature was a tame gazelle. The Bedouin rode a magnificent mare, that pranced on her feet like a dancer.

574 609 "Where is the abode of our host who will receive us?" I enquired. He pointed to the black outline of the largest tent, which showed from behind a ridge some distance away.

"Ha-wallah—by God—there dwells the Generous One!" He looked us over for a moment, then greeting us curtly, turned his horse and galloped away, the gazelle after him.

609 marry, but that he required two camels as a present for her father to win his consent. The two camels which I and my servant were riding would be perfectly suitable, he hinted. When we halted for food at midday or in the evening, he would sit down, leaning his elbow on his saddle-bags beside him on the ground, and give his orders. "Hobble that camel, unload that gear." For with all their frank and open manners and their honourable customs, bedouins can be haughty and overbearing when they feel they have the whip-hand. Qasim was a man of limited intelligence, and a venal blackguard.

All the same, he had a sense of humour. Twenty years later, when I was commanding the Arab Legion, Qasim was arrested by the police, doubtless for some heinous crime. "You don't know who I am!" he said when the police came to take him away. "I'm the man who employed Glubb Pasha as a herdsman for my camel!"

361 Altogether it was with satisfaction that one morning we
609 emerged from a narrow valley in the sandy and rocky hills and
7/2 saw before us the dark green of the palm gardens, the little stone fort and the cluster of houses of the oasis of Kaf. The little fort was owned by Ibn Shaalan and garrisoned by his retainers, under the command of Salih ibn Uthman, a native of the oasis of Jauf. He greeted us with a kindness and consideration which was a pleasant contrast to the company of Qasim ash Shemam. The latter wished to return next day to his tribe, so I paid him off in the evening. But he shouted that the money was not enough and that he would seize our camels. Salih ibn Uthman intervened, and Qasim was persuaded to leave the room. Outside I could hear a loud altercation and a scuffle. Qasim disappeared during the night, taking with him a selection from our gear—my saddle and water-skin and Trad ibn Shaalan's warm gloves.

7/2 There was an Arab Legion post at Kaf, outside the village in a fortified camp on top of a steep hill. I paid them a visit and had tea with the officers. The evening was spent with Ibn Shaalan's retainers, sitting on the floor round the open hearth in the castle hall. On the glowing embers were ranged a row of coffee-pots. Outside howled that wind which had seemed to us so dreary as it whistled the stinging sand into our faces in the open desert.

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CHAPTER II

Autumn Stirrings

It is early November, the 2nd to be accurate, and I have ordered 132
Salim al Muzaiyin to move his camp out into the *barr*, preparatory to 361
my joining him. We have had a week's steady south wind, clouds are banking up in the West, and we have had distant thunder and lightning. Most of the tribes have left water and are scattering over the hinterland in search of suitable grazing grounds, for the promise of rain is near. All the tent families go off on their own and camp in twos and threes, well apart from their neighbours (a mile or so perhaps), yet within sound of rifle-shot in case of an alarm, when all must come to the help of the person attacked.

The Badawin camped round Kuwait on the Shamiyah and Dasma 361
wells have already moved off, some to the Kabd region, some to 'Adan, some to the Huzaim and some to the Grain district. The Fidawiyah, under their Amir, Haif bin Hajraf, of the Sulaiman section of the 'Ajman, accompanied by Nahar and 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim,* stout old warriors both, have gone to the Humatiyat region beyond Manaqish and the Shaqq, 60 miles from Kuwait. They have 223
cunningly chosen their region because the *hubara* have arrived in the Dibdibba, and hunting with hawks is a favourite sport. The Amir, and every self-respecting young brave, possesses his hawk, a *hurr* or *shâhin* (*sakar*, *lagger* or *shâhin* falcon), and all go out as they get opportunity, and bring back game for their wives' cooking-pot. Some, especially the 'Awazim, like also to hunt hare and gazelle with 224
salûqis, and great is the excitement when venison is brought home. 251
The young hunters go far from their tents, and if they find that the gazelle meat will not keep, they spread the carcase out in the shape of a mat, having removed the ribs and larger bones, and

* Was one of the forty who helped Bin Sa'ud to capture Riyadh, though not among the actual twenty-three who rushed Qasr 'Ajlan in the heart of the city.

K 701 at Wafra, so I am going to enquire his reasons for being there. Ibn Shaja'an has the unsavoury reputation of being cruel and overbearing to the Badawin, and like so many of his type—though a Mutairi by origin—he has been bred in Hufuf, and has imbibed many of the harsh characteristics of his master, 'Abdullah bin Jiluwi.* It is a [K 157] curious fact that cruelty, conceit and a generally objectionable manner often spoil the character of a tribesman who for any length of time lives in a town.

K 132 We leave Kuwait at 12.30 p.m., and after a car run of 2½ hours we reach Araifjan. There is a cool *shamál* blowing, but [B 291] in spite of moving with it, I need a sweater and *furwah* (sheepskin-lined, long Badawin cloth cloak with sleeves, fashionable among the 'Anizah and Northern Badawin). At 3 p.m. I catch the first glimpse of my camp. It is on the right of the rough track, and half a mile south of one of my previous camps of the year before. K 137 The tents are pitched among the thick *'arfaj* bushes which are a feature of Araifjan. Everything, however, is dry, and except for a few *gaghraf* bushes (*hamdh*) which are in full bloom, there is nothing green to be seen at all. No, I am wrong, for in the salty patches there are splashes of emerald green *harm* (also one of the *hamdh* family) which show up strangely in the dry countryside.

B ●361 My camp of black hair tents is pitched in a long line, each tent facing south-east:

"A" is my tent; "B" that of my servant and huntsman; "C" is Salim's tent; "D" is Dhuwaihi's, the blind Azmi who resides with his two sons, Faláh and Násir (they are the shepherds); "E" is the tent of our *qasir* or neighbour, Sáleh, the Mutairi, who has asked permission to camp with Salim for a few days; "F" is my privy tent.

Very peaceful and quiet it all is—and I am not expected.

B 352 Suddenly we are seen, and there is much running to and fro, and carrying of *dushaks* and camel saddles from the women's quarters of Salim's tent to mine. Carpets and *galims* are quickly unrolled, the tent partitions (*gáta*) are fixed in place, and by the time the car draws up in front of my tent, everything is ready to give me welcome.

* Bin Jiluwi died on 31st October, 1935. He was according to Arab standards an undoubtedly great man, and a man of extraordinary courage. He was one of the twenty-three paladins who helped to seize Riyadh with Bin Sa'ud when the latter won his kingdom, but he was unfortunately a man without a spark of softness or mercy in his make-up.

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000 of Arabia lead makes for religion, and instils into the heart of man the greater virtues that make life worth living.

THE TRIBAL DÍRAH

619 Every Badawin tribe in Arabia has its *dírah* or tribal country,
[221] through which it roams with its camels in the autumn, winter and
312 spring, and in which lie its permanent wells, the jealously treasured
361 possessions of various sections of the tribe, on which these sections camp in summer.*

Let us take, for example, the great Mutair tribe ('Ilwa and Wasil) of North-East Arabia. Its *dírah* is roughly enclosed by the following boundaries:

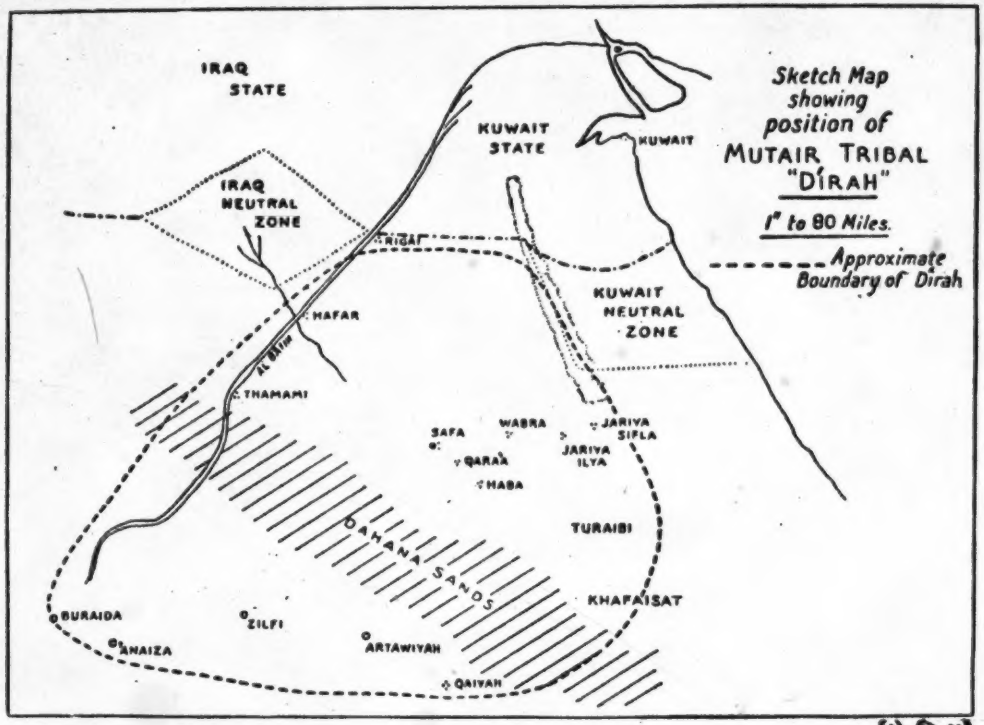
On the north—By the Iraq Neutral Zone (Tawál al Dhafir) and the Kuwait frontier as far east as the Shaqq.
On the east—By the Shaqq depression and a line running south of same to Jariya al Sifla, Taraibi and al Khafaisat.
On the south—A rough line from the town of 'Anaiza, Zilfi, Majma'a to al Khafaisat including the town of Artawiyah.
On the west—A rough line from the Tawál al Dhafir (Iraq Neutral Zone) through Thamani (south end of Bátin) to Buraida and 'Anaiza.

Its chief group of wells which need be mentioned are:

(*a*) Hafar al Bátin, the property of ibn Ashwan (Braih group of the Wasil Mutair).
(*b*) Sáfá, the property of ibn Lami (Jiblan).
(*c*) Jariya Ilya, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*d*) Jariya Sifla, the property of Al Fugum (Al Sahabba).
(*e*) Hábá, the property of Al Májid (Dushan).
(*f*) Qara'a, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*g*) Wabra, the property of the Dushan.
(*h*) Qaiyah, the property of Al Faisal (Dushan).
(*i*) Dijani, the property of Al Bara'asa (Muaha).

[622] The Dushan being the ruling clan, with its Shaikh Al Duwish,
361 controls also the tribal capital, or head village of Artawiyah.
619 This latter is an 'Ikhwan centre, and the creation of the present Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, who for political reasons placed in each tribal

* A reference to the tribal map at the end of this book will be found convenient.



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619
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p46a

The Mutair Country

619 *dirah* a small township as a sign that the whole tribe had embraced
361 Wahhabi-ism, and abandoned its old ignorant and roaming existence.

The terrain included in the Mutair tribal *dirah* consists of part of the
133 sandy *Dahana* region in the south, the rocky and broken *Summan*
312 and *Wiriya* regions in the centre, and the steppe-like tablelands of the
233 *Mujdair—Qara'a-* and *Musannat* regions in the north.

The whole *dirah* is a choice and good one, and *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh*, the mainstay of camels and most perfect of all grazing for these animals, are to be found in plenty when the rainfall is good.

This Mutair *dirah* is approximately 120 miles broad by 180 miles long, and may be taken as a typical example of an average tribe's homeland. There are, of course, other tribes who own larger and more extensive areas, but then scarcity of water and poorer grazing has compelled them from earliest times to seize and hold these bigger blocks of land. For in actual fact a tribe does not want a larger tract than is sufficient for its needs. So if a tribe's country is rich in water and all forms of grazing, all it requires is an area as big as that of the Mutair.

361 The tribes surrounding the Mutair, who own *dirahs* similar to theirs,
619 are as follows:

The 'Awazim and 'Ajman on the east and south-east.

The Sbei and Sahul on the south.

The Harb, Shammar and Dhafir on the west, and Kuwait territory on the north, which in olden times, and before boundaries of western conception were introduced, all belonged to the Mutair, except for the narrow coastal strip which was included in the 'Awazim *dirah*.*

619 A tribe does not, of course, remain always isolated in its own *dirah*.
221 If rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it naturally stops at home, but if rains fail it must migrate to places where grazing exists, and so overflows into the territories of its neighbours. It cannot, of course,

* It should be realised that there are two other great groups of the Mutair tribe, stretching from the Qasim in the centre of Arabia to near Madina in the Hijaz. They are known as the Bani 'Abdillah Mutair, and Maymun, and in numbers and strength are perhaps superior to their cousins the 'Ilwa and Braih described above. The whole tribe, of course, is one, and though the Bani 'Abdilla have their own powerful Shaikhs, they will all follow the standard of Al Duwish the hereditary Shaikh who resides at Artawiyah.†

† For the names of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Shammar Shaikhs see Appendix II. A map of the Mutair Tribal *dirah* will be found at the end of the book.

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THE ANNUAL MOVES

312 During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September
● 361 and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concen-
283 trates on its wells (*gulbán*), which in each case are groups of wells
182 lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here
221 they camp (*igaiyathun*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *musábilah* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring
735 them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the
651 time when the *zakát* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *sariya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer.

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

221 At long last October, or the *wasm* season (the rains) arrives and
132 small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

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already gone ahead to spy out the land, the grazing and the water. 701
Assuming that there is no enemy near or danger imminent, the baggage- 221
camels and women folk follow fairly close on their heels. After the women and camp gear, the herds of camels and sheep follow on a broad front, slowly grazing along till they reach their new camp. There they find everything ready and the tents pitched. A strong guard is, of course, left with the herds. As in the case of the individual tent owner, the shaikh decides on where the camp is to be, and on the spot where he kneels his camel and off-saddles, his own tent will be pitched.

A tribe in camp is not concertinaed up but scatters out over a wide 361
space, each group of family tents being about two hundred yards from its neighbour if the ground is broken, and possibly four hundred yards apart in flat open ground. Hence a body of Badawin having, say, four hundred tents will cover a wide area when camped. This is the procedure in winter or spring when no enemy is about and likely to attack. In summer, on the other hand, when the tribe is camped on water, it literally surrounds the wells with tents, leaving only sufficient space for the camels and sheep to drink. Tents on such occasions are close together and generally in a series of lines, with tent ropes almost touching those of their neighbours. The widely scattered camp formation of 361
winter may make it difficult for the fighting men to concentrate sud- 721
denly, but is ideal for passive defence. A sudden surprise raid cannot penetrate deeply into such a camp, as each tent becomes a small fort from which fire is directed on the intruders, who soon find themselves fired on from all sides. (The German pill-box system during the first Great War proved the efficacy of the method.) Badawin methods of fighting are discussed in Chapter XXVI.

NOTE.— 104

Assás—the man who goes ahead to look for best grazing ground.

Sallâf—the leader of the tribe or head of family on the march. He always rides alone at head.

Makhâr—is name given to the family baggage-camels as opposed to *Al Aba'ir*, milch and loose camels on march.

Al Ghanam—the sheep on the march.

Al Baham—the lambs who march separate from the ewes.

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CHAPTER VI

Badawin Social System

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

369 The Arabs divide themselves into two main groups:
184 Al Hadhar and Al Bádia.

Al hadhar (singular: *hadhari*) are those who dwell in permanent stone or mud houses, i.e. townsfolk or villagers; *al bádia* are those who live nomad lives, own camels and live in black hair-tents (*biyut sha'ar*).

From this word *bádia* comes also our word Badawin (often written in French style, Bedouin), which is not used or understood in Arabia proper.

The dweller in the black tents, although he may occasionally speak of himself as a man of *bada* or nomad calling (e.g. "*Hana Bada*"—we are Badawin, etc.), he does so to signify that he is a wild, simple man of the desert, and not versed in the cunning ways of settled life.

[186] He far more often refers to himself and his people by the proud title "'Arab"—e.g. '*Arabna sawada*, '*Arabna nizzala l ala Subailiyah*—Our Arabs have gone up into the interior, or, Our Arabs have camped at Subailiyah.

If a Badawin meets a nomad stranger in his territory he will enquire, after salaams and general greetings, *Inta minain ya walad?*—From whence art thou, O youth? The answer is, '*Ana min 'Arab falan*—I am from such and such a person's Arabs.

369 Not to be confused with the 'Arab or pure-bred Badawin, are the
361 'Arabdar or 'Arab-ad-Dar. The latter is the name commonly given in Kuwait and also, I believe, in Najd to those semi-nomads who are found in black tents on the borders of the great desert, and who camp close to the towns in summer, and move out into the interior, a matter of 80 to 100 miles from their homes proper, in winter. Many of them also own small house property in the cities they are attached

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to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin 369
in the transition stage to a more settled existence. 361

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of 361
sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents 236
as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock
such as 'Ajman, Munair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their [512]
members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and
regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the 565
pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter un- 369
doubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has
grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots
of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi,
are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-
bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs.
The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions 369
involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as 574
host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging 556
in the city.

Ahalna al Bada, is a common cry heard among the 'Arab-
dawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their
neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially [521]
their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful,
for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather
than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and
lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin
rider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is
an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or
defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with 233
either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the 463
tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either 619
of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As
sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which
they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined
than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds
has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

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619 (1) *In Hasa and Kuwait* (East Arabia).

565 The 'Awazim tribe, probably of Hutaim origin, and originally a serf-community of the 'Ajmán.

The Rashaida Tribe—certainly of Hutaim origin; originally serfs of the Mutair, and retainers of the Shaikhs of Kuwait from earliest times.

(2) *In North-West Arabia.*

The Hutaim—A large and very powerful group of tribes, who generally acknowledge the overlordship of Shaikhs Ibn Barak and Ibn Naumas. (The Shararat tribe, for instance, forms part of the great Hutaim group.)

(3) *All over North and North Central Arabia.*

The Sulubba—The lowest, most despised of desert men, and said to be descendants of the Christian Crusaders. Great guides and hunters. (See Chapter XLI.)

(4) *Central and North Arabia.*

The Aqail or Agail*—residents of Qasim and Baghdad. From time immemorial camel-dealers of the desert.

The great house of Al Bassam are Aqailis.

[326] (5) Not to be confused with the above, are the Al Sana,† a community of ironmongers, farriers and arms-repairers, sections of whom each Sharif tribe protects and possesses as part of itself. *Sanna* is the plural of *Sana*, e.g. Sanna al Mutair, Sanna al Rashid, etc.

[582] No Sharif Arab can take a daughter from (or give a daughter to) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) above. His own tribe would not tolerate it, and his relations would kill the offender. The excuse would be that he [628] was spoiling the tribe's blood. Everyone will remember the shooting of the capable 'Abdullah Beg al Sana, Governor of Baghdad in 1932, by His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha al Sa'adun, because of the former's foolish attempt to marry the Europeanised daughter of His Excellency 'Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Prime Minister of Iraq. The true Arab of the desert, from Bin Sa'ud downward, not only condoned the murder, but highly approved it.

361 * The Aqail or Agail are, of course, not a Badawin tribe in any sense of the word, for they live in the towns. They more correctly should be termed a *hadhar* community.

† Members of this class have often risen to the highest positions of trust under various Arab Rulers as well as under the Turks.

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she will set : a light pole, usually one of the tent side-supports, and 574
hang one of her holiday orange, red or black garments on it, and stick it into the ground in front of her tent as a signal. This is her silent way of inviting the stranger to come and partake. I have been thus invited on several occasions, especially by members of the 'Ajman tribe and the Muntafiq.

If a man and his wife are both at home and a guest arrives, of whatever status, he is welcomed by the man and placed in the *diwāniyah* portion of the tent, that is, the end furthest away from the women's quarters. There he is given his coffee, food and a place to sleep. The women do not come near him or attempt to talk to him, unless he happens to remain two or three days, on account perhaps of heavy rains. The women then thaw somewhat, and when they do address him it is as "my brother".

When Badawins are encamped singly, they always endeavour to 361
hide their tents in hollows and in such positions as to escape notice. 574
This is partly due to a natural desire to escape attention in case an enemy is about, but more often to escape being seen by a traveller. The latter must be attended to if he begs for food and a night's shelter, and this entertaining of strange guests often bears very heavily on the tent-dweller. These remarks apply to the Badawin of the desert proper and do not include tribes such as the settled ones of Iraq, who are very wealthy and normally entertain on a most lavish scale.

Some tribes, especially the Muntafiq of the Euphrates, are so 574
scrupulous in exercising hospitality that they often almost ruin themselves rather than be thought stingy to guests. A man having only a single sheep in the world will go and kill it to feed a strange guest. The Braih (Wasil) section of the desert Mutair have a similar reputation for entertaining, and are looked up to in consequence. The Birzan subsection of this tribe, having been blessed by the Prophet himself for their kindness and hospitality, were rewarded by being told that their blood even was blessed—hence it is believed that to drink a Birzani's blood will cure a man of impotence, cause a woman to conceive and counter the poison of a mad dog.

Some tribes, notably the Dhafir, have an unpleasant custom which 264
often annoys those sitting down to a meal. Say there are ten men dining together, if one gets up satisfied, the rest must at once all get

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plenty of grazing, he postpones this final move as late as possible, but if the reverse, then the 20th May may see him settled down for his enforced five months of idleness and physical discomfort.

As far as North-Eastern Arabia is concerned the following are the great Badawin camping grounds from north to south:

(*a*) *Safwan*—immediately north of Kuwait Border, in Iraq territory.
(*b*) *Jahrah*—at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.
(*c*) *Kuwait*—(Shamiyah and Dasma wells) outside the walls of Kuwait.
(*d*) *Subaihiyah*—on the southern border of Kuwait.
(*e*) *Tawil*—S.W. of Jabal Wara and 10 miles N.W. of Subaihiyah in Kuwait.
(*f*) *Wafra*—in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.
(*g*) *'Ark*—on the southern border of Neutral Zone.
(*h*) *Jeriyah Ilya*, *Jeriyah Sifli*, *Safa*, *Haba*, *Qara'a* — in the Mutair Summan country 170 miles S.S.W. of Kuwait (Sa'udi Arabia).
(*i*) *Hafar al Bátin*—in the Bátin Valley (Sa'udi Arabia) 150 miles S.W. of Kuwait.
(*j*) *'Ajibba*—in the Harb tribal country, S.W. of the Mutair Summan (Sa'udi Arabia).
(*k*) *Ingair*, *'Nta*, *Awaina*, *Sarrar* — in mid Hasa, Wadi al Miyah region (Sa'udi Arabia).
(*l*) *Qatif*, *Hufuf*—in South Hasa (Sa'udi Arabia).

There is also the well-known camping quadrilateral in the Iraq Neutral Zone lying 140 miles west of Kuwait, known under the general term of *Tawal al Dhafir*, and consisting of several well-areas such as Dulaimiyah, Arkhaimiyah, Julaida, Al Thamiriyah, etc.

By tribal law each of the above wells belongs to a different tribe or section of tribe, and strangers can theoretically be kept away from them. Actually under the strong rule of the Al Sa'ud and the Al Subah, other tribes or parts of tribes are to-day allowed to make use of them, provided there is no overcrowding and there is no enmity between the actual owners of the water and the strangers. It goes without saying that should a tribe of a foreign State camp for summer

Summer Raiding Season

are examined from every angle. If a majority of the leaders are con- 622
vinced of the soundness of the plan, the matter is settled, and a con- 721
centration of all fighting men takes place at a prearranged rendezvous, to carry out the plan agreed upon. Only the old and very young remain behind to guard the tents and camels.

A tribal army or force is called a *Qaum* (pronounced *Gaum*), e.g 704
"Gaum ibn Sa'ud"—Bin Sa'ud's army.

The actual force that raids or attacks is known as a *Ghazzu*.

The term *harbiyah* is unknown among the Badawin of Najd, though it is commonly used in Iraq.

If Bin Sa'u' as king were in command of war operations in Najd, the tribes would be moved about at will, until launched to the attack, and at the point decided on by him. The actual method of attack would be probably left to the tribal leaders.

In warfare between the tribes as opposed to states, the main object 721
is to round up and seize camels, and if you cannot capture stock, to inflict as much damage as possible on the enemy's young men.

During winter few raids take place,

(*a*) Because there is grazing everywhere and strong tribes concentrate where their camels and sheep are actually feeding, and successful surprise is therefore almost impossible.

(*b*) The movements of the tribes are not dictated by the question of water, which is generally found everywhere (rain pans, shallow pools, etc.).

(*c*) If a tribe is small and weak it can avoid its known enemies and likely attacks, by continually moving about and evacuating areas which may be dangerous.

In summer all Badawin are peculiarly vulnerable, for they must 721
camp with tents closely concentrated over perennial wells, while their 561
camels must of necessity go some distance away for their grazing. This vulnerability increases as summer progresses, for the grazing gets further and further away from the main camp. Nor can the tribe or community camped on water maintain its full armed forces with the camels, as food and water difficulties arise. They are compelled to leave the custody of their stock to patrols, a very unsatisfactory protection, for if the patrol cannot hold the raiders in their first rush, the latter simply round up the whole or part of the flocks and drive

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

721 them off, long before any supporting body can reach them from the
361 main camp.

It follows that from a European airman's point of view desert targets will also always be bad in the winter season, for tribes then pitch their tents singly or in twos and threes, over a large area of country, each group of tents being separated from its neighbour by a distance of anything from a quarter to half a mile. This is done for support purposes in case of Arab attack, and to ensure that camels are well scattered, and get full benefit from the grazing. Therefore, just as the Badawin is difficult of location and attack in winter and spring, from the point of view of his own Arab enemies, so a European force operating from the air against Badawin would be handicapped and affect little real damage during the cold season, as the scattered nature of camps would assist the defence, and if necessary immediate and further dispersion would be an easy operation. The opposite is of course the case in summer.

RAIDS

726 For a raid pure and simple, the Badawin relies on the element of surprise for success. If he has reason to suppose his movements are known and are being anticipated he will abandon his project without hesitation.

For long-distance raids only camels are employed, and a stroke may be delivered from a hostile concentration 250 miles or more away, day and night marching being the custom. For short-distance raids, camels and horses are employed in equal strength, a horseman riding behind each camelman, and the horses being led until the force is within striking distance of its quarry. The horsemen then dismount and make their final charge on horseback. The camelmen act the role of the supporting force, and cover the horsemen when driving off the enemy's camels.

Camel and horse raids can be carried out from a distance of anything up to 100 miles.*

* A notable instance of such long-distance horse and camel raid was when Ajmi al Sa'adun swooped down on Basra from Khamisiyah near Suq esh Shuyukh on the Euphrates, a year or so before World War I.

1. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Origin of the Sulubba

565 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-
619 Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.
[142] In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a
● [861] large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

582 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his
675 people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are
565 in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs,
619 some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shennut is the Shaikh of the Mutair Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aithif is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

291 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

535 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of
619 the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba
174 are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Muntafiq

484 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
c 361 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
233 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[722] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

221 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
233 the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
648 Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhablhah wa manlhah*, consisting of gifts of
431 young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakât* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakât*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

836 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

161

the Sba (3,000 tents), who winter to the east of the Jebel Aniza and advance as far as the Gaara region itself; and the Ruwalla (4,000 tents).[58]

No census was made among the Bedouins and it is clear that real statistics are lacking nowdays.

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●361

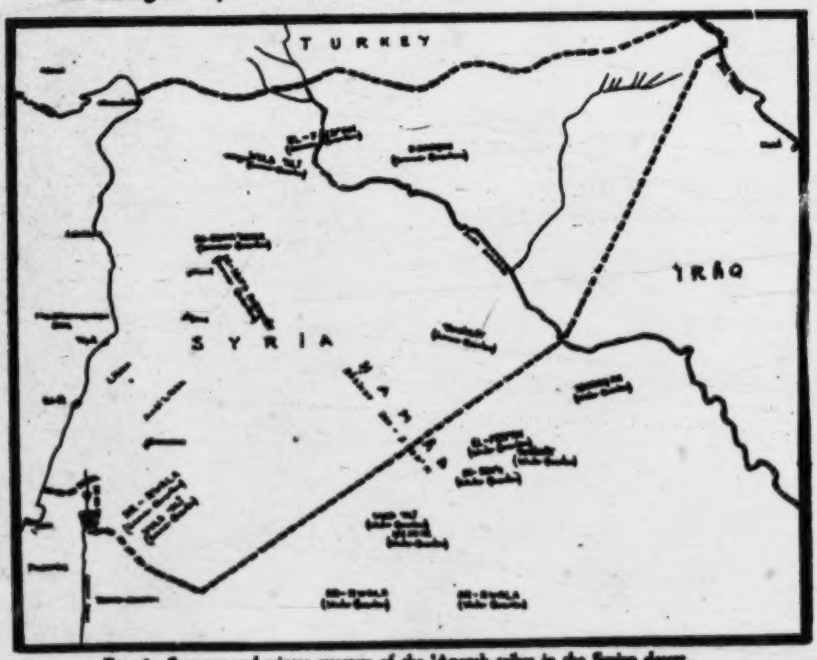

FIG. 1. Summer and winter quarters of the 'Anazeh tribes in the Syrian desert.

MIGRATION PROBLEMS

221

At the present time the district covered by their wanderings include the whole Syrian plain, and reaches to the north as far as the latitude of Aleppo, and they are also found in the Beka'a,[59] to the south as far as the Sammâr hills, and east-

58 *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council*, etc., p. 27.

59 Cf. L. Dubertret and J. Weulersse, *Manuel de géographie: Syrie, Liban et Proche Orient* (Beyrouth, 1940), part 1: "La péninsule Arabique," pp. 15-16.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

• 369 It is not such a life as would be popular in
181 America, but men live, and women live, and children live there, and love their desert with an unparalleled devotion. Transplanted to a real garden spot of the earth, they weep for a glimpse of their beloved desert.

The love of the desert is a very deep and a very beautiful thing. For political purposes one of these desert chiefs was urged to give up his residence in the open and arid desert and come to live in the town. The greater comfort and luxury to be found in the town were pointed out to him as contrasted with the hardships and loneliness of the desert; but the old chief did not see it that way. "In the town," said he, "I have no doubt that I shall find all the things which you describe, but out here in the desert I have my family and my goats, great distances, and God."

182 In such a country only one type of life is possible, and that is the Bedouin type. Some knowledge of the Bedouin, his environment and its effect upon him is fundamental in any effort to understand the Arab. The nomad tribe is probably the basis from which the other types of Arab life have been developed historically, and these other types can be most easily understood today if studied in connection with the simpler organization of the desert. The most conspicuous difference from our own society lies perhaps in the fact that all members of the community do the same thing. Some are more energetic than others, and on that account own larger herds of camels and larger flocks of goats or sheep, but the occupation of all is the same, and the standards of life differ very little.

619 The Bedouins are divided into tribes, and the larger
622 tribes into sub-tribes. These tribes of Arabia are "communities of will," to use H. G. Wells' phrase, and the in-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

000
611 mere trifle. Probably the only part of the outfit that
312 would have any commercial value at all is the black goat's-
356 hair tent, which affords a poor shelter from the cold in winter and from the heat in summer. And along with extreme poverty there goes an astonishing lack of any sense of cleanliness or order. The tent of a Bedouin could be little more disorderly if it were taken by some giant hand, shaken like a dice box, and the contents allowed to rest where they fell. The furniture consists of
[352] few things and poor. There are the remnants of one or more cotton stuffed quilts. These are both bed and bed
[415] clothes. There are a few skins to hold drinking water and a few skin basins. Some shaped sticks are tied together to make camel saddles. The outfit will also include a copper kettle for the cooking of food, a battered coffee pot for the making of coffee and usually a wooden bowl. This bowl, which may be the only eating utensil belonging to the household, has probably never been washed in its history. At times milk is drunk out of it, and at times rice and meat are eaten from it. The grease with which it is covered has long since exceeded the absorption limit of the wood and for years has been plastered on to the outside. Under such circumstances the prevalence of disease excites no wonder; the wonder is that many maintain excellent health.

291 The Bedouins clothes are a loin cloth beneath and shirt above, which shirt resembles a loose nightgown and reaches to his ankles. Over this is worn an old disreputable *aba* or cloak, in cut resembling nothing so much
[291] as a college gown. All of these are usually in a state of great disrepair and show an acute need of laundering.
369 The town Arabs, who look with scorn on the desert Bed-
291 ouin, assert that when he buys a new undershirt, he puts

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

369 it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are
291 ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly ac-
[515 curate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so fre-
296] quent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

515 But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty.
312 Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer
287 the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine be-
302 cause water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for
312 such a purpose. The men apparently go without wash-
515 ing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required
783 before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The
515 delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

262 The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected.
[2 2 There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which
4 4] the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia M51
Bedouin M54

of a spiritual guide or pastor, much less for the functions of a priest.

There is a small group of land-owners and merchants (the same individual is frequently both), who constitute a wealthy upper class which has great power in the community. They form a sort of unofficial cabinet to advise the ruler, and not a great deal happens without their knowledge and approval. However, they are not sheikhs, and sometimes when a powerful governor presides over a community, this rich men's cabinet exercises surprisingly little influence over him. The ruler and his family form what might be termed a class by themselves. Frequently they are strangers more or less directly derived from some Bedouin tribe and far less traveled and sophisticated than many of their rich subjects. They are, however, none the less effective rulers for that. But the whole subject of the workings of Arab government is one that we must reserve for a later chapter.

Desert and oasis in Arabia represent two conflicting modes of life and there is little sympathy between them. To the Bedouin the town is a community of masters and slaves with the vast majority slaves. The date gardener works long and hard; moreover he works under another man's direction, and this director of his efforts receives the major part of the proceeds. The artisan, to be sure, is not the slave of any one individual, but he too is cooped up in narrow quarters, and the necessities of his family keep him busy from morning till night working with his hands. Land-owners and merchants the Bedouin envies, but he still pities them their cramped life and close confinement in the town. Why any one who is rich enough to afford a home in the desert should prefer to live in the oasis, is to him an insoluble mystery.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia M J4
Bedouin M J4

369 But if the Bedouin has a great contempt for the towns-
565 man, the townsman on his part reciprocates most cor-
609 dially. He regards the unwashed and unkempt nomad of
B the desert as little better than a wild beast. Incidentally
369 he fears the wild religious fanaticism of the despised
609 tribesmen exceedingly, and not without reason. "Infidel," said one of the Bedouins to a small shopkeeper in Hasa who sat comfortably smoking his big waterpipe in the door of his shop. "Infidel, shall I break it over your head, or smash it here on the ground?" and the shop-
B keeper having indicated a preference for the ground, the
[783] fanatical Wahabi, to whom tobacco is the very essence of sin and uncleanness, smashed the waterpipe to pieces on
S the floor. A waterpipe is a quite expensive affair, being
[276] an ornamented glass jar of about a quart capacity. Those accustomed to their use insist that in no other way can tobacco be properly smoked. The time was when the inhabitants of the oasis towns were more religious than the Bedouins, but that time is past, and now the Bedouin in his religious zeal looks on them as next to infidels. "Those are the men," the city dweller will explain with great scorn, "who think they are competent to instruct us in matters of religion. They do not know the simplest prayers. Their heads are so full of lice that room could scarcely be found for more. Their clothes never get washed. Their women go about unveiled. They are
S nothing but wild animals."

369 The underlying changes that have brought about this
463 transformation from desert conditions to those of the
423 oasis are two. There is a divison of labor, and a certain
B differentiation into sections and cliques is inevitable on ac-
369 count of that, but a far more significant thing is the fact
423 that agricultural land in the oasis is held as private property, whereas in the desert land is free as the air

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ1
Bedouin MJ4

S 369 565 423 B 565 369 erty, whereas in the desert land is free as the air. Even the function and wealth of the merchant as compared with the gardener and the artisan would lead to comparatively little splitting into economic strata if it were not for the private ownership of land, which produces, as nothing else in Arabia does, the feeling of haughty superiority and cringing subservience. The Bedouin in the desert faces his sheikh with little or no feeling of inferiority, for all that the sheikh has the power of life and death over him. The poorest Bedouin knows that associated with a few others of like mind, he has the same power over the sheikh. The oppressed gardener, however, certainly does not face his land-owner with any feeling of equality. He is compelled to beg on his knees, figuratively speaking, for a chance to live, and it is impossible to escape the conviction that something inexpressibly valuable is lost in the process.

S 369 466 565 511 There is no such sense of unfettered freedom in the towns as prevails in the desert. Men work under direction and under a certain restraint. Their hours and their outlook are governed largely by the men they work for. The date cultivator looks up to the man who owns his land. He in turn looks down on any man who works for him. The atmosphere of democracy where each man looks his brother in the eye without flinching, on the even level of entire equality, has disappeared. The unity of the community is gone. The date gardener would not think of intruding in the reception room of the rich man who owns his garden. He is at liberty to see him on business, but not as a social equal.

On the other hand, there are compensations. By any possible standard, life in the oasis is much more civilized and refined than in the desert. The comfort of the people

With the improvements of communication and construction of pipe- 369 178
lines there has been an ever-increasing mutual contact between the nomads and the settled people of village and town. While tribal sheikhs are the first to come under the influence of modernization, the tribesmen are also gradually adopting the mode of existence of settled society.

CHAPTER 1

Definition of the Area under Consideration

361 121

This paper will limit itself primarily to the problem of sedentarization of the nomadic populations in the countries of the Fertile Crescent, that is: Iraq, Syria, Jordan (Transjordan) and Israel (Palestine), an area which distinguishes itself by its Moslem Arab majority,[1] its striking similarities of natural environment and social organization. Saudi Arabia was included in this study because of the inter-relations which exist between the Bedouin of the Arabian and Syrian deserts. Tribes of the Anezeh Confederation wander from Saudi Arabia through Jordan into Syria and back and sections of the Shammar migrate back and forth between Arabia and Iraq.

Desert and Soil

132 133

The chief common natural feature of the area is of a geo-

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1. With the exception of the Kurdish language used by the Kurds in Syria and Iraq, Aramaic spoken by the Nestorian Christians in Kurdistan and in a few villages in Syria, and Hebrew spoken by the Jewish community of Israel, the area is Arabic in character.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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619 but when the strong hand is weakened or withdrawn, then merry hell is let loose, and every tribe is at its neighbour's throat. Such a period is what every tribe and every individual Badawin long to see. It means raiding and fun for everyone and wealth for him who is bold and strong. Not much killing or loss of life follows from this state of anarchy, but camels change hands frequently, and there is loot for all and exchange of worldly possessions. Since women are always safe under such conditions (see Chapter VII) the Badawin considers this state of affairs as nearly ideal as possible, and is for ever talking about the good times when anarchy prevailed. This is his idea of heaven on earth, this is what he perpetually longs for. Is it not his birthright that "every man's hand shall be against him, and his hand be against every man"?

443 If tribes and confederations are at peace with each other, the
438 individuals and families move about at will in each other's territories,
369 as they go and come to and from the various towns that supply their wants. This movement to market towns is known as *musdbilah* and exists all over Arabia. Each tribe has its special or favourite towns which it goes up to for its necessities, and it looks forward with joy to such visits. For instance, from time immemorial the Mutair, Harb, Shammar, 'Awazim and Northern 'Ajman have done their *musdbilah* to Kuwait, while the Dhafir have visited Zubair, Nasriyah and Samawa on the Euphrates.

The system enables the town authorities to exercise a beneficial control over the Badawin who market with them, as any misbehaviour at once results in the tribe's being forbidden to enter the town—a
[643] very great hardship to the desert shopper. Despotic rulers like Bin Sa'ud naturally do not like the *musdbilah* system at all, especially when it affects their border tribes, for these would like to spend their moneys outside the state, and are always liable to be got at by the powers that be, in neighbouring countries. One of the chief reasons for Bin Sa'ud's ten-year blockade of Kuwait was his determination to try and prevent his subjects doing *musdbilah* with that town. The Ruler of the latter place naturally tried to encourage such *musdbilah*, for if it were forcibly stopped, his people must have recourse to smuggling to get their goods out to the tribes.

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CHAPTER VI

Badawin Social System

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

369 The Arabs divide themselves into two main groups:
184 Al Hadhar and Al Bádia.

Al hadhar (singular: *hadhari*) are those who dwell in permanent stone or mud houses, i.e. townsfolk or villagers; *al bádia* are those who live nomad lives, own camels and live in black hair-tents (*biyut sha'ar*).

From this word *bádia* comes also our word Badawin (often written in French style, Bedouin), which is not used or understood in Arabia proper.

The dweller in the black tents, although he may occasionally speak of himself as a man of *badu* or nomad calling (e.g. "*Hana Badu*"—we are Badawin, etc.), he does so to signify that he is a wild, simple man of the desert, and not versed in the cunning ways of settled life.

[186] He far more often refers to himself and his people by the proud title "'Arab"—e.g. *'Arabna sannadu*, *'Arabna nizzalu l ala Subaihiyah* —Our Arabs have gone up into the interior, or, Our Arabs have camped at Subaihiyah.

If a Badawin meets a nomad stranger in his territory he will enquire, after salaams and general greetings, *Inta minain ya walad?*—From whence art thou, O youth? The answer is, *'Ana min 'Arab fulan* —I am from such and such a person's Arabs.

369 Not to be confused with the 'Arab or pure-bred Badawin, are the
361 'Arabdar or 'Arab-ad-Dar. The latter is the name commonly given in Kuwait and also, I believe, in Najd to those semi-nomads who are found in black tents on the borders of the great desert, and who camp close to the towns in summer, and move out into the interior, a matter of 80 to 100 miles from their homes proper, in winter. Many of them also own small house property in the cities they are attached

L. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin in the transition stage to a more settled existence.

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter undoubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi, are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs. The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging in the city.

Akalma al Badu, is a common cry heard among the 'Arabdawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful, for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

CHAPTER XIII

Morality

537 There is no immorality, as we know it, among the desert tribes. There is, of course, plenty of marrying and giving in marriage, and as I have said, divorce is so easy that a woman often has six or seven husbands in her lifetime, and a man always as many wives as he can afford, provided he confines himself to four at a time. Prostitutes are unknown among the Badawin, and adultery is punishable with death.

Friendships between men and women, on the other hand, exist, and are recognised, especially if the parties are of the same tribe and are related, for example my friend Shaikh Thuwainan Abu Sifra of the Mu'aha section of the Mutair, was a friend of Muthi, wife of Falah bin 'A'amir, also of the Mu'aha. Every Badawin, of course, is aware that immorality exists in the big towns, and this is one of the main reasons why he despises the townsman.

Unfortunately a Badawin man up from the distant desert sometimes finds his way to the prostitute quarters when he visits towns such as Mecca and Madina, Jiddah, and Kuwait. This has resulted in the spread of syphilis and venereal disease among the tribes.

In Wahhabi-land proper (i.e. Sa'udi Arabia, excluding the Hijaz), no prostitute is tolerated even in the towns, let alone among the tribes, but I am told that there is nevertheless a good deal of clandestine immorality.

It is curious but true that if you discuss the question of morals with well-informed Najd Badawin, they will always tell you that certain great shaikhly families of the desert, especially in the north, have always had rather loose morals, while certain others stand out for their good morals and generally high tone. For instance, the well-known shaikhly house of Al Sha'alan (Ruwala) as well as that of the Hawaitat, Bani Sakhr (both Trans-Jordan), and Shammar Jarba (Iraq), are all said to be pretty lax where women are concerned, and conversely Al Hadhal (Amarat), the Dushan (Mutair) and the Hamidda ('Utaiba)

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 M1 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M24

further east and south, very strict. The whole desert world will certainly agree that the shaikhs of the tribes of Najd proper are far superior in moral behaviour to their brothers of Iraq and Syria, and for that matter of the north generally, and they never cease to deploree and at the same time boast of the fact. This is of course all good propaganda for the Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia and for Wahhabi-ism, and justifies up to the hilt His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz's policy of keeping strangers as far as possible out of his country, and in particular out of Central Arabia.

Undoubtedly the proximity to Damascus and Baghdad of the Northern 'Anizah and Shammar is slowly but surely demoralising the leaders, though not yet the rank and file. The coming of the motor car is also hastening the process. To their great credit Al Hadhal (Amarat) and notably their great chief Shaikh Mahruth have and are still keeping themselves free from the poison of the towns, but how long they will keep themselves and their people uncontaminated by the great cities is a question.

MORALITY IN THE TOWNS

Mecca is recognised as one of the most immoral towns in Arabia. If one can believe the Badawin, every form of foul vice prevails there.

In Kuwait for a woman to lapse and be found out, usually means death. Her brothers or cousins are her executioners. The husband is more tolerant.

If an unmarried girl goes astray, her lapse is punishable with stoning or "walling up" in a small room, where only one coffee-cup of water and a few dates are given her through a hole in the ceiling per day. If she survives this starvation treatment for forty days, God is supposed to have intervened and she is set free.

A man may without much disgrace indulge in strange women, provided they are public ones, and work for hire. The condition is that he behave so discreetly as not to let the world know. This is most important.

Nice Arab women have on occasion suggested to me that in the absence of my family in England it would be permissible if I occasionally patronised a gay lady's establishment of good standing,

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mena were common to the Al Rimal or Al Ramla (Rub'al Khâli) 823 and were always the work of Jinns (spirits).

(*d*) Individual Murra, he said, themselves often came out of the 828 great desert "mad", which made them sing and laugh in strange manner. This was undoubtedly due to Jinn influence.

(*e*) The word Rub' al Khâli, he said, was a *hadhar* or townsman's 369 expression, and Badawin did not know the name, and he himself had 108 only once or twice heard it.

(*f*) Râshid knew seven of Philby's guides personally when he made his great trans-desert journey; one of them, Falah abu Ja'sha, was his cousin. (See page 10 of Philby's book; also first part of this chapter.)

THE DEAD WOMAN WHO NURSED HER CHILD

(Recounted by Dhuwaihi bin Kharmit of the 'Awazim on 21st 539 April, 1935, in camp at Malah, Kuwait.)

A man of the 'Awazim was once travelling near Hail with his young wife. The latter was with child, and in a gorge between some high rocky hills she suddenly gave birth to a baby boy, but in the process died. Her husband did all he could for her, but as he was alone, he could not save her. He buried her by putting her body in a small cave nearby, and filled up the entrance with stones. Loth to remove the child, and knowing it would shortly die for lack of milk, he laid it on its mother's breast with her left arm round it, and put the mother's left breast to the baby's mouth. He then rode away.

Nine months later a party of Badawin of the same tribe happened to wander by and camp close to the spot where the woman and child had been buried. Knowing the story they went to the cave's mouth to see if the wall was intact. To their surprise they found a few stones removed and a hole in the wall; outside on the sand they found the tracks of a child's feet running all over the ground. In great fear and filled with superstition they quickly rode away from the haunted place. In course of time the Badawin told the father, who hastened to the spot, and found the hole in the wall and the small footmarks. Looking inside the cave, he found a live boy-child sitting and prattling beside the mummified form of his dead wife. The mother's body was all dried up, except her left eye and the left side of her face, her left

Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

to recover its lost property in its own time, and by whatever means it deems fit to employ. 421 628 425 681

IV. *The case of stolen or lost camels, recognised in a town or settlement by their original owners. (Both parties for example having come up to purchase supplies.)* 421 628 369

If the two parties are members of tribes which are friendly and on good terms with each other, and if their respective tribes are on good terms with, and under the authority of, the Ruler or Governor of the town in question, then the claimant must produce three witnesses to testify that the property he claims is his own. The words he himself uses to prove his claim before the authority hearing the case are, "I affirm that I neither sold nor gave away this my camel". Having completed this formality, the claimant will receive back his camel by order of the Ruler or Governor of the said town. (This sort of case frequently arises in Kuwait and towns in Najd.) 425 681 694

In the event of the person in possession of the camel having bought it from a third party unaware that it was the lawful property of a member of a friendly tribe, the procedure is different (see below). Again, if the person in possession of the camel has obtained it in war from a third party, the claimant will only receive it back if the custom of *'urafa* exists between his tribe and that of the person with whom the camel is found (see below).

V. *The case of a tribe of one Government attacking a tribe of another Government and a battle resulting.* 421 628

The attacked tribe has the right to ask its Government to demand and recover full blood-money for its killed and injured from the Government of the guilty party. Should the complainant's Government not be in a position to exact reparation or come to an agreement with the aggressor's Government, either as to the blood-money due or to the terms of peace acceptable to the injured tribe, then the families of the victims have the right to take revenge in their own time and way, without being responsible to their Government in any respect. (V is similar to III.) 425 681

Poisoning

685 man when Shaikh Mahruth demanded that the ordeal by fire be
686 resorted to. I should have liked to agree, to see how it worked, but couldn't very well accede to the request, so released the man, much to Shaikh Mahruth's disgust.

POISONING

682 Despite the difficulty of proof, it seems certain that poison is used
278 pretty extensively in some parts of Arabia (especially the towns)
[369] to remove an inconvenient person, such as a private adversary or possibly an unpleasant husband.

Rulers like the Āl Rashīd, Āl Sa'adun and Āl Sa'ud have certainly used this method in the past, when out to get the better of their political opponents, but I am glad to record that never has it been suggested or hinted (even by his enemies) that the present great ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, H.M. King 'Abdul 'Azīz al Sa'ud, has ever sunk to such methods.

Probably the commonest poison is arsenic, or some preparation of it. The reason of this is that its effects are rather like cholera, so no questions are asked. Post-mortems are of course unknown. Arsenic, moreover, is easily obtained in every town in Arabia, seeing that it forms the chief ingredient in making preparations for treating camel mange, and in the bigger towns arsenic mixed with lime is a favourite
[369] depilatory among better-class women.

The townspeople call poison *sim*, while among the Badawin it is known as *saqwa*.

I have been told by some of my Badawin friends that a common way of administering *saqwa* under the Āl Rashīd regime was by means of the coffee-cup. The coffee man kept some arsenic powder made into a paste on his thumb nail, and when he came to the person he wanted to poison he lifted his thumb over the edge of the cup and poured, as if by accident, some coffee over his thumb, and the poison went into the cup. The one to be poisoned drank it, later went sick, showed every symptom of cholera and then died.

An old 'Ajman shaikh told me (10th April, 1935) that when Ibn Rashīd tried to poison Shaikh Abdur Rahman al Sa'ud (the father of the present King) and his brother when they were his hostages in

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

As we neared the large tent, the merry "ringing" of the coffee mortar bade us welcome. Malla Sulumeh, scribe to Sheykh Tai', conducted us within.

A considerable number of tribesmen were gathered in the roomy tent. As usual, the favourite falcon of the *sheykh* stood perched on a camel-saddle.

A slave removed the bird and placed cushions on the saddle for us. The coffee-cook poked apart the pieces of glowing desert roots on the hearth and poured between them dried camel dung from a fold of his cloak. He blew energetically on the hard nuggets, the size of walnuts, until small bright flames commenced to dance all over them. Then a large, beaked can was placed on the glow and it was not long before the coffee-water boiled and bubbled over. "Revive thy spirit!" said the every-ready cup-bearer as he offered me the aromatic cup.

Previously he had, in accordance with Bedouin practice, conscientiously wiped out every cup with the sleeve of his old shirt. Adroitly he held in his other hand four small china cups without handles, like so many eggs in a nest, and jingled them lightly one against the other.

The coffee made the round. The favoured guests, whom the Negro served first (unhappily I belonged to them) were the victims of especial politeness; before pouring the coffee, he spat first into the cup and wiped it dry with his shirt sleeve. Three times had I to endure this rite at the hands of the punctilious coffee-priest, who waited on us with the utmost solemnity on each occasion. Only then might I waggle the cup between my finger-tips in token of thanks and satisfaction and hand it back to him.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Men's Clothes

 492

(r) *'Asa*—camel stick (made of cane).
(s) *Bakira*—camel stick (cane).
(t) *Miqido*—the small bag made of wool or leather for carrying money, *hail* or small quantities of dates when a man is travelling alone.
(u) *Rasa*—camel's halter.

FALCON'S GEAR

(See Chapter XXVIII on Hawking) 223

(v) *Burqa*—hawk's hood.
(w) *Wa'ar al tair*—hawk's stand.
(x) *Dasna al tair*—falconer's glove.

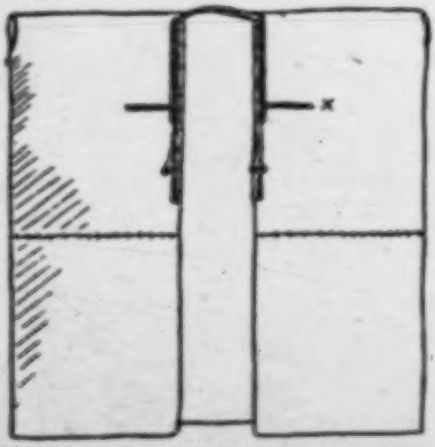
Note.—Other articles of furniture connected with a *wall-to-do* person's tent are the— 352

Mamrah (plural: *mamarah*)—mattress for guests to sit on.
Mafrash—carpets to spread on floor.

We have also the various forms of firewood found in every tent, rich and poor alike. These are known under the general terms of— 372

Jalla—camel dung.
Hamdh—a pungent-smelling bush giving a fine white ash.
'Arfaj—a well-known bush found all over North-Eastern Arabia.

MEN'S CLOTHING 291



'ABBAH

'Abbah or *Bisht*—made of finely woven sheeps' or camels' wool in two pieces. Texture can be superfine, thin, coarse or thick according to means of weaver. Round neck and down both fronts (shaded portion) is fine gold embroidery ending in a couple of tassels on both sides. The horizontal gold braid (x) indicates that the *'Abbah* is of type worn by shaikhs of Kuwait. Colour—all shades of brown ranging on to black.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

on it—Oh my children, oh my servants, we will move to it to-morrow morning." 512 283

Yet what, after all, is this new-found grazing? Nothing but a slightly rained-upon locality, where a few green shoots and weeds wait for man and beast to find them. Yet with the scarcity that prevails, the find is welcome. At sunset the camels once again come home, this time with the herdsman riding behind them. He is no longer singing, but encourages them with a "wa-ho, wa-ho, hurry up my daughters, the night is coming on, 'tis late—'tis late".

On arrival the camels are gently shepherded to the front of the tent where they are encouraged to lie down in a semicircle forming a sort of zareeba, with heads all facing the open side of the tent. This for protection, and to give each other warmth, for the tent keeps off the chill night breeze. However cold it is, the camels have no covering on their backs, and they appreciate any shelter they can get from the night wind.

An hour after sunset, and often when it is quite dark, the sheep come in with much "baa-ing" and calling upon their lambs to come out and appease their hunger, for the lambs have been kept at home all day. The sheep are brought into the semicircle formed by the camels, and the lambs are let loose. For twenty minutes or so pandemonium reigns. The babies have to be guided to their mothers, who will accept no lamb but their own, and in the darkness there is much apparent confusion due only to the noise made by ewes and lambs.

The shepherds know their job, and the lambs, having fed, are soon taken back and tied up inside the tent. All this time there are no lights, for the Badawin family cannot afford such luxury. Only in the kitchen portion of the tent a fire is cooking the evening meal and the master of the house sitting in front of the guest portion of his tent has got a small fire going with the embers of dry camel dung. Every now and then he flings on a bunch of *'arfaj* to cause a blaze and show him what is going on. 512 373

Supper follows, a simple meal of boiled rice and possibly a little bread. It is washed down with *leben*, of which master takes long and copious draughts. The women do not eat with him. They have already had their snack. Only the wife sits by her husband to see that he has 512 264

411 hand and all wore the distinctive carnelian-
[15] studded dagger, and one and all impressed
me as virile, reckless and uncontrolled, but
701 humorous and friendly. While we sat among
621 them talking there was a sudden stir, for they
had noticed a dozen mounted Arabs approaching rapidly across the dunes. Then someone recognized one of the camels and they relaxed. These camels were stretched out and travelling very fast, yet were urged to even greater efforts by the wild yells of their riders. They were the scouts, sons of sheikhs and the very pick of the tribe, who set out each dawn to scour the surrounding desert, keen-eyed for the tracks of strangers. Lithe, hard-bodied and alert, these lads rode their splendid beasts with effortless mastery. They had heard the firing and, thinking the camp attacked, had ridden back to help.

621 Scattered upon the dunes around us were
592 small black tents, round which naked infants romped, while dark-clad women moved about gathering sticks and tending herds of goats. Sometimes a family changed its site, for, though fear of raiders had imposed upon them the need to keep together, their restless nomad instincts drove them to conitant movement within the wide confines of the camp. Such short migrations provided an interesting sight as they moved slowly past. The children drove the camels, laden with tents, cooking-pots, watering-troughs and ropes, the simple requirements of their life; while the Bedu mothers and the virgin beauties of the tribe rode in the slow swaying camel-litters.

574 That evening they feasted us on meat and, after the camel herds had drifted in at dusk, brought us great frothing bowls of milk, the nectar of the Arabs. The night was filled with the haunting sounds of an Arab camp—the ceaseless restless moaning of camels, the barking of dogs, the rise and fall of Arab voices from their gathering-places round the fires, and sometimes the distant harmony of song.

312 Next morning when the sun was warm we drove our camels across the sandy plain to water at the well, which is situated close under high limestone cliffs on the northern
401 edge of the valley. A few Arabs had already
312 arrived and were fastening their pulleys to the scaffolding around the well. It is over 200 feet in depth and stone-lined, a monument to some forgotten people in the dim past. At the deep wells in the Najd the Arabs use their

p. 900 (B) FIRST CONTINUES ON P. 400 (A) -- ANALYST

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
571 leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
415 either end of the rope which runs over the
[462] pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full the other descends empty. Men and women draw together on the well-ropes, four or five to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel herds arrived and the serious work of watering began. Great leather troughs supported on crossed wooden hoops were set up by each family around the well. Soon there was no room for more watering parties, and late-comers had to wait their turn. The buckets rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs about which the thirsty camels pushed and thrust while their calves frolicked around. Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran in and out among them, driving away camels which did not belong to them, and restraining the more impatient of their own. Others scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite beasts, while they sang them their watering songs to induce them to drink deep. When they had drunk they were couched nearby, to be watered again later in the day, before being driven back to pasturage. Round the well-mouth women filled their water-skins, which then lay swollen and quivering upon the ground, guarded from the trampling feet of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined freely in the constant jests and laughter. Among them was a tall girl of startling beauty. She had come down to the well early in the day, carrying a water-skin and accompanied by her young sister. The centre of a happy laughing group of lads, she dallied here till the evening.

574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet
69 differed from them in their dress and way of life. They were indigo-dyed loincloths and wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin Ma'aruf were clad like the Northern Arabs in long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell nearly to the ground. They were returning to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days' journey to the south. Bloodcrops of sorghum
[324] and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
312] guarded by numerous stone-built forts and watch-towers, which look out across the des-
609 olate rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for

Bedouin (A)
P.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

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© Asia

A BEDOUIN SHEIKH

facing p. 158

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 54

224 called a meeting of his sub-chiefs, and made known to them that he desired a great wolf drive organized for two days hence. Every tribesman with a horse was to join in the hunt, so as to provide a chain of beaters. Sheykh Tai' himself, his lieutenants, and I, armed only with lances, were to ride down the wolves and spear them. This was not the usual method of hunting wolves, but is certainly more romantic and exciting than shooting them with long-range rifles from automobiles.

224 When Sheykh Tai' asked me if I knew how to handle
●411 a *rumh* (the Bedouin lance) I had to own my ignorance; but it was not long before I learnt how to handle it under the tuition of my good friend.

These spears are from fifteen to eighteen feet long. They are of light bamboo, which the Bedouins cut in the swamps of the lower Euphrates. Below the triangular steel head they are decorated with tufts of the black and grey down-feathers of the ostrich, a few fluttering red ribbons, and tinkling coils of very thin silver chains. The butt is sheathed in a painted iron ferrule.

224 When at the appointed hour beaters and followers had lined up at the *sheykh's* tent, and all was ready, Sheykh Tai' rammed the butt of his lance into the ground and, using it as a vaulting-pole, leaped on his horse's back.

Besides Sheykh Tai' and myself, only the sub-chiefs carried lances. The rest of the men took their rifles with them, but merely to start the game and for defense in case of unexpected meeting with enemies.

224 Sheykh Tai's nine-year old son, Farhan, with a heavy
857 Mauser pistol in his belt, accompanied us. His short, bare legs clung to the sides of an unsaddled mare, which he

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ

TM
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A sergeant in the Desert Patrol
(from the painting by W. L. [illegible])

R 40 (O)

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

342 462 (1) "Spread out the tent *ya 'aiyal*" (O my people) (from its rolled up position when taken off the camel's back).
(2) "Stretch out the ropes *ya auldd*" (O children) (so that they are at right angles to the tent).
(3) "Anchor the rope ends in the ground *ya fulan wa fulan*" (O So-and-So).
(4) or "Drive in the pegs and wind the ropes round them *ya Nasir*."
(5) "Tighten the ropes *ya Hussa, ya Wadha*."
(6) "Take a pull on the end ropes *ya Marzuk, ya Nasir*."
(7) "Affix the *majadim*" (front-side, support-poles.) This is done on side away from wind.
(8) "Raise the centre poles"—the men's job.
(9) "Raise the back side poles and remaining end side poles."
(10) "Now lay to and take a pull at all the ropes once more."
(11) "Now *rawwagu al bait*, i.e. attach the *rugg* or back and side curtains, and cover the lower edge with sand to keep them down."
(12) "Now affix the *gita* or partition curtains."
(13) Lastly, "Spread out the carpet and the *dewishaks* and get ready the women's and men's portions of the tent". Women's quarters centre and left (*marqad al harim*), men's quarters right (*marqad al rijál*).

The tent is now fully pitched and the women place their treasures and stores in the centre portion of the tent, including their litters (*maksar, giva*, etc.), sleeping gear, blankets, food, etc., and transfer to the end compartment the cooking pots, cooking utensils, etc., turning it into a sort of kitchen.

MEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

352 574 In the men's portion of the tent are then unrolled a well-worn carpet or two, the best *dewishaks* (mattresses), to sit on, and the master's own camel saddle covered with white or black sheepskin. Pillows (*masnad*) are placed on both sides of this camel saddle, and also behind it for the guest's back to rest on, and generally the place is turned into a neat guest chamber for anyone who may [411] come. The master now hangs up his rifle on a hook attached to the 415 tent pole in the guest chamber, and prepares a fireplace to make coffee 272 in the centre of the floor by digging out a shallow circular hole (*wajdr*). This done, he gets out his row of three coffee pots (*dalla*), also a fourth "stock" pot, and lays them alongside the fireplace, together with the *mahmas* (coffee roaster) and *yad al mahmas* (coffee-berry stirrer).

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

FARWAH

Farwah—gaudy coloured and braided cloak for winter wear. Made of black and blue cloth picked out in scarlet, green, mauve or maroon cloth. Braiding is pale yellow and black. Inside of cloak there is a lining of black or white lamb skins, the former commonly preferred. An extremely warm and comfortable garment. Worn by shaikhs and well-to-do Badawin only.

Thaub Shillahát—white smock with long, wide sleeves.
Dishdásha—similar to last, but with tight-fitting sleeves.
Zibún—a superior kind of *dishdásha*. It is open down the front from top to bottom and is so amply cut that one side folds over the other (dressing-gown fashion). The *zibún* is held in place by two pairs of little strings, one inside and the other outside.
Dámir—sort of Zouave jacket in black and gold. Worn by men.
Sirwál—loose Badawin trousers worn by both men and women.
'Agál—the head-cord which holds the *kaffyah* in position.
Kaffyah—the head-cloth worn by Arab men.

DAGGERS 411

Khása—dagger with single cutting edge, used for defence purposes and for cutting throat of gazelle, sheep, camels, etc.
Jiffar al khása—scabbard for *khása*.
Hudrdki—miniature *khása*, used for cutting throat of *hubara* and other game birds.

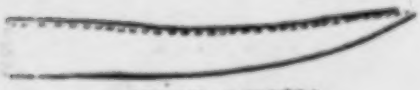
The *khása* is affixed by buckle or stud on the inside of the belt bandolier; the *hudrdki* is similarly fastened on the inside of the shoulder bandolier.

Weapons

411

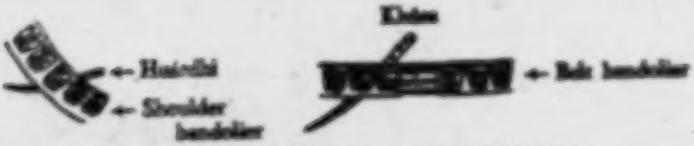
DAGGERS

AL KHÚSA
(dagger with single cutting edge)



JIFFAR al KHÚSA
(scabbard)

AL HUÁRDHI
(miniature KHÚSA)



ATTACHMENT OF KHÚSA AND HUÁRDHI

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

492

The following articles are always to be found in the portion of the tent reserved for women. (See sketches.)

Mahmar or travelling litter. The name given by the Mutair and other tribes to the special type of women's covered-in saddle, more commonly used in North-East Arabia and round Kuwait. It consists of an elaborate basket framework, usually covered over when in use by a bright orange, red or other coloured woollen shawl, and the woman sits perched on the camel's back surrounded by her personal

[text continues on page 102 -- Analyst]

617 past our stopping-place at sunset the day before. Now as we drew near they assembled to receive us and greeted us as is the Bedu custom by firing low over our heads. Then drawing their daggers they swept down on us in a wild yelling mob while we fought to control our startled camels. Dismounting we greeted each of them in turn, and after joining the coffee circle exchanged our news in the traditional Bedu formula. A dish of dates was then set before us and a young lad moved round the ever-growing circle, pouring out to each in turn the customary sips of bitter black cardamom-flavoured coffee.

619 Sitting among them were visitors from neighbouring tribes, who had come here to discuss truces and blood-money, and some of them I had met before. The names of many of the Sa'ar were also familiar to me, for I had heard them repeated again and again, in tales of skirmishes and bloodshed, while on the
411 march and in desert camps. Every man and boy among these tribesmen held a rifle in his

p. 396(B)

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 398(B) — ANALYST]

411 hand and all wore the distinctive carnelian-
551 studded dagger, and one and all impressed
me as virile, reckless and uncontrolled, but
701 humorous and friendly. While we sat among
621 them talking there was a sudden stir, for they
had noticed a dozen mounted Arabs approach-
ing rapidly across the dunes. Then someone
recognized one of the camels and they re-
laxed. These camels were stretched out and
travelling very fast, yet were urged to even
greater efforts by the wild yells of their riders.
They were the scouts, sons of sheikhs and the
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to scour the surrounding desert, keen-eyed for
the tracks of strangers. Lithe, hard-bodied
and alert, these lads rode their splendid beasts
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621 Scattered upon the dunes around us were
532 small black tents, round which naked infants
romped, while dark-clad women moved about
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Sometimes a family changed its site, for,
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them the need to keep together, their restless
nomad instincts drove them to constant move-
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Such short migrations provided an interesting
sight as they moved slowly past. The children
drove the camels, laden with tents, cooking-
pots, watering-troughs and ropes, the simple
requirements of their life; while the Bedu
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rode in the slow swaying camel-litters.

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after the camel herds had drifted in at dusk,
brought us great frothing bowls of milk, the
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ing of dogs, the rise and fall of Arab voices
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and sometimes the distant harmony of song.

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under high limestone cliffs on the northern
401 edge of the valley. A few Arabs had already
312 arrived and were fastening their pulleys to the
scaffolding around the well. It is over 100 feet
in depth and stone-lined, a monument to
some forgotten people in the dim past. At the
deep wells in the Najd the Arabs use their

(SEE CONTINUED ON P 400(A)--ANALYSE

TO
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in two miles from their entrances. Thus it was that the pirate tribes were able to build their towns behind these natural booms, and to carry on their ruthless calling in defiance of the British and Portuguese navies — and to earn for their stronghold the much feared and romantic name, "The Pirate Coast".

TO
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[521]

Trucial Oman, as it is called today, is ruled by six independent sheikhs, bound under old treaties with Britain to maintain a maritime truce for the prevention of piracy and slave-trading. Family feuds and inter-tribal quarrelling are as common among them as are the rusty, ancient cannon. Many of the latter are no doubt from British men-o'-war, and some are still used for ceremonial occasions, a party afterwards being despatched to retrieve the cannon-balls.

TO
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504
437

Unspoiled by time, Sharjah is one of the principal little towns, but it lacks the enchantment of Dibai, a picturesque centre a few miles along the coast to the west. A wide, shallow inlet divides Dibai and its waterfront of quaint little coffee-houses, and provides anchorage for dhows that bring transshipped goods from other continents. In the large market-place, spread on either side of the inlet and connected by a ferry-service of numerous little pole-propelled craft, the bedouin, with his henna-dyed beard and ancient rifle, can be seen fingering everything that is on show, from modern radio sets to

TO
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B
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ladies' lingerie, but he has little use for some of the strange products of the West.

p. 191 (A)

CHAPTER V

Tent Treasures

MEN'S PORTION OF TENT

(*see sketches*)

492. The following articles are always to be found in the guest or men's portion of the tent, *al rahe'a*.

[681] (*a*) *Shadid*—riding saddle, rear pommel usually richly inlaid with finely polished lead patterns having the appearance of silver, and similar to the inlay work on incense burners. Made of tamarisk wood (*ishil*).

Ja'ad—white or black sheepskin covering for riding saddle.

Ghagil al shadid—pommels of riding saddle.

(*b*) *Mizawa*—pack saddle, also made of tamarisk wood. The thongs used to tie the cross-pieces A A to the saddle arch B B, are made from the sinews of the camel's neck: one of these exists on either side of the neck. They are as long as the neck, and as thick as a thin wooden pencil. There are several patterns of pack saddles, the commonest is shown in the sketch p. 85.

(*c*) *Khurj*—men's saddle-bag, it hangs over the top of the *shadid* under the sheepskin covering or *ja'ad*.

NOTE.—Men's saddle-bags and women's dittos must be, if well made, 3 *shibbr* and 1 *chaf* in width, i.e. 3 spans plus distance between extended thumb and forefinger. The richest and most fancied in Arabia are made in Kuwait and Hasa.

[412] (*e*) *Dallah* (*Arabian coffee pot*)—coffee pot, [illegible] (Drawing shown is type used in Kuwait.) With the coffee pot is always found the *lifa* or piece of coir or hemp which is stuffed into the spout as a strainer to prevent coffee grounds entering the cup.

[412] (*e*) *Hawan*—mortar, usually of brass, for pounding coffee berries. Sometimes a plain iron cylindrical mortar and pestle is used by poorer Arabs, or a wooden mortar and stone pestle, light and convenient for those going on journeys.

(*f*) *Mahmas*—coffee roaster. It is made of iron with brass bands let into the handle and having the appearance of gold. It is always fastened by a chain to the *yad al mahmas*.

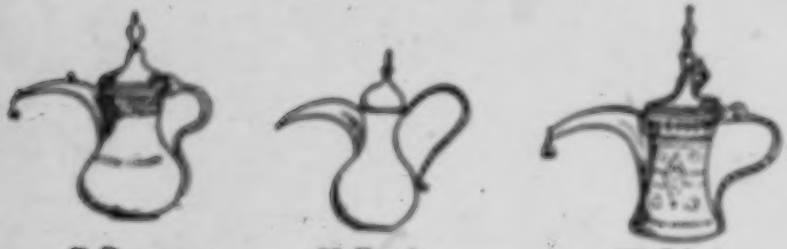
Yad al Mahmas—coffee stirrer.

Chap. V

Utensils for Coffee Making

4/5

DALLA (plural DALLAL)—COFFEE POT



(i) Damascus (ii) Kuwait (iii) Bahrain

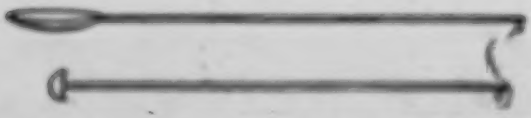
HÁWAN and YED AL HÁWAN—MORTAR and PESTLE

4/2

(i) Brass (ii) Iron (iii) Wood (gazelle of stone)

MAJMÁSA and YED AL MAJMÁSA { Coffee Roaster / Coffee Stirrer

4/5



MARKAB

By

St Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 MI Middle East
Bedouin M54

it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly accurate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so frequent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty. Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine because water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for such a purpose. The men apparently go without washing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected. There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

S: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

mere trifle. Probably the only part of the outfit that would have any commercial value at all is the black goat's-hair tent, which affords a poor shelter from the cold in winter and from the heat in summer. And along with extreme poverty there goes an astonishing lack of any sense of cleanliness or order. The tent of a Bedouin could be little more disorderly if it were taken by some giant hand, shaken like a dice box, and the contents allowed to rest where they fell. The furniture consists of few things and poor. There are the remnants of one or more cotton stuffed quilts. These are both bed and bed clothes. There are a few skins to hold drinking water and a few skin basins. Some shaped sticks are tied together to make camel saddles. The outfit will also include a copper kettle for the cooking of food, a battered coffee pot for the making of coffee and usually a wooden bowl. This bowl, which may be the only eating utensil belonging to the household, has probably never been washed in its history. At times milk is drunk out of it, and at times rice and meat are eaten from it. The grease with which it is covered has long since exceeded the absorption limit of the wood and for years has been plastered on to the outside. Under such circumstances the prevalence of disease excites no wonder; the wonder is that many maintain excellent health.

The Bedouins clothes are a loin cloth beneath and shirt above, which shirt resembles a loose nightgown and reaches to his ankles. Over this is worn an old disreputable *aba* or cloak, in cut resembling nothing so much as a college gown. All of these are usually in a state of great disrepair and show an acute need of laundering. The town Arabs, who look with scorn on the desert Bedouin, assert that when he buys a new undershirt, he puts

23c Fisher 5-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
Bedouin MJ4 15

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

Bedouin #34

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labaf*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samnf*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahabite sube of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to wash on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

meekly handed over the watch, which Ali put on his own wrist. "Let me take care of it for thee," he said to me, in his protective manner. He is actually "taking care" of my watch to this very day! 655 226

Our Fid'an hosts numbered seventeen horsemen and eight camel-riders, who had come on the scene after the attack on us. A gang of typical desert outlaws.

At the evening meal they spread a large leather camel-saddle cover for a tablecloth. Previously the dough for our bread had been kneaded on it. At other times it served as manger and watering-trough for the horses and camels, for it could be suspended by leather loops, one at each of the four corners. 415

The *Akid* poured sour camels' milk from a goat skin into a wooden basin and handed it round. The few *dhalals* were lying close to us. The red campfire threw a glow of light over them and their long shadows melted into the blackness of the night. For a moment I imagined myself surrounded by strange monsters. 262

When I closed my eyes and heard only the belching and grunting of my table-companions, I could scarcely distinguish them from the camels chewing the cud. And Ali was the noisiest feeder of them all! 264

Next morning the Fid'ans proposed that they should join us with the idea of entering Ruala territory and lifting some camels. Nothing remained for Ali and myself but to make the best of these unwelcome proposals. We had to endure their company in the pious hope that somewhere we should fall in with the Ruala Bedouins. 721

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal, 100

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4
Bedouins MD4

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal, where our camels and horses were watered. One of the Fid'ans scraped a shallow hole in the soil and spread the saddle leather from one of the camels over it. Into this simple but practical trough we poured the stale water from the well.

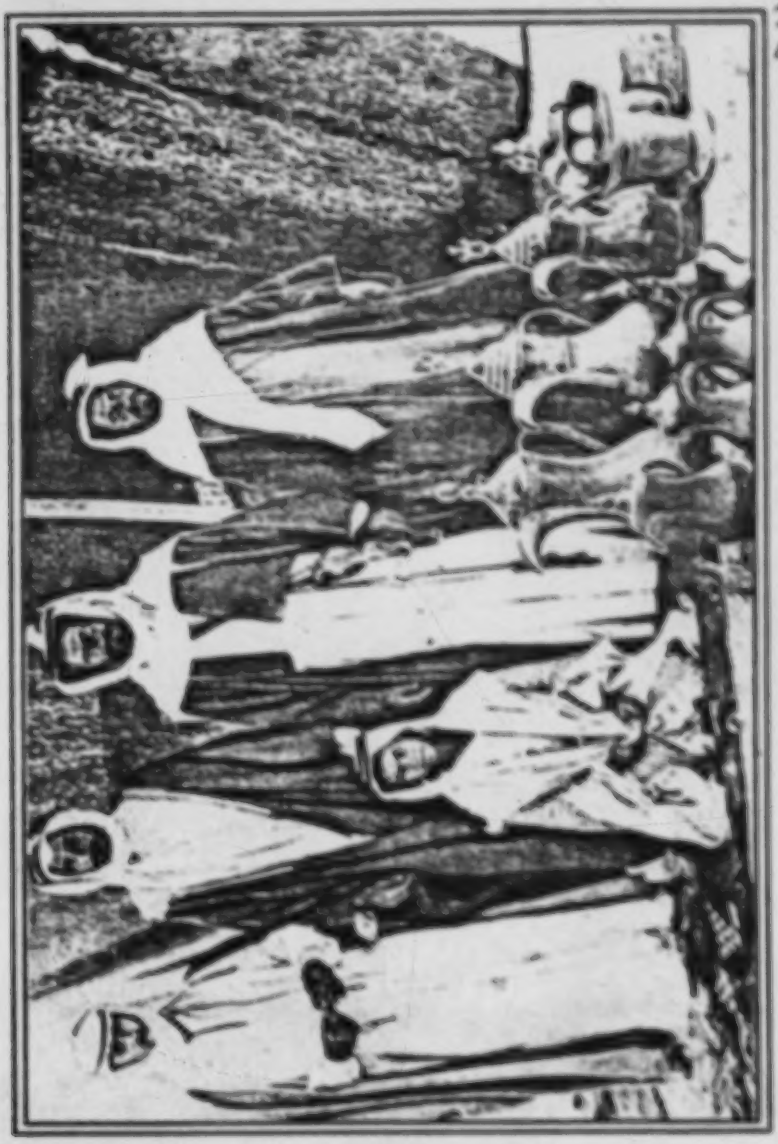
After we had watered our animals, we travelled onward in the dry bed of the Al-Hajal *wadi*. We were crossing a flat between two branches of it when suddenly shots rang out and bullets whistled over our heads.

The Fid'an wheeled instantly to gallop out of range, but they did not get far. Our assailants, imperfectly visible but obviously numerous, followed up their warning volley with a raking fire that in as many seconds unhorsed four of the fugitives. Seeing that to escape was impossible, and to fight hopeless, they all stopped and signalled their surrender to the advancing force of camel-riders. More than a hundred of these had grown out of the ground, as it were, before my astonished eyes. The Fid'an had walked into a trap. They had been too reckless even to send scouts ahead.

I knew immediately that the newcomers were Ruala. The Saba have as intimate a knowledge of that region, but only the Ruala take the field with so many fine racing-camels; the Saba, like the Fid'an, favour horses.

"The Lord be with us!" exclaimed Matan, the leader of the Fid'an freebooters, now thoroughly frightened. He clearly thought himself lost; and he had every reason to believe that I should use the opportunity of paying him back in kind. But I reassured him. "We have made peace with thee," I said, "and I shall tell the leader of

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan



A Bedouin sheikh's set of coffee pots

291
415

p. 40 (c)

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

834 Only shy little Barruk comes up
576 to Amsha's side and cuddles up in her arms. She loves him almost more than her own daughter. She kisses him and fondles him, and allows him to put his head on her shoulder and gaze up at me with wide eyes. Amsha is pathetically fond of her two slave children. They are only five and three respectively. Such love and such tenderness would make the brains of those busybodies whirl, who talk so glibly of the cruelty and horrors of the slave problem. How is it done? The answer is simple. These babes, the sons of her stalwart slave, 'Abdullah* (bought originally from Rannia and married to a freed 'Ajman slave woman), call out every womanly instinct in Amsha. They are the offspring of her own property. They are hers to prize and cherish. She even opens up her gown† and offers her breast to little Barruk who is fidgeting somewhat. "There, keep quiet, *ya Aalaile* (little sweet one), will you," she says, "and let us hear news from Abu Sa'ud."

272 Presently Salim comes back again with the coffee-pot, and the
415 special cups which he has brought back from Riyadh, little white and yellow-ochre ones, unknown among the people of Kuwait. With pride he once again offers me coffee. "The cups? Oh yes, they are from Riyadh. I brought them back for Um Sa'ud (my wife), when
231 she returns from England." "The year has been a good one, *Al hamdu 'l Illah*," he proceeds. "The camels are fat and their humps are so round you wouldn't recognise them." "Nay, Abu Sa'ud", chimes in Amsha, "you would not know Farha except for her nose ring. She has such a big hump now that a saddle cannot be put on her. And congratulate us, thirty-six lambs have been born in the last ten days, and Zahra's (my daughter's) brown ewe which was a baby two years ago has had her first lamb also, her first-born, so sweet and soft. Run and fetch it, ya Hosna." The lamb is produced and much admired. Its wee tail is duly weighed in my hand to see if it has got any fat on it. "And now you must come and see our baby camel", and away I am taken by the womenfolk to the back of the tent where a dozen she-camels are standing. They have just come in from water, and are waiting to be milked and bedded down for the night. The baby-camel is next caught and brought to me. It is wonderfully tame, and holds

* He died the following year (1935) after returning sick from Mecca.

† If an Arab woman suckles her little slave child, that child can never be sold as a slave. It is henceforth free and her own.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins 1424

233 to drag its belly along the ground in doing so, if its tracks in the sand indicate anything) and had dragged away in silence two sheep, one full-grown and one a lamb. There had been no sound in the night. They explained that a sheep gets so frightened if seized by a wolf that it cannot cry out, only a goat cries, and the wolf avoids goats accordingly.

It was daylight now, and I got up and examined the spoor of the wolves myself. They were clearly to be seen on both sides of the camp. The male with its big tracks to the north, and the female with her smaller footmarks to the south. The female must have snatched the lamb from right inside the tent, for the woolen loop which fastened the lamb's neck was found broken, and the wolf's spoor was actually inside the tent. Other tracks showed that the she-wolf had made two visits, one to carry off the full-grown sheep, and one to carry off the lamb. We followed up the tracks at once in the hopes of saving one of the animals. We were too late. We found the fresh bones of ewe and lamb two miles from camp. Nothing but the bigger bones and some clumps of hair were left. It was a sad party which returned to camp. The loss cast a gloom over my friends. Two sheep had gone, two good sheep. There was nothing to be done. It was no use blaming the shepherds; the work had been cunningly and boldly done. One shepherd was actually awake, sitting over a small fire, on guard among the sheep themselves. So stealthily had the wolf come, so quiet had been the terror-stricken sheep, that he had heard nothing beyond the barking of the dogs.

"Nay, O Abu Sa'ud, it was written that they should die this night", said Amuba, when I tried to condole with her on the loss. "Indeed two others were carried off the night we arrived. The wolves are very hungry here, but we shall be avenged, Ya Abu Sa'ud, never fear, we shall be avenged."

4/5 It was full day once more. I prepared to leave for Wafra with Sa'ud, my hunter. Once more the little camp is astir and busy. My car is got ready, my lunch, cooked to a turn, is brought out of the women's tent, and tightly packed away in the tin saucepan and firmly covered. For water we depend on the filled leather goatskin tied on the near 00 running-board. We are off, Sileh, my driver, Sa'ud and myself, the first two in front of the car and I behind with oven, lunch, rifles,

The Master's Return

512. An hour or so before sunset, the tent housewife takes a stroll. She has had a hard day. She enjoys herself with her children for half an hour or so. Before going out she has ordered the household to prepare
● [496] and fill the *hauk*. This is a large leather drinking trough fixed in basin fashion on a stand of three bent hoops of wood. This is for the sheep when they come home and for the master's mare. There is a good supply of water ready, but the sheep will not need much, for they have been having green grazing. The camels will not yet drink: it is autumn and they will not want water for five days now. It is impossible to water them in camp, so every fifth day the herdsman will take them back, either to the wells they summered on, or to others that may be handy and let them drink their fill (*i-wariden-hum*).

On such journeys the herd will take the spare shepherd with him and he will go equipped with *al hauk* (see above), the *dalw* (small leather bucket), to draw water with, and the *hall* or rope to attach to the bucket. He will also take all spare *gerab* (water-skins) to bring
512 back water to the camp. It is now nearly sunset and all eyes are on
999 the look-out for the return of the master of the house. At last he is seen on the horizon camering leisurely home. As he nears the tents the dogs begin to bark, the children rush out to meet father and the wife orders coffee to be prepared. His welcome is like that given to a guest, for he will be tired and hungry. As he dismounts, his wife or daughter takes his mare and at once throws over her a *jilid* (blanket) before taking her to water. That duty done, they shackle her with clumsy iron shackles and allow her to go free. If the family is fairly *well off, the mare will be given a handful of barley*, but the poor man's mare gets nothing.

512 Salutations over and several cups of coffee handed round, the
283 master of the house is asked about the result of his journey. He produces out of the voluminous folds of his *dishdasha* samples of different kinds of grass which he has seen growing at the spot he visited, and which he has brought home to show his wife and herdsmen; he praises his new find, he says grazing is good out there, and there is lots of it, and no other Bedawin have as yet found it. He has brought good news (*bishara*), he wants his womenfolk and all the others to rejoice with him for he is a *bashir* (a bringer of good news):

"By God it is excellent, very very excellent, and there are no Arabs

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Ml 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M14

342 462 (1) "Spread out the tent *ya 'aiyal*" (O my people) (from its rolled up position when taken off the camel's back).
(2) "Stretch out the ropes *ya auldd*" (O children) (so that they are at right angles to the tent).
(3) "Anchor the rope ends in the ground *ya falan wa falan*" (O So-and-So).
(4) or "Drive in the pegs and wind the ropes round them *ya Nasir*."
(5) "Tighten the ropes *ya Hasan, ya Wadha*."
(6) "Take a pull on the end ropes *ya Marzuk, ya Nasir*."
(7) "Affix the *mujadim*" (front-side, support-poles.) This is done on side away from wind.
(8) "Raise the centre poles"—the men's job.
(9) "Raise the back side poles and remaining end side poles."
(10) "Now lay to and take a pull at all the ropes once more."
(11) "Now *rawwaga al bait*, i.e. attach the *rwag* or back and side curtains, and cover the lower edge with sand to keep them down."
(12) "Now affix the *gita* or partition curtains."
(13) Lastly, "Spread out the carpet and the *dawshaks* and get ready the women's and men's portions of the tent". Women's quarters centre and left (*marqad al harim*), men's quarters right (*marqad al rijal*).

The tent is now fully pitched and the women place their treasures and stores in the centre portion of the tent, including their litters (*makhar, gita*, etc.), sleeping gear, blankets, food, etc., and transfer to the end compartment the cooking pots, cooking utensils, etc., turning it into a sort of kitchen.

[illegible] PORTION OF THE TENT

852 874 In the men's portion of the tent are then unrolled a well-worn carpet or two, the best *dawshaks* (mattresses), to sit on, and the master's own camel saddle covered with white or black sheepskin. Pillows (*masnad*) are placed on both sides of this camel saddle, and also behind it for the guest's back to rest on, and generally the place is turned into a neat guest chamber for anyone who may [411] come. The master now hangs up his rifle on a hook attached to the 415 tent pole in the guest chamber, and prepares a fireplace to make coffee 272 in the centre of the floor by digging out a shallow circular hole (*wajir*). This done, he gets out his row of three coffee pots (*dalla*), also a fourth "stock" pot, and lays them alongside the fireplace, together with the *mahmas* (coffee roaster) and *yad al mahmas* (coffee-berry stirrer).

Women's Quarters

Chap. IV

Last of all he places in position the *shar finjân* (brass case for coffee cups) alongside the *yad wal hâwan* (brass pestle and mortar), the *mahârrad* (wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans), the *mukhbir* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee), the *lîfa* (coir piece to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and finally the *mukhbir* (incense burner). All is now ready to receive a guest, except that the actual coffee beans, the cardamom seed to mix with the coffee, the firewood ('*arfaj* bush) and the *jalla* camel manure (in place of coal) and the drinking water, is round in the women's part of the tent or outside it, and will have to be fetched. 415 272

As a guest is seen arriving these last necessities are brought and by the time he sits down, firewood, *jalla*, etc., all are ready to hand. 534

The scheme of things in a poor Badawin tent is the same, only everything is on a very much more modest scale—in fact, according to his purse.

A man leaning on the guest saddle is said to be *marwaki*; if he leans his back against a cushion (*marwaf*), he is said to be *mutawwad*. If he tells a story he sits cross-legged; when eating he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel; his eating hand works outside his right upright knee; when he washes his hand: he squats with knees wide apart. 516

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

Women and servants (if any) carry all cooking utensils, etc., into the women's apartment and cooking portion of the tent, the heavy 495 251 352 baggage and bags containing rice, flour, dates, salt, sugar are moved up against the *gata* curtain dividing the women's from the men's 363 apartments. The camel saddle-bags are then hung up on the tent poles, as well as other odds and ends, including the owner's spare rifle and ammunition. Red *lahâfi* or quilts, which take the place of blankets, are then rolled up and placed on top of the mats, and the women of the house and her daughter's deceased *makawi* (linen) are placed in a prominent position on the other side of the tent, so as to be seen by passers by.

Not the least important of the women's treasures are the spindles (*magâwil*), with which the womenfolk in their spare time spin camels' or sheep's wool. These they are for ever whirling, whether on the 233

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1881 M2 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MS4

283 much or on camel back; indeed, the *maghyal* would seem to be almost part of the *Badawiyah*. The method of spinning is as follows:

The spinner keeps the wool she is spinning under her right arm, or in her bosom, while with her left hand she prepares the wool to be spun some two feet in length, ties it to the lower end of the spindle pole, and threads it under the hook fixed to the top of the spindle head. Next she raises her left knee (she is sitting at the time) and, placing the lower end of the spindle pole on it, she sharply twirls the spindle handle on her knee with an outward move of the palm of her hand. This causes it to spin sharply. Next moment she holds the spinning spindle aloft in her right hand by means of the wool. When this latter has got a sufficient twist on it, she winds the completed wool round the underside of the spindle head. The other most important article of the
284 women's quarters is the hand loom (*mana*) on which all the cloth parts of the tent are woven or replaced. Mother or daughter keeps the loom in constant action: they are never idle, these desert women. Treasures
415 such as money, coffee beans, cardamom, sugar, salt, silks and special holiday attire are kept by the housewife locked up in a small tin or wooden box. The key of this she always keeps on her person, and tied to a portion of her head veil or *milfa*. This key is one of the first things that catch the Europeans's eye when talking to a Badawin woman.

Close to, but outside the women's quarters, and away from the guest compartment, lie the filled water-skins (*gawal*), which for coolness' sake are always placed on a thick mattress of *'arfaj* bush. Near these are kept:

(*i*) The small leather bucket and rope (*dalla*) for drawing water out of wells, with or without the cross-piece of wood in the centre to keep it open, and

(*ii*) The large leather bucket or bath (*haudh*) standing on its curved wooden legs, from which camels and sheep drink. Both *dalla* and *haudh* are usually bought by the owner of the tent when he comes up to Kuwait or other towns to do *mushtirah*; in the same way he buys his goat water-skins which have to be renewed fairly frequently.

(*iii*) The still larger camel water-skin or *rdwi* for conveying water from wells that may be distant.

Last, but not least, the *mijbaba* (or *mijrad*) with gunnies hanging

Orientation of the Tent

below is ready to make *laben* (sour milk) with, or, if necessary, to hang a sheep's carcass on, preparatory to skinning it. 415

A fuller description and names of the articles found in both men's and women's portions of the tent will be found in Chapter V.

POSITION OF TENT WITH REGARD TO THE WIND

Tents are always pitched with one of their long sides facing in the direction of the wind. Hence in the eastern and north-eastern part of Arabia, where there are two very common prevailing winds, the *Shamal* (north-west wind) and the *Kaus* (south-east wind), it is the general rule to see black tents pitched with their longer axis facing towards the north-west. This does not mean that tents are opened towards the side from which the wind is blowing—the contrary is the case, and the side of the tent is always closed in the direction from which the wind is blowing, and the sheltered side opened. 192 192

The side which is open is called *wajh al bait* (the face of the tent), the closed side *gafa al bait* (the back of the tent). Should the wind suddenly change, as often happens during the rainy season, it is necessary for the inhabitants of the tent to change the "face" of the tent at once. Otherwise the wind gets under the tent, billows it up, and if it does not carry it away, at least causes the tent poles to fall and lets the tent then collapse upon its occupants. A sudden change of wind therefore causes confusion and loss of sleeping. The owner's first and immediate orders are, "Change the back wall, my children, the wind has come", or in Arabic, *Jaina al hawa, dakkara al bait ya awlad*. The excited women and servants thereupon rush down, drop the front bamboo supports (facing the wind), quickly unpin the back curtains and carry them round to the side from which the wind is blowing, and again as quickly pin them on to the tent roof, and bury their bottom edges in the sand; the side poles are next put up, at the edge of the tent roof facing away from the wind, each under a rope, and lastly the tent partition curtains are taken down, reversed and fixed up again with the embroidered ends extending out of the tent and thrown back over the tent ropes. The whole process takes a surprisingly short time.

Of course, in very hot weather the Bedawin wants to take advantage of the slightest breeze, so he rolls up the back curtain or unpins several

b. Dickson G-4 (1929-47) 1951 M2 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M34

CHAPTER V

Tent Treasures

MEN'S PORTION OF TENT

(*see sketches*)

992. The following articles are always to be found in the guest or men's portion of the tent, *al rahi'a*.

[681] (a) *Shadid*—riding saddle, our pommel usually richly inlaid with finely polished lead patterns having the appearance of silver, and similar to the inlay work on incense burners. Made of tamarisk wood (*ishl*).

Ja'ad—white or black sheepskin covering for riding saddle.

Ghagil al shadid—pommels of riding saddle.

(b) *Mirdaw*—pack saddle, also made of tamarisk wood. The thongs used to tie the cross-pieces A A to the saddle arch B B, are made from the sinews of the camel's neck: one of these exists on either side of the neck. They are as long as the neck, and as thick as a thin wooden pencil. There are several patterns of pack saddles, the commonest is shown in the sketch p. 85.

(c) *Khurj*—man's saddle-bag, it hangs over the top of the *shadid* under the sheepskin covering or *ja'ad*.

NOTE.—Men's saddle-bags and women's dirre must be, if well made, 3 *shibbr* and 1 *chaf* in width, i.e. 3 spans plus distance between extended thumb and forefinger. The richest and most fancied in Arabia are made in Kuwait and Hasa.

993 (d) *Dalla* (*plural: dallal*)—coffee pot, minimum set of three. (Drawing shown in type used in Kuwait.) With the coffee pot is always found the *fifa* or piece of coir or hemp which is stuffed into the spout as a strainer to prevent coffee grounds entering the cup.

[682] (e) *Hawan*—mortar, usually of brass, for pounding coffee berries. Sometimes a plain iron cylindrical mortar and pestle is used by poorer Arabs, or a wooden mortar and stone pestle, light and convenient for those going on journeys.

(f) *Mahmasa*—coffee roaster. It is made of iron with brass bands let into the handle and having the appearance of gold. It is always fastened by a chain to the *yad al mahmasa*.

Yad al Mahmasa—coffee stirrer.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJH

(g) *Markal*—tripod for cooking coffee on. (Used in better-class tents only.) 415

(h) *Malpas*—pincers (tongs).

(i) *Mukhbir*—wooden peg to stir boiling coffee.

(j) *Shar fanajil*—brass case for holding coffee cups, usually engraved round sides with patterns or texts in Arabic.

(k) *Finjal* (plural: *fanajil*)—coffee cup.

(l) *Mubarrad*—wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans after roasting, studded with brass nails.

(m) *Mabkhar*—burner for frankincense (*luban*) or sweet-smelling wood ('*udi*). The word is from the same root as *bukhur*, incense. Made of tamarisk wood inlaid with brass and finely studded lead patterns, or made out of *jiss* (gypsum) with sides carved out in various patterns.

(n) *Jiddi*—wooden bowls made of tamarisk wood, all sizes, studded with brass nails, and inlaid in silver or lead.

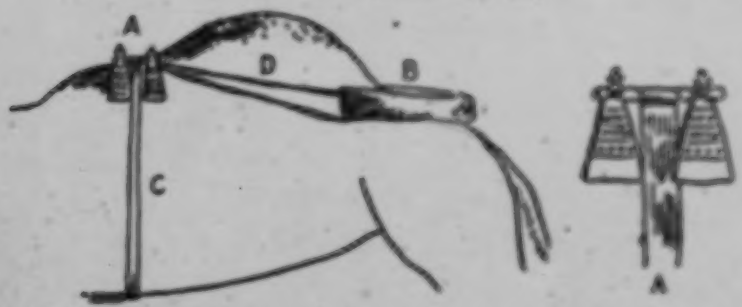
(o) *Miraka*—finely worked fancy leather apron, which hangs down in front of camel's chest and stretches to its knees, used by Shaikhs and leaders. [472]

(p) *Jiffar al tufaq*—leather bag with tassel at muzzle end to carry rifle.

(q) *Mishf ab*—camel stick (ship-tree wood).

AL FULÁNI

Special riding saddle favoured by the tribes of Southern Hasa, Trucial Coast, and Oman, for fast and light work. Found also among Bani Hajir, Shai and 'Ajman tribes (southern section) 472



A consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches in dark hard wood, two on each side, both pairs being joined together by a piece of finer wood, to which the girth is fixed.

B consists of a cylindrical screw-stuffed mattress on which the rider sits, behind the hump.

C is the girth.

D are two ropes holding B in position and preventing it from slipping off.

I. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 2 Kuwait
Bedouins Najd

Utensils for Coffee Making

Chap. V

DALLA (plural DALLAL)—COFFEE POT

4/5

(i) Damascus

(ii) Kuwait

(iii) Bahrain

HÁWAN and YED AL HÁWAN—MORTAR and PESTLE

4/2

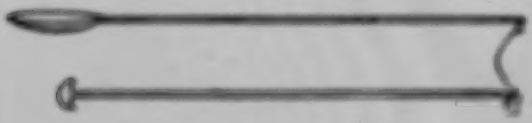
(i) Brass

(ii) Iron

(iii) Wood (inside of mouth)

MAJMÁSA and YED AL MAJMÁSA { Coffee Roaster / Coffee Stirrer

4/5



MARKAB

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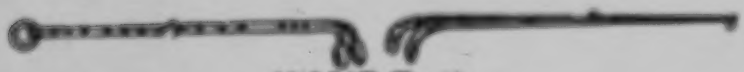
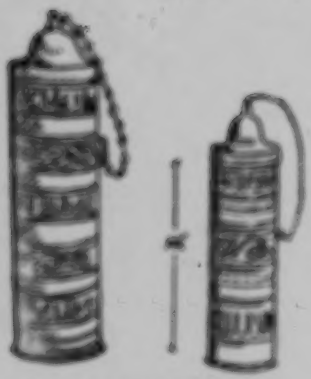


MALGAT (Tongs)

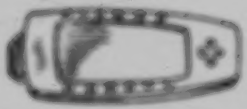
MUKHBÁT (wood stick to stir boiling coffee with)

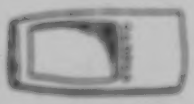


SHAT FANAJIL (brass)

FINJAL

[972] MABKHAR (all wood)





MUBARRAD

MABKHAR (carved out of piece of white gypsum)

JIDDÁ (wood)

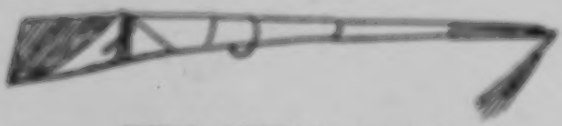
Men's Miscellaneous Possessions

Chap. V

MIZÚDA (all leather for carrying dates)

MIRAKA (all leather)

JIFFAR el TUFAQ



JIFFAR el TUFAQ (all leather)

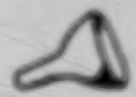
MIZILÁ'AB

'ASSA

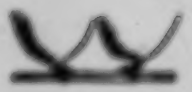
RAKDRA

MIZÚDA (all wood bag)

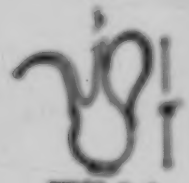
MOKHANAH
(Tripod stand for making sour milk or for churning cheese)



MAKHAN
(Wooden Spatula for gathering milk from churn)



SAKAR
(Stick used in the up-country churn)



BIRIQ (Ind)

ZIRAB
(made of Baby Camels skin) for carrying milk on camels when a male is travelling alone

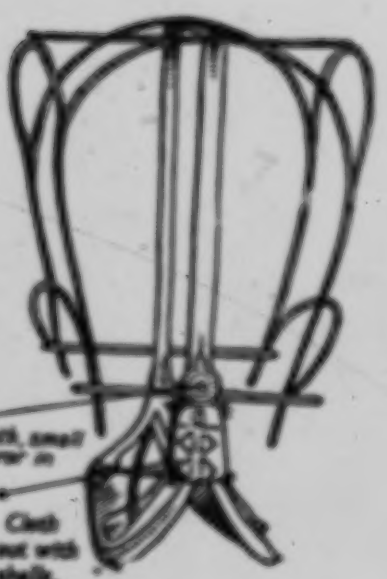
MAGHRABAH (Sudan)
(Used only among westerners)

MAGHRAB or MIKHAN
(Sudan)

BIR
(ball of wool)

FIRR
(Sour Summer Leaf) used for fermenting the new page

'ADOL (woman's bag)



MAKSAR

ZERA (Qube)

DALLU

(a) Collapsible

(b) With cover [illegible]

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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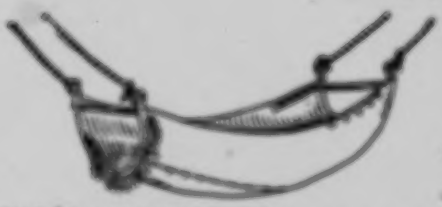
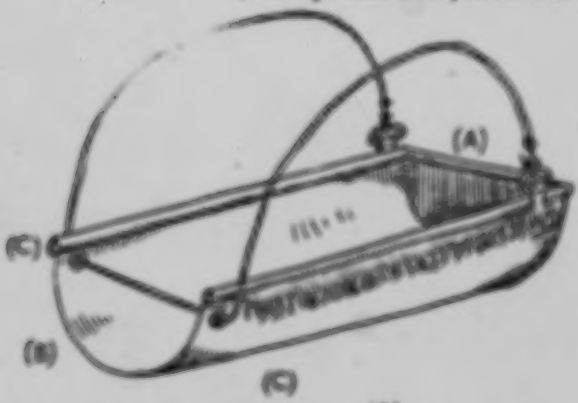
HAUDH



HABÁBA (child's hammock slung inside tent)

(child's portable cradle, common to the tribes)



a. Head, with decoration on outside.

b. Foot.

c. The holes through which passes a running rope that closes the cradle at foot when it is lifted.

[539]

Outside decoration at A

492 treasures, her baby, etc., in a sort of comfortable cot. On the saddle itself is placed the woman's bedding, and hanging down on either side are her saddle-bags (*mijdwal*). The *saddle* is always made of pomegranate wood, so this can be bent into the necessary hoop shapes. Various patterns and variations of the *saddle* are used by different tribes.

[493] *Sakara*—the woman's treasure box, containing her coffee, cardamom, saffron, tea, sugar, dyes, jewellery, trinkets, etc., etc.

Akhab (plural: '*ajrab*)—leather saddle-bags for carrying dates.

Women's Treasures

Chap. V

Miqtwiel—coloured saddle-bags for storing women's clothes, spare garments, coloured wools, etc. These are separate and hang on hooks on either side of the *mahour*, whereas men's saddle-bags are joined together and hang over the top of the saddle. The *miqtwiel*'s bag-tassels are half as long as those adorning men's saddle-bags. 475 472

'Adil—large woollen saddle-bags for carrying rice, flour, sugar, etc.

Lahaf—cotton quilts, usually red.

Fiko—a volcanic stone resembling an ox-tongue in shape. Hard and black, used as a hammer for knocking in tent pegs.

Miyishah—wooden tripod 4 ft. high, on which the skin is slung when making *laben*, or the carcass of a sheep which is to be skinned.

Sawif (plural: *sawafi*)—special skin for making *laben*, always a sheepskin.

Mahwah—bladder for storing butter, known as *mawal* by the 'Awazim.

Girba (plural: *garab*)—Goatskin for carrying water.

Rawi (plural: *rawi*)—Camelskin for carrying water. (Known as *miqtab* among the 'Ajman.)

Mahjan—wooden funnel for putting milk into skins.

Jerab—Bag made from skin of baby gazelle with a pattern on it in coloured dyes, used for carrying coffee in on the march.

Mandrik—hand horn (also *nawa*).

Mikko—shuttle.

Nakko—flat wooden piece for tightening thrends.

Middwah—gazelle's horn for pulling down thrends.

Maghzal or *Middwah*—spindle.

Sarab—The pair of sticks 8 inches long used to tie up the udders of a she-camel, e.g. *sarw al waja* (an order indicating that the camel's teats should be tied up). Each stick is laid alongside two udders, and each udder is tied separately with a piece of woollen thread. This is to prevent calves drinking. Calves are only allowed to drink morning and evening. The camel has four udders. 255

Ibrig (pronounced *brik*) and *Maghasal*—jug and basin (used only among leather or townsmen).

Al Hauda—a leather basin for watering sheep and camels. Three bent pieces of wood form the stand.

Al Dalla—small leather bucket (two kinds) used for drawing water from wells.

Mighab—Child's portable cradle, common to the tribes of Hum. It is carried on the mother's back supported by thongs across her forehead, or else carried under her arm supported by thongs over the shoulder, according to which tribe she belongs to. The *mighab* is made out of one piece of leather. As the cradle is filled the end where the child's feet lie is automatically closed by the running rope which passes through two holes one at each side (see diagram). The *mighab* is not 484

154 used by the northern Badawin of Arabia, who carry their children on their shoulders or, when travelling, on their laps. The *mighad* is not to be confused with the *haddin*.

Haddin—Baby's hammock for use inside tent. It is slung between two tent poles. Especially favoured in the north.

242 *Hail*—cardamom seeds for putting in coffee.

Mazmaz—cloves, for putting in coffee.

Zafran—saffron, for putting in tea and coffee.

492 *Shidar*—hooks on each side of the *mahbar* to hang women's middle-bags on.

THE LOOM—MATTRESS, MATTS ON LOOM

236 The loom gear consists of seven pieces which altogether are known as *mandil*.

(1) Piece of wood known as *ga'ab*.
(2) Shuttle known as *midda*.
(3) Tightener known as *midhiya*.
(4) Piece of wood holding up threads known as *mayar*.
(5) Circular wooden supports of *mayar*, known as *mawahil*.
(6) Piece of wood holding ends of threads known as *al ras*.
(7) Gentle horn for pulling down threads known as *middi-ah*.

SKIN CONTAINERS

495 These consist of:

(a) Water skins.
(b) Skin bags for storing dates, coffee beans, dates, etc.

Under (a) we get the *rawi*, the *thilaithi*, *mizab* and common *girba* (*girbe*).

Rawi is the generic term for a water receptacle made out of a camel's skin.

Thilaithi is the name given to a water receptacle made out of one half of a camel skin doubled over and sewn together.

Mizab is a gigantic water receptacle made out of the two side skins of a camel sewn together. They are always very water-tight.

Girba is an ordinary water skin made out of a whole sheep's or goat's skin which is peeled off the animal. The best and most lasting are made from goats' skins (*mahz*) and cost in the rough about Rs.1/8 each. Sheepskins do not last.

Method of Skinning Animals

Chap. V

Under (*f*) we get the *'ukka*, the *mudhara* and the *jerdi*.

The *'ukka* is the name given to a sheepskin used for storing *dibas* (clarified butter).
The *mudhara* is the same but is made out of a lamb skin.
The *jerdi* is made out of a young gazelle's skin, and is used for storing coffee beans.

BADAWIN METHOD OF SKINNING ANIMALS

(*a*) *Sheep and Goats.*

The carcass is suspended head down, and the skin is opened up behind the hind legs and under the tail by one single cut. It is then peeled off downwards towards the head. In the finished article, the opening at the neck end becomes the filling end, while the original cut at the tail end is sewn up together with each leg.

(*b*) *Camel.*

The cut is made from the head along back of neck to top of hump and down again to tail. Both sides are then peeled off in outward direction. Finally each side is removed separately by a cut along centre of belly and under the neck.

When killing a camel, the head is drawn round to one of its flanks and tied by the halter in that position. The jugular vein is then cut close down to where the camel's neck comes out of the body. This is the exact opposite to the method used for killing sheep and goats. The incision in their case is made immediately behind the jaw bone.*

When cutting an animal's throat, be it animal or bird, the invocation "Bism Illah al Rahman al Rahim" (in the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate) must invariably be made before the cut is made.

* Exactly in centre of the Adam's apple.

1. Dickson G-1 (3859-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins 1924

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A WELL WINE CAMELS DRINKING

000

OUR TENT WITH AMSHA STANDING IN FRONT
OF THE DIVIDE

page 416 a

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P 396 (A)

[CAPTION APPEARS ON P. 396 (B). ANALYST]

25: Thesiger T-8 (1944-47) 1949 MII Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

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[illegible]. One of the small black [illegible] was painted near Hamrani well. This tale is long, exclusively in [illegible] verse and is never sung on the engine or gun-[illegible]. Beside the two camels in [illegible] are seen the long painted dress of a Western Arab; the Arab, placed [illegible], is a leather sleigh from which his camels are watered. Behind the Hamrani [illegible] stand Arab children, a lady in [illegible] and a [illegible] with the Arab girl wear [illegible] and a [illegible] [illegible]. The children are [illegible] in small [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] made of [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible]

T 896 (8)

canals to draw up the water, but the southern Rerdu always lift it by hand. They fasten a leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to either end of the rope which runs over the pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full the other descends empty. Men and women draw together on the well-ropes, four or five to each rope, singing in chorus as they work. We had not been here long before the camel herds arrived and the serious work of watering began. Great leather troughs supported on crossed wooden hoops were set up by each family around the well. Some there was no room for more watering parties, and latecomers had to wait their turn. The buckets rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs above which the skinny camels pushed and thrust while their calves frolicked around. Shouting herdsboys, stripped to the waist, ran in and out among them, driving every camel which did not belong to them, and recognizing the more impudent of their own. Others scrambled the hind-quarters of their favourite beasts, while they sang them their watering songs to induce them to drink deep. When they had drunk they were marched nearby, to be watered again later in the day, before being driven back to pasturage. Round the well-mouth women filled their water-skins, which they lay swollen and quivering upon the ground, guarded from the scrambling feet of the camels by dark-veiled little girls, clad only in a leather fringe around their waists. Few of the women were veiled and all joined freely in the common jests and laughter. Among them was a tall girl of startling beauty. She had come down to the well early in the day, carrying a water-skin and accompanied by her young sister. The centre of a happy laughing group of lads, she dallied here all the morning.

A family of Ba'ar from off the mountains were camped under an overhanging cliff nearby, and they lent us pots from and drink coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'wrid, they yet differed from them in their dress and way of life. They were hedge-dwelling bedouins and wraps covered their shoulders, as in the Sahara among the Southern Rerdu, whereas the Bin Ma'wrid were clad like the Northern Rerdu in long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell nearly to the ground. They were returning to their homes in Rashiq al Ba'ar, a two days' journey to the south. Plantations of sorghum and beans are grown there in a shallow valley, guarded by concentric stone walls from wild camels roaming, which look out across the dreamlike rocky plateau. Rashiq is seldom visited by other Rerdu, for it is the very stronghold of the Ba'ar, who have an evil reputation for

Sc Harlan D-4 (1913-1954) 1954 M1 Middle East
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which I was glad not to understand, but one of the Bedouin youngsters who were with us flared back at the townsman with remarks that reduced him immediately to unconditional surrender. Every noon and every night the boy took her some of our rice and bread, and she accompanied this men's caravan, entirely alone, till we arrived in the city. I remember that same boy's earnest and simple cordiality as he congratulated one of his warm friends on her recent marriage. "May God increase your property, your camels and your children."

It is interesting to observe the fundamental economic conceptions in a community as primitive as that of the desert. Contracts are sacred in Arabia, as in the West. The guest and his host are bound by a contract the terms of which are perfectly understood by both parties and are practically never violated. Many of these Bedouins enter into contracts to dive at the opening of the diving season in Bahrein, and one never hears of such a contract being broken. There is little occasion for the making of contracts in the desert, but even at the price of personal loss, a contract entered into in good faith must be carried out.

The Bedouin's conception of property, however, differs from ours considerably. To say that it is communistic is to exaggerate, but there is certainly a strange tinge of communism about it. Property, that is to say what the earth affords in the way of food, shelter and clothes, is of value because it sustains human life. The food, the clothes and the houses that the Bedouin's world can produce, are never enough to go around. He considers them valuable simply as they minister to human need. In the same property comes to be regarded as sacred, much as it is in the West. Beautiful houses are admired and

St Harrison D-4 (1912-1994) 1994 M1 Middle East
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• 421 luxury and display have a certain number of devotees. In the desert the viewpoint is very different. Human needs and rights are always and in all circumstances the most important thing and property rights are always [426] subordinate to them. More than that, it follows that no one, whatever his station, is entitled to more than he needs of the scanty supply of food, clothing and shelter which the world affords until every one else has had 454 all that he needs. Concerning the surplus over and 574 above the subsistence requirements of the community the Arab has no definite convictions, but the man who desires to live in wasteful luxury, or who hoards wealth while his fellow tribesmen starve, may expect to be sent down very promptly to the eternal fire to roast where he belongs. It is on this foundation that the obligations of hospitality are built. The traveler is a man in need—in need of shelter and of food. The mere fact that he has no money to pay for these does not modify the situation in the slightest degree. His need, in and of itself, establishes his host's obligation to feed him. No possible notion of private ownership can in the Bedouin mind establish the right of the householder to his surplus so long as a hungry guest remains to be fed.

423 Land in the desert is free as the air. It is practically worthless in its sterile aridity, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that private ownership has not attempted to control it. Live stock is owned individually. 422, 425 This type of property, however, occupies a peculiar position. Animals are privately owned, but they are the object of never-ending raids, and property rights in them are almost as far removed from our notion of private property as from communism itself. Live stock remains

JORDAN BEDOUINS M34

coming in from the desert and moving northward, can be observed in the geographic distribution of the population of Transjordan. The Southern Ma'an district and the parts east of the Hejaz railway are the domains of the Bedouin. Southern Balqa and the entire Karak district are inhabited by semi-nomads, already settled on the land, but still living in tents and retaining their tribal organization. In Ajloun and the northern part of Balqa the settled villages predominates.

178 166x 131 166x

b. Internal factors and element change 166x

Bedouin settlement on land considerably compressed under the impact of:

a. development of the area with subsequent limitation of pastures lands

b. the measures of the government

c. the examples of the sheikhs and their attempts to settle the tribesmen

CHAPTER I

Tribal Land and the Role of the Sheikh in Bedouin Settlement Since the 19th Century 421 425

With the introduction of the Land Registration Law of 1929 much of the tribal land in the Ottoman Empire became the property of the sheikhs.

The individual tribesmen as well as the settled villagers

421 considered the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and the Registration
425 Law of 1859 as governmental measures designed for purposes of taxation and military conscription. They left it to the village notables and tribal sheikhs to enter all the land in their names. During the second part of the 19th century the large landholdings of the powerful sheikhs were administratively harmonized as the result of the Sultan's policy to win their co-operation by gifts of land. The developments during the 19th century thus laid the foundations for the inequality of land-ownership which has become the average of the Middle Eastern agrarian society.

421 As long as the patriarchal social order was maintained, the
425 economic life of the tribe was not disturbed by the growing con-
427 centration of land in the hands of the sheikhs. Part of the land
566 was cultivated by slaves or fellahin tenants, the rest used by the tribesmen as grazing areas for their flocks of animals. But when the tribal lands began to attract an ever increasing interest in speculation, the semi-legal transfer of land, formerly the collective property of the tribe, to the private ownership of the sheikhs had the effect that the "patriarchal peace" which the democratic tribal society enjoyed as the big semi-feudal landlord.

421 The Mandatory authorities further strengthened the power of
566 the landlords by legal recognition of their rights to the lands which they claimed as their own.

421 Progressive circles in the Arab countries are in favor of

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BEDOUINS.M34

land reform on which successful tribal settlement will stimulate rapid deposit, but as the land-owning feudlord exercise control over the indigenous administrations, the prospects for sweeping changes do not seem bright.

Transformation of the Shaikh

With the process of pacification the tribal shaikh underwent a profound political and social transformation.

In the traditional tribal society tribal-tribal political relationships were confined to disputes over water and grazing rights. Since the 19th century shaikhs have become tendered to big power politics. Bedouin history since the First World War shows this means of tribal chief's being pre-occupied with the political issues of the country. At present the tribal leaders exercise a very active element in the parliamentary life of Syria and Iraq. While the shaikhs of the Transjordanian tribes have in the past not taken a prominent part in the political activities of their country, they have taken sides in the main controversial issues of nationalistic government circles versus pro-British, anti-foreign Britishcircles. Michel Fadda, the shaikh of the Beni-Sakhr, was the avowed friend of the Mufti who found at first the shaikh of the Howeitat was an active supporter of Abdallah.[1]

The social changes which the shaikh undergoes are considerable. The household becomes substantially enlarged by addition of a great number of slaves, specialists in various trades. The wives of the shaikh have chamber maids at their disposal.

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1. Hyamson, 1943, pp. 180-183

CHAPTER XXXIII

Camel Disputes

In the Arab States of Arabia proper, the rights of an individual over his camel are looked upon as more sacred perhaps than life itself. It is possible that there may be slight differences in custom and details in various parts of Arabia, but speaking generally, the rules given below will be found to be understood and prevail in most of North-Eastern and Central Arabia. I cannot speak for Oman, Yaman and the Hijaz, but I see no reason to suppose that the basic principles of all desert camel laws are not the same. 421

After dealing with the important custom of *'Arafa*, I have touched on and given the meaning, as briefly as I can, of the Badawin terms *Jakhmah*, *'Iddah*, *Tu'ah*, *Khidmah*, *Zakat*, *Khiwah* and *Dhabihah wa Manihah*, all terms regularly heard in the desert man's daily life. I must express my thanks to His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait and his able Lieutenant Shaikh 'Abdullah al Jabir who is responsible for Kuwait tribal affairs, for the great assistance they have given by helping me to collect the data necessary for this chapter.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. *The case of camels belonging to individuals or tribes, straying with friendly tribes.* 421 628 425 681

(a) If one or more camels stray from a tribal herd and are later found with a friendly tribe, the owners can send in a demand for their return to the shaikh of the friendly tribe in question. Providing there is no undue delay, restitution is made and the matter ends.

(b) Should the strayed camel or camels not be returned, the owners have the right to watch their opportunity and seize property, livestock or even men belonging to the offending tribe, and

421 628 425 681

retain such in their possession until their own plundered property is surrendered.

(c) Should the offending tribe still be obstinate (*a'asin*) and not return the camels, then the complainants have the right to hold what they have seized and must be satisfied with this. It is presumed that they have seized and held a number of camels equal to the number lost, neither more nor less.

II. *The case of camels straying away to a hostile tribe.*

The owner of the camel awaits his opportunity, and has the right to seize his enemy's camels and as many as he likes besides, by raid (*ghazzu*) or other stratagem, on the grazing grounds of the desert, in the summer or spring months, or on the caravan routes when his enemy visits a town or settlement to purchase supplies.

The injured party (owner of original stolen camels) retains what he has thus acquired from the enemy as a right, or he can make conditions with the enemy as he pleases. He can also if he likes cry "quits" entirely, provided everything is restored which he lost in the first place. Should blood be shed on such raids, the rule of the desert permits of revenge during five lives, that is to say, the party from whom a life has been taken, is entitled to kill a member of the slayer's family or tribe, down to the fifth generation, unless of course the family of the slain man agrees to accept *'idiyah* or *diya* (blood-money), which is generally computed in Najd and Kuwait to-day at Rials 800 (see Chapter XLII).

III. *The case of a tribe or tribes belonging to a recognised Government raiding camels of tribes belonging to another Government.*

The Government of the raided tribe has the legal right to claim the stolen property back from the Government of the guilty tribe or to claim money compensation. The compensation is assessed by mutual agreement. Should the guilty tribe, however, refuse to obey the order of its own Government, and it becomes impossible to recover the property stolen, then the injured tribe has the right

to recover its lost property in its own time, and by whatever means it deems fit to employ. 421 628 425 681

IV. *The case of stolen or lost camels, recognized in a town or settlement by their original owners. (Both parties for example having come up to purchase supplies.)* 421 628 369 425 681 694

If the two parties are members of tribes which are friendly and on good terms with each other, and if their respective tribes are on good terms with, and under the authority of, the Ruler or Governor of the town in question, then the claimant must produce three witnesses to testify that the property he claims is his own. The words he himself uses to prove his claim before the authority hearing the case are, "I affirm that I neither sold nor gave away this my camel". Having completed this formality, the claimant will receive back his camel by order of the Ruler or Governor of the said town. (This sort of case frequently arises in Kuwait and towns in Najd.)

In the event of the person in possession of the camel having bought it from a third party unaware that it was the lawful property of a member of a friendly tribe, the procedure is different (see below). Again, if the person in possession of the camel has obtained it in war from a third party, the claimant will only receive it back if the custom of *'urfa* exists between his tribe and that of the person with whom the camel is found (see below).

V. *The case of a tribe of one Government attacking a tribe of another Government and a battle resulting.* 421 628

The attacked tribe has the right to ask its Government to demand and recover full blood-money for its killed and injured from the Government of the guilty party. Should the complainant's Government not be in a position to exact reparation or come to an agreement with the aggressor's Government, either as to the blood-money due or to the terms of peace acceptable to the injured tribe, then the families of the victims have the right to take revenge in their own time and way, without being responsible to their Government in any respect. (V is similar to III.) 425 681

"Recognition" of Camels

Chap. XXXIII

THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA
OR
"RECOGNITION" OF ANIMALS BY THE OWNER

421 I. *The case of camels captured in a raid.*

628 619 425 Should two tribes *sana'wafi* to one another (have made the special *'wafi* agreement between them), then one party may take from the other, camels once belonging to the former and now recovered from an enemy in raid, etc., by the latter.

Thus if a number of camels have been captured from the 'Ajman by the 'Awazim, and on some later occasion are recovered by the Mutair, the 'Ajman would have the right to take back their camels on application to the Mutair, without compensation, *provided the custom of 'Arafa existed between the 'Ajman and the Mutair.*

421 619 671 425 II. *The case of camels bought from one person by another and later recognized by a former owner as having been stolen from him.*

The case is settled in this wise. If the purchaser and the original owner are of the same tribe, or belong to two tribes with a "special agreement" by which their relations are those of *Bani 'Ata*, then the purchaser and the original owner, together with the animal in dispute, have to approach the seller and from him recover the purchase money. They give this to the man who has bought the camel, and the original owner takes back his property. For example, a man of Shammar recognizes a stolen camel of his with a man of the Dhafir, and the latter states he purchased it from the Mutair. Should the Dhafir and Shammar have a *Bani 'Ata* arrangement between them, the men will both go and see the Mutairi. If the Mutairi had himself raided or stolen the camel from the Shammari, and the Mutair and the Shammar were at peace, he will return the purchase price to the Dhafiri, and the Shammari may then take the camel he claims. If the Mutairi has himself bought the camel from another, say an 'Ajmi, he will still pay back the price to the Dhafiri and will then go and claim his money from the 'Ajmi, and so on till they get back to the original thief. In other words, all intervening sales and purchases are step by step undone.

Principles of Camel Law

Chap. XXXIII

This method of friendly recovery of a man's camel is known as the *Sang wa Qaud* system, a sort of family arrangement for the recovery of animals by mutual consent and without quarrelling over the matter. This system has the advantage of keeping Government officials out of the business, which from the Badawin point of view is always desirable. It is commonly practised in areas where Government writ does not run, and where one tribe is paramount under a strong shaikh who can enforce his will (example, the southern desert area of Iraq in Turkish times).

The system is open to variation according to circumstances, also to special arrangements between tribes, etc. So-called desert law is rarely a hard-and-fast thing. Many are the arbitrators who vary it slightly, or try to arrange a compromise in difficult or protracted cases. In most cases, however, precedent has a great deal to do with settling difficult problems, and so we have the *Ahl al Akhwah* or experts, versed in legal precedent and able to state how difficult cases were formerly settled. These witnesses have much to do with the interpretation of desert law. Nevertheless the two main principles of 'urfa remain fixed:

(a) A camel taken in war or retaken in war by a friend of the original owner is surrendered without compensation, if the custom of 'urfa exists. There is no selling.

(b) No camel bought for money can possibly be taken back by the original owner without compensation, even if the original owner be of the same tribe as the purchaser. There is only one exception, namely, if the original owner can prove that the buyer when he purchased the animal *was aware that it had been* stolen from a man of a friendly tribe. Thus if the 'Awazim bought Diyabin raided camels from Ibn Shoqair the day after his raid on the Diyabin near Kuwait in 1918, the latter could recover their camels from the 'Awazim without compensation. In no other case can anyone retake a purchased animal and leave the purchaser a loser. All sales must be undone, back to the original theft.

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Bedouin M54

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

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Bedouin 4254

421 luxury and display have a certain number of devotees. In the desert the viewpoint is very different. Human needs and rights are always and in all circumstances the most important thing and property rights are always [426] subordinate to them. More than that, it follows that no one, whatever his station, is entitled to more than he needs of the scanty supply of food, clothing and shelter which the world affords until every one else has had 454 all that he needs. Concerning the surplus over and 574 above the subsistence requirements of the community the Arab has no definite convictions, but the man who desires to live in wasteful luxury, or who hoards wealth while his fellow tribesmen starve, may expect to be sent down very promptly to the eternal fire to roast where he belongs. It is on this foundation that the obligations of hospitality are built. The traveler is a man in need—in need of shelter and of food. The mere fact that he has no money to pay for these does not modify the situation in the slightest degree. His need, in and of itself, establishes his host's obligation to feed him. No possible notion of private ownership can in the Bedouin mind establish the right of the householder to his surplus so long as a hungry guest remains to be fed.

423 Land in the desert is free as the air. It is practically worthless in its sterile aridity, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that private ownership has not attempted to control it. Live stock is owned individually. 422 425 This type of property, however, occupies a peculiar position. Animals are privately owned, but they are the object of never-ending raids, and property rights in them are almost as far removed from our notion of private property as from communism itself. Live stock remains

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Bedouin #34

the property of the owner as long as he can keep others from carrying it off and no longer. These raids are not theft in the Arab mind. The spirit is much like that of a game of football, where by craft or by superior power one side takes the ball from the other. The Bedouins are real sportsmen and take their losses with extraordinary equanimity. They hope to recoup themselves the next time and then possibly be richer than ever, for a time at least.

Two brothers came to the Mission Hospital in Kuwait a number of years ago, one of whom had been shot in a raid years before and suffered greatly as a result. It required many operations to cure him, but after a stay of perhaps five months he went home quite relieved. The sick man's brother took care of him with a steadfast optimism that was past praise. The wounded man was without property, whereas his loyal brother was a man of some wealth, but that made not the slightest difference.

One day, after they had spent perhaps four months with us, I spoke to the man about it. "You have been here," I said, "for some time now, and I understand that in your country you own considerable property."

"Yes," he said, "I am not altogether poor, though I have no great amount. It is mostly goats and camels, with a little household property."

"Well," I said, "are you not afraid that while you are away, your district may be raided and all that property taken? You have been here four months now and it will be some time still before you can leave."

"Oh," he replied, with a fine example of a Bedouin grin spreading over his face, "it has probably all been stolen by this time."

Bedouin 1954

"Well," I persisted, "the matter does not seem to trouble you a great deal."

"No indeed," with an even broader grin if that were possible. "It does not trouble me at all. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will go and steal somebody else's. Who knows? Perhaps I may have more than I had before."

The tribal fights that keep the country in a continual state of turmoil are little more than glorified raids for the sake of plunder. They intensify the poverty of the community, for legitimate trade is handicapped, and this irregular exchange of goods cannot in the nature of the case benefit the whole society, however much it may temporarily enrich individuals. But life without the excitement of these raids seems to the desert nomad a tame and a stale thing, hardly worth living. On the other hand, personal property, such as is kept in tents, is as sacredly individual as it is with us, and its theft is keenly resented. The conception that every man's home is his castle is one of the most fundamental ideas of the Arab, and when the crew of a gunboat many years ago attempted to search the inner quarters of a house in Dibai for firearms, the resulting indignation was so intense that foreigners found themselves unable to enter that district for nearly ten years. The household belongings that the Bedouin keeps in his tent may be poor things but they are very much his own.

This life of the desert, with its poverty and hardships and its primitive economic conditions, has nevertheless so worked its charm on the Bedouin nomad that he longs for nothing else. The Bedouin with his intense individualism seems particularly adapted to the desert. He loves its vast distances and its solitude. Anything less

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and incoherency have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

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Badawins 1951

CHAPTER XXVI

Badawin Warfare

Raiding is the breath of life to the Badawin. Prevent him from raiding 721
and he becomes the most melancholy of men.

Just as in the civilised West man must have his various sports, football, cricket, tennis, shooting, etc., to keep himself fit and happy, so in Arabia the primitive Badawin must have his raids. These denote to him everything that is manly and sporting.

A famous raider is honoured above all men, and boys and young 659
men pine for the day when they will be allowed to accompany their elders on foays, and so win their spurs.

Raiding brings out all that is hard, brave and skilful in man, so the occupation is honoured and encouraged, just as everything tending to make a man soft and effeminate is despised by all true desert men.

Desert raids do not as a rule entail much bloodshed. Raiders are 721
primarily inspired by greed for camels, and with this goes the desire 422
to scare off their enemies. To lift an enemy's camels is the best way of all to hurt him and add to the raider's own stock, for a Badawin values his camels above everything.

There is no such thing in ordinary desert warfare as men fighting 726
"to the death" or making a "last stand" in defence of wives, children and stock. That would be merely foolish. The Badawin appreciates at once the odds against him. If he knows he can drive off the raider he will stand and do so; if, on the other hand, he sees that he has no chance, he will desert family and camels and bolt into the desert to live to fight another day. He knows his women and children will be safe, why then risk certain death by fighting against odds? He allows his camels to be taken knowing his turn will come another day. *Nakhud we nawakhid* (We take and are ourselves taken) is his creed.

This is no reflection on the Badawin's courage. He is a brave man, but he has no false notions of standing up against an obviously superior force till he is killed.

Money Rights in a Mare

231 counts. She is kept to breed with, and being money to the tent, in the same way as a good she-camel.

More important still, a mare is looked upon as adorning a man's tent, like a woman or child, for to the Badawin "A house without a child in it is like a room in darkness". No mare will be kept unless she can be traced back to a thoroughbred stock—but even so, her value will be great or small according as she bears certain marks on her body (see below). For example, a man may breed a filly from his thoroughbred mare, which may have one white leg and three black or bay ones—this will make her unlucky and the filly will always be unwanted.

DIFFICULTY OF BUYING ARAB MARES

231 It is normally very difficult for a European to buy a thoroughbred
825 mare, and the only way he can acquire one without great delay and
822 expense is as a present from a great prince or shaikh, who owns mares in his own right. Even then, he is rarely given a first-class animal.

The reason for this is that no ordinary tribesman owns the whole of his mare, so he cannot sell her outright. He perhaps owns a leg, two legs, or three legs only and can only sell his part-right. As these sales conditions are also carefully laid down as to who shall have the first foal, the second filly, and so on.

As a rule half a dozen persons own, or have a share in each mare, and the joint-owners often live at great distance from each other, hence the difficulty in purchasing even a fairly ordinary mare—while to buy a thoroughbred is practically impossible for a foreigner.

It is amusing and rather disconcerting for a European who sees a good mare in the desert and wants to buy it to be told by the owner that he is quite willing to sell the animal's off-fore, but that the would-be purchaser must go to So-and-So, and So-and-So, living perhaps 100 miles away, if he wants to buy the other three legs. It is still more discouraging to be told that even if you can square each of these parties after prolonged negotiations, that So-and-So living 300 miles away at, say Buraida, has a lien on the first filly, so must be asked if he will agree to the sale. Lastly that the Buraida man may be expected to give a definite "No", seeing that if the mare goes out of the country he will in all probability see no filly.

Breeding of Camels

Chap. XXXII

A curious custom exists among certain tribes, revealing their firm 232
belief in *'ishqad*, or sympathetic magic.

If a man has a white and a black camel, and one goes lame, say the white one, in the leg, he breaks the black camel on the same leg that is lame in the white camel, and the white camel's lameness is believed to disappear. (Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 25th November, 1933.)

MILCH CAMELS

Male camels, as already mentioned, are kept away from females in 233
winter, the breeding season. In summer the sexes are allowed to graze together.

Milch camels are not allowed to feed their young when grazing. The milk is wanted for the men, and only after men requirements are taken is the mother allowed to suckle the baby camel. The young camel is allowed to feed in the evening, and before going out in early morning.

To prevent a baby camel's illicit drinking, the mother's udders are tied to a piece of stick called a *sarde*. (*Sarw al ndjet*, means "tie the she-camel's teats up".)

The female has four teats and the stick is tied to two at a time. (See sketch, page 100.)

On 5th May, 1935, when drinking some camel's milk among the 'Ajman, I saw the tying-up process. To enable us to milk the camel the strings were loosed, and when the 'Ajman herdsman tied them up again he placed a piece of camel's wool between string and teats before fastening them to the *sarde*. In one case, having no wool handy, he used an old camel dropping (*jalle*). The piece of wool is to prevent damage or hurt to the nipples.

TRIBAL "WASMS"

Every tribe has its *wasms* or tribal brand marks, correspond- 419
ing somewhat to our own family crests. The *wasm* is never placed on 233
banners or war flags, and is primarily meant to show the Badawin 422
world to whom such and such camels or wells belong.

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Horses and mares are never branded, though they usually have a small slit or private brand placed on the ear to indicate the owner.

Camels on the other hand are all branded with some tribal wasm or other, whoever they are, or to whomsoever they belong.

Private property also, such as a camel load, which has had to be temporarily abandoned in the desert owing to the death of the camel carrying it, can be protected by marking on the ground near it the tribal wasm of the owner. As a rule, no one finding such property will touch it.

The tribal wasms which exist, and could be collected by anyone interested in the study, are legion, for the 'Awazim tribe of Hasa, so far as I can ascertain, is alone among all the tribes of Arabia in possessing one wasm mark only for the whole tribe. All other tribes have dozens and dozens of different brands in accordance with the number of sections and subsections into which they are divided, or the number of their shaikhs who think they ought to have their own special distinguishing mark for their camels.

Like the tattoo marks of the Iraq Marsh women, Budawin's camel marks are of extraordinary interest and it would be well worth while for some student to collect and classify them. I have myself collected a fair number of tribal wasms from various sections of the more important tribes I have come across, but space forbids to reproduce them here.

I therefore confine myself to giving a few of the more important wasms only, including those of the paramount shaikhs of certain tribes, just to show what they look like and on what part of the camel they are branded.

(1) His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (Ibn Sa'ud):
Placed on the right thigh.

After the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 was put down, those camels confiscated by Ibn Sa'ud from the rebellious tribes were marked with a special new brand to indicate that they were the King's property, but had been taken from rebels. This wasm was on right thigh.

Tribal Marks

(x) Muhammad al Sa'ud (the King's brother):
Placed on right thigh.

(xi) 'Abdullah* ibn Jiluwi (Amir of Hasa):
Placed on right thigh.

* To-day Sa'ud his son.

(xi) His Excellency The Shaikh of Kuwait (Ibn Sabah):
Placed on either thigh.

(xi) Al Sa'ubna (Shaikhs of the Mountain):
Placed on left cheek.
(This circle is known as *hajra*.)

(xi) 'Uruma Tribe
(a) Ibn Humaid (Shaikh of Rwaqa group):
On off face shoulder.
(b) Ibn Rubaiyan (Shaikh of Rwaqa group):
On left side of neck.
(Rwaqa family same mark on right side of neck).
(c) Ibn Chamil (Shaikh of Mughira group):
On left cheek.
(d) Ibn Hijra (Shaikh of Ajafa group):
On right thigh.
(e) Ibn Ja'ana (Shaikh of Rumaa group):
Hajra on right cheek.

(y) Dhafir Tribe (Ibn Sawait only):
On right thigh.

(iii) (B) 'Awazim Tribe

(a) Ibn Jawn (Al Amir): On left thigh

Also (Shabbir): On left neck

(b) Ibn Dwa: On right thigh

Also

(Sawdir): On left cheek

or *Akhal* on left thigh

(c) Marwan Tribe

(a) Al Dushan (all numbers): On left thigh

(b) Al Fuqum (Sahabe—Thawiran):

On left neck

Also on left cheek

(c) Ibn Lami (Qa'amin—Jibin):

On right neck

(d) Ibn Shibbin (Al Talya—Jibin):

On right thigh

(e) Ibn Ghawaiman (Mala'ibe—Thawiran):

Over right eye

(f) Ibn Rashidan (Barran—Jibin):

On right thigh

(g) Al Ma'ragib (Arwajin—Jibin):

On left neck

Also On left cheek

(h) Al Sur (Bara'im—Marwan):

On left thigh

Also

On left cheek

(i) Ibn Jarihan

Abu Sifin (Rakhman—Marwan):

On right cheek

or *Akhal*

Rashaida Women

Chap. XXXII

(f) Ibn Shuwaiyar (Khawaizah—Mawalai):
On left thigh

(g) Abu Ras (Al Jabara—Mawalai):
On right thigh

(h) Ibn Mir'ib (Sa'aiza—Mawalai):
On left neck

Also on left cheek

(m) Ibn Ashwan (Alaiyan—Wail):
On right thigh

(n) Ibn Shuwaitiar (Bizan—Wail):
On left neck

(o) Ibn Jarbah (Dhyabin—Wail):
They cut a piece out of the left cheek and off the left ear.

(p) Ibn Mohaiib (Wizaran—Wail):
On left thigh

(q) Ibn Musaiyin (Sa'aran—Awlad Ali):
On right cheek

Also
On right thigh

(r) Ibn Jiran (Al Maizaran—Bani 'Abdillah):
On left cheek

(s) Ibn Thaman
Ibn Darwish
(Al Sa'aba—Bani 'Abdillah):
On right cheek

(94) Rashaida Tribe

(a) Ibn Musallim:
A long plain line round neck under chin from side to side

(b) Ibn Awaiyid ('Awana):
On left thigh

'Ajmān Waseems

(c) Al Shakir (Shakers): On right thigh

(d) Ibn Nimsan (Mahaimsan): On right thigh

(e) Ibn Sa'eed: On right thigh

(10) The following 'Ajmān waseems were given me by Mubarak Ibn Hatf al Hajraf, Shaikh of the Sulaiman, on April 10, 1934:

Al Hilfain: On left cheek

Al Hadi: On right cheek

Al Hajraf: On left neck

Al Sulaiman: On left neck, low

Ibn 'Aaidan (Shaikh Sulaiman): On left neck

Al Mahfadh: On left thigh

Al Sufran: On right neck

Al Hajjan: On right thigh

Al Saleh: On right neck

Al Rima: On left neck high up

Al Hidan: Right round gullet on under side

Al Thain: On left neck

1: Dickson 6-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI1 Kuwait Bedouins MJ4

(11) Bani Khalid Tribe

(a) Ibn Agál:

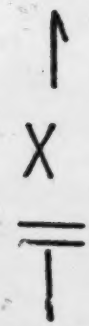
On right side of neck

(b) Ibn Ajran:

On left thigh (like Awazim)

(12) Bani hajir Tribe (Ibn Mubarak only):

On left side of neck



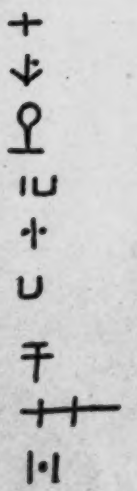
619
233
422

CAMEL STICKS (*Mishd'ab*)

These very often bear the *wasm* of the owner's tribe burnt on the crook end of the stick. I have three such myself, given me by members of the Dushan clan of the Mutair, which I keep as mementoes.

"WASMS" OR TRIBAL MARKS CARVED ON THE ROCKS ON NORTH-WEST FACE OF JABAL WARA (KUWAIT)

Names of tribes or sections of a tribe claiming some of those *wasms* are given below. 619



'Awazim

Subah (Kuwait)

Sufran ('Ajman)

Al Huwaila ('Ajman)

Hithlain ('Ajman)

Salim al Hamud (one of Al Subah Shaikhs)

Qahtan, also 'Utaiba

'Utaiba

'Ajman

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Appendix XXVIII

APPENDIX XXVIII

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel Wasms

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619
422

The following additional Wasms should be noted.

1. Under *Mutair Tribe* after (*s*), p. 423, add:
   (*t*) Al Ammásh (Al Ruaichib)
   On left cheek

2. Under *Bani Khalid* after (*b*), p. 425, add:
   (*c*) Ibn Mendíl
   On right thigh

3. Add (13) *Murra Tribe:*
   (*a*) Nigadan (Al Mugasse)
   Low on right thigh
   (*b*) Mohomed ibn Salim
   On left side of neck

APPENDIX XXIX

KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAUD

(End of Chapter XLV)

The method of confining ants to their nest by means of Solomon's Magic 789
Circle, was confirmed to me on April 15, 1948 by Salim al Murri and Saleh al Uhaimir, both trackers of the Murra tribe employed by H.H. the Shaikh of Kuwait when I visited their camp and was chatting to them and their womenfolk over a cup of coffee.

Both assured me that the circle did work but (*a*) that the circle must be made anti-clockwise, and that the ants could only be released if the motion of making the circle was again gone through, but this time clockwise. That this was always done when about to strike camp, as then the ants had to be released.

(*b*) The circle could only be made effective by the grown-up children (male and female) of first cousins. For other people to draw the circle was useless, and the ants would take no notice. (*c*) Food had to be given to the imprisoned ants at noon and sunset each day.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin #754

421 luxury and display have a certain number of devotees. In the desert the viewpoint is very different. Human needs and rights are always and in all circumstances the most important thing and property rights are always [565] subordinate to them. More than that, it follows that no one, whatever his station, is entitled to more than he needs of the scanty supply of food, clothing and shelter which the world affords until every one else has had 454 all that he needs. Concerning the surplus over and 574 above the subsistence requirements of the community the Arab has no definite convictions, but the man who desires to live in wasteful luxury, or who hoards wealth while his fellow tribesmen starve, may expect to be sent down very promptly to the eternal fire to roast where he belongs. It is on this foundation that the obligations of hospitality are built. The traveler is a man in need—in need of shelter and of food. The mere fact that he has no money to pay for these does not modify the situation in the slightest degree. His need, in and of itself, establishes his host's obligation to feed him. No possible notion of private ownership can in the Bedouin mind establish the right of the householder to his surplus so long as a hungry guest remains to be fed.

• 423 Land in the desert is free as the air. It is practically worthless in its sterile aridity, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that private ownership has not attempted to control it. Live stock is owned individually. 422 This type of property, however, occupies a peculiar posi- 425 tion. Animals are privately owned, but they are the object of never-ending raids, and property rights in them are almost as far removed from our notion of private property as from communism itself. Live stock remains

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ
Bedouin MJ4

But if the Bedouin has a great contempt for the townsman, the townsman on his part reciprocates most cordially. He regards the unwashed and unkempt nomad of the desert as little better than a wild beast. Incidentally he fears the wild religious fanaticism of the despised tribesmen exceedingly, and not without reason. "Infidel," said one of the Bedouins to a small shopkeeper in Hasa who sat comfortably smoking his big waterpipe in the door of his shop. "Infidel, shall I break it over your head, or smash it here on the ground?" and the shopkeeper having indicated a preference for the ground, the fanatical Wahabi, to whom tobacco is the very essence of sin and uncleanness, smashed the waterpipe to pieces on the floor. A waterpipe is a quite expensive affair, being an ornamented glass jar of about a quart capacity. Those accustomed to their use insist that in no other way can tobacco be properly smoked. The time was when the inhabitants of the oasis-towns were more religious than the Bedouins, but that time is past, and now the Bedouin in his religious zeal looks on them as next to infidels. "Those are the men," the city dweller will explain with great scorn, "who think they are competent to instruct us in matters of religion. They do not know the simplest prayers. Their heads are so full of lice that room could scarcely be found for more. Their clothes never get washed. Their women go about unveiled. They are nothing but wild animals."

The underlying changes that have brought about this transformation from desert conditions to those of the oasis are two. There is a divison of labor, and a certain differentiation into sections and cliques is inevitable on account of that, but a far more significant thing is the fact that agricultural land in the oasis is held as private property, whereas in the desert land is free as the air.

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
Bedouin MJ4 115

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances, tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

The conditions of land tenure in Arabia are obscure. Most of 423
the land is still utilized by the nomadic tribes for grazing their flocks. When the settlers are assigned land, it is not clarified who holds the title, the state, the tribe or the individual cultivator.

Although Arabia is still predominantly pastoral, the nomadic 361
character of the population is being rapidly changed as the result 166x
of government action and under the impact of increasing contact with the West.

Iraq (Mesopotamia)[1]

Iraq has a history of sedentarization that goes back to the 174
19th century when the Turks began to take steps towards reducing 166x
the nomads to a sedentary agricultural existence.

Up to 1869 it was the Bedouin policy of the Ottoman authorities to crush or settle the tribes, to break or conciliate their leaders.[2] Government action, however, was not accompanied by any concrete plans of providing for the Bedouin alternate means of sustenance.

Midhat Pasha, who became Wali of Baghdad in 1869, approached the issue more constructively. He viewed tribal settlement as an agrarian problem. Bedouin cultivation was encouraged by the sale of state-land on reasonable terms. Midhat Pasha felt that only settlement can permanently solve the tribal problem. He was con-

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1. Certain parts of former Mesopotamia like Deir ez-Zor belong to modern Syria. When an instance of nomad settlement in the Deir ez-Zor area refers to times previous to the establishment of modern Iraq it was included in this chapter although the locality may be now Syrian territory.
2. Ireland, 1938, p. 90

BEDOUINS MJ4
IRAQ

648 unlimited powers abused more often than not, the process of seden-
X166 tarization took its course.

423 After the First World War very little of the tribal land was still communally held, its ownership having been claimed by individuals.[1] Land settlement in Iraq had resulted in the transfer of the tribal semi-collective landholdings to individual holdings of the sheikhs. This increased the inequality of land-ownership in favor of the leaders and at the expense of the members of the tribe.[2]

622 Since the early 1920's some of the Iraqi sheikhs have dis-
423 played a growing interest in settlement of their tribesmen. The
X166 Sheikhs Ali al-Suleiman and Mushin al-Hardan were largely responsible for the restoration on scientific lines of the Saqlawiyah canal and thus making possible the Dulaymn development project which provided for the settlement of 2 000 tribesmen.[3]

X166 The new settlement of Dulaymiyn developed rapidly and proved
425 a sucess. An area which had been barren for centuries was re-
622 claimed and returned to cultivation. During the inter-war years the Iraqi local government distributed State land to individuals prepared to irrigate and cultivate it by installation of water pumps. Due to the cost involved, only the wealthy sheikhs could take advantage of the offer.

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1. Report, 1928, pp. 152-153
2. Himadeh, 1950; Himadeh, 1951, p. 275
3. Report, 1920-22, p. 20

IRAQ BEDOUINS MJ4

Their[1] already substantial landholdings were thus considerably increased. 423 622

Neither the British Mandatory Authorities nor the Iraqi local government had in the 1920's a definite tribal settlement policy. 648 166x Whatever was undertaken in this direction like the Dulaymiya project is attributable to the initiative of the tribal leaders.

The transformation which the tribal sheikhs have been undergoing during the past few decades can be best illustrated by a concrete case. Ajil el Jawar, the chief sheikh of the Shammar, had by the 1930's a variety of lucrative commercial interests. The government of Iraq and the Oil Companies appointed him to take over the protection of the wells and the pipelines. Besides, Ajil was charged with supplying laborers for railroad construction work. From these sources he received considerable income. The main part of his wealth, however, consists of real estate. Ajil inherited the lands near Kalat Sherqat and Takrit which Sultan Abdul Hamid had given to his grandfather Farhan as presents. In addition he acquired lands in the vicinity of Tall A'far, and also owns property in Baghdad and Mosul, as well as houses in Tall A'far and in the village Kalat Sherqat.[1] 622 425

The case of Ajil el Jawar is typical for all the powerful chiefs of Iraq, who have become wealthy landlords whose estates are cultivated by fellahin. Where the tribesmen followed the examples of of their sheikhs and settled down, they become the exploited tenants

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, pp. 150 seq.

1/1 [i.e., the wealthy sheikhs -- ANALYST]

BEDOUINS MJ4 SYRIA

agriculture was taking place on a small scale. During the latter part of the century the Wald Ali tribe began to take up cultivation near Homs and the Hasene in the Hauran.[1] 166* 656

The leaders of the Syrian tribes, however, particularly the Anezeh and West Shammar sheikhs, benefited from Sultan Abdul Hamid's policy aiming at winning their support by gifts of land and villages. In 1870 Jed'an of the Fed'an obtained from the government several villages and large tracts of land.[2] Mejhem, the grandson of Jed'an, owns two villages on the Euphrates besides the property which he inherited from his grandfather. In the 1930's he acquired additional ground near 'Ain 'Isa where he built a house.[3] Nuri al-Sha'lan, the sheikh of the Ruala, owned substantial property consisting of vast estates, a house in Damascus and several motor-cars.[4] 622 425 656

Since the end of the First World War, all the important tribal leaders of Syria have been in possession of extensive land-holdings, and most of them have taken an increasing interest in cultivation. In 1928 Sheikh Saleemeh of the Sba'a Gaoosa undertook to restore an ancient system of canals and began tillage on land which had been heretofore desert.[5] In 1935 the sheikh of the Sba'a Bteimat doubled his cultivation in 622 423 241

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 73
2. ibid., p. 79
3. ibid., p. 81
4. ibid., pp. 105 seq.
5. Report, 1935, p. 106

622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezirah the sheikh of
423 the Fedn'an-Weld increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable land-holdings of the
427 powerful Fadhaar and Aneseh chiefs are predominantly cultivated by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, ancient wells were restored and new ones created, medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydrauliques sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water nearby. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyre. In 1931 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyre, Deir ez-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. Report, 1935, p. 106
2. Epstein, 1940, p. 77
3. Rapport, 1931, pp. 99-100

SYRIA BEDOUINS MJ4

361 241 x166 178 x166 178 years. There was not much of a response to the efforts of the government during 1934 and 1935 to encourage settlement on land.

Where sedenterization took place it was the social process of assimilation, stimulated by economic, social and political factors. Where societies meet, the phenomenon of assimilation is inevitable; one section of the social group may be more rapidly affected than the other, but even if no extraordinary conditions arise, the evolutionary process of assimilation and subsequent sedenterization will take its course and ultimately embrace all strata of society.

361 x166 Tribal leadership spearheaded the movement towards sedenterization which by 1935 was sufficiently advanced among the tribal groups of the Aleppo-Homs-Hama region for 14 tribes representing 3 500 tents or 15 000 individuals to be placed by the authorities under a regime of ordinary administration.[1]

● 423 425 x166 For those nomads who are at present ready to settle down, the greatest problem is that of land-tenure. Bedouin tribes as a whole have more land at their disposal than they can possibly exploit by agricultural cultivation. The area inhabited by the nomads is not less than 10 693 000 hectares.[2] However, when the tribesmen are willing to take up agriculture, they find that all the tribal land has become the property of the sheikhs.

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1. Rapport, 1936, pp. 26-27
2. Salem, 1950 p. 305

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
SYRIA BEDOUINS MJ4

In 1949, Amir Sha'lan, the chief of the Rwala, went on record 425
with the statement that all his tribesmen now wanted land because 166x
the declining desert economy made settlement inevitable,[1] and
recommended to parcel out the newly developed land to the tribesmen in individual holdings instead of allowing it to become the private property of the sheikhs as this was the case in Iraq. Actually, however, there has been in Syria as heavy a concentration of tribal land in the hands of the leaders as in Iraq. The change of tribal society in Syria may lag behind the development in Iraq, but the process of conversion from communally held tribal land to individual property seems to assume the same patterns, the sheikh emerging as the large landlord and the tribesmen as his exploited tenants and share-croppers.

In recent years wealthy families, city notables, leased from 427
the sheikhs large areas of tribal land in the Jezirah and put them under cultivation of grain[2] and cotton.[3]

Land reform has become a major domestic issue in Syria in 423

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1. New York Times, September 6, 1949
It must be understood that the declaration was made for political reasons. The issue was the admission and settlement of Arab refugees from Palestine on newly developed land in Syria, a plan to which Sha'lan violently objected on the ground that the tribesmen needed the land for settlement. The tribes have moreland than they can cultivate and, as far as the Rwala are concerned, they belong to the purest of the remaining camel-Bedouin and are not yet ready for agricultural life. Rasman states (1930, p. 497) that the Rwala would resist any attempt to settle them, many preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to Central Arabia than adopt the life of settlers.
2. Tannous, 1951, p. 11
3. New York Times, August 13, 1951

423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1951 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on State Domains by the rich landowning families, and it was alleged that in the Jezireh tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing away land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights.[1]

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holding tends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged as long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Mandatory Palestine

162 361 Since World War 1 there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 981 out of the 66 551 nomads of Palestine[2] were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Terahin, Tayaha, Azazma,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1951
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

BEDOUINS MJ4
M1 Middle East
JORDAN

174 their nomadic life in the desert, raising camels, sheep and goats.

The first to become interested in agriculture was Sheikh Sattan ibn Faiz. Although he personally remained a wandering nomad with his Beni Sakhr tribesmen, he attended to the supervision of his estates at Umm el-'Amad, north east of Madabah.

361 Père Jaussen reported in 1908[1] that already at that time
241 small tribes[2] of Gilead, the Jordan valley, Belqa and northern Moab were engaged in agricultural work.

0423 Most of the cultivable tracts of the tribal land had already
425 prior to the First World War become the private property of the sheikhs who acquired those lands simply by occupying them[3] as they belonged to nobody. Another method of increasing land-holdings was by encroachment on adjacent fields and putting them under cultivation. By this latter system a large territory, originally belonging to the Adwan, ~~was acquired~~ by Sheikh Sattan and his sons.[4] After World War 1 many sheikhs purchased Giftlik land[5] from the government on favorable terms.

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1. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 237-8 and pp. 240-55
2. All the tribes of Transjordan are small when compared with the powerful Iraqi and Syrian tribes such as the Rwala (4 250 tents) or the Sba'a (3 400 tents) cf. Fisher, 1950, p. 116. The Beni Sakhr, the largest tribe of Transjordan, has about 1 140 tents.
3. They set foot on a certain terrain, belonging to nobody (ارض سبسبة) and declared it personal property (ارض سبة) by virtue of occupation.
4. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 136-7
5. Giftlik is the land which had belonged to the Turkish Sultan and become government property after World War 1.

BEDOUINS MJ4
JORDAN

breeding.

A decisive change in the opposite direction occurred in the economic structure of the Howeitat when their two Sheikhs Abtan ibn-Jazi and Audah abu-Tayy evinced more interest in raiding than in peaceful agricultural pursuits. In a short time the Howeitat became one of the most warlike tribes in North Arabia and the Syrian Desert. Cultivation was discarded, the tribesmen rented their farms to fellahin and tenants, and they themselves roamed the desert.[1]

Since the end of the First World War the Howeitat have been reverting to the land. The tribesmen again engaged in the agricultural work, and their transition to a completely settled existence should not be difficult to accomplish.

By 1931 all sections of the Beni Hasan[2] were settled on their land, in that year 5 000 title deeds having been issued to the tribal cultivators.[3] In the drought years of 1932 and 1933 the flocks of the Beni Hasan were severely hit. Like the situation among all the big tribes of Transjordan, the Beni Hasan were economically ruined, but unlike them they were willing to take up cultivation. Government financial assistance was requested to enable the tribe to develop its fertile lands, but no constructive help was forthcoming.

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1. Père Jaussen observed the Howeitat in 1908 after they had resumed their nomadic existence. But his statement that "les Howeitat n'ont jamais touché la charrue" (The Howeitat never touched the plow) (cf. Jaussen, 1908, p. 241) is incorrect.
2. The Beni Hasan have about 860 tents and dwell in 'Ajloun, one of the most fertile parts of Transjordan. They own about 372 000 dunams of land.
3. Report, 1931, p. 193

BEDOUINS MJ4
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731

members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he imposes and collects his own levies.[1]

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Bedouin tribe Abu Kishk that owned 20 000 dunams of land in the Sharon.[2] The sheikh's family in whose name the land was registered, sold 10 000 dunams to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunam orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh.

CHAPTER XI

Attitude of the Tribesmen towards Settlers.

The Bedouin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Transjordan Bedouin was desperate; 1946/47 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen

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1. Himadeh, 1950, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted to: sheep and goats — 40%, cattle — 45%, camels — 50%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1949, p. 10

BEDOUINS MJ4

Responsible circles in the Arab world today pay due attention to the problems of the nomad society, and from time to time constructive recommendations are voiced for the solution of the social and economic problems of the Bedouin element. For example, the First and Second United Nations Social Welfare Seminars for Arab States in the Middle East appointed Special Committees to discuss Bedouin problems and needs. The recommendations which were submitted to the plenary sessions aimed at the raising of the Bedouin standard of living by settling on land part of the tribal population and helping the remaining nomads improve their mode of existence in the desert.

648 166x

During the last twenty years, particularly in the 1930's, programs for Bedouin settlement have been formulated in Iraq and in Syria. But there is no reference as to how much of the plans was actually carried out.[1] Where settlement has taken place, it was largely the private enterprise of the tribal sheikh. As the tribal land was usually registered in the name of the chief or leased to him by the government, practically all the members of the tribe have become upon settlement, the tenants or share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

The sheikh-landlord has a personal economic interest in developing his land holdings, but his policies are rarely concerned with the welfare of his tribesmen. This is why the Social

648 166x 423 622

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1. Since no further reference was made to the plans in the ensuing years, the writer feels justified in assuming that the projects for Bedouin settlement remained on paper.

BEDOUINS MJ4

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Welfare Seminar of 1950 cautioned against offering the tribal chiefs large stretches of land on which the mass of the tribesmen would become a class of agricultural laborers.[1]

APPENDIX

X166
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Recommendations for the Formulation of Settlement Policies

There is a definite need for constructive government-sponsored settlement schemes.

It has been recognized that specific problems, presented by old and deeply rooted traditions, must be taken into consideration:[2]

a. the element of persuasion and education, the mental adjustment of the Bedouin to the new conditions. Projects of amelioration and irrigation or schemes of free land distribution may aid the fellah and the nomad, but it must be recognized that not all the Bedouin will abandon nomadic life voluntarily, even when offered free land. The traditional contempt for agricultural work must be counteracted by persuasion and education.

b. the need for introducing gradual changes. Successful sedentarization of the nomads cannot proceed more rapidly than their mental adjustment to the new conditions. Where the Bedouin are not gradually prepared for agricultural life, they will become landowners, but not cultivators. They will turn into "tent-dwellers who depend for their living on the rents paid by their fellaheen-tenants."[3]

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1. El-Shihaby, 1950, p. 280
2. Polian, 1942
3. ibid.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

574 years ago? He, as thou, loved our fast and enduring run-
231 ners, those 'Drinkers of the Wind', which Allah be-
572 stowed on our forefather Ishmael."

Neither the scribe nor anyone else said a word about the stallion, and I dared not ask again; for I imagined that Mishal was particularly fond of this young horse.

574 The day of my departure came. The patriarchal
431 *sheykh* and I exchanged words of formal farewell. Then he led me aside and bade me sit down with him at the farthest tent-peg. After a few minutes of silence, he took two documents from a leather pouch and said: "I have long noticed that thou hast taken the Saqlawi colt to thy heart. He is the best of our breeding, and I am happy to make thee a present of him, that thou mayest always remember our friendship and noble horses. Take the young stallion with thee and mention no thanks nor price, so that this remembrance may live forever unclouded in our hearts."

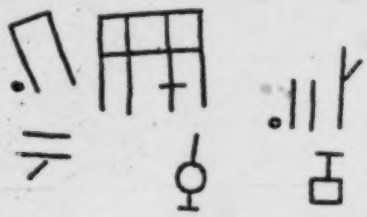
"The Lord be good to thee, O Mishal ibn Faris," I replied, "for that I am allowed to part from thee with such happy memories."

What more could I say in response to his simple
[181] words? I knew the Bedouins. To be open-handed makes most of them happy; and further, Mishal was a very rich man. To him "belonged" not only the Shammar in
• [423] the Northern Jesirah (Mesopotamia), but he actually owned sixty-nine villages and their cultivated lands on the Khabur River. I could only hope that God would grant me the opportunity some time of showing my heartfelt thanks to Mishal in some special way.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Wasms in Wells

619 Below are some odd *wasms* found on north side of Wára.



WELLS

619 Almost all the great permanent wells of Arabia belong to some
312 tribe or other, and have been in their possession since earliest times.
423 Hence, if they are examined carefully, the *wasm* of the tribe to which they belong will usually be found, cut in the rocky sides some way down on the inside, or engraved on one of the large stones built round the well mouth.

It is important to know this, as the ownership of disputed wells and their surrounding grazing grounds can nearly always be determined by such marks if it is known where to look for them.

This right to own wells is not confined only to tribes, but is also the prerogative of individual Badawin, and has in the past been the cause of many a fierce fight. For instance, supposing a man camping alone in summer selects a suitable site for his family's tents, near where he thinks he will find water, and does dig a well, and does find water, then that well becomes his *mulk*, or personal property, and no other person may draw water from it, or use it for the future except with the owner's express permission. In the Kuwait hinterland, where there is sub-surface water nearly everywhere, such wells are frequent, and many are the disputes that arise from strangers attempting to use them.

NATURAL WELLS

312 The Natural Wells (*dáhal*, plu. *duhúl*) of the Summán region occupied by the Mutair 'Ilwa (150–200 miles south-west of Kuwait).

There are some one hundred *duhúl* scattered along the northern

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin #754

421 luxury and display have a certain number of devotees. In the desert the viewpoint is very different. Human needs and rights are always and in all circumstances the most important thing and property rights are always [566] subordinate to them. More than that, it follows that no one, whatever his station, is entitled to more than he needs of the scanty supply of food, clothing and shelter which the world affords until every one else has had 454 all that he needs. Concerning the surplus over and 574 above the subsistence requirements of the community the Arab has no definite convictions, but the man who desires to live in wasteful luxury, or who hoards wealth while his fellow tribesmen starve, may expect to be sent down very promptly to the eternal fire to roast where he belongs. It is on this foundation that the obligations of hospitality are built. The traveler is a man in need—in need of shelter and of food. The mere fact that he has no money to pay for these does not modify the situation in the slightest degree. His need, in and of itself, establishes his host's obligation to feed him. No possible notion of private ownership can in the Bedouin mind establish the right of the householder to his surplus so long as a hungry guest remains to be fed.

423 Land in the desert is free as the air. It is practically worthless in its sterile aridity, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that private ownership has not attempted to control it. Live stock is owned individually. 422 This type of property, however, occupies a peculiar posi- 425 tion. Animals are privately owned, but they are the object of never-ending raids, and property rights in them are almost as far removed from our notion of private property as from communism itself. Live stock remains

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

the property of the owner as long as he can keep others from carrying it off and no longer. These raids are not theft in the Arab mind. The spirit is much like that of a game of football, where by craft or by superior power one side takes the ball from the other. The Bedouins are real sportsmen and take their losses with extraordinary equanimity. They hope to recoup themselves the next time and then possibly be richer than ever, for a time at least.

Two brothers came to the Mission Hospital in Kuwait a number of years ago, one of whom had been shot in a raid years before and suffered greatly as a result. It required many operations to cure him, but after a stay of perhaps five months he went home quite relieved. The sick man's brother took care of him with a steadfast optimism that was past praise. The wounded man was without property, whereas his loyal brother was a man of some wealth, but that made not the slightest difference.

One day, after they had spent perhaps four months with us, I spoke to the man about it. "You have been here," I said, "for some time now, and I understand that in your country you own considerable property."

"Yes," he said, "I am not altogether poor, though I have no great amount. It is mostly goats and camels, with a little household property."

"Well," I said, "are you not afraid that while you are away, your district may be raided and all that property taken? You have been here four months now and it will be some time still before you can leave."

"Oh," he replied, with a fine example of a Bedouin grin spreading over his face, "it has probably all been stolen by this time."

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

422 "Well," I persisted, "the matter does not seem to
425 trouble you a great deal."

"No indeed," with an even broader grin if that were possible. "It does not trouble me at all. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will go and steal somebody else's. Who knows? Perhaps I may have more than I had before."

425 The tribal fights that keep the country in a continual
578 state of turmoil are little more than glorified raids for the sake of plunder. They intensify the poverty of the community, for legitimate trade is handicapped, and this irregular exchange of goods cannot in the nature of the case benefit the whole society, however much it may temporarily enrich individuals. But life without the excitement of these raids seems to the desert nomad a tame and a stale thing, hardly worth living. On the other
422 hand, personal property, such as is kept in tents, is as sacredly individual as it is with us, and its theft is keenly
685 resented. The conception that every man's home is his
609 castle is one of the most fundamental ideas of the Arab, and when the crew of a gunboat many years ago attempted to search the inner quarters of a house in Dibai for firearms, the resulting indignation was so intense that foreigners found themselves unable to enter that district for
422 nearly ten years. The household belongings that the Bedouin keeps in his tent may be poor things but they are very much his own.

181 This life of the desert, with its poverty and hardships and its primitive economic conditions, has nevertheless so worked its charm on the Bedouin nomad that he longs for nothing else. The Bedouin with his intense individualism seems particularly adapted to the desert. He
000 loves its vast distances and its solitude. Anything less

656 186 of the Wahhabi movement which originated in the 18th century.

X 166 656 The Bedouin members of the Ikhwan were induced to sell their camels and settle down to an agricultural existence. Settlement was carried out by giving to the tribesmen land, money and technical aid.

162 X 166 656 Sedentarization has always been an important part of Ibn Saud's domestic policy. In 1928 there were already over 100 Ikhwan settlements in the Nejd. Artawiya, the oldest of the Ikhwan colonies, came into existence in 1912 and had by 1928 a population of about 10 000. In Ameen Rihani's list of 100 odd localities there are mentioned 34 settlements with an approximate population of 6 000 - 12 000. Dukhnah, a colony of the Harb tribe, has about 15 000 people.[1] In a few years Ibn Saud has thus succeeded in converting a great number of Bedouin into settled citizens.

656 425 In 1948 the government of Saudi Arabia declared its new national policy of granting state land to any citizen ready and willing to put it under cultivation.[2] In Arabia settlement is an artificial enterprise because it involves Bedouin, who from the economic point of view could continue their pastoral life for centuries yet. Of course, Ibn Saud is guided more by the political problems which the Bedouin present to his state structure than by economic necessity.

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1. Rihani's study of Ibn Saud contains a list of new settlements built by the tribes of Nejd under the influence of the Ikhwan. Each colony is given with its quota of fighting men. This figure is one third of the male, or one sixth of the total population. cf. Rihani, 1928, pp. 118-119
2. Afif I Tannous, 1951, p. 15

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IRAQ

648 unlimited powers abused more often than not, the process of seden-
X166 tarization took its course.

423 After the First World War very little of the tribal land was still communally held, its ownership having been claimed by individuals.[1] Land settlement in Iraq had resulted in the transfer of the tribal semi-collective landholdings to individual holdings of the sheikhs. This increased the inequality of land-ownership in favor of the leaders and at the expense of the members of the tribe.[2]

622 Since the early 1920's some of the Iraqi sheikhs have dis-
423 played a growing interest in settlement of their tribesmen. The
X166 Sheikhs Ali al-Suleiman and Mushin al-Hardan were largely responsible for the restoration on scientific lines of the Saqlawiyah canal and thus making possible the Dulaymi development project which provided for the settlement of 2 000 tribesmen.[3]

X166 The new settlement of Dulaymiya developed rapidly and proved
425 a sucess. An area which had been barren for centuries was re-
622 claimed and returned to cultivation. During the inter-war years the Iraqi local government distributed State land to individuals prepared to irrigate and cultivate it by installation of water pumps. Due to the cost involved, only the wealthy sheikhs could take advantage of the offer.

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1. Report, 1928, pp. 152-153
2. Hirsdeh, 1950; Hirsdeh, 1951, p. 275
3. Report, 1920-22, p. 20

IRAQ BEDOUINS MJ4

Their[1] already substantial landholdings were thus considerably increased. 423 622

Neither the British Mandatory Authorities nor the Iraqi local government had in the 1920's a definite tribal settlement policy. 648 166x Whatever was undertaken in this direction like the Dulaymiya project is attributable to the initiative of the tribal leaders.

The transformation which the tribal sheikhs have been undergoing during the past few decades can be best illustrated by a concrete case. Ajil el Jawer, the chief sheikh of the Shammar, had by the 1930's a variety of lucrative commercial interests. The government of Iraq and the Oil Companies appointed him to take over the protection of the wells and the pipelines. Besides, Ajil was charged with supplying laborers for railroad construction work. From these sources he received considerable income. The main part of his wealth, however, consists of real estate. Ajil inherited the lands near Kalat Shergat and Takrit which Sultan Abdul Hamid had given to his grandfather Farhan as presents. In addition he acquired lands in the vicinity of Tell A'far, and also owns property in Baghdad and Mosul, as well as houses in Tell A'far and in the village Kalat Shergat.[1] 622 425

The case of Ajil el Jawer is typical for all the powerful chiefs of Iraq, who have become wealthy landlords whose estates are cultivated by fellahin. Where the tribesmen followed the examples of of their sheikhs and settled down, they became the exploited tenants

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, pp. 150 seq.

1/1 [i.e., the wealthy sheikhs-- ANALYST]

IRAQ BEDOUINS MJ4

622 and share-croppers on the holdings of the chiefs who rapidly
425 changed from their traditional role of "primus inter pares" to that of a semi-feudal landlord.

656 In the thirties the administration of Iraq became increasingly
425 aware of the plight of the Bedouin. In 1934 three committees con-
X166 sisting of high government officials and tribal sheikhs were formed for the purpose of studying the problem of land distribution among the tribesmen and of encouraging them to take up agriculture.

A plan was formulated with the aim of settling 40 000 Bedouin over a period of ten years, at the rate of 4 000 per annum.[1] Guided by the administration policy of Bedouin settlement, the Minister of the Interior proceeded in 1936 with the assignment of land to the nomadic tribes and landless fellahin. Distribution was made in small plots of about five acres per head. Provision was also made for financial assistance needed to initiate cultivation. Prospective settlers, in turn, were subject to the stipulation that their villages and houses must be constructed along modern lines.[2]

At the end of 1936 Prime Minister Hikmat Suleiman declared in the outline of his government program that the authorities are vitally concerned with the settlement of the tribes and ready to provide each family with land. He stated that legislation would

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1. Oriente Moderno, Vol. XIV, pp. 483-4 1934
2. Oriente Moderno, Vol. XVI, p. 279 1936

IRAQ BEDOUINS MJ4

also be effected to improve lines of communication, so that the nomads may be able to benefit from public services.[1] 656 425 166x

Since the end of the Second World War the government of Iraq has begun to put into practice the policy of encouraging small landownership by distributing State Domain lands among landless peasants and tribesmen. The first post-war project was started in 1945 on the Dujaylah lands, south of Baghdad, where 88 000 acres of state land were parcelled out in plots of about 62.5 acres per family. The new settlement which started in 1945 with 85 fmdlies has presently about 1 200. The settlers come from neighboring tribes where they and their kin had worked as share-croppers on the estates of the sheikhs.[2] In 1946 another project, the Mendyah settlement, was completed. It involved the distribution of approximately 200 000 acres of irrigated state land among the members of the Ubayd tribe.[3]

The observation has been made that the inequality of landownership had a great effect on many of the tribesmen and in the absence of sufficient agricultural projects they began to flock to the cities.[4] Progressive circles in Iraq have realised for a number of years that settling the nomads must go hand in hand with the creation of suitable land conditions.

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1. Oriente Moderno, Vol. XVII, pp. 41-42, 1937
2. Burns, 1951, p. 362
3. Tannous, 1952, p. 16
4. Khayat, 1950, pp. 225-226

SYRIA
IRAQ

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656 The idea of land reform aiming at the encouragement of small
425 and medium land-holdings and settlement of the nomads as well as
166 landless peasants on small plots has been very popular since the end of the Second World War. In 1945 the Parliament of Iraq passed a bill (Law #23) authorizing the government to distribute State Domain land (over 80 per cent of the now uncultivated land in Iraq)[1] among fellahin and tribesmen on the basis of small private ownership. This law has made possible the successful Bajaylah land settlement project. In 1950 the Law #23 of 1945, originally restricted to a limited region, was made applicable to additional areas in all parts of the country.[2]

Recent planning may bring about a controlled agrarian revolution by creating a class of small farmers on 25 - 35 per cent of Iraq's cultivable land.[3]

Syria

166 Throughout the latter part of the 19th and the beginning
656 of the 20th century encouragement of Bedouin settlement in Syria was an integral part of the tribal policy of the Ottoman government.

The authorities did not make any constructive effort to effect sedentarization of the tribesmen although transition to

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1. Burns, 1951, p. 362
2. For detailed discussion of the settlement projects in Iraq see: Burns, 1951, pp. 362 - 66
3. New York Times, November 4, 1950

BEDOUINS MJ4 SYRIA

agriculture was taking place on a small scale. During the latter part of the century the Weld Ali tribe began to take up cultivation near Homs and the Hesene in the Hauran.[1] 166x 656

The leaders of the Syrian tribes, however, particularly the Anoseh and West Shammar sheikhs, benefited from Sultan Abdul Hamid's policy aiming at winning their support by gifts of land and villages. In 1870 Jed'an of the Fed'an obtained from the government several villages and large tracts of land.[2] Mejhem, the grandson of Jed'an, owns two villages on the Euphrates besides the property which he inherited from his grandfather. In the 1930's he acquired additional ground near 'Ain 'Isa where he built a house.[3] Nuri al-Sha'lan, the sheikh of the Rwala, owned substantial property consisting of vast estates, a house in Damascus and several motor-cars.[4] 622 425 656

Since the end of the First World War, all the important tribal leaders of Syria have been in possession of extensive land-holdings, and most of them have taken an increasing interest in cultivation. In 1928 Sheikh Selemieh of the Sba'a Gnossa undertook to restore an ancient system of canals and began tillage on land which had been heretofore desert.[5] In 1935 the sheikh of the Sba'a Bteinat doubled his cultivation in 622 423 241

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 73
2. ibid., p. 79
3. ibid., p. 81
4. ibid., pp. 105 seq.
5. Report, 1935, p. 106

SYRIA BEDOUINS MJ4

361 241 years. There was not much of a response to the efforts of the
X166 178 government during 1934 and 1935 to encourage settlement on land.

Where sedentarization took place it was the social process
X166 178 of assimilation, stimulated by economic, social and political factors. Where societies meet, the phenomenon of assimilation is inevitable; one section of the social group may be more rapidly affected than the other, but even if no extraordinary conditions arise, the evolutionary process of assimilation and subsequent sedentarization will take its course and ultimately embrace all strata of society.

361 Tribal leadership spearheaded the movement towards sedentar-
X166 ization which by 1935 was sufficiently advanced among the tribal groups of the Aleppo-Homs-Hama region for 14 tribes representing 3 500 tents or 15 000 individuals to be placed by the authorities under a regime of ordinary administration.[1)]

423 For those nomads who are at present ready to settle down,
● 425 the greatest problem is that of land-tenure. Bedouin tribes as a
X166 whole have more land at their disposal than they can possibly exploit by agricultural cultivation. The area inhabited by the nomads is not less than 10 693 000 hectares.[2)] However, when the tribesmen are willing to take up agriculture, they find that all the tribal land has become the private property of the sheikhs.

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1. Rapport, 1936, pp. 26-27
2. Salem, 1950 p. 355

In 1949, Amir Sha'lan, the chief of the Rwala, went on record 425
with the statement that all his tribesmen now wanted land because 166x
the declining desert economy made settlement inevitable,[1] and
recommended to parcel out the newly developed land to the tribes-
men in individual holdings instead of allowing it to become the
private property of the sheikhs as this was the case in Iraq.
Actually, however, there has been in Syria as heavy a concentra-
tion of tribal land in the hands of the leaders as in Iraq. The
change of tribal society in Syria may lag behind the development
in Iraq, but the process of conversion from communally held tribal
land to individual property seems to assume the same patterns, the
sheikh emerging as the large landlord and the tribesmen as his
exploited tenants and share-croppers.

In recent years wealthy families, city notables, leased from 427
the sheikhs large areas of tribal land in the Jezirah and put
them under cultivation of grain[2] and cotton.[3]

Land reform has become a major domestic issue in Syria in 423

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1. New York Times, September 6, 1949
It must be understood that the declaration was made for political reasons. The issue was the admission and settlement of Arab refugees from Palestine on newly developed land in Syria, a plan to which Sha'lan violently objected on the ground that the tribesmen needed the land for settlement. The tribes have moreland than they can cultivate and, as far as the Rwala are concerned, they belong to the purest of the remaining camel-Bedouin and are not yet ready for agricultural life. Raswan states (1930, p. 497) that the Rwala would resist any attempt to settle them, many preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to Central Arabia than adopt the life of settlers.
2. Tannous, 1951, p. 11
3. New York Times, August 13, 1951

ISRAEL BEDOUINS MJ4

361 "The sixteen tribes recognised as bona fide residents of
x166 Israel have all been counted and are now given identity cards. They are being assisted in ploughing and breeding cattle — three tractors have been recently allotted to them by the Department of Agriculture, and Bedouins have already learned to drive them — as the beginning of a long term scheme to convert these tribesmen from a nomadic way of life to that of settled cultivators or fellahin. Migration of Bedouins, for centuries the scourge of the country, is being stopped, and the tribes are being settled in certain definite area." 1)

x166 Of course, not all the Bedouin of the Negev are ready to settle down permanently. In the summer of 1950 a number of tribes crossed voluntarily into Jordan because their pastures in the Negev had shrunk to the point of inadequacy on account of a serious drought. Under an agreement of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Commission the Bedouin were granted the permission to re-enter Israeli territory (not later than July 1951); none of them, however, returned, preferring to stay in Jordan where they could continue their nomadic mode of living. 2)

361 425 Practically all the remaining nomads of Israel are by now settled down to a regular agricultural and pastoral existence.

Early in 1951 the Ministry of Agriculture allocated to the Bedouin I L 20 000 for the ploughing of about 50 000 dunams of uncultivated land in the Negev, because the Government of Israel was aware of the difficulties which confronted the tribes whose winter crops had been destroyed by the severe drought. 3)

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1. Lourie, Palestine Post, November 24, 1949
2. The Jewish Agency's Digest, 1951 b, p. 1734
3. The Jewish Agency's Digest, 1951 a, p. 1071

BEDOUINS M.I.
JORDAN

174 their nomadic life in the desert, raising camels, sheep and goats.

The first to become interested in agriculture was Sheikh Sattan ibn Faiz. Although he personally remained a wandering nomad with his Beni Sakhr tribesmen, he attended to the supervision of his estates at Um el-'Amad, north east of Madabah.

361 Père Jaussen reported in 1908[1] that already at that time
241 small tribes[2] of Gilead, the Jordan valley, Belqa and northern Moab were engaged in agricultural work.

423 Most of the cultivable tracts of the tribal land had already
425 prior to the First World War become the private property of the sheikhs who acquired those lands simply by occupying them[3] as they belonged to nobody. Another method of increasing land-holdings was by encroachment on adjacent fields and putting them under cultivation. By this latter system a large territory, originally belonging to the Adwan, ~~was acquired~~ by Sheikh Sattan and his sons.[4] After World War 1 many sheikhs purchased Giftlik land[5] from the government on favorable terms.

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1. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 237-8 and pp. 240-55
2. All the tribes of Transjordan are small when compared with the powerful Iraqi and Syrian tribes such as the Rwala (4 250 tents) or the Sha'a (3 400 tents) cf. Fisher, 1950, p. 116. The Beni Sakhr, the largest tribe of Transjordan, has about 1 140 tents.
3. They set foot on a certain terrain, belonging to nobody (ارض سبسبة) and declared it personal property (ارض سبيلة) by virtue of occupation.
4. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 136-7
5. Giftlik is the land which had belonged to the Turkish Sultan and became government property after World War 1.

JORDAN BEDOUINS MJ4

The Mandatory Report of 1929 stated[1] that there was a marked tendency among the nomads of Transjordan to settle, especially among the Beni Sakhr who owned a considerable area of land.[2] The same document points out, however, that the tribesmen are not yet engaged in cultivation, but employ fellahin to till the soil for them. A. Konikoff who published a study of the Transjordan economy about fifteen years after the above quoted report has nothing new to add[3] implying that no material change has taken place. 166x 427

In spite of substantial land-holdings, most members of the Beni Sakhr seem not yet psychologically prepared to settle down. 166x 241 425

The case of the Howeitat, the second most powerful tribe of Transjordan,[4] is different. Unlike the majority of the Bedouin the Howeitat do not show the traditional contempt for agriculture.[5] They cultivate all the fertile land in their tribal area. The agricultural activities of the Howeitat increased considerably when they acquired the Sher'ah plain from the Ho'aimat tribe during the latter part of the 19th century. The tribesmen practiced a mixed economy consisting of tillage and livestock-BREEDING.

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1. Report, 1929 b, p. 138
2. They possess about 24 villages, whose land is tilled by fellahin and tenants (cf. Epstein, 1938, p. 232). The tribe is scattered from the hills of Balqa to Wadi Shirhan and from Azraq to Madabah.
3. Konikoff, 1946, p. 50
4. The Howeitat have about 1 000 tents and dwell in the Maan and Aqaba region.
5. The Howeitat did not originally come from the Hejaz or the Nejd. It is alleged that the tribe has always been connected with the Transjordan territory. One theory suggests that the Howeitat are the descendents of ancient Nabateans, another considers them the offspring of camel merchants from the Red Sea coast and fellahin from Hesma and Shenah who in the course of time become Bedouin. (cf. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 29)

JORDAN BEDOUINS MJ4

coming in from the desert and moving northward, can be observed in the geographic distribution of the population of Transjordan. The Southern Ma'an district and the parts east of the Hejaz railway are the domains of the Bedouin. Southern Balqa and the entire Kerak district are inhabited by semi-nomads, already settled on the land, but still living in tents and retaining their tribal organization. In Ajloun and the northern part of Balqa the settled villager predominates. 178 166x 131 166x

b. external factors and planned change 166x

Bedouin settlement on land considerably progressed under the impact of:

a. development of the area with subsequent limitation of pasture lands

b. the measures of the governments

c. the examples of the sheikhs and their attempts to settle the tribesmen

CHAPTER X

Tribal Land and the Role of the Sheikh in Bedouin Settlement Since the 19th Century 421 425

With the introduction of the Land Registration Law of 1859, most of the tribal land in the Ottoman Empire became the property of the sheikhs.

The individual tribesmen as well as the settled villagers

421 considered the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and the Registration
425 Law of 1859 as governmental measures designed for purposes of taxation and military conscription. They left it to the village notables and tribal sheikhs to enter all the land in their names. During the second part of the 19th century the large landholdings of the powerful sheikhs were substantially increased as the result of the Sultan's policy to win their co-operation by gifts of land. The developments during the 19th century thus laid the foundations for the inequality of land-ownership which has become the scourge of the Middle Eastern agrarian society.

421 As long as the patriarchal social order was maintained, the
425 economic life of the tribe was not disturbed by the growing con-
427 centration of land in the hands of the sheikhs. Part of the land
566 was cultivated by slaves or fellahin tenants, the rest used by the tribesmen as grazing areas for their flocks of animals. But when the tribal leaders began to evince an ever increasing interest in agriculture, the semi-legal transfer of land, formerly the collective property of the tribe, to the private ownership of the sheikhs had the effect that the "primus inter pares" within the democratic tribal society emerged as the big semi-feudal landlord.

421 The Mandatory authorities further strengthened the power of
566 the landlords by legal recognition of their rights in the lands which they claimed as their own.

421 Progressive circles in the Arab countries are in favor of

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members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he imposes and collects his own levies.[1]

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Bedouin tribe Abu Hlaik that owned 20 000 dunams of land in the Sharon.[2] The sheikh's family in whose name the land was registered, sold 10 000 dunams to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunam orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh.

CHAPTER II

Attitude of the Tribesmen towards Settlers.

The Bedouin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Transjordan Bedouin was desperate; 1946/47 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen

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1. Himadeh, 1930, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted to: sheep and goats — 40%, cattle — 45%, camels — 50%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1949, p. 10

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 M1 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

231 counts. She is kept to breed with, and bring money to the tent, in the same way as a good she-camel.

More important still, a mare is looked upon as adorning a man's tent, like a woman or child, for to the Badawin "A house without a child in it is like a room in darkness". No mare will be kept unless she can be traced back to a thoroughbred stock—but even so, her value will be great or small according as she bears certain marks on her body (see below). For example, a man may breed a filly from his thoroughbred mare, which may have one white leg and three black or bay ones—this will make her unlucky and the filly will always be unwanted.

DIFFICULTY OF BUYING ARAB MARES

231 425 422 It is normally very difficult for a European to buy a thoroughbred mare, and the only way he can acquire one without great delay and expense is as a present from a great prince or shaikh, who owns mares in his own right. Even then, he is rarely given a first-class animal.

The reason for this is that no ordinary tribesman owns the whole of his mare, so he cannot sell her outright. He perhaps owns a leg, two legs, or three legs only and can only sell his part-right. At these sales conditions are also carefully laid down as to who shall have the first foal, the second filly, and so on.

As a rule half a dozen persons own, or have a share in each mare, and the joint-owners often live at great distance from each other, hence the difficulty in purchasing even a fairly ordinary mare—while to buy a thoroughbred is practically impossible for a foreigner.

It is amusing and rather disconcerting for a European who sees a good mare in the desert and wants to buy it to be told by the owner that he is quite willing to sell the animal's off-fore, but that the would-be purchaser must go to So-and-So, and So-and-So, living perhaps 100 miles away, if he wants to buy the other three legs. It is still more discouraging to be told that even if you can square each of these parties after prolonged negotiations, that So-and-So living 300 miles away at, say Buraida, has a lien on the first filly, so must be asked if he will agree to the sale. Lastly that the Buraida man may be expected to give a definite "No", seeing that if the mare goes out of the country he will in all probability see no filly.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XXXIII

Camel Disputes

In the Arab States of Arabia proper, the rights of an individual over his camel are looked upon as more sacred perhaps than life itself. It is possible that there may be slight differences in custom and details in various parts of Arabia, but speaking generally, the rules given below will be found to be understood and prevail in most of North-Eastern and Central Arabia. I cannot speak for Oman, Yaman and the Hijaz, but I see no reason to suppose that the basic principles of all desert camel laws are not the same. 421

After dealing with the important custom of *'Arafa*, I have touched on and given the meaning, as briefly as I can, of the Badawin terms *Jahámah*, *'Iblásah*, *Tirâhah*, *Khidmah*, *Zakât*, *Khâwah* and *Dhabîhah wa Manîhah*, all terms regularly heard in the desert man's daily life. I must express my thanks to His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait and his able Lieutenant Shaikh 'Abdullah al Jabir who is responsible for Kuwait tribal affairs, for the great assistance they have given by helping me to collect the data necessary for this chapter.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

I. *The case of camels belonging to individuals or tribes, straying with friendly tribes.* 421 628

(*a*) If one or more camels stray from a tribal herd and are later found with a friendly tribe, the owners can send in a demand for their return to the shaikh of the friendly tribe in question. Providing there is no undue delay, restitution is made and the matter ends. 425 681

(*b*) Should the strayed camel or camels not be restored, the owners have the right to watch their opportunity and seize property, livestock or even men belonging to the offending tribe, and

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421 628 remain such in their possession until their own plundered property is surrendered.

425 681 (c) Should the offending tribe still be obstinate (*a'asin*) and not return the camels, then the complainants have the right to hold what they have seized and must be satisfied with this. It is presumed that they have seized and held a number of camels equal to the number lost, neither more nor less.

II. *The case of camels straying away to a hostile tribe.*

The owner of the camel awaits his opportunity, and has the right to seize his enemy's camels and as many as he likes besides, by raid (*ghazzu*) or other stratagem, on the grazing grounds of the desert, in the summer or spring months, or on the caravan routes when his enemy visits a town or settlement to purchase supplies.

The injured party (owner of original stolen camels) retains what he has thus acquired from the enemy as a right, or he can make conditions with the enemy as he pleases. He can also if he likes cry "quits" entirely, provided everything is restored which he lost in the first place. Should blood be shed on such raids, the rule of the desert permits of revenge during five lives, that is to say, the party from whom a life has been taken, is entitled to kill a member of the slayer's family or tribe, down to the fifth generation, unless of course the family of the slain man agrees to accept *'idiyah* or *diya* (blood-money), which is generally computed in Najd and Kuwait to-day at Rials 800 (see Chapter XLII).

III. *The case of a tribe or tribes belonging to a recognised Government, raiding camels of tribes belonging to another Government.*

The Government of the raided tribe has the legal right to claim the stolen property back from the Government of the guilty tribe or to claim money compensation. The compensation is assessed by mutual agreement. Should the guilty tribe, however, refuse to obey the order of its own Government, and it becomes impossible to recover the property stolen, then the injured tribe has the right

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to recover its lost property in its own time, and by whatever means it deems fit to employ. 421 628 425 681

IV. *The case of stolen or lost camels, recognised in a town or settlement by their original owners. (Both parties for example having come up to purchase supplies.)* 421 628 369

If the two parties are members of tribes which are friendly and on good terms with each other, and if their respective tribes are on good terms with, and under the authority of, the Ruler or Governor of the town in question, then the claimant must produce three witnesses to testify that the property he claims is his own. The words he himself uses to prove his claim before the authority hearing the case are, "I affirm that I neither sold nor gave away this my camel". Having completed this formality, the claimant will receive back his camel by order of the Ruler or Governor of the said town. (This sort of case frequently arises in Kuwait and towns in Najd.) 425 681 694

In the event of the person in possession of the camel having bought it from a third party unaware that it was the lawful property of a member of a friendly tribe, the procedure is different (see below). Again, if the person in possession of the camel has obtained it in war from a third party, the claimant will only receive it back if the custom of *'arafa* exists between his tribe and that of the person with whom the camel is found (see below).

V. *The case of a tribe of one Government attacking a tribe of another Government and a battle resulting.* 421 628

The attacked tribe has the right to ask its Government to demand and recover full blood-money for its killed and injured from the Government of the guilty party. Should the complainant's Government not be in a position to exact reparation or come to an agreement with the aggressor's Government, either as to the blood-money due or to the terms of peace acceptable to the injured tribe, then the families of the victims have the right to take revenge in their own time and way, without being responsible to their Government in any respect. (V is similar to III.) 425 681

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THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA
OR
"RECOGNITION" OF ANIMALS BY THE OWNER

421 I. *The case of camels captured in a raid.*

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Should two tribes *asta'araf* to one another (have made the special *'arafa* agreement between them), then one party may take from the other, camels once belonging to the former and now recovered from an enemy in raid, etc., by the latter.

Thus if a number of camels have been captured from the 'Ajman by the 'Awazim, and on some later occasion are recovered by the Mutair, the 'Ajman would have the right to take back their camels on application to the Mutair, without compensation, *provided the custom of* 'Arafa *existed between the 'Ajman and the Mutair.*

421 II. *The case of camels bought from one person by another and later recognised by a former owner as having been stolen from him.*

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The case is settled in this wise. If the purchaser and the original owner are of the same tribe, or belong to two tribes with a "special agreement" by which their relations are those of *Bani 'Ám*, then the purchaser and the original owner, together with the animal in dispute, have to approach the seller and from him recover the purchase money. They give this to the man who has bought the camel, and the orignal owner takes back his property. For example, a man of Shammar recognises a stolen camel of his with a man of the Dhafir, and the latter states he purchased it from the Mutair. Should the Dhafir and Shammar have a *Bani 'Ám* arrangement between them, the men will both go and see the Mutairi. If the Mutairi had himself raided or stolen the camel from the Shammari, and the Mutair and the Shammar were at peace, he will return the purchase price to the Dhafiri, and the Shammari may then take the camel he claims. If the Mutairi has himself bought the camel from another, say an 'Ajmi, he will still pay back the price to the Dhafiri and will then go and claim his money from the 'Ajmi, and so on till they get back to the original thief. In other words, all intervening sales and purchases are step by step undone.

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This method of friendly recovery of a man's camel is known as the *Sauq wa Qaud* system, a sort of family arrangement for the recovery of animals by mutual consent and without quarrelling over the matter. This system has the advantage of keeping Government officials out of the business, which from the Badawin point of view is always desirable. It is commonly practised in areas where Government writ does not run, and where one tribe is paramount under a strong shaikh who can enforce his will (example, the southern desert area of Iraq in Turkish times). 421 619 671 425

The system is open to variation according to circumstances, also to special arrangements between tribes, etc. So-called desert law is rarely a hard-and-fast thing. Many are the arbitrators who vary it slightly, or try to arrange a compromise in difficult or protracted cases. In most cases, however, precedent has a great deal to do with settling difficult problems, and so we have the *Ahl al khibrah* or experts, versed in legal precedent and able to state how difficult cases were formerly settled. These wiseacres have much to do with the interpretation of desert law. Nevertheless the two main principles of *'arafa* remain fixed: 671 693 619 425

(*a*) A camel taken in war or retaken in war by a friend of the original owner is surrendered without compensation, if the custom of *'arafa* exists. There is no selling. [437]

(*b*) No camel bought for money can possibly be taken back by the original owner without compensation, even if the original owner be of the same tribe as the purchaser. There is only one exception, namely, if the original owner can prove that the buyer when he purchased the animal *was aware that it had been stolen* from a man of a friendly tribe. Thus if the 'Awazim bought Diyahin raided camels from Ibn Shuqair the day after his raid on the Diyahin near Kuwait in 1928, the latter could recover their camels from the 'Awazim without compensation. In no other case can anyone retake a purchased animal and leave the purchaser a loser. All sales must be undone, back to the original theft.

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THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA ON THE BORDERLAND BETWEEN TWO STATES

425 The application of the *'arafa* law becomes somewhat less easy when
648 two tribes which are perhaps hostile to each other, or belong to differ-
619 ent states adjoining one another, are involved, or where strong Governments are functioning, as to-day in the case in Kuwait, Sa'udi Arabia and Iraq, and where border officials are interested in seeing that shaikhs and individual members of tribes in their areas do not raid, steal or take the law into their own hands, especially across the border.

In such cases, while the custom of *'arafa* is quite well understood, it is essential that a controlling authority enforce the rules of the game, otherwise nothing is done. The Shaikh of Kuwait put it in a nutshell, when he told me that the law of *'arafa* was a most excellent law for settling Badawin disputes, and it dated back to very ancient times, but unless Rulers or Governments were strong enough to enforce it within or across their borders it became quite useless, for then as always the strongest won the day. A Badawin, for instance, in the case mentioned below, would never hand over the camel he had purchased unless he was made to do so by his Government acting through its officials on the spot.

425 "A", a subject of some state, finds a camel which has been stolen
[694] from him in the past, grazing in the desert with "B's" camels (a sub-
695 ject of another state). "A's" and "B's" tribes are not on friendly terms.
696 "A" does not waste his time in going and demanding it from "B", who quite naturally will refuse to give it up until made to do so. He goes instead to the nearest *Hákim* or Government representative in the particular area "B" is in, armed with a letter from his own frontier officer. (To-day in North-East Arabia it is Hamud al Baga'awi for Sa'udi Arabia, 'Abdullah bin Jabir for Kuwait, and the Iraqi Officer in Charge Southern Desert Police for Iraq), and will say that "B" has in his possession a certain camel which has been stolen from him, "A". The officer in charge of the area in question will send for "B" and in his presence will ask "A" to prove his claim. Here is where the Shari'a law comes in as practised in the desert. "A" can

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prove his claim in two ways, (*a*) either by producing two witnesses who will corroborate his testimony that the camel was his property, and that he had neither sold nor given it away, or (*b*) "A" can produce one witness who must declare *on oath* that the camel belongs to "A" and that it was neither sold nor given away by him. 425 615 616

"B" can also if he likes insist that "A" states the same thing on oath, but this is not actually necessary, according to the law.

One or other of these courses having been followed, the Government officer in charge of the area in question does not even ask how "B" got the camel, but on the above evidence must order "B" to hand over the animal at once.

If "B" has stolen the camel himself, he will of course gladly hand over and hope "A" will not bring further witness proving that he stole it.

If, however, "B" has innocently bought the camel from say "C", then he can be counted upon to shout this fact from the housetops (this in spite of the fact that a rather dead order exists both in Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait to-day, which forbids a man buying a camel till the seller can satisfactorily prove that it has not been stolen). The officer dealing with the case will then proceed as follows: He must ask who the seller "C" was and where he can be found. When "B" has told him, "C" will be summoned, and in the presence of "C" "B" will have to produce two witnesses to testify that he bought the camel from "C" (or one witness to take oath). When "B" has done this to the satisfaction of the officer, the latter makes "C" pay the purchase money back to "B". If "C" claims to have bought the camel from "D", the officer will adopt the same procedure, working backwards till the original thief is found, who then is suitably punished.

The above method of settlement becomes somewhat more complicated if individuals concerned are subjects of different states. For instance, should "A" be a Kuwaiti, "B" be an Iraqi and "C" a Najdi, the procedure is the same, only three *Hákims* or frontier officers have to be brought in. For instance, "A" will go to the Shaikh of Kuwait, who will send him armed with a letter (usually also with a letter from the Political Agent) to the Inspecting Officer or Com- 425 648 694 695 641

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mandant of Police Southern Desert area where "B" resides. That official will take action on the letter, and if proofs are clear will hand back the camel to "A". He will then send "B" with a letter direct to al Baga'awi, or such other Najd official as may be in charge of Sa'udi Arabian frontier affairs opposite Iraq and Kuwait, together with "B's" witnesses. Al Baga'awi will then get "B's" rights from "C" and so on. In conclusion, the easy working of the *'arafa* system along a frontier obviously depends on four things:

(*a*) that friendly relations exist between the Governments involved;

[B 693]

(*b*) that officers are placed in charge of frontier areas, and that their writ goes;

(*c*) that such local officials are empowered to deal direct with each other without having to refer to higher authority: this especially applies to smaller claims of tribesmen on both sides of the border. (Important cases would of course be referred to Central Governments.)

(*d*) That the Shari'a law, recognised by the Badawin of the desert, and not any form of civil code, be applied in deciding *'arafa* questions, especially where oaths are concerned.

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Between 1929 and 1930 Captain Glubb, R.E., at one time in charge of the Iraq Southern Desert area, and I in my capacity of Political Agent, Kuwait, frequently dealt direct with each other in questions of claims between Iraq and Kuwait tribesmen, and we settled many cases on the above lines, everyone being satisfied and accepting settlement cheerfully. During the same period matters were not so easy where Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia tribes were concerned, because (*a*) relations unfortunately were not good, and (*b*) no official of officer status existed across the border who could be addressed on the subject with prospect of reasonable success. Later, however, His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud remedied the matter by appointing strong frontier representatives, with headquarters at Hafar and Jariyah Ilya respectively, and matters greatly improved.

In February 1931 His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud proposed to the Shaikh of Kuwait that all camel claims affecting both states which went back prior to February 1931 should be declared *madfún* ("buried") because an enormous number had accumulated as a result of the

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'Ikhwan rebellion, and it was impossible to deal with them. The proposal being eminently sensible, Ibn Subah fell in with it.

THE MEANING OF THE BADAWIN TERMS JAHÁMAH, IBLÁSAH, TIRÁHAH, KHIDMAH

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(1) Should the tribes have a "peace agreement", and a man of the one tribe happen to lose some camels and later find them with a man of the other tribe, the original owner has the right to recover his camels without any compensation, but only provided the camels are followed up without delay. The term given to camels which have so wandered is *jahámah*.

Should a man from one of the two friendly tribes discover and care for some camels which have wandered as *jahámah*, and there is delay on the part of the owner in looking for and recovering his camels, then the finder who is looking after them can later recover Rials 2 per camel from the owner, provided he informs his shaikh of the circumstances at the time and gets an assurance from him that the shaikh will see that he gets this money. The shaikh for his part will give orders to the finder as to the proper care of the strayed camels, and tell him to treat them as his own, etc.

(2) A man of one or other of the two friendly tribes may find camels wandering as *jahámah*, and deliberately hide them from their owner. If in spite of this they are later discovered by an *'iblásah* (i.e. a man hired by the owner to spy out neighbouring camel herds, and discover where the lost camels are), the property must be restored in full to the owner, and the fee of the *'iblásah* will be recovered from the person concealing the animals. This fee may amount to anything up to Rials 20, a big sum to the Badawin.

(3) A man's camels may take fright and bolt into the desert. If they are caught and brought in by a man of a friendly tribe, and handed over to the owner, then the owner must pay Rials 2 for each camel as reward to the person who caught them. This fee is called *tirâhah*.

(4) If any case connected with stolen, hidden or wandering camels

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(4) If any case connected with stolen, hidden or wandering camels
425 619 arises between two tribes, and the two sides are unable to agree on terms of settlement, then the matter will normally be referred to the Ruler of the country or local Governor, as the case may be. When the matter is finally settled, *khidmah* (or "service fee") will be recovered from the party judged to be at fault. This *khidmah* fee, which may run into a number of Riais, is paid over to the Ruler's *fidáwis* or retainers, who have had the labour of collecting evidence and finding witnesses.

BADAWIN CUSTOM OF WASÁQAH (OR WASÁGA) BETWEEN BANI 'ÁM

Among Badawin who are in *Bani 'Ám* relationship with one another, if camels are stolen from one party by another the same number of camels only as those stolen in the first place must be returned, never more. And war may never arise between them from such exchange of property. Restitution is normally arranged through the mediation of relatives or the heads of clans.

The arrangement of restitution is known as *wasáqah* (*waságnahum*—"we arranged restitution").

It would be quite a different matter if members of a strange tribe or people, who were not *Bani 'Ám*, stole the camels. Then the robbed person (or persons) can rightfully take as many camels as he can lay hands on from those who stole from him, and if no redress is obtained, the case may result in war between the tribes.

[655] Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah of Kuwait told me on 8th October, 1938, that among *Bani 'Ám* if a person for the sake of gain told tales against his tribe, or reported that a member of his tribe had stolen camels from another tribe, the penalty was that "he should be killed by lance thrust"; this was a very ancient Badawin law.

ZAKÁT TAX

651 The tax known as *Zakát* has religious sanction, and payment is one of the five duties incumbent on every true Muslim. The word means "purification" and is applied to the legal alms that an individual has to give to the religious tax-gatherers of the state each year;

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

K 651 B 651 grazing. It sends men ahead and offers (*a*) *kwdhah* and (*b*) *dhabihah wa manihah.*

The former insures that the Shaikh of Kuwait will, if necessary, fight all comers in their defence; the latter is a promise that if Kuwait is attacked by outsiders, the shepherd tribes in his territory will faithfully serve and fight for him, whilst they are grazing in Kuwait territory. The payment of *dhabihah wa manihah* is a graceful way of saying "I am your servant to order, so long as I am in your country". Half a dozen young sheep is the usual amount offered. As often as not the gift is accepted and remitted by the big man—*Qabaltu wa rajd'dt'u*, or, I have accepted your gift and hereby return it again to you. The present Shaikh of Kuwait has for some years ceased to demand either tax.

PROPERTY LOST IN THE DESERT

B 425 685 Alois Musil, in his book, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, gives a striking and accurate picture of what happens in the desert when a nomad loses part of his tent equipage, a camel or a mare when on the march. I cannot do better than recommend my readers to study what he has to say about it.

Under the desert code it is not, of course, considered a dishonest act to pick up and conceal an article which has been lost or dropped by another person. The finder is not required to go out of his way to seek the owner of the article; on the contrary, it is up to the owner to find his own lost property. This applies to all articles of camp gear, male and female attire, bags of food, strayed camels, horses, sheep, etc.

Should the finder really fear God (*khaf Allah*) he will probably tell his shaikh, or let it be known generally whilst he is on the march that he has found such and such an article, obviously dropped by someone, but he need not necessarily do so. Only when the owner publicly notifies his loss is the finder required to act. He must then and there hand back the goods if he is to escape the charge of being a thief. If the lost or strayed thing be a camel, mare or sheep, he will get a small reward in return. This is his *haq* or right.

B 425 When Badawin are on the march with their families, and especially

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when the tribe as a whole is migrating, rugs, garments and articles of tent gear are frequently dropped: this is especially the case at night, when camels laden with tents bump against each other or suddenly start trotting. On such occasions anything may fall and its loss will not be noticed till after the next camp has been reached. The person who picks up such dropped articles can, without much difficulty, hide them and appropriate them later to his or her own use. For whether such articles belong to the tent or consist of men's or women's clothing, they bear such a similarity to what every one else uses that no one will ever be able to prove previous ownership. The following is the procedure open to a man who finds he has lost something he values. When evening falls and the migrating nomads have camped for the night, the owner of the lost goods will mount his camel and ride slowly through the camp. As he does so, he will call out in a loud sing-song voice that he has lost so and so that day, and will adjure any person who has found the missing article to restore it on pain of angering Allah. Should a man who knows something of the lost article hear the shouting—and it is astonishing how many will respond to this appeal to God—he will come out of his tent and say, "Come here and take away thy thing" (*Ta'aal khud gharádhak*) or "Thou owner of the goods, come hither" (*Ya rai al gharadh, elhak, elhak*). The person advertising his loss often uses most picturesque language to persuade his fellow Badawin to disclose who has got the lost article in his possession.

When I was camped with Bin Sa'ud at Khabari Wadha in the winter of 1930, I vividly remember hearing the long-drawn-out plaintive cry of a man, advertising the loss of an *'abba* which he had dropped on the march. He kept riding backwards and forwards through the serried lines of tents after dark, and every minute or two shouted out words which roughly reproduced were as follows: "Has any one of the Muslims seen such and such a thing, or received news of it, or known anything of it? If he has, let him remember God and not conceal it," and again "O thou Muslim who hast seen and picked up such and such a thing, and dost fear Allah, disclose what thou hast concealed," and again, "O thou who hopest to keep quiet about a thing of little value, take heed lest in the hour of thy need God himself will keep quiet about thee." At last after about half an hour of such crying,

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425 came the distant shout of "*Ta'al ta'al ya Muslim khud 'abbatak*". I knew then that the owner had been lucky and got back his property.

Ibn Juma'a, the King's henchman—*Muthaiafchi*—who was sitting with me and my old friend Farhan al Rahama round one of the camp fires, amused me by remarking that it was surprising how often men recovered lost goods in this way, and that it proved how honest and God-fearing was the King's army.

425 685 So high is the Badawin code in such matters, that were the person who had the lost property to conceal it and afterwards to be found out, he would get short shrift from his fellow tribesmen. They would revile and beat him publicly, and make things so unpleasant for him that he would find it profitable to leave his fellows for a season.

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CHAPTER XLIV

Curious Customs and Stories

MAD DOG BITE

752 826 If a person is bitten by a dog suffering from rabies, he must immediately find a man of the Birzan section of the Mutair, and drink a coffee-cup full of his blood (which he pays for). The blood of a Birzani so taken is regarded among all the tribes of North-East Arabia as an infallible cure.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.
Confirmed by the Shaikh of the Birzan, the late 'Ali al Shuwairibat, in 1935

DIVISION OF SPOIL, GIFTS, ETC.

425 Among the Badawin the method adopted for the just division of spoil is to send one person some distance away, so that he cannot see what article is selected. Another will then call out "Who shall have this?" holding up or pointing at a particular article. The man must then in reply name one of the party. This custom has religious or *Shari'ah* sanction behind it.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.

MAKING DECISIONS

787 To decide whether a journey or other enterprise shall be undertaken, the counting of beads (odd or even) three times, is common among the Shi'ahs.

Among the Badawin the following method is adopted: A man will shut his eyes and hold his hands out in front of him, palms towards him, and fingers of the two hands pointing toward each other. He will then try slowly and with his eyes shut to bring the fingers together, so as to make the tip of the centre finger of one hand *exactly*

Appendix VII

in war or peace, and are at all times guarded with the greatest care and have their own special herdsmen. 223 825

The *Shuruf* can best be compared to the famous *Markab* or "Ark of Ishmael" which goes before the Rawala host when the latter tribe migrates to new regions or marches to war, and which is really nothing but a glorified ladies' camel litter, decked all over with black ostrich feathers (see under chapter dealing with the Tent and its treasures), but held in the deepest reverence by every single man and woman of the tribe.

As in the case of the *Markab*, the *Shuruf* is the rallying point of the tribe if attacked or in difficulties. The herd must be defended at all costs, and the tribe will cheerfully lose all its other camels in a battle or raid provided the *Shuruf* are safe.

In the attack, and especially if such be in the nature of a forlorn hope, the *Shuruf* have the place of honour always and lead the van. No Mutairi ever rides them, and they just move forward in a compact well-trained black mass ahead of the fighting men as if perfectly understanding the game. The latter will follow straight on to victory or death in their wake. The *Shuruf* seem also to know that they afford a sort of moving wall of protection for the footmen in their rear, and never scatter.

In peace time the famous black herd always grazes alone and under specially selected guards, always too as far from the common gaze as possible. It is said that should other strange camels get mixed up with them, the black herd will attack them and drive them out. Nor are the cows of the herd allowed to breed except from their own males.

To-day the *Al Shuruf* are in the hands of the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud —King and Lord of Arabia. They were taken away from the Mutair as the most severe punishment that could be meted out to them after Faisal al Duwish's rebellion of 1929–30, and are to-day (1939) most carefully guarded and looked after for the King by the faithful Shaikh Faisal bin Shiblan, head of the Jiblan sept of the great Mutair. Actually the King handed the *Shuruf* over to his brother Muhammad al Sa'ud for safe keeping after the above-mentioned rebellion, but this was a mere formality, for H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz' brand adorns the rear off hind quarter of each camel like this, ₀|₀, and the herd remains the King's property, much as in the occident any war flags captured from an enemy are handed over to the King. 687 233 425 727

As far as I am aware, my wife and I are the only Europeans living who have had the opportunity of setting eyes on this jealously guarded herd and semi-sacred tribal emblem of the Mutair. This was on 7th April and 14th April, 1939, when, by special invitation of His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait, King Bin Sa'ud sent his private camels numbering seventy-five *Raiyah* or herds, together with the *Shuruf* (some 4,500 all told) into the Araifjan and Shu'aiba districts of Kuwait to graze, the act being a gracious appreciation on the part of Shaikh Ahmad for Bin Sa'ud's good will and 825 233

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Appendix XXIII

APPENDIX XXIII

Ref. Chapter XL (bottom of p. 507)

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "SYPHILIS"

On May 26, 1949 Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib of the Mutair 757
(Buraih section) told me that the dried leaves of the three well-known desert 824
plants

(*a*) Geysúm (*Artemisia herba*)
(*b*) 'Ashiyeh (*Artemisia sp.*)
(*c*) Al Harmal (*Rhazya stricta Dene*)

were used with very good effect by the Badu for syphilis, when smoked in a pipe.

APPENDIX XXIV

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel food, p. 416

In the vicinity of the great wells of Hafar al Bátin, and in the Wadiyán 233
region (Iraq–Sa'udi Arabian frontier) the "Geysúm" bush is only eaten by camels, when they first leave the vicinity of wells in the autumn. It is never eaten in the early spring.

Sheep will, on the contrary, eat the "Geysúm" bush throughout the summer.

Authority Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib. (Mutair Buraih), May 25, 1949.

APPENDIX XXV

Ref. Chapter XXXIII, p. 443

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "MANÍHA"

The term "Manfha" when used alone and not with "Dhabíha", means 476
the loan of a ewe and lamb by one person to another who requires milk in 426
his tent. Such ewe is returned when she has no longer any milk. Such friendly loans are commonly made by men rich in flocks and herds to their poorer tent neighbours or friends.

It is important to know this custom.

622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezireh the sheikh of
423 the Fedn'an-Weld increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable land-holdings of the
427 powerful Shammar and Anezeh chiefs are predominantly cultivated by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, ancient wells were restored and new ones created, medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydraulique sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water nearby. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyre. In 1931 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyre, Deir ez-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. Report, 1935, p. 106
2. Epstein, 1940, p. 77
3. Rapport, 1931, pp. 99-100

educational needs of the tribes.

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This policy aimed at introducing improvements into the 178
Bedouin mode of living without changing it. 185

Some of the sheikhs made serious attempts to settle the 622
tribesmen on their estates. The Hadidiyin began in the 30's 427
to cultivate on the estates of their sheikh.[1] Rakan, the 166X
sheikh of the Sha'a, has been consistently trying to make the
members of his tribe engage in agriculture.[2]

Apart from minor successes the attempts of sedentarization were largely premature. While economic changes and a taste for modern living induced a great number of the sheikhs to abandon nomadism and settle down, the majority of the tribesmen preferred to continue their pastoral activities and their traditional migrations. Even economic disasters in the desert did not appreciably accelerate the pace of their sedentarization.

In 1931, for example, the Syrian Bedouin lost 30 - 40 per 232
cent of their animals in the wake of inclement weather conditions.[3] 434
1931/32 was also a season of exceptional drought when certain tribes lost 50 per cent of their camels and 80 per cent of their sheep.[4] The desert was strewn with animals that died of hunger. The critical situation among the tribes prompted the French 166X
Mandatory Government[5] to encourage the nomads to settle down to an agricultural life. Fertile land and implements were freely dis-

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 296
2. Ibid., p. 85
3. Rapport, 1931, p. 98
4. Rapport, 1932, p. 91
5. The French High Commission maintained a special tribal service

[I.E. GOVERNMENTAL REFORMS -- ANALYST]

In 1949, Amir Sha'lan, the chief of the Rwala, went on record 425
with the statement that all his tribesmen now wanted land because 166x
the declining desert economy made settlement inevitable,[1] and
recommended to parcel out the newly developed land to the tribes-
men in individual holdings instead of allowing it to become the
private property of the sheikhs as this was the case in Iraq.
Actually, however, there has been in Syria as heavy a concentra-
tion of tribal land in the hands of the leaders as in Iraq. The
change of tribal society in Syria may lag behind the development
in Iraq, but the process of conversion from communally held tribal
land to individual property seems to assume the same patterns, the
sheikh emerging as the large landlord and the tribesmen as his
exploited tenants and share-croppers.

In recent years wealthy families, city notables, leased from 427
the sheikhs large areas of tribal land in the Jezireh and put
them under cultivation of grain[2] and cotton.[3]

Land reform has become a major domestic issue in Syria in 423

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1. New York Times, September 6, 1949
It must be understood that the declaration was made for political reasons. The issue was the admission and settlement of Arab refugees from Palestine on newly developed land in Syria, a plan to which Sha'lan violently objected on the ground that the tribesmen needed the land for settlement. The tribes have survived than they can cultivate and, as far as the Rwala are concerned, they belong to the purest of the remaining camel-Bedouin and are not yet ready for agricultural life. Lawrence states (1930, p. 477) that the Rwala would resist any attempt to settle them, many preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to Central Arabia than adopt the life of settlers.
2. Tamarus, 1951, p. 11
3. New York Times, August 13, 1951

423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1951 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on State Domains by the rich landowning families, and it was alleged that in the Jezireh tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing every land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights.[1]

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holding tends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged as long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Mandatory Palestine

162 361 Since World War 1 there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 921 out of the 66 551 nomads of Palestine[2] were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Terabin, Tayaha, Azazma,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1951
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

JORDAN BEDOUINS MJ4

The Mandatory Report of 1929 stated[1] that there was a marked tendency among the nomads of Transjordan to settle, especially among the Beni Sakhr who owned a considerable area of land.[2] The same document points out, however, that the tribesmen are not yet engaged in cultivation, but employ fellahin to till the soil for them. A. Konikoff who published a study of the Transjordan economy about fifteen years after the above quoted report has nothing new to add[3] hedging that no material change has taken place. 166x 427

In spite of substantial land-holdings, most members of the Beni Sakhr seem not yet psychologically prepared to settle down. 166x 241 425

The case of the Howeitat, the second most powerful tribe of Transjordan,[4] is different. While the majority of the Bedouin the Howeitat do not show the traditional contempt for agriculture.[5] They cultivate all the fertile land in their tribal area. The agricultural activities of the Howeitat increased considerably when they acquired the Sher'ah plain from the Be'aimat tribe during the latter part of the 19th century. The tribesmen practised a mixed economy consisting of tillage and livestock-BREEDING.

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1. Report, 1929 b, p. 138
2. They possess about 24 villages, whose land is tilled by fellahin and tenants (cf. Epstein, 1938, p. 237). The tribe is scattered from the hills of Balqa to Wadi Shishan and from Amman to Madebah.
3. Konikoff, 1946, p. 50
4. The Howeitat have about 1 000 tents and dwell in the Maan and Aqaba region.
5. The Howeitat did not originally come from the Hejaz or the Najd. It is alleged that the tribe has always been connected with the Transjordan territory. One theory suggests that the Howeitat are the descendants of ancient Nabateans, another considers them the offspring of camel merchants from the Red Sea coast and fellahin from Hagna and Shoubak who in the course of time become Bedouin. (cf. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 29)

421 considered the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and the Registration
425 Law of 1859 as governmental measures designed for purposes of taxation and military conscription. They left it to the village notables and tribal sheikhs to enter all the land in their names. During the second part of the 19th century the large landholdings of the powerful sheikhs were substantially increased as the result of the Sultan's policy to win their co-operation by gifts of land. The developments during the 19th century thus laid the foundations for the inequality of land-ownership which has become the scourge of the Middle Eastern agrarian society.

421 As long as the patriarchal social order was maintained, the
425 economic life of the tribe was not disturbed by the growing con-
● 427 centration of land in the hands of the sheikhs. Part of the land
566 was cultivated by slaves or fellahin tenants, the rest used by the tribesmen as grazing areas for their flocks of animals. But when the tribal leaders began to evince an ever increasing interest in agriculture, the semi-legal transfer of land, formerly the collective property of the tribe, to the private ownership of the sheikhs had the effect that the "primus inter pares" within the democratic tribal society emerged as the big semi-feudal landlord.

421 The Mandatory authorities further strengthened the power of
566 the landlords by legal recognition of their rights in the lands which they claimed as their own.

421 Progressive circles in the Arab countries are in favor of

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1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

224 ily narrowed as it drew near. They started hundreds of gazelles that fled past us, but Sheykh Tai' and his men shot only a few of the fat bucks in their midst.

During the day's hunting, our party gave chase to fifteen wolves, of which nine were killed. One of them had made a kill of two gazelle kids, whose remains were still lying about. The mother, who perhaps at first had fled, returned and stood near by, bleating, as gazelles will. I could not bear the pitiful cries of the poor animal and gave her the *coup de grâce* with a bullet. It was the only gazelle I have ever shot, for I could never bring myself to kill these beautiful, graceful creatures.

It was evening before our body of huntsmen, laden with booty, arrived back in camp.

574 Three days after the wolf-hunt a slave of Mishal ibn Faris, Chief of the Shammar Bedouins, arrived, with an invitation to me from his master to visit him and his tribe, which was then camping south of the Jabal Sinjar. [431] He also sent me as a present a golden-brown *aba*, such [486] as is worn by the Shammar in Hayil. It was to serve as a symbol which would ensure a safe journey for me, and his slave would be my guide.

619 The Shammar and the Tai' Bedouins are hereditary 628 enemies and their pasture lands are always, and were especially now, very dangerous regions in which to wander. Therefore, this was an act of particular courtesy and attention on the part of the old *sheykh* to give me safe conduct to his camp.

574 The following day I bade farewell to the Tai' Bed- 431 ouins. Unfortunately, I could not accept the mare

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 54

which their chieftain had offered me as a souvenir, for 574
we had to travel by automobile. But I accepted two 431
rarer gifts, and these heirlooms to boot. They were an ancient wood-carved coffee mortar, which had been in the possession of Sheykh Tai's family for generations. This pledge of his affection and friendship (as he called it) he had wrapped in an equally precious gift—three [531]
pieces of black cloth, artistically embroidered in gilt-silver thread, with verses from the Koran in Arabic calligraphy. They were choice pieces of the Ka'aba, which Sheykh Tai's great-grandfathers had brought many years ago from Mecca.

Loath as I was to accept such precious gifts, I was constrained to do so.

"We are brothers," said Sheykh Tai'. "Like the wolves. God be with thee. May He direct thy footsteps some future day into my dominions, so that I may meet thee again."

After bidding farewell to this wild, romantic and 493
noble man, we cruised about in our old motor-car for five days along the southern foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, visiting the camps of various lesser tribes. Motor fuel we obtained from their *shiyukhs*.

Nowadays, nearly all of them own motor-cars, and on their migrations they carry a fairly large stock of gasoline with them on their camels.

At last we reached the wide plain through which runs 487
the old historic caravan route from Deyr ez-Zor to Mosul and Baghdad. There we found the first outposts of the Shammar, and there also we parted from the ooo
faithful Ibrahim. I paid him handsomely and sent the

[See pp. 163-167 Cat. 116 for explanation of this statement — Analysis]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

man without a single enemy", Arabs have called him 157 554
to me.

I was Mishal's guest for several weeks. In the company 231
of his son Naif, I was able to look over a large number 435
of Arab horses amongst the different Shammar clans. One two-year-old Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion of purest blood pleased me exceedingly. One day I enquired of the *sheykh's* secretary if he thought it possible that Mishal would sell this stallion. It had indeed come to my ears that Mishal had refused an offer of eight hundred gold pounds from the French Remount Service. From my experience, I knew that really thoroughbred Arab horses were quite rare and therefore exceedingly expensive. Considering the stallion's breeding, the French offer certainly did not appear too high, when one remembers that foreign military commissions and breeders have paid in the desert anything up to three thousand pounds gold for blue-blooded stallions.

I asked the scribe to submit my offer to his *sheykh* up to one thousand pounds gold. I also declared myself [431] ready to make the customary presents to the *katib* (secretary) and to the slave who had looked after the stallion from birth.

That same day I sat with Mishal and his son Naif and 574
their friends until late into the night. By the light of 231
the campfire I showed them photographs of Arab horses, 572
among them the stallions and mares which I had bought from the stud of Lady Anne Blunt's daughter in England, for the ranch in California.

"Is it known to thee," asked Mishal, "that Lord Blunt and my father Faris formed a blood brotherhood fifty

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

574 years ago? He, as thou, loved our fast and enduring run-
231 ners, those 'Drinkers of the Wind', which Allah be-
572 stowed on our forefather Ishmael."

Neither the scribe nor anyone else said a word about the stallion, and I dared not ask again; for I imagined that Mishal was particularly fond of this young horse.

574 The day of my departure came. The patriarchal
431 *sheykh* and I exchanged words of formal farewell. Then he led me aside and bade me sit down with him at the farthest tent-peg. After a few minutes of silence, he took two documents from a leather pouch and said: "I have long noticed that thou hast taken the Saqlawi colt to thy heart. He is the best of our breeding, and I am happy to make thee a present of him, that thou mayest always remember our friendship and noble horses. Take the young stallion with thee and mention no thanks nor price, so that this remembrance may live forever unclouded in our hearts."

"The Lord be good to thee, O Mishal ibn Faris," I replied, "for that I am allowed to part from thee with such happy memories."

What more could I say in response to his simple
[181] words? I knew the Bedouins. To be open-handed makes most of them happy; and further, Mishal was a very rich man. To him "belonged" not only the Shammar in
[423] the Northern Jesirah (Mesopotamia), but he actually owned sixty-nine villages and their cultivated lands on the Khabur River. I could only hope that God would grant me the opportunity some time of showing my heartfelt thanks to Mishal in some special way.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M J4

One of the documents the *sheykh* handed to me was a 574
deed of gift and a token of his friendship; the other set 431
forth the pedigree of the colt. Mishal rose to his feet. He 231
took me by the hand to set me on my way, and together we walked far out into the desert. He spoke no word and I made no attempt to break the silence. My eyes were held by the picture of the powerful young stallion which was being led ahead of us by Naif and a slave. Full of fire and grace, with prancing steps, he looked the living epitome of this wild and romantic land.

When some tribesmen rode by on their mares, the young stallion stopped still, his whole body tense, neck arched, and small head held high. His chest quivered as he neighed in long-drawn silvery notes. His uplifted tail flowed out from his croup like a cascade of water. He was surely as magnificent as any of those aboriginal wild horses, which, according to Bedouin lore, Ishmael caught in the Nufud desert. "Black-skinned antelopes (*kuhay-* [825]
lan) they were called of old, by reason of the black rims around the eyes, which make them look as if they had been painted with *kuhl* (pure antimony)."

The *sheykh* at last called to my companions, who had gone ahead, to halt. Looking back, Mishal and I saw the great camp a long way off. The old chief laid his hands in blessing on the forehead of the young stallion, and said to me: " 'Amud,' I have named thy stallion. It [552]
is a name of my people. The peace of God be with thee forever."

Then he kissed both my cheeks and the hoof of the horse, and strode back to his tents.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

•431 The French commandant at Deyr-ez-Zor had the two
231 documents translated for me under his official seal.

One document, bearing the seal of Mishal, mentions Sir Wilfrid S. Blunt as the friend of Faris Pasha al-Jarba, and myself as Mishal's own particular friend, and certified that he had presented to me the Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion for love of me. The second document, setting forth the pedigree of the stallion, began and ended with excerpts from the Koran, the Hadith, and the Arabian poet Imrul-Quais.

It bore the seals of three Shammar *shiyukhs*—Mishal ibn Faris, Hassan al-Amud, and Jajan ibn Massiul, who testified regarding the horse as follows: "It is a Saqlawi, and we bear witness before Allah that the young stallion is a Shaifi, bred of a Saqlawi-Shaifi of the same pedigree; that the Grand-sire was a Saqlawi as was his dam a Saqlawiyah-Shaifiyah, whose noble race has remained pure and famous amongst us Arab people."

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Bedouins MJ4

proposes to wage war on So-and-So, and on such and such a date. 622
This would not be tolerated. He must carry the public opinion of the tribe with him. Hence, before anything is undertaken, secret meetings and daily talks are held with the tribal greybeards and men of experience. Once a decision has been come to, however, and the battle joined, the leadership lies with the shaikh, and his orders must be obeyed.

To maintain his influence in the piping times of peace, the shaikh must prove himself literally the "father of his people". He must [692] know the family troubles of every man and must give good and fair decisions when cases are brought to him for settlement. Above all, he must not be miserly, and must keep open house. No name has a [574] more unworthy meaning, or leaves a nastier taste in the mouth of the Badawin than the epithet *bakhil*, or "stingy one". Once this name *bakhil* sticks to a chief, his influence is at an end. Hence a successful shaikh must always have coffee going in his tent, pestle must ring on mortar from morn to night. Even this is not enough; for his hungry tribesmen, the majority of whom would scarcely taste meat from year's end to year's end, expect from their shaikh an occasional feast and the slaying of a camel, that all may eat their fill. The shaikh can reasonably stage a feast on the arrival of an important guest, to celebrate a wedding, or circumcision ceremony, or the like.

A great shaikh will go even further and will regularly send presents 622
of frocks and material for dresses to the wives of the less fortunate 431
members of his tribe. This keeps the women happy, and indirectly their husbands also. The shaikh's chief lady also has herself a lot to do in keeping up her husband's prestige, and the wives of the junior members of the clan are for ever calling on her and explaining their difficulties, in the unexpressed hope that assistance to the wardrobe or kitchen will be forthcoming. The great Faisal al Duwish was a master at keeping the women of the tribe happy, and it paid: the same must also be said of His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud.

HARD LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL BADAWIN

The average Badawin has a hard and difficult existence, and may 511
be said to be always hungry and ill-clad. The main hardship he is at all times faced with is lack of money and inability to make any, by

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GIFTS

Kings, such as Bin Sa'ud, great Princes, and important shaikhs in the desert, will press their honoured guests to stay and partake of their hospitality up to ten days, but after that period is up, the guest is supposed to take his leave (*yatarakhas*). Both sides will, before parting, exchange presents. The host to his guest and to all the members of his party, and the guest to the servants and retainers of his host.

Should a prince or big shaikh visit another of like status to himself and by invitation, then the arriving guest brings special gifts for his host, his host's ladies and his host's servants. These usually take the form of coffee, bags of rice, men's cloaks, strips of silk for men's *ʿibúns*, or overgarments, and coloured cloth for women's frocks.

This giving of gifts among persons of rank is an important and essential part of the ritual of hospitality, and has before now fallen hardly on British officials, who have been sent on special missions, for example to Bin Sa'ud's court.

I recollect that on the two occasions when I visited H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz Bin Sa'ud with Sir Percy Cox (then H.M.'s High Commissioner for Iraq), Sir Percy on leaving paid Rs.600 as largesse to the King's servants and retainers, while he and all his party (Europeans) received each a mare in return, with a complete change of Arab garments apiece. The servants received *'abbas*, *kaffiyahs* and *agáls*.

Similarly, when I accompanied Sir Hugh Biscoe (H.M.'s Political Resident in the Persian Gulf) to Hufuf and Khabari Wadha respectively, I distributed Rs.500 on his behalf to the King's retainers.

I mention the above, for it is important that a benign Government should abandon the English standpoint and loosen Treasury purse-strings in recognition of the fact that such an exchange of gifts is a vital custom of the country, and if adequate gifts were not made, its representatives would lose face and influence, and give offence.

In January 1936, when H.M. Bin Sa'ud visited Kuwait, he distributed *ʿibúns* and *'abbas* to three hundred of the shaikh's retainers, gave Rs.50,000 to deserving persons as presents, and distributed Rs.10,000 to the poor, mostly in person. He followed this up by later presenting

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

eleven motor-cars to the shaikh's relations. The shaikh for his part disbursed Rs.95,000, including Rs.25,000 to the King's sons, as well as 750 *zibúns* and *'abbas* to retainers. K 574 431

This giving of gifts by a host to his guest is more particularly the prerogative of the host if he be the big man and the guest be the poor man. It follows then that any Badawin shaikh who comes on a visit to his King, his prince or his paramount shaikh, and is hospitably received by him, expects to receive some sort of present before he departs. "After all," thinks he, "have I not come a distance of many miles, have I not shown my loyalty and have I not imparted much information of value?" B 574 431

I had the honour to be for seven and a half years the Political Agent of Kuwait, and I can testify that this officer can similarly maintain good relations with the great desert tribes of Iraq, Hasa, Najd and Jabal Shammar, only by keeping open house at all times and receiving with due honour the shaikhs of these tribes whenever they come to the town to purchase supplies. These shaikhs call, as a measure of duty, receive coffee, sherbet and other refreshments and before departing are given a present of cash, clothing or coffee by the Political Agent.

The expenditure is worth while, for each man has given a full picture of what is happening in his country, and has unconsciously provided the official with much valuable intelligence. Were the Political Agent to cease giving his guests a present, however small, they would immediately cease to come and see him, and in a very short time indeed H.M.'s representative would find himself blind and deaf. He certainly would get little news out of the local powers, seeing that in self-defence their policy must always be to keep H.M.'s representative more or less in the dark or at least in blinkers.

THE SALT BOND

To have eaten with a person gives a guest security from the man who has fed him and entertained him, and even from his host's people or tribe, for a period of three days. B 574 628

Even if you merely drink coffee with your host, this counts as if you had eaten his food.

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Bedouins MJ4

backbone, the muscles of the shoulders and the muscles of the leg 264
near the knuckle: the tongue, the kidneys, the cheek bits and the eyes, are also well-known delicacies. The fat of the tail is always looked upon as the guest's particular right. The Arabian sheep is of the fat-tailed variety unknown in England. Round the central dish of rice and meat, the shaikh places two or three bowls of *leben*, with lumps of rather dirty butter floating in it—also a plate or two of dates. The guest, after finishing his meal, drinks *leben*, and then turns to the dates, which he eats with the butter floating in the *leben*. These dates and butter, especially if the dates are fresh (*ratab*), are delicious.

Prior to the meal, and after the meal, coffee is handed round. 264
Among the Badawin coffee is rather a poor and watery stuff, and 272
following the Najd fashion is made with lots of *hail* (cardamum) in it. After lunch, it is polite to thank your host with a *Allah i kathir* 576
khair ak or a *'An'am Allah 'alaik* (God increase your good works! or God reward you!).

It is also quite correct to make pleasant remarks about the good cooking of the housewife, and if you catch a glimpse of her, as you often may behind the *qáta* or curtain dividing the women's from the men's quarters, you may say *Allah i kathir khair ich ya ma'aqiba* (God give you plenty, hostess of mine!). The lady will always reply with a *hanni wa 'a'afiah* or *'alaikum al 'a'afiah* (may you be satisfied!).

Having enjoyed the shaikh's hospitality, you leave after taking 264
coffee, and the relatives, young men, big children, etc., eat up what is left of the meal: it is always amusing to see these hang back in pretended shyness, as if to say, "You know I never came here to get a meal", when the host invites them to come forward and partake with a *Yalla ya flan, gúm*, or *Yalla ya raba'a gúmu*, or *Thafadhalu ya awlád*. He usually has to do this several times and in a rather injured voice.

The host of course does not eat with his guests, but later with the 574
members of the family. It is always seemly for the guest, if he be a 431
prominent person like a shaikh or Political Agent, to bring a present of rice, coffee or sugar with him for the tent. This gift he presents in casual manner before he leaves: if he wants to win more praise, he will also have brought with him materials for half a dozen frocks for the

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

B 574 431 women of the tent. This makes him their friend for life. I always made a point of trying to do this in Kuwait.

A dinner party given by a townsman (hadhari) or better-class semi-nomad tribesman ('arabdar)

B 252 264 K 252 264 This is a very much grander affair than the preceding, and the rice is usually of the *ambar bu* kind from Iraq or North Iran. After boiling, the whole sheep is browned all over by plunging it in boiling *dehen* or *semen* (clarified butter). It may be even baked in a baker's oven, when it is known as *lahm mashwi*.

Over the rice is spread a thin layer of hot sultanas, shredded onions (fried), gram and other spices. Dried pomegranate seeds are often introduced (an unpleasant habit, as grit like sand-grains seems to have got into the food). The whole dish is surrounded with plates, or small bowls, containing various meat dishes, vegetables, sweetmeats and fruit (usually cut-up melon). The number of these dishes increases with the importance and wealth of the host. The following are the names of the more important dishes thus served:

(*a*) *Marag*—a tasty brown stew containing small lumps of meat, tomatoes (*tamáta*), egg-plant (*baitan-jan*), and ladies' fingers (*bámia*).

(*b*) *Shaikh Mahshi*—Young white pumpkins, or preferably large cucumbers, stuffed with rice, nuts, and minced meat.

(*c*) *Baragh* or *Dólma*—A mash of rice and meat wrapped up in young vine leaves, and thoroughly boiled. It is delicious to the taste. (Originally from Turkey.)

(*d*) *Tamáta marag*— is like (*a*) above, but made of tomato and onion sauce.

(*e*) *Dólmat*—Stuffed onions like (*c*) above.

(*f*) *Kabáb*—Meat, rice and sultana rissoles.

(*g*) *Mahallibi*—Ground rice or arrowroot cooked in milk and flavoured with cardamum, and sometimes with chopped pistachio nuts.

(*h*) *Mahallibi wa Záfáran*—Like (*g*) mixed with saffron to colour it yellow.

(*i*) *Harís*—A kind of crushed corn-and-meat porridge, very nourishing.

B 264 K 264 Interspersed with the above are plates of dates (*tamar*), bowls of sour milk (*leben*), grapes, sections of melon (if in season), also large flat thin wafers of unleavened bread or thick round flat oven-made

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M14
Muntafiq

484 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
361 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
233 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[122] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

221 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
233 the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
648 Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhablhah wa manthah*, consisting of gifts of
431 young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakat* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakat*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

836 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

Good-looking Shepherd Girls

tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq 721
al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough 73
breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October 221
of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the 233
southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole 462
of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of 484
the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys [432]
laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in [291]
contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the [854]
march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

361 desert with its limited opportunities for finding means of
311 subsistence has been held the only possible answer to the rigors of the geographical environment.

This view, however, can be challenged. In the Arabian peninsula nomadism may be inevitable, but with regards to the potentially cultivable areas of Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Trans-Jordan, for centuries used by the tribes as grazing grounds for their flocks, the situation is different. The land was not always barren, vast stretches of fertile soil turned into desert because of the nomads whose destructive way of living was victorious, where settled society was not powerful enough to check Bedouin incursions.

361 While the nomads contribute their share to the general
433 economy, it cannot be maintained that the roving existence is a geographical necessity. The nomad in general responds and adapts himself to the desert, but sometimes he actually creates it. Only on a higher level of civilization is the attempt made by people to liberate themselves from the limitations of the environment. In the past and at present settlers have often displayed the tendency to condition the land to suit them. The relationship of man towards the land and the amount of care he gives the soil that sustains him can serve as a measuring rod for the standards of his civilization.

361 Prosperity in the Middle East of antiquity was the result
311 of intelligent utilization of land and water resources. Present day devastation is to a great extent the outcome of Bedouin economy and neglect.

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361 going in the wake of profound political, economic and social
X166 changes
178 a. political

The national governments of the Bedouin-inhabited countries, unwilling to have the tribes under their territorial jurisdiction remain as a separate social unit outside the national community, consider their permanent settlement on land absolutely essential to insure stability and progress. They are aware that, once the nomads become tied to the soil, the tribal system will begin to disintegrate and cease being a "state within a state." By controlling the Bedouin and encouraging their settlement, the administrations are putting an end to the special political status which the tribes enjoyed on the borders of the desert.

b. economic

361 With the conquest of the desert by modern means of trans-
X166 portation the camel-breeding industry of the true Bedouin has
178 been severely hit. Enforcement of public security destroyed
●133 additional sources of livelihood, such as the plunder of caravans, inter-tribal raiding and the extortion of tribute[1] from village communities and weaker semi-nomadic tribes. Extension of cultivation in the area is rapidly limiting the wandering territory of the tribes and thus adversely affecting their traditional pastoral economy.

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721 1. Bedouin raids are usually directed against other tribes or
728 caravans which are attacked and plundered. The toll which is frequently levied on the agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert is called by the name khuwa, protection money.

361 The pastoral people are fulfilling an important economic function
433 by:

a. supplying the home markets with essential products, and

b. furnishing valuable export articles.

237 Iraqi wool is considered of good quality and finds a ready market
439 in the United States of America and in continental Europe for carpet manufacture.[1] In 1947 Iraq exported 2794 tons of wool at I D 372 349.[2] In 1946 and again in 1948 the wool export was about three times that of 1947.[3] Syria exports products like wool, butter, hides, etc.

233 The following statements will illustrate the valuable contri-
361 bution which the nomads are making to the general economy:
433

"The Bedouin are experts in the breeding of livestock and form a class who afford a valuable contribution to the economic life of Transjordan." 4) "Their (Bedouin of Iraq) occupation of raising livestock is vital to the economy of the country." 5) "Syria cannot afford to lose the meat, milk and wool which are derived from the harvesting of the desert herbage." 6)

Thus in all the countries of the Fertile Crescent, livestock breeding, the primary occupation of the nomad population, appears to be an essential and lucrative industry.

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1. Gamble, 1949, p. 20
2. Ibid. p. 13
3. Data Book, 1951, p. 40
4. Report, 1938, p. 318
5. Jawad, 1945, p. 7
6. Report of the United States-Syrian Agricultural Mission, 1947, p. 23

12: Theiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves.
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 611
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badu often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they 577
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 461
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com- 315
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins. 224 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life [242] of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, 290 463 his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

● 438 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work 251 for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 During the last ten years, the desert belong- 178 ing to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

565 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism 799 in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst 721

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1
BEDOUINS MJ4

travels *in forma pauperis*, he can avail himself, more than one who takes his own tents and servants, of the protection which Arab usage enjoins a Bedouin to extend to one who has touched as suppliant any part of his tent or belongings or eaten of his food. Strictly the efficacy of the last safeguard expires on the third day, when all that was eaten on the first is supposed to have passed out of the body. It is often worth while to appeal from the men to the women, whose instincts of hospitality, independence, and freedom of action are pleasing features of Bedouin life.

It is worth while to remember that no Bedouin society is wholly self-supporting. Even if it can supply itself with sheer food from its own dira, or some purely Arabian oasis—which it rarely can—it is dependent on the outer world for other necessaries, as well as for any sort of simple luxury. Clothing materials, coffee, tobacco, and, to a great extent, arms and munitions can only reach it from ports, or from the settled districts on the fringes of Arabia. Those, therefore, who control such ports or districts can always exercise an influence upon the desert men, however inaccessible, command their behaviour in the long run, and punish their hostility.

From a military point of view Bedouins make very valueless auxiliaries of trained troops, except as scouts and raiders, or, if long, hot, and waterless stages have to be covered, as messengers.

Settled Folk.

The principal settlements will be dealt with in the special chapters on localities (see Chaps. IV ff.), followed by detailed descriptions of the tribes themselves (see Chaps. XIII ff.)

The ubiquity of nomads in Arabia explains and partly excuses common ignorance about the real extent and importance of its urban and village societies. To say that all the Arabs of the peninsula are Bedouins, or that its society is either nomadic or semi-nomadic, is far from the truth. Not only do the fertile coastal districts in the south-east and south-west of the peninsula contain numerous urban and village communities, rooted to the soil and engaged in agriculture and trade, while the goals of the Pilgrimage, Mecca and Medina, with the port of Jiddah, are considerable towns; but, as has already been pointed out, the three groups of oases in the centre support urban settlements, several of which have over 5,000 inhabitants apiece, besides many agricultural villages, large and small.

It is, however, true that all settled communities in Arabia are affected, in various degrees, by the nomad society, which is never far from them, and often surrounds them. There is much intermarriage between the settled and the unsettled folk: chiefs and

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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He is wealthy, and owns palm gardens at Ghazázah near Kerbela, at Baghdádiyah above Hît, and elsewhere on the Euphrates. Although his wisdom and skill in tribal diplomacy are much vaunted, he is now an old man and not so active as Nûri of the Ruweilah; nor does he concern himself with external politics. He has suffered imprisonment at the hand of the Turks and cordially dislikes them, but his closest link with affairs outside the desert is his landed property on the Euphrates. He fears that if the Hindiyah escape, a part of Sir W. Willcocks's scheme of Mesopotamian irrigation, were to be put into execution, his gardens at Ghazázah might be partly submerged, and he was inclined to blame the English for their share in that project. He could only with difficulty be reassured on this head, and shown that the better distribution of the water would be of benefit to himself in common with all other landowners. 622 101 619

A more striking personality is Hákim (Háchim) ibn Muheid, who with Hákim ibn Qeishish rules over the Fed'ân, some 3,500 tents in all. Ibn Muheid is possibly second only to Nûri esh-Sha'lân in the Anazah federation. He is a man of about 40, vain, money-loving, and strongly pan-Arab. His position on the middle reaches of the Euphrates enables him to close the riverain road to traffic whenever he pleases. Until the Baghdad Railway is completed, this road is the customary, and by far the shortest, means of communication between Aleppo and Baghdad, and is now connected with Constantinople by a railway, broken only by a short interruption on the Taurus. The Sibâ' are less numerous, some 1,800 tents all told; their ruling families are the Beni Murshid and the Beni Hudeib (Hadeib).

Upon all the Anazah the Ottoman Government levies, so far as it is able, a sheep-tax and a camel-tax. The great sheikhs receive Ottoman subsidies, paid with something less than regularity. The sums are not large. A man like Nûri may be given about £20 a month, paid to his agent in Damascus, who uses the money for the purchase of necessary supplies which he sends out to his chief in the desert. The Ruweilah, who raise no crops, are entirely dependent on Damascus for provisions. 601 433 622

The paramount Anazah sheikhs, Ibn Sha'lân, Ibn Hadhdhâl, Ibn Sumeir, and Ibn Muheid, could each of them put into the field from 1,500 to 2,000 men, armed and mounted on camels, with a small proportion of horses. The Sibâ' sheikhs could muster another 1,000. The united Anazah forces would therefore number about 9,000 men, if it were conceivable that they could ever be 622 619 701

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M1 Middle East
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whose desert economy and social organization have collapsed; and

b. that of the romanticists who are more interested in saving the "noble" Bedouin society than suggesting alternate means of livelihood for the nomads who have suffered a serious economic crisis.

These two approaches to the Bedouin problem are reflected in and interesting and instructive argument between Elisha Epstein and Major J. C. Glubb in connection with recent changes among the nomads of Transjordan.[1] Epstein stated that there has been since the end of World War I a progressive impoverishment among the Bedouin of Transjordan. The pastoral economy, based on camel-breeding and sheep-raising, has according to him undergone a serious crisis because the camel cannot hold its ground in the face of competition with modern means of transportation. Sheep-raising, on the other hand, is more profitable when practiced in permanent settlements which do not have to suffer livestock losses on account of raids. Epstein further points out that Bedouin migrations have become restricted since the boundary lines were drawn in the desert. In times of drought the nomads cannot move their animals any more, simply by moving them into regions where rains are more abundant. Raiding which constituted an additional source of income for the Bedouin has been outlawed. Epstein's

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1. Epstein, 1936, pp. 228-236
   Glubb, 1938, pp. 448-454
   Epstein, 1939, pp. 177 ff.

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answer to the problems of the Bedouin is their rapid settlement on land.

Glubb stated that the economic condition of the Transjordan tribesmen is not critical. In the old days the Bedouin had to rely on the merchants who used to come into the desert, purchase the camels and take them to the market. The establishment of public security has enabled the Bedouin to take their animals across the territory of hostile tribes and sell them directly, thus cutting out the middle-man's share of the profit. While the demand for camels for long-distance transport has been reduced, the camel market has according to Glubb not been destroyed. There is still a considerable demand for camels to be used in agricultural work. The chief customer, however, is the butcher's shop, particularly in Egypt where camel's meat is consumed in great quantities. Sheep always enjoy a ready market. The tribesmen seem poor to many Europeans, but the Bedouin of Transjordan are financially more prosperous than most Oriental peasants, and they enjoy more material comforts than they did before the First World War.

Glubb is critical of Epstein's view that the drought years of 1931 and 1932 have made the issue of Bedouin settlement in Transjordan urgent. Otherwise the statements of Glubb lack realism. He is gravely concerned about what modern civilization may do to a "simple, smiling people." Glubb represents the view of the British "romanticists" who deplore the vanishing of the "glorious" desert-tent Bedouin society.

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648 Political authorities have made no serious efforts to inter-
221 fere with tribal migrations which follow the law of economic need. The governments stopped raiding, but not grazing.

With the establishment of public security, tribal movements have been facilitated where fears of attack may have prevented them before.[1]

Economic of raiding, plunder and extortion as affecting Bedouin economy

721 Raids fulfilled a definite economic function in Bedouin
434 society. Especially in times of drought, the booty taken in raids constituted, according to the Bedouin way of thinking a welcome means of income. In reality, however, the desert people did not suffer a great economic loss from the stoppage of raiding. In speaking of raiding Major Glubb correctly states that "some become rich, some were ruined; there is a net loss on the whole."[2]

More significant was the economic loss incurred to the Bedouin when imposition of khuwa was outlawed.

434 The economic situation of the Bedouin on the whole was not
131 seriously affected by the establishment of political boundary lines and enforcement of public security. Economic adjustments were made within the pastoral economy where the decline of the demand for the camel made this necessary.

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1. However, in spite of the vigorous actions of the Saudi regime raiding in the Arabian Desert has not yet been completely stopped.
2. Glubb, 1935, p. 22

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In our days sedentarization is the product of the nomad's contact with settled society during the regular periods of his encampment on the outskirts of the cultivated land. 166x 177

At present, the tribal population of Syria, Iraq, Palestine (Israel) and Transjordan (Jordan) is in all stages of transition to a sedentary existence. A. S. Kirkbridge has outlined[1] the various stages that the Transjordan nomad passes on his journey to the settled life of an agriculturalist. With insignificant changes the description of the steps can be made applicable to the process of sedentarization as a whole. 166x 178

Stages of Sedentarization

1. The true desert Bedouin, raising mainly camels,[2] lives in a world where nature makes cultivation impossible. He migrates in accordance with the existence of water and grazing and supplements his meager income by raiding if conditions permit. He despises the villagers. 166x 221 434 361

2. In spite of the contempt that the Bedouin have for the settled peasants they come to realize that the fellah lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a better diet, compared to the standards of the nomad. 609 434

3. The next step is the acquisition of cultivable land by the nomadic tribe. Agriculture is practised only as a 166x 361 241

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1. Kirkbridge, 1945, March-April
2. Kirkbridge does not discuss the Bedouin that come from Arabia subsisting exclusively on camel-breeding. Since practically all Transjordanian nomads have crossed the first stage, the conversion of exclusive camel economy to mixed pastoral economy of sheep and camel-breeding.

622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezirah the sheikh of
423 the Feda'an-Beld increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable land-holdings of the
427 powerful Shammar and Anezeh chiefs are predominantly cultivated by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, ancient wells were restored and new ones created, medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydrauliques sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water nearby. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyra. In 193 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyra, Deir ez-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. Report, 1935, p. 106
2. Bretain, 1940, p. 77
3. Report, 193, pp. 99-100

educational needs of the tribes. 000

This policy aimed at introducing improvements into the 178
Bedouin mode of living without changing it. 185

Some of the sheikhs made serious attempts to settle the 622
tribesmen on their estates. The Hadidiyin began in the 30's 427
to cultivate on the estates of their sheikh.[1] Rakan, the 166X
sheikh of the Sba'a, has been consistently trying to make the
members of his tribe engage in agriculture.[2]

Apart from minor successes the attempts of sedentarization were largely premature. While economic changes and a taste for modern living induced a great number of the sheikhs to abandon nomadism and settle down, the majority of the tribesmen preferred to continue their pastoral activities and their traditional migrations. Even economic disasters in the desert did not appreciably accelerate the pace of their sedentarization.

In 1931, for example, the Syrian Bedouin lost 30 - 40 per 233
cent of their animals in the wake of inclement weather conditions.[3] 434
1931/32 was also a season of exceptional drought when certain tribes lost 50 per cent of their camels and 80 per cent of their sheep.[4] The desert was strewn with animals that died of hunger. 166X
The critical situation among the tribes prompted the French Mandatory Government[5] to encourage the nomads to settle down to an agricultural life. Fertile land and implements were freely dis-

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 298
2. Ibid., p. 85
3. Rapport, 1931, p. 98
4. Rapport, 1932, p. 91
5. The French High Commission maintained a special tribal service

[I.E. GOVERNMENTAL REFORMS -- ANALYST]

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

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herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves. 433
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load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
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ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
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bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
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motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
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The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
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sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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man without a single enemy", Arabs have called him 157 554
to me.

I was Mishal's guest for several weeks. In the company 231
of his son Naif, I was able to look over a large number 435
of Arab horses amongst the different Shammar clans. One two-year-old Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion of purest blood pleased me exceedingly. One day I enquired of the *sheykh's* secretary if he thought it possible that Mishal would sell this stallion. It had indeed come to my ears that Mishal had refused an offer of eight hundred gold pounds from the French Remount Service. From my experience, I knew that really thoroughbred Arab horses were quite rare and therefore exceedingly expensive. Considering the stallion's breeding, the French offer certainly did not appear too high, when one remembers that foreign military commissions and breeders have paid in the desert anything up to three thousand pounds gold for blue-blooded stallions.

I asked the scribe to submit my offer to his *sheykh* up to one thousand pounds gold. I also declared myself [431]
ready to make the customary presents to the *katib* (secretary) and to the slave who had looked after the stallion from birth.

That same day I sat with Mishal and his son Naif and 574
their friends until late into the night. By the light of 231
the campfire I showed them photographs of Arab horses, 572
among them the stallions and mares which I had bought from the stud of Lady Anne Blunt's daughter in England, for the ranch in California.

"Is it known to thee," asked Mishal, "that Lord Blunt and my father Faris formed a blood brotherhood fifty

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

in of firewood goes on, and the girls and children get in a two- or 512
three-mile walk every morning. It is good for them and makes them 462
strong, straight and fit to bear children later on, and they know it. 313

Two hours later they return, each bearing an enormous load of *'arfaj* bushes on their heads, and followed by the tired little mites who have gone with them. In the meantime the woman of the tent has 512
not been idle. She, with her sister, or old mother if she has one to 462
help her, has been sunning the family bedding (*lahdf*) and putting it away, or has been cleaning pots and pans from the previous night's meal and has tidied up the tent. She has sent off the spare shepherd 512
to go and fetch water from the wells they have just vacated, perhaps 462
10 miles back. He takes for the purpose a couple of male camels 312
kept back from the herd, on whom he loads up either two large camel water-skins, or four goatskins. This will suffice for the needs of the tent and its neighbours. Should a small *thamila* exist near them, as is often the case after rains, the daughters of the house will once again be sent off with goatskins (*gurab*) to collect the water—(a *thamila* is a small supply of water lying under the surface of a dry, sandy water-course which does not sink deep and disappear completely, because it lies on subsurface rock or clay). The girls scratch away the sand to a depth of two or three feet to reach the brown, muddy liquid. They ladle it into skins by means of a small cup (*jiddd*) of tamarisk wood, and keep it on one side for drinking purposes only. The water is at first opaque and yellowish, but the silt soon settles.

To keep the water-skins cool during the day, a bed of *'arfaj* bush is made just outside the women's quarters, and all skins are laid on the bed.

By now it is time to prepare the midday meal. If the family is a 612
fairly prosperous one, rice will be cooked and made tasty with *semen*, 264
clarified butter of sheep's milk, and all will sit down and eat their fill. 462
If the family is a poor one, there will be no meal till sundown.

After the midday meal, the woman of the house will first clean the cooking pots, and then start weaving any cloth that may be required for the tent, or if the tent is complete she will work on a *gdas* or *mamad*, which in due course she will sell when she visits a town to do *mandilah*. A *gdas* if well and artistically made will bring her in [435]
Rs.45 to Rs.50—a vast sum of money for a Badawin family.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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together a few pence to buy a hawk, all go in for the sport. In fact, 228
every self-respecting person owns, or hopes to own, his falcon.

The two most commonly used hawks are known locally as the *Hurr* or *Hurra* and the *Shdhin*.* The former is the aristocrat of the two, and fetches a much higher price.

The best hawks come from the Persian littoral, and nowadays fetch [435] prices of from Rs.50 to Rs.150 a bird. Both *hurr* and *shdhin* are also caught by Badawin hunters clever at snaring. The islands of Bubiyan and Warba, west of the Shatt al 'Arab Delta, are favourite snaring grounds for Kuwait Badawin, and I believe the Dhaharan peninsula, south of Qatif, is another.

On first reaching Arabia the *hubara* makes for the small new green shoots of grass that come up with the early rains or *wasm* season (October). As the rainy season develops and grass comes up everywhere, the birds scatter and proceed deeper and deeper into the interior, until they are found as far inland in the north as the Syrian desert, and in the south round about Riyadh and the oasis of Jabrin. Except in small numbers the birds do not penetrate much west of this line.

Round about Zubair, Kuwait and further south as far as Qatar, the birds are very plentiful throughout the winter, and many thousands of birds are each season killed for food by the local Arabs. In Kuwait the shaikh generally bags about two thousand birds every cold weather, and the combined members of the Al Sa'ud get about the same number in Najd proper, as also do the Shaikhs of Bahrain, both on their own islands as well as on the mainland where they regularly hunt.

The best trainers of falcons round about Kuwait and Riyadh are 231
the Rashaida tribesmen, and in the south the Al Murra tribe. Both 228
seem to have a very special aptitude for turning out skilled birds.

A good hawk will only kill four to five *hubara* in one day, an exceptional hawk has been known to kill as many as seven to eight. I have known "Pe[illegible]", the priceless hawk of the Shaikh of Kuwait, kill as many as eleven birds in a day, but this is unique in the annals of the chase.

* *Hurr* is apparently the name given to both "Sakar" and "Lagger" falcons, and *Shdhin* is clearly the *Shahin* falcon of Natural History.

Bedouin #34

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labne*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samen*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to make ablutions with water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

*166 supplemental means of livelihood. The tribesmen stay on
361 their fields only to harvest and then to sow next year's
241 crop. Then they migrate with their flocks in search of pastures. But they soon realize the drawbacks of prolonged absence:

a. the grain will be eaten by birds and insects before it takes root

b. neighbors will graze their herds on the fields. Sooner or later the nomad cultivator comes to the conclusion that it will pay him to remain nearer his land.

*166 c. The decision to remain close to the cultivated land
241 begins the first real change in the nomad's mode of living:

a. the radius of migration must be reduced

b. the restriction of movement, in turn, makes it necessary to reduce the amount of livestock in proportion to the grazing areas within the limited wandering orbit.

c. the fewer the animals, the greater the dependence of the tribe on cultivation.

*166 As this phase the nomads still live in tents. But in
178 relating crops, they adopt more and more the methods of the sedentary neighbors.

●437 In the trading of the surplus grain the laborer of the

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nomads is uncommon. As the tribe is getting set to 437
move right after harvest time, the surplus crop must
be sold when the price of grain is at its lowest.

5. The nomads soon realize that it would be more profitable 166X
to store the surplus and wait until he can get good 178
prices for it. They hire builders to erect store-houses 251
for them. These are placed in charge of watchmen engaged
from the nearest village.

The disadvantages of this procedure become soon apparent:

a. the hired guards may not be honest

b. a raid may occur during the absence of the tribe.
The watchmen would not risk their lives to defend
somebody-else's property.

The nomad resolves the inevitable conclusion that he must
keep his hand all the time next to his storehouse in order
to protect his possessions.

6. As the nomad remains in the same place all the time, he 166X
sees no point in putting up with the discomforts of life 178
in a tent. When he builds and occupies a house, the
transition is completed.

The evolutionary process of transformation is not always
the same. Hitchcock only describes its external aspects, but
it must be realized that the conservative Bedouin clings
tenaciously to his tribal traditions which he will not give

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

443 stallions from various Bedouin tribes in the Euphrates.

Their kind is found everywhere in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Almost invariably the *Akhayl* hail from Anayza and Buraida, two large oasis-towns of Kasim in the heart of Arabia.

[437] During spring they[1] travel among the nomad Arabs and barter rice, coffee, sugar, arms, munitions, and gold [493 for camels and colts. Bedouins have only begun to sell 177] mares since the arrival of the automobile, which has displaced the horse for raiding purposes.

These traders travel unmolested throughout Arabia and they pay the *sheykh* of the tribe from which they purchase animals a small sum for the privilege of pursuing their business. Each trader has his own special tribe which he visits every year.

721 On the second day, when we came on some rain water left in the rocky hollows of a *wadi,* we decided to rest awhile and let our mares drink their fill. We had hardly dismounted when two strange Bedouins on horseback suddenly appeared. Ali jumped on his mare's back at once, and deserting me and our animals, galloped away in the opposite direction from which the Bedouins had come, obviously seeking cover.

"A *ghazu!*" he yelled, as he rode away.

The two strange Bedouins were armed. They were obviously not traders, as Ali had immediately perceived. More horsemen appeared and they began to fire at Ali and myself. My "Powerful" protector, ducking low over [291] his horse's neck, made a comical picture. The hostile Bedouins were Fid'an, as I knew from their striped shepherd's cloaks. To defend ourselves was useless, as we

1-[The Akhayl or camel and horse traders--Analyst]

Principles of Camel Law

This method of friendly recovery of a man's camel is known as the *Sang wa Qaud* system, a sort of family arrangement for the recovery of animals by mutual consent and without quarrelling over the matter. This system has the advantage of keeping Government officials out of the business, which from the Badawin point of view is always desirable. It is commonly practised in areas where Government writ does not run, and where one tribe is paramount under a strong shaikh who can enforce his will (example, the southern desert area of Iraq in Turkish times). 421 619 671 425

The system is open to variation according to circumstances, also to special arrangements between tribes, etc. So-called desert law is rarely a hard-and-fast thing. Many are the arbitrators who vary it slightly, or try to arrange a compromise in difficult or protracted cases. In most cases, however, precedent has a great deal to do with settling difficult problems, and so we have the *Ahl al khibrah* or experts, versed in legal precedent and able to state how difficult cases were formerly settled. These wiseacres have much to do with the interpretation of desert law. Nevertheless the two main principles of *'urufs* remain fixed: 671 693 619 425

(*a*) A camel taken in war or retaken in war by a friend of the original owner is surrendered without compensation, if the custom of *'urufs* exists. There is no selling. [437]

(*b*) No camel bought for money can possibly be taken back by the original owner without compensation, even if the original owner be of the same tribe as the purchaser. There is only one exception, namely, if the original owner can prove that the buyer when he purchased the animal was aware that it had been stolen from a man of a friendly tribe. Thus if the 'Awazim bought Diyahin raided camels from Ibn Shuqair the day after his raid on the Diyahin near Kuwait in 1928, the latter could recover their camels from the 'Awazim without compensation. In no other case can anyone retake a purchased animal and leave the purchaser a loser. All sales must be undone, back to the original theft.

23: Thesiger T-3 (ex. 1947) 1950 Mil Saud: Arabia
Bedouin Mi-

181 554 177 577 thoroughbreds. No race prizes lineage higher, yet they are the most democratic people in the world and the most individualistic. Among them there is real equality. To certain families, by virtue of their descent, they accord certain privileges, but as a courtesy, not as a right, and Badu sheikhs command respect only as long as they merit it. The traditional Arab way of life, fast vanishing to-day in contact with the West, owed much to Badu concepts, for the villagers and townsmen of Arabia, who form by far the greater part of her population, live close to the desert and were profoundly affected by it until motor-cars and aeroplanes removed for ever the need for camel journeys. Most of them are, indeed, of Badu origin, for the desert tides have always stranded the weak and broken upon the fringes of the Sowa. Everywhere the Arabs have, at all times, judged honour and chivalry and hospitality by the standards of the tribesmen. Their love of liberty, their freedom from prejudice of class and caste, and their enthusiasm for poetry have come to them from the desert.

157 577 81 It is impossible to assess the character of the Badu, for among no other race have so many contradictory qualities been fused together. I myself have witnessed their courage and self-reliance, their endurance and pride of race, and I remember their patience, generosity, and unselfishness. But often I have been exasperated by their avarice and wearied by their endless [135] importunities. No Badu thinks it shame to beg, and usually he will look disparagingly at the gift which he has received and grumble, "Is this all [137] that you are going to give me?" Grasping and avaricious, they will talk unceasingly of money and argue heatedly for days about a dollar, then they will slaughter a camel worth 150 dollars to feed a stranger. Loyal to each other, they are yet without regard for human life and will knife an unarmed herdsboy with a jest. Cheerful and easily amused, they are generally good-tempered, though passionate when roused and quick to resent an injury.

166 I have often wondered as I rode across the desert what the future, and even the immediate future, holds for my companions and their kinsmen. The discovery of oil on the Persian Gulf is going to affect them profoundly and make it impossible for them to continue in their old ways, even if they would. I think myself that the oilfields will empty the desert. This movement of tribes from the Yaman and the Hadhramaut towards the north and the north-east is a movement which has been going on for thousands of years. It probably started even before the great migration of the Qahtan tribes, when, overwhelmed by calamity in their homes round Marib, some of them pushed across the deserts and occupied Oman. In recent years tribes such as the Awamir, Rashid, and Manahil have left their homelands in the steppes to the north-east of the Hadhramaut and moved out into the sands to escape from the incursions of more powerful 166 177 tribes pressing on them from the west. Having accustomed themselves to life in the sands, they have penetrated ever further and further into the Empty Quarter. In the past twenty or thirty years as conditions have become more settled in the north, due to the extension of Ibn Saud's influence over the powerful Murra tribe, they have grazed their herds round the Liwa oasis and in the sands near the Trucial Coast. Now the money to be earned on the oilfields along the Gulf is drawing the Badu

Bedouins MJ4

162, 166, 101, 619, 643, 622, 361, 438

/For information on the settled tribes of the Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut in 1920, the territory occupied, the paramount rulers and tribal chefs, brief history, their settlements, means of livelihood, etc., see 30: Great Britain, MJ1 Saudi Arabia, category 116, pp. 509-546./

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

619 but when the strong hand is weakened or withdrawn, then merry hell is let loose, and every tribe is at its neighbour's throat. Such a period is what every tribe and every individual Badawin long to see. It means raiding and fun for everyone and wealth for him who is bold and strong. Not much killing or loss of life follows from this state of anarchy, but camels change hands frequently, and there is loot for all and exchange of worldly possessions. Since women are always safe under such conditions (see Chapter VII) the Badawin considers this state of affairs as nearly ideal as possible, and is for ever talking about the good times when anarchy prevailed. This is his idea of heaven on earth, this is what he perpetually longs for. Is it not his birthright that "every man's hand shall be against him, and his hand be against every man"?

443 If tribes and confederations are at peace with each other, the
488 individuals and families move about at will in each other's territories,
367 as they go and come to and from the various towns that supply their wants. This movement to market towns is known as *mustbilah* and exists all over Arabia. Each tribe has its special or favourite towns which it goes up to for its necessities, and it looks forward with joy to such visits. For instance, from time immemorial the Mutair, Harb, Shammar, 'Awazim and Northern 'Ajman have done their *mustbilah* to Kuwait, while the Dhafir have visited Zubair, Nasriyah and Samawa on the Euphrates.

The system enables the town authorities to exercise a beneficial control over the Badawin who market with them, as any misbehaviour at once results in the tribe's being forbidden to enter the town—a
[443] very great hardship to the desert shopper. Despotic rulers like Bin Sa'ud naturally do not like the *mustbilah* system at all, especially when it affects their border tribes, for these would like to spend their moneys outside the state, and are always liable to be got at by the powers that be, in neighbouring countries. One of the chief reasons for Bin Sa'ud's ten-year blockade of Kuwait was his determination to try and prevent his subjects doing *mustbilah* with that town. The Ruler of the latter place naturally tried to encourage such *mustbilah*, for if it were forcibly stopped, his people must have recourse to smuggling to get their goods out to the tribes.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI6
Muntafiq

Greyhound Types

It is a curious fact that well-trained *salúqis* will rarely lose a gazelle 231
when once it is sighted. They gallop after it for miles until their 224
quarry, either from terror or exhaustion, collapses and lies down. The rest is then easy, for the hounds seize and hold it till the hunter comes up on his speeding camel, dismounts and cuts its throat. On most occasions, however, the gazelle gives his pursuers a run for their money before it is caught and killed. This cannot be said of the unsportsmanlike hunting down of gazelle with motor cars, so unfortunately practised in some parts of Arabia to-day. Here the unfortunate gazelle is pursued at great speed for a mile or so, and when the car containing the hunters catches up its terrified and exhausted victim, the latter is dropped in its tracks by a charge of buck or No. 1 shot, fired at point-blank range. I am glad to say this cruel form of sport, though it became common in Kuwait with the advent of the motor car, was frowned on by the present enlightened ruler, and so ceased to be popular as far back as 1934. In Iraq there is supposed to be a law forbidding the hunting of gazelle in motor cars, but I understand that both there and in Sa'udi Arabia this form of sport is still carried on.

To return to the *salúqi*. The Arabian *salúqi* proper must not be 231
confused with his *qasmin*, the Persian greyhound, though whether in 232
origin he is a descendant of that animal I cannot say.

The Arabian species are two: (*a*) the entirely smooth-haired animal (commonly found among the Mutair tribe), with ears and tail like those of his English cousin, and (*b*) the smooth-haired animal with long silky hair on ears as well as on tail (common among the 'Awazim tribe).

The two types are entirely different, the predominating colours of the former being fawn, reddy brown or black, usually with black muzzles, and the latter with ruddy brown muzzles merging into the black head.

The common colours found in (*b*) type are white, French grey and pale fawn, the ears and tail being always of a lighter colour than the body. Occasionally a mottled grey and white animal is met with, but these most probably come down from the Muntafiq country on the lower Euphrates and are not true to type.

The Badawin *salúqi* tends to be small: he is definitely a good deal 231

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins 1134

Breeding Greyhounds

From my own observations, during sixteen years' close intercourse 231
with the Badawin, I should say that the 'Awazim tribe were the best 438
breeders and trainers of *salúqis* in Eastern Arabia, and after them I should place the 'Ajman tribe, their cousins the Murra, and then the Mutair, in this order

Unlike other dogs, the *salúqi* is not considered *najis* (pronounced 232
najis) or unclean, and dog or bitch is allowed to enter the tent at all times and lie about on rugs and mats. They are not much handled, however, except by the women and children, although the Shaikh of Kuwait has assured me that those professing the Maliki views, have not the slightest objection to touching them.

In summer, when a bitch is about to have puppies, the women or servants of the tent dig a slanting pit in the sand three to four feet deep just outside the women's portion of the tent, and cover it over with sticks and brushwood, laying a layer of earth over the top. An entrance to the inclined way is left for the prospective mother to get down into the cool refuge which has been made for her, where she can have her young in peace and comfort.

Most prominent Badawin shaikhs endeavour to keep well-bred *salúqis*, just as they keep hawks and stud mares of special breed. It gives them prestige and a good name among their fellow shaikhs.

Among Arabs, one of the best-known *salúqi* breeders and fanciers in Arabia was the late H.H. Shaikh Sir Hamad bin 'Isa al Khalifah, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Ruler of Bahrain. Shaikh Hamad's *salúqis* were, however, of a larger and more massive type than those ordinarily found among the tribes of the interior. This may possibly be due to the fact that they did little or no hunting, were fed well and fat rather than muscular. His stud was nevertheless a fine one, and it was the ambition of many Arabian *salúqi* fanciers to possess one of Shaikh Hamad's greyhounds for breeding purposes. The kind of dog bred by Shaikh Hamad was of the (*b*) type mentioned on p. 375, that is to say the animals were smooth-haired, except for the ears and tail, which had long silky hair on them.

Personally I am inclined to believe that Shaikh Hamad's *salúqis* have Persian greyhound blood in them, or possibly were originally imported from the Persian shore of the Gulf.

I have certainly never seen such big animals as his on the Arabian

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhofar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 458
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves.
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 511
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badu often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they 577
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 461
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 315
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com-
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *Shahab* (gold) to be found here and *Shahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields drew them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

Z1:Ashkenazi E-i (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

from the kin of the Ka'ya's. Sa'lin was the son of worthy parents. Although he had no property of his own, he had charge of the camel herdsmen of the al-Mur'ib kin in the capacity of a fedāwi, free born servant. The herds grazed in the environs of a certain settlement in Nagd. The Ka'ya's once stole flocks of sheep and goats from the settlers and drove their camels into their fields. The settlers rushed out, captured the herds of camels, and hid them in the enclosed palm gardens. The Rwala surrounded the settlement, but they could not break down the defence, and the settlers threatened that the captured camels would die of hunger if the Rwala did not abandon the blockade. Accordingly the head chief of the Rwala made an offer of peace to the elder of the settlers. The elder declared that he would not negotiate except with his acquaintance Sa'lin and that he would not give up the camels except to him. The representatives of the Fuqq and Rbillin pleaded with the chief to give Sa'lin the seal ring, and this was done. Sa'lin went to the elder and came to terms with him. The settlers returned the captured camels. All praised Sa'lin and said that he was a gentleman. Sa'lin remained in the settlement and did not return the ring to the head chief. The settlers, the Fuqq, and the Rbillin supported him, and after four years he overthrew the head chief and himself guided the destinies of all the Rwala. A struggle for priority ensued between the head chief Eben Sa'lin with his Rwala and chief al-Sweyfi of the Kwalle. The latter belonged to the Kahayan division of the 'Anazah. Originally they camped in Nagd. Under their chief al-Sweyfi they advanced to the territory of the Rwala and encamped to the east of al-Gowf.[30] They wished to act and rule in complete independence, but the Rwala declared that they must acknowledge the Rwala supremacy or else withdraw. Thereupon the Kwalle joined with the Sammir and Zefir[31] and undertook a great raid upon the tribes obeying Eben Sa'lin. They were led by the seven sons of al-Sweyfi. The Kwalle and Sammir wished to avenge their great

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30 *al-Gowf*: oasis, northern Nagd; Arabic *F* or *G* – *Gowf al'Amir*. *Gowf al'Amir*, the ancient Dūmat al-Gandal, a great oasis and suburbs in the south of the Syrian Desert and on the border of the Nafūd. *Gowf* signifies a hollow or low ground. The Sami's of Gowf are greatly esteemed in all north-western Arabia and in the lands beyond the Jordan for their skill in metal and marble-working (coffee mortars and pestles). There is a salt traffic from the neighbourhood of Gowf to the Hawrān, whither there come every year many poor Gowfīn to labor for the Druses. Cf. Huntsch, *The Penetration of Arabic Gowf* (North), pp. 18, 34, 116, 137 ff., 162 ff., 170, 173, 247, 250 ff., 254, 266 ff.; *Gowf* (South), pp. 31, 36, 198, 200, 201, 210, 214. On the occupation of Gowf by Eben Sa'lid and the abandonment of the oasis by the ar-Rwala consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, etc., p. 19. *Gowf* is mentioned by T. E. Lawrence in the First World War as Nuri Eben Sa'lan's capital (*Revolt in the Desert*, p. 99).

31 On the tribe of *Az-Zefir* consult Alois Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 24; *idem*, *Northern Nagd*, p. 169; Gibb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 13.

S: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

where wells are somewhat close together and the for-
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised,
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les-
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure lux-
ury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk
just as humans do. They are kept and treated as house-
hold pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their
only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for
pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part
of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but
they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the
very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou-
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the
land. Little children die because there is no food suit-
able for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even
more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly
bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed,
and the whole community waits and prays for more rain
the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea
of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a
mere trifle.

BEDOUINS MJ4

dropped from LP 20 before the First World War to LP 4-5 or even less in the thirties.[1] 233 178

> "Prior to the war there were good markets for Iraq's camels in Syria, Turkey and Persia, in addition to the large numbers required for transport purposes in Iraq itself. Since the war, many railways have been constructed throughout the Middle East and the road systems of all countries have been greatly extended and improved. These roads are now all served by a large and increasing number of motor cars and lorries which have to a great extent taken the place of camel transport, thus practically removing the income to the Bedouins from their sale of camels." [2] 233 178 439

There was in the past a substantial demand for camel's meat, particularly in Egypt. But figures show that the import of camels into Egypt declined sharply since the end of the First World War. The import of camels into Egypt averaged prior to World War I (1909-1913) 21 137 per year,[3] in the post-war years up till 1937 only 26 137.[3] Figures and statements of observers indicate that the Egyptian camel market has contracted considerably since the end of the First World War. Although there has recently been a rise in consumption of camel's meat in Egypt,[4] the camel industry has lost its importance.

A classic Bedouin country such as Transjordan exported in 1929

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1. Epstein, 1937, February
2. Special Report, 1938, p. 185
3. Epstein, 1939, p. 177
4. The number of camels slaughtered in public slaughtering houses amounted to:

13 082	in 1944	
22 128	1945	
27 [illegible]	1946	cf. Annuaire, 1947, p. 137

233 178 439

only 3 437 camels,[1] and within a short time this trade became so insignificant that since 1937 camel export figures were no longer listed in official statistical abstracts. Although 40 000 nomads of Transjordan are classified as full Bedouin, they cannot possibly live on camel-breeding. The following figures will show the dwindling camel stock in Transjordan:

1927	13 800	2)
1929	33 500	2)
1935	3 400	2)
1943	6 000	2)
1948	2 500	3)

Figures are probably underrated as information on camel holdings was furnished for taxing purposes, but they indicate the trend.

The decline of camel trade and the slump in market prices have severely hit the camel-breeding Bedouin. Transjordan was selected as an example, but the same phenomenon is apparent among the nomads of Syria and Iraq.

Changes within the pastoral economy

361 178 166

The camel Bedouin coming from the Arabian desert into the lands of the Fertile Crescent will sooner or later become a sheep nomad. This transformation has been going on for centuries, long before the decline of the camel market made it necessary. The change was in the past an adaptation of the pastoral economy to

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1. Statistik, 1935, p. 180
2. International Yearbooks of Agricultural Statistics for 1938/2 and 1940/41
3. Final Report, 1948, Part II, p. 20

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the natural conditions of the environment, while in recent years it has also been an adjustment to economic circumstances.

The type of animal industry is determined by geographic factors and climatic conditions. In Iraq "in many parts of the alluvial lowlands, terrain is too soft and swampy, so that those camels (camels) are few outside the steppes."[1] Syria, especially the northern part, where rigorous winters frequently occur, is not an ideal region for camel-breeding while in parts of the Arabian desert sheep and goats cannot survive.

233

The profitability and the increase of sheep and goat rearing is apparent from the following Transjordan export-trade figures:[2]

233
439

	1937	1939	1941	1943
goats	6 988	7 637	32 638	31 041
sheep	12 044	37 896	56 735	52 487

While the camel trade declined, the sheep and goat business has been constantly rising.

Mr. Kurtain states[3] that sheep raising is more lucrative when practiced in permanent settlements which do not have to fear losses incurred as result of inter-tribal raiding. With the establishment of Public Security, however, raids have practically ceased, and the desert has been made secure. Today, throughout the area the animal industry is largely in the hands of the nomads.[4]

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659
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1. Fisher, 1952, p. 362
2. Kaufman, 1946, p. 112 Table 16
3. Kurtain, 1938, p. 208
4. In Iraq the breeding of sheep is practiced almost exclusively by the nomadic population, cf. Royal Institute, 1950, p. 259

361 The pastoral people are fulfilling an important economic function
433 by:

a. supplying the home markets with essential products, and

b. furnishing valuable export articles.

237 Iraqi wool is considered of good quality and finds a ready market
439 in the United States of America and in continental Europe for carpet manufacture.[1] In 1947 Iraq exported 2754 tons of wool at I D 372 349.[2] In 1946 and again in 1948 the wool export was about three times that of 1947.[3] Syria exports products like wool, butter, hides, etc.

233 The following statements will illustrate the valuable contri-
361 bution which the nomads are making to the general economy:
433

"The Bedouin are experts in the breeding of livestock and form a class who offer a valuable contribution to the economic life of Transjordan." 4) "Their (Bedouin of Iraq) occupation of raising livestock is vital to the economy of the country." 5) "Syria cannot afford to lose the meat, milk and wool which are derived from the harvesting of the desert herbage." 6)

Thus in all the countries of the Fertile Crescent, livestock breeding, the primary occupation of the nomad population, appears to be an essential and lucrative industry.

1. Gamble, 1949, p. 30
2. Ibid. p. 13
3. Data Book, 1952, p. 40
4. Bayard, 1938, p. 318
5. Jarad, 1945, p. 7
6. Report of the United States-Syrian Agricultural Mission, 1947, p. 23

Add to the above the Zubaiyyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zaabu and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawiyah lying east of Samawa.

These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sukhkha fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 100 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bâtin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawil al Dhafir and Tawil al Mutain, or wandering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq-Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zaabu-Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Bodur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bâtin while the Shawâfin, Juarin, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Azzam pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Bodur, the Juarin and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Dirdiah al Salama, Nasir al Gobaih (son of the more famous Hussin al Gobaih of Great War days) and Mazhud al Halaiyyih I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah on the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos, each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia, the Hukra pay *khuwwah* or *sunniah*, consisting of gifts of young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakah* willingly, if asked to do so and they want to enjoy uninterrupted protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakah*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

Kuwait is definitely the pivot for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of those daughters of the Hukra on the Jahrah-Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

ii Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

XXV

Honour among Thieves

At Deyr-ez-Zor I was eventually able to arrange for the transfer of the young stallion to Egypt by way of Aleppo and Beyruth. It was a tremendous journey, as it had to be done on its own feet; but by slow stages the Arab, who accompanied the horse, succeeded in delivering him in good condition to my friends in Egypt. 000

Meanwhile Ali and I roamed further afield and rode to the pasture-grounds of the Fid'an, then camped at the northern foot of the Bishri Mountains, west of the Euphrates. There, also, the tent of Mijhem ibn Meheyd was pitched, and he received us hospitably. We spent several pleasant days with him.

He then led his tribe southwards into the Wudian [221] area, east of the Hamad. We accompanied them through the Jabal Bishri and camped with them south of these hills. There I decided to say farewell to Ibn Meheyd, and bade Ali buy three especially strong *dhaluls* (racing-camels) and two mares. With Ali alone, and these animals, I struck through the Hamad desert, to make my way to the Ruala and to Damascus. On the first day we 443 fell in with a small caravan of four men with twenty- [492] odd camels and six stallions.

From this combination alone (for Bedouins never ride [721] stallions on a raid) it was clear they were peaceful travellers. In fact, they were *Akheyl* or camel-traders from Inner Arabia, who had purchased camels and young

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

443 stallions from various Bedouin tribes in the Euphrates.

Their kind is found everywhere in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Almost invariably the *Akhayl* hail from Anayza and Buraida, two large oasis-towns of Kasim in the heart of Arabia.

[437] During spring they[1] travel among the nomad Arabs and barter rice, coffee, sugar, arms, munitions, and gold for camels and colts. Bedouins have only begun to sell [493 177] mares since the arrival of the automobile, which has displaced the horse for raiding purposes.

These traders travel unmolested throughout Arabia and they pay the *sheykh* of the tribe from which they purchase animals a small sum for the privilege of pursuing their business. Each trader has his own special tribe which he visits every year.

721 On the second day, when we came on some rain water left in the rocky hollows of a *wadi*, we decided to rest awhile and let our mares drink their fill. We had hardly dismounted when two strange Bedouins on horseback suddenly appeared. Ali jumped on his mare's back at once, and deserting me and our animals, galloped away in the opposite direction from which the Bedouins had come, obviously seeking cover.

"A *ghazu!*" he yelled, as he rode away.

The two strange Bedouins were armed. They were obviously not traders, as Ali had immediately perceived. More horsemen appeared and they began to fire at Ali and myself. My "Powerful" protector, ducking low over his horse's neck, made a comical picture. The hostile [291] Bedouins were Fid'an, as I knew from their striped shepherd's cloaks. To defend ourselves was useless, as we

1-[The Akhayl or camel and horse traders--Analyst]

Trips to Market

but when the strong hand is weakened or withdrawn, then merry hell is let loose, and every tribe is at its neighbour's throat. Such a period is what every tribe and every individual Badawin long to see. It means raiding and fun for everyone and wealth for him who is bold and strong. Not much killing or loss of life follows from this state of anarchy, but camels change hands frequently, and there is loot for all and exchange of worldly possessions. Since women are always safe under such conditions (see Chapter VII) the Badawin considers this state of affairs as nearly ideal as possible, and is for ever talking about the good times when anarchy prevailed. This is his idea of heaven on earth, this is what he perpetually longs for. Is it not his birthright that "every man's hand shall be against him, and his hand be against every man"?

If tribes and confederations are at peace with each other, the individuals and families move about at will in each other's territories, as they go and come to and from the various towns that supply their wants. This movement to market towns is known as *mustáhlah* and exists all over Arabia. Each tribe has its special or favourite towns which it goes up to for its necessities, and it looks forward with joy to such visits. For instance, from time immemorial the Munir, Harb, Shammar, 'Awazim and Northern 'Ajman have done their *mustáhlah* to Kuwait, while the Dhafir have visited Zubair, Nasriyah and Samawa on the Euphrates.

The system enables the town authorities to exercise a beneficial control over the Badawin who market with them, as any misbehaviour at once results in the tribe's being forbidden to enter the town—a very great hardship to the desert shopper. Despotic rulers like Ibn Sa'ud naturally do not like the *mustáhlah* system at all, especially when it affects their border tribes, for these would like to spend their moneys outside the state, and are always liable to be got at by the powers that be, in neighbouring countries. One of the chief reasons for Ibn Sa'ud's ten-year blockade of Kuwait was his determination to try and prevent his subjects doing *mustáhlah* with that town. The Ruler of the latter place naturally tried to encourage such *mustáhlah*, for if it were forcibly stopped, his people must have recourse to smuggling to get their goods out to the tribes.

8: Harrison D-4 (1912-1934) 1924 MI Middle East
Bedouin 1934

Anything less

spacious chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

[from the desert -- Ashket]

St Hardman D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin 19.59

if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort of existence.

But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates, and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the desert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

Sc Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 MI Middle East
Saudi Arabia M3.1
Bedouin M34

of a spiritual guide or pastor, much less for the functions of a priest.

There is a small group of land-owners and merchants (the same individual is frequently both), who constitute a wealthy upper class which has great power in the community. They form a sort of unofficial cabinet to advise the ruler, and not a great deal happens without their knowledge and approval. However, they are not sheikhs, and sometimes when a powerful governor presides over a community, this rich men's cabinet exercises surprisingly little influence over him. The ruler and his family form what might be termed a class by themselves. Frequently they are strangers more or less directly derived from some Bedouin tribe and far less traveled and sophisticated than many of their rich subjects. They are, however, none the less effective rulers for that. But the whole subject of the workings of Arab government is one that we must reserve for a later chapter.

Desert and oasis in Arabia represent two conflicting modes of life and there is little sympathy between them. To the Bedouin the town is a community of masters and slaves with the vast majority slaves. The date gardener works long and hard; moreover he works under another man's direction, and this director of his efforts receives the major part of the proceeds. The artisan, to be sure, is not the slave of any one individual, but he too is cooped up in narrow quarters, and the necessities of his family keep him busy from morning till night working with his hands. Land-owners and merchants the Bedouin envies, but he still pities them their cramped life and close confinement in the town. Why any one who is rich enough to afford a home in the desert should prefer to live in the oasis, is to him an insoluble mystery.

The Badawin's Diet

511 what the world would call honest methods. Hence if he cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work
[94] he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as is the case under Ibn Sa'ud's regime to-day), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a "square" meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party.

242 His own food for most of the year consists of only camel's milk and a handful of dates per day. The camel-herd gets even less than this.

291 The Badawin's clothes are on the same scanty scale as his food, a thin cotton *dishdasha* (smock), replaced only when it falls off his back with age, and a threadbare *'abba* (cloak), *kaffiyah* and thin rope *agal* (head cloth and head cord), are all he has to cover his ill-nourished body. Yet all this makes for toughness and hardihood, and the average
[92] Badawin seems made of steel. The lack of warm clothing is probably the hardest thing in life that he has to bear, for in winter the temperature often falls below freezing point, and the winds are of ice, and cut the body through and through. I have never in my life felt so cold as in the desert a hundred miles inland of Kuwait when a *yaki* or *jaduli*
242 wind has been blowing in December or January. Yet in spite of the
574 hard life, the Badawin is never in danger of actual starvation or of dying from want. His *ahl* (family) would never permit this, nor would the system of affording three days' hospitality to all and sundry —such a splendid feature of democratic Arabia—allow of a man reaching such straits. A person who is down and out, without a penny to his name, would in reality be far worse off in London than in Arabia, where he could always hope to find a black tent or two to sponge on.

[91] A Badawin's dream and ambition in life is to possess about a dozen
291 camels, next a wife, and afterwards a mare, half a hundred sheep and a *sakkar*—I am, of course, assuming that he starts with a rifle and a *dhalul* (riding camel). Give the desert man these essentials and he is a made man, for both camels and sheep double themselves in three years. Any male lambs that are born, he kills for food, the females he

15: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJI Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhofar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Rada need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves. 511
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Rada have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and shaikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Rada often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village shaikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Rada, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Rada love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they 577
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 461
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 315
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com-
panions. The Rada are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *Dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *Dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

camels to draw up the water, but the southern Rashid always lift it by hand. They lower a leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to either end of the rope which runs over the pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full the other descends empty. Men and women draw together on the well-ropes, four or five to each rope, singing in chorus as they work. We had not been here long before the camel herds arrived and the serious work of watering began. Great leather troughs supported on crossed wooden bumps were set up by each family around the well. Soon there was no room for more watering parties, and newcomers had to wait their turn. The buckets rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs above which the skinny camels pushed and thrust while their calves frolicked around. Shouting herdsmen, stripped to the waist, ran in and out among them, driving away camels which did not belong to them, and recovering the more important of their own. Others scrutched the hind-quarters of their favourite beasts, while they sang them their watering songs to induce them to drink deep. When they had drunk they were crouched nearby, to be watered again later in the day, before being driven back to pasturage. Round the well-mouth women filled their water-skins, which then lay swollen and quivering upon the ground, guarded from the trampling feet of the camels by dirty-veiled little girls, clad only in a leather fringe around their waists. Few of the women were veiled and all joined freely in the constant jests and laughter. Among them was a tall girl of startling beauty. She had come down to the well early in the day, carrying a water-skin and accompanied by her young sister. The centre of a happy laughing group of men, she dallied here till the evening.

A family of Ba'ir from off the mountains were camped under an overhanging cliff nearby, and they took us into their tent and drink coffee. Elements of the Bin Ma'ward, they yet differed from them in their dress and way of life. They were bandage-eyed bloodshot and wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion among the Southern Rashid, whereas the Bin Ma'ward wear ghal like the Northern Arabs in long white skirts whose pointed sleeves fell easily to the ground. They were returning to their homes in Rashad al Ba'ir, a two days' journey to the south. Plantations of sorghum and beans are grown there in a shallow valley, guarded by numerous stone-built forts and watch-towers, which look out across the dreary rocky plateau. Rashad is seldom visited by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of the Ba'ir, who have an evil reputation for

Ec. Rudan 1-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle Eas. M1
Bedouin M54

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organization has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organization is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organization, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek "protection" from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

The Shepherd Boy

Chap. III
At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the 'adhan (call to prayer), with which the day commences. It is still quite dark, but the prayer-call has roused the camp. The women also pray, but in their own tent. After prayers, the women whose duty it is to make the daily supply of *laben* (sour milk), starts rocking her goatskin to and fro on the *mirjakah* (wooden tripod from the centre of which it hangs). According to the tribe they belong to, some women sing when at this work, others do not.

The woman of the house then orders a little bitter coffee or tea (a modern innovation) to be prepared and gives some to the shepherd and the camelherd, who with the dawn will start off on their day's duties. With the coffee she hands them a supply of dates; part of this is eaten on the spot and part put into a little leather bag as the day's ration. If coffee or tea is scarce, the men are given a bowl of milk. While this is being done, another servant whose duty later will be to go and fetch water, etc., loosens the lambs from inside the tent, where each has been attached by a woollen loop to a central rope during the night, and allows each lamb to be suckled by its mother. This done, the lambs are tied up again. The grown-up animals are counted to see that no wolf has stolen one during the night, and off they are sent to graze in charge of the shepherd boy. As the sheep are weak from lack of fodder and the long summer, they will be sent a couple of miles at most. There the shepherd-boy amuses himself one way or another till the sun gets up and makes him feel inclined to rest. He thereupon plants his staff* in the ground and hangs his 'abba on top. This is enough to deceive the sheep into thinking the shepherd is standing near them and watching. They will not wander; the shepherd goes to sleep. There is no danger by day while he is in sight of the camp.

After the sheep go the camels. A few of these, being in extra poor condition as the result of the summer, find difficulty in rising. They are given a mouthful of dates to encourage them; one or two may have to be helped up, protesting with growls and bubblings as their tails are seized and given an upward twist. They are all ready now and the herdsman bursts into song of encouragement and leads the

* Called *mikhjad*. *Mikhjad* is the special stick which shepherds keep to hang their 'abbas on to prevent sheep and lambs from wandering. Every tent has one.

Najdi and Iraq sheep take no notice of the *mikhjad*, only the black sheep of Hasa and Kuwait. [See Bible. "They said, they shall, they comfort me"—here "staff" is undoubtedly the Arabian *mikhjad*.]

6/2 way, riding monkey-like on the hindquarters of one of the better-
2/8 conditioned animals, and looking as if every minute he would slide
4/2 off over the animal's tail. The herdsman's song is wild and weird,
[838] rising and falling in sentences. As often as not he starts off with a description of the beautiful grazing that his charges are going to find ahead of them. He pleads with his camels and says they are to trust him, their guide and helper. He it is who is leading them to pastures fair, and grass that is green and succulent. The camels seem to understand, for with sundry groans and moans, they slowly follow him in single file. As they disappear into the early morning mist, the last you see or hear of the party is the distant singing of the camelherd. Then all are swallowed up in the morning fog. Like the sheep, the camels will not go far. Five to eight miles is their limit just now. Grazing has been so pitifully scarce in their long summer camp they must be allowed to get fit slowly; presently they will go further afield. The camelherd does not sleep by day. His is a much more valuable herd. He watches, with rifle ready, even though there is not the slightest rumour of danger or trouble in the air. To while away the long day, he may look for truffles on the hilltops or occasionally try and catch a jerboa. In the main, however, he watches and watches till the time comes to go home.

6/2 The camels and sheep having gone out to graze and the sun being
2/4 up, the tent family will have a meagre breakfast consisting of a little tea without milk, and some dates. If the housewife is in funds she may issue a small ration of bread to all; more often than not they go without.

5/2 The daughter of the house with her small sister, or her girl friend
4/2 from the neighbour's tent, now starts off to collect brushwood for
3/8 the day's needs. *'Arfaj* is what they seek, and as this has a tough root, they arm themselves with a small axe and several yards of goat's hair
[95] rope to carry home the firewood on their heads. Other children of from five to ten years old often accompany the girls to see if they can find an early flower or a truffle. It is their one way of enjoying themselves, they have few other amusements. The girls move off with strong healthy stride, their long sleeves bound behind their backs to free their arms, and their skirts hitched up at the waist to give freedom of movement. How straight and supple they are! Daily this fetching

Fetching Water

in of firewood goes on, and the girls who common get in a two- or 5/2
three-mile walk every morning. It is good for them and makes them 4/2
strong, straight and fit to bear children later on, and they know it. 8/3

Two hours later they return, each bearing an enormous load of *'arfaj* bushes on their heads, and followed by the tired little mites who have gone with them. In the meantime the woman of the tent has 5/2
not been idle. She, with her sister, or old mother if she has one to 4/2
help her, has been running the family bedding (*lahaf*) and putting it away, or has been cleaning pots and pans from the previous night's meal and has tidied up the tent. She has sent off the spare shepherd 5/2
to go and fetch water from the wells they have just vacated, perhaps 4/2
10 miles back. He takes for the purpose a couple of male camels 3/2
kept back from the herd, on whom he loads up either two large camel water-skins, or four gunnies. This will suffice for the needs of the tent and its neighbours. Should a small *shawila* exist near them, as is often the case after rain, the daughters of the house will once again be sent off with gunnies (*gawal*) to collect the water—(a *shawila* is a small supply of water lying under the surface of a dry, sandy water-course which does not sink deep and disappear completely, because it lies on subsurface rock or clay). The girls scratch away the sand to a depth of two or three feet to reach the brown, muddy liquid. They ladle it into skins by means of a small cup (*fidda*) of tamarisk wood, and keep it on one side for drinking purposes only. The water is at first opaque and yellowish, but the silt soon settles.

To keep the water-skins cool during the day, a bed of *'arfaj* bush is made just outside the women's quarters, and all skins are laid on the bed.

By now it is time to prepare the midday meal. If the family is a 5/2
fairly prosperous one, rice will be cooked and made tasty with *samn*, 2/4
clarified butter of sheep's milk, and all will sit down and eat their fill. 4/2
If the family is a poor one, there will be no meal till sundown.

After the midday meal, the women of the house will first clean the cooking pots, and then start weaving any cloth that may be required for the tent, or if the tent is complete she will work on a *pile* or *mamad*, which in due course she will sell when she visits a town to do *mashlah*. A *pile* if well and artistically made will bring her in [98]
Rs.45 to Rs.50—a vast sum of money for a Badawin family.

Construction of Tent

343 These ropes are attached to the ground by wooden pegs if the ground
342 is firm, but if the soil is sandy the practice is to dig a hole two feet deep, tie the end of the rope round a bundle of *'arfaj* and bury the whole in the earth. An excellent anchor is thus formed, and a rope so treated
343 rarely comes away. When a man first buys a tent, he purchases the poles separately, next the necessary rolls of tent strips of the lengths he requires, then the *gatas*, ropes, side poles, etc., and lastly the back curtains.

He then hands the tent strips to his women, who start sewing them together under the experienced eye of one of the older women. Much skill and care is needed to sew up a tent so that it stands straight and does not give way at any of the seams, which are carefully drawn together and sewn with extra-strong all-goats'-hair thread.

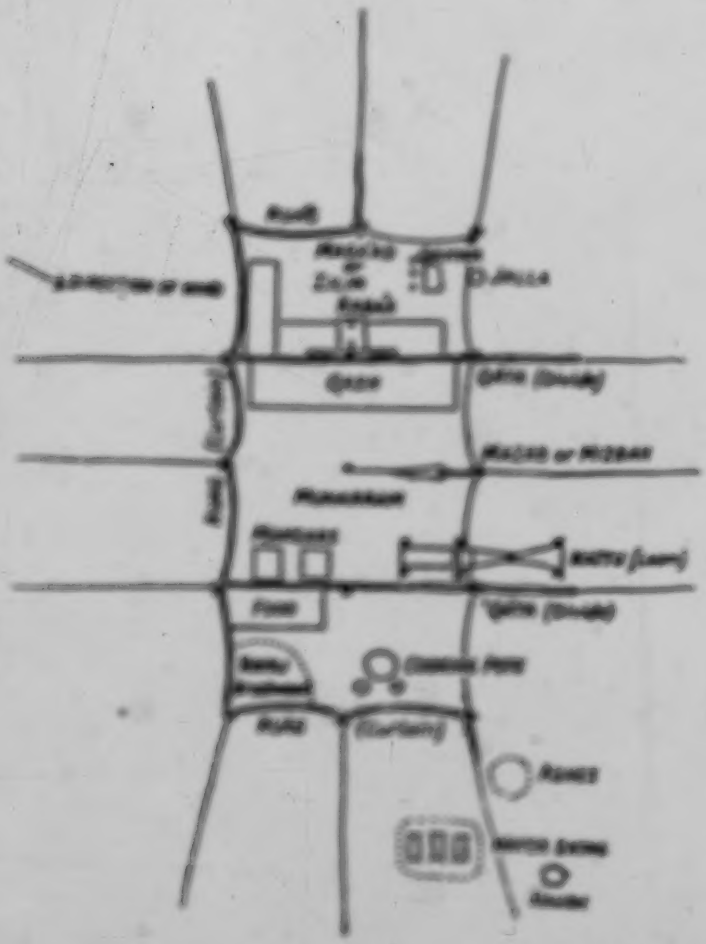
After the tent roof has been put together the *sarrijs* (plural: *sara'if*) have to be sewn on from side to side on the underside to support the poles and take the strain of the ropes. These are extra-strong white-and-black patterned strips 6 inches in width (like the Indian *sawar*). Immediately over the space where the roof bears on the tent poles, two strips of wood are sewn into the tent roof, each 2½ feet long, so as to prevent the tops of the poles tearing open the roof. Each wooden strip is called a *gada*. These wooden strips are not evident to the naked eye as they are rolled sausage fashion into the tent roof where the centre strips join. Each pole is placed exactly under the centre of the wood, and when in position does not damage the tent cloth. In the north proper holes are made for the tops of the poles in the tent ceiling, but not so among the tribes of Hasa and Najd.

Lastly the *ribbak* (plural: *arbak*) or scaffolder wood fasteners have to be sewn on to the ends of the *sarrijs* on which the ropes are fastened to the tent sides. This is a very important operation, so there must be no weakness here. The ropes (always thick hempen ones) are now tied to the tent and everything is ready for pitching.

343 The pitching process is always done by the women, assisted by
342 servants and slaves, occasionally also by a young man. It is supposed to be the women's particular job in life. The head of the family (*rais al bait*) directs the operation, and it is surprising to see how every person has a particular task allotted to him or her, knows it and sticks to it at every tent-pitching. The daughters of the house, for instance,

b. Durham G-5 (1929-47) [illegible] MI 1 Kuwait
Serial No. 1424

A THREE-POLED BADAWIN TENT (PLAN)



usually do the hammering in of the pegs with the long stone known as *al fir*, while the mourners attend to the poles and supports, etc.

The following are the orders the owner of the tent gives to his women and servants in the form of a regular drill, addressing individuals by name. Of course they are accompanied by a lot of chat and talk which need not be detailed here.

Men's Quarters

942. (1) "Spread out the tent *yo 'ajyel*" (O my people) (from its rolled up position when taken off the camel's back).
942. (2) "Stretch out the ropes *yo ambil*" (O children) (so that they are at right angles to the tent).
(3) "Anchor the rope ends in the ground *yo fakes we fakes*" (O So-and-So).
(4) or "Drive in the pegs and wind the ropes round them *yo Nasir*."
(5) "Tighten the ropes *yo Hazen, yo Wadin*."
(6) "Take a pull on the end ropes *yo Maryal, yo Nasir*."
(7) "Affix the *majadin*" (front-side, support-poles.) This is done on side away from wind.
(8) "Raise the centre poles"—the men's job.
(9) "Raise the back side poles and remaining end-side poles."
(10) "Now lay to and take a pull at all the ropes once more."
(11) "Now *rawaqa al bab*, i.e. attach the *rawa* or back and side curtains, and cover the lower edge with sand to keep them down."
(12) "Now affix the *ginn* or partition curtains."
(13) Lastly, "Spread out the carpet and the *dawakaks* and get ready the women's and men's portions of the tent". Women's quarters centre and left (*marqad al harim*), men's quarters right (*marqad al rijal*).

The tent is now fully pitched and the women place their treasures and stores in the centre portion of the tent, including their linen (*malaw, ginn*, etc.), sleeping gear, blankets, food, etc., and transfer to the end compartment the cooking pots, cooking utensils, etc., turning it into a sort of kitchen.

MEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

952. In the men's portion of the tent are then unrolled a well-worn carpet
§ 79 or two, the best *dawakaks* (mattresses), to sit on, and the master's own camel saddle covered with white or black sheepskin. Pillows (*mawasad*) are placed on both sides of this camel saddle, and also behind it for the guest's back to rest on, and generally the place is turned into a neat guest chamber for anyone who may
[211] come. The master now hangs up his rifle on a hook attached to the
946. tent pole in the guest chamber, and prepares a fireplace to make coffee
272. in the centre of the floor by digging out a shallow circular hole (*wajir*). This done, he gets out his row of three coffee pots (*dallas*), also a fourth "stock" pot, and lays them alongside the fireplace, together with the *mahawaw* (coffee roaster) and *yaal al mahawaw* (coffee-berry mixer).

Sanctity of Women

Chap. VII

If she is pretty, attractive and the daughter of So-and-So, she will 542
easily find a dozen other men ready to marry her. 587

As for her children: she remains the small ones till they reach the 556
age of eight, and then hands them over to their father's care, but they are never far from her, and are allowed to come and see her as often as they like. Nay, if she is a clever girl she will keep on quite friendly terms with her former husband, and call and see his new wife regularly. That is quite common practice.

Where the Badawin housewife has distinctive rights, is in the 542
management of the tent; she is *um al 'ayali* (mother of the family) 556
as well as *ruiyar al bait*. She holds the honour and good name of her husband in the hollow of her hand. Upon her falls the duty of providing for the guest, of cooking choice and tasty dishes, of turning out good *kibes*, and generally bringing the good name of her husband into prominence among his fellow Arabs.

The mistress of the house never sees or mixes with strange guests, 542
but she knows all that is going on, for only a curtain partitions separates 574
the women's from the guest's quarters.

The personal name of the lady of the house is never mentioned by the guest, or even by the host's own friends, she is *Um al 'Ayali* or *Ruiyar al Bait* only. Should a friend wish to ask after a man's wife, he will merely say to the husband, *Kaif hal Ili warrah?* or *Ukhtar um al 'ayali?* ("How is she who is behind you?" or "How is the mother of the children?"). Unpleasant bickings is taboo.

Even more carefully guarded and shielded are a man's marriageable daughters. They are never seen at all, except by those on very intimate terms.

Jokes about a man's getting married, and so forth, are quite com- 542
mon, and the young Lothario about to get spliced is always the butt 542
of his companions, but never is the woman's name brought into this form of rough chaff. That would be 'aib (a shameful thing).

The sanctity of a woman and her good name is more immediately 542
apparent in cases of war or hostilities between two tribes. 556

She it is who encourages her menfolk to go forth and fight bravely for her and come back triumphant. She it is, if the tribe has to be defeated, who unveils her face, lets down her hair, and measures the mettle of the tribe wildly to encourage the young and old men to

Reference Room
Mashal

Good-looking Shepherd Girls

[72] made with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Sug
[73] al Shuyukh and Nuziyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough
[74] breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

[221] The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October
[222] of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

[223] During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole
[224] of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of the pleasanter features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

[225] These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys
[226] laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

[227] These *khabra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in
[228] contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths hanging around the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

[229] The women with ladies either carry them on their backs on their
[230] march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The two faces peeping out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a more common sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and hardy, and easily ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

[illegible] way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
[illegible] hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of
[illegible] these wild horses on the march.

Hakra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
[illegible] each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
[illegible] to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The
result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye
can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The
above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns
in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing
is consequently gone over.

[illegible] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the
shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and
night, or make for home again.

[illegible] The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
[illegible] the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and
sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing
dries up.

[illegible] Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in
Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee,
clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed
behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a
joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

[illegible] To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
[illegible] Arabia, the Hakra pay *khuwwah* or *mashlah*, consisting of gifts of
[illegible] young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *qabla*
wholeheartedly, if money is in the air and they want to receive serious
protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials
are more in the enforcement of *qabla*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait,
whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives
his right to it.

[illegible] Kuwait is definitely the pioneer for the annual departure of the
Hakra, and their return the following year is always looked forward
to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the
merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the
Jahrah-Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity
of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

MJ.

I
A

(Above). Watering at Mawaddah well. The rope, at other end of which a leather bucket hangs, was now pulley attached to scaffolding above the well, and the water is immediately raised by hand—never by camels, as in the East. The well-rope (made of palm-fronds), pulleys, buckets and troughs are brought down to the well by each family, and taken away after watering is complete. There were always an impatient crowd of Arabs and a milling throng of camels round the well, which was usually exhausted by midday. (Right). To Arab women falls the duty of filling the goatskins used for carrying water to the desert.

[p.2]

p 399 (B)

I
A [SEE P. 399 (A) -- ANALYST]

St Hartson D-4 (1812-1934) 1934 MI Middle East
Bedouin 1934

spacious[1] chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhuun* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

1 [than the desert -- Analyst]

St Harbour D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin 19.54

if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort of existence.

But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates, and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the desert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin 347
in the transition stage to a more settled existence. 361

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of 341
sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents 139
as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Shariff stock
such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their [32]
members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and
regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the 345
pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter un- 347
doubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has
grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots
of *Andhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi,
are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-
bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs.
The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions 347
involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as 374
host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging 996
in the city.

Abidaw al Bada, is a common cry heard among the 'Arab-
dawin of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their
neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially [21]
their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful,
for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather
than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and
lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin
rider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is
an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or
defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with 235
either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the 323
tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either 617
of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As
sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which
they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined
than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds
has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

235 or form part to the normal camel tribes, or have stock of their own
665 and roam the outer desert in various formed tribal bodies. These
679 shepherd tribes are known under the general term of *Shawâwi* (singular: *Shâwi*) by town dwellers, or *Hidra* in the desert.

235 For example, in North-East Arabia we have the following:
679 (a) The great *Shawâwi* or *Hidra* shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq confederation on the Euphrates, who for seven months in the year move south into the great desert and only return with the advent of the hot weather. These in origin were the shepherds who looked after the flocks and herds of the Al Sa'adun hereditary Shaikhs of the Muntafiq in bygone days, but who to-day for the most part own their own stock. (See Chapter XLV.)

(b) The *Hirâdin* or *Shawâwi* tribes of the Mussir, a more or less self-community owing allegiance to that great tribe of nomads.

(c) The *'Awazim Ahl al Ghanam*, or people of the sheep, who care for the flocks of the camel sections of their tribe and are in closer touch with them. These 'Awazim shepherd tribes by no means confine their attention to caring for their own, or their camel brethren's sheep. They are such good shepherds and so well trusted that many of them come up to Kuwait to hire themselves out to those townsfolk who own sheep, and even take those sheep many miles south and graze them with their own in the Sudu region and 100 miles south of Kuwait town, where water is plentiful when summer sets in. Being honest in the extreme, they hold it a matter of tribal pride to account faithfully for every animal so entrusted to them.

The true Badawin nomads (*Bidân*) breed only camels, and for nine months in the year dwell in the interior of the far desert places, far away from civilization and towns, where the best grazing after the winter rains is to be found. Their object is to find the best grazing grounds, irrespective of water; this means the ground which has been rained upon. With the first signs of autumn, therefore, they anxiously look out for signs of rainstorms in the distant skies, indicated by lightning flashes at night, low down on the horizon, and they make for those areas, as if life depended on it. The bustard, the gazelle and other wild animals obey the same instinct.

679 These Badawin proper are entirely exclusive, and look upon them-
665 selves as the very salt of the earth, marrying only with exclusive

1 Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1956 MS I Kuwait
Reference 7474

CHAPTER XLI

The Sulubba

The word *Sulubba* is a generic term. The singular of the name is *Sulubbi*, and the plural *Sulaib*. 565 619

Much has been written about this low-class tribe, or more properly community.

They are found all over the northern half of the Arabian Desert roughly from a line drawn east and west through Madina and Riyadh in the south, to another line drawn from Aleppo to Mosul.

In the south they are more despised and looked down on than in the north, and their worldly possessions are less.

Practically every tribe within the area described has a community of Sulubba living with it, as they are found useful as members of posse and pass, hunters and trackers. [223]

Chief among the Sulubba's characteristics is their uncanny knowledge of the secret water-holes of the country they live in. They are valued for this knowledge by the tribe which protects them, as it is a great asset in war, and most useful on long raids. Some Sulaib, for this reason, are nearly always taken with a raiding party. [221]

Similarly a Sulubbi hunter is nearly always to be found in the entourage of a shaikh, as he usually knows better than others where gazelle and ostrich are to be found. [224]

The Sulubba are said to be Muslims, but few pray properly, and it would probably be true to say that they possess no religion, except when it is diplomatic to appear to have one as in Najd and Kuwait. [795]

The Sulubba men are in general a miserable fawning lot; they affect endearing and diminutive Arab terms of address, and are cringing in their manner.

Both men and women are good-looking above the average, especially the women, among whom there are often very pretty girls indeed. Their usually half-starved appearance is repellent, and gives colour to the Arab story that they eat offal and "animals they find dead".

black tents, moving about by the aid of donkeys which seem to form their only visible means of support. These Iraq Kadiyahs are thieves, bad characters, fortune-tellers, are versed in the art of palmistry of sorts, and last but not least their women are in demand for performing the operation of "circumcision of female babies", a rite which is widely practised in Southern Iraq, and among the Muntafiq tribes of the Euphrates and Beni Tamim Arabs.

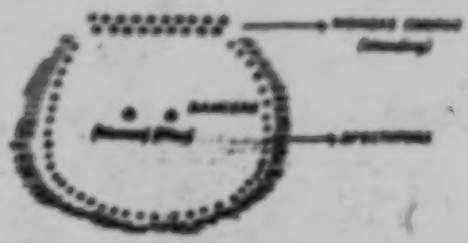
DESCRIPTION OF A SUBBI DANCE

(seen on 3rd June, 1934, at Kuwait)

The dance took place in the Subbiha Encampment near Qasr Naif just inside the Naif Gate. The occasion was the three days' feasting preceding the circumcision of a male child. For two days dancing had taken place, but the third day was reserved for the best and biggest show.

The usual cross with half a woman's *chaud* hanging to it or draped over it was in its place over the tent which was rejoicing, a sign to all and everyone that a dance was to take place.

The chief performer and master of ceremonies combined was an elderly man whose child had just been circumcised. He entered the arena formed by Subbihas male and female and other onlookers, waving a sword round his head and inviting the Subbhi maidens and Subbhi braves to come and join him. Presently, after marching round the human circle several times, there was a stir and from a



neighbouring tent a pretty young lass decked out in her festal garments (saffron, violet or green covered with her voile *chaud*), dashed into the circle, bare-headed and bare-faced with her tresses all undone

that the Sulubba believe that they originated from the Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf, but I have not heard this story. The few Sulubba I have asked usually replied that they came from an old people who were not Moslems. I imagine, however, that this was merely conjectural; I would not attribute these answers to ancient tradition. Two Sulubba once surprised me by saying that they were descended from Crusaders! But on pressing them for the origin of their statement, they admitted that they had been told so by a French officer in Syria!

The Sulubba are to be found in an area extending roughly from Damascus to Mosul in the north, down to Jauf, east of the Nefud, Hail, Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, the Tigris above Baghdad, and Mosul.

They are scarcely ever found in Trans-Jordan west of the Wadi Sirhan; I believe that they do not exist in the Hejaz or in the western half of Arabia. This distribution might reinforce the legend of their origin from Hasa Province on the Persian Gulf, from which they might well have emigrated north to the more fertile lands in Syria or Iraq, but would have been unlikely to have emigrated to the Hejaz, which is less fertile than the Hasa itself.

The Sulubba have long been regarded by the Beduins as a subject race. Many of them work as tinkers for the Beduin tribes and perform other menial duties. They have never taken part in the wars and feuds, which have occupied the greater part of the Beduins' lives for centuries. A Sulubbi, like a woman, was a creature with whom it was too inferior to fight. The Sulubba maintained a strict neutrality in raids, and, for fear of being beaten, told all raiders what they knew of the nature of the country and the movements of their enemies.

29: Glubb--4 G-2 (ca.1928) 1942 RJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin RJ4
Sulubba

[312] camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 [312] 297 463 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

438 221 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 178 During the last ten years, the desert belonging to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 797 721 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst

/s/ woman. Their mode of life is very much like
S43 that of other Anaiza Bedouins (not like Sulubba), but owing to the taint in their blood, no Bedouin tribe will intermarry with them.

OTHER BASE-BORN TRIBES

While the Sulubba are the lowest of the ignoble tribes, they are not alone. Arabia is full of base-born tribesmen, with whom the "thoroughbred" Beduin will not intermarry.

Hasin

These people seem to be a tribe of almost
[illegible] as low standing as the Sulubba. They do not, however, work as tinkers or hunters, but live a pastoral life, like the Beduins. The Hasin' live around Jauf or with the Ruwalla.

Sherarat

They live principally around Jauf, where they are collected into a considerable tribe, but members of the Sherarat are found scattered among the Ruwalla, Beni, Sakhr, Huwaitat, and
[illegible] Shammar. Among these tribes the Sherarat perform the menial tasks of servants and herdsmen.

The origin of the Sherarat is unknown. They are not as debased as the Sulubba, but they are
S42 far inferior to the Beduins. Their tents are
S15 usually very small and ragged, and their clothing even dirtier and much scantier than that of the ordinary Beduin.

ordinary Bedoin. While the Beduin is very jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more intimate with the desert than the real Beduins, are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far away in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels, used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

Br. Gt. Britain G-5 (ex. 1919) 1920 M31 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

greater Emirs or the Grand Sherif. These tribes are not only 609
controlled to some extent and directed to a common policy, but 577
also have a tradition of self-respect, which ensures the observance 621
of the Bedouin code of hospitality. As Doughty has well said, what stands to a Bedouin for religion is that which men will think of him. Fortunately the fame of a lavish entertainer and a protector of the guest is a condition of nobility among Bedouins; and an appeal against any action inconsistent with this will seldom be disregarded. A properly authorized stranger, whatever his creed, should have little to fear under ordinary circumstances among such tribes as the Shammar, the Ateibah, the Wuld 'Ali, or the Ruwellah.

What, however, does proper authority mean to the ordinary 609
Bedouin? Not the exhibition of any passport or other written docu- 577
ment. Letters from the chief Emirs, the Grand Sherif, or other great 486
sheikhs are very valuable if the traveller is passing from one of them
to another; but in ninety out of a hundred desert camps he will find [212]
no one who can read or will respect paper. The one thing needful is a *rafiq*, i.e. a companion derived from the tribe through whose range one must pass, or from some tribe allied with it or authorized to share its range. If possible, he should be a man of importance whose face will be recognized instantly by the desert men—a race which, like other unlettered races, keeps a long memory for faces and a very wide knowledge of personalities. Still better if he has been attached to the traveller by some well-known chief. The *rafiq* must be kept well in evidence and to the fore in case of such a sudden attack as Shakespear experienced at the hands of the Ateibah in Woshm, when a good deal of harm was done before his *rafiq* could make himself known in the night to the raiders. In territories controlled by a central authority, e.g. a sovereign Emir, a well-known man from the centre may suffice throughout; but even then it is better to take a *rafiq* from tribe to tribe. There are one or two [101
denominations of Arabs who are franked by all tribes and can them- 463]
selves conduct a traveller anywhere in more or less security; but it is rather less than more. Such are the *'Uqeil* (Agayl)—recognized carriers—and the *Sulubba* (Solubba)—tinkers, medical magicians, hunters—whom no one molests. But travelling with such folk entails the disadvantage that one must go where they wish to go and at their pace; and in disturbed districts near frontiers their aegis is not to be relied upon.

The efficacy of the *rafiq* system is based on the recognition that a 486
particular range or dira (*dirah*) appertains to each tribe, and even to 609
each main section of a tribe. Tribes sometimes hold their diras in common, as the 'Ajmān and Beni Khālid are said to do at present in

True Beduin coffee is strong, drunk without milk, but sometimes flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the outstanding social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, hollow sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a cleansing agent. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labeh*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samn*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to wash on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

Appendix XXIII

APPENDIX XXIII

Ref. Chapter XI, (*[illegible]*, p. [illegible])

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "[illegible]"

On May 16, 1949 Shaikh Nijir ibn Sulaim of Mohaiffa of the Mamir (Rwala section) told me that the dried leaves of the three well-known desert plants

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(a) Geyaiten (*Artemisia herba*)
(b) 'Ashrath (*Artemisia sp.*)
(c) Al Harmal (*Rhazya orientea Dene*)

were used with very good effect by the Rwala for syphilis, when smoked in a pipe.

APPENDIX XXIV

Ref. Chapter XXXII, Camel feed, p. [illegible]

In the vicinity of the great wells of Hafar al Batin, and in the Wadiyein region (Iraq-Sa'udi Arabian frontier) the "Geyaiten" herb is only eaten by camels, when they first leave the vicinity of wells in the summer. It is never eaten in the early spring.

Sheep will, on the contrary, eat the "Geyaiten" herb throughout the summer.

Authority Shaikh Nijir ibn Sulaim of Mohaiffa. (Mamir Rwala), May 16, 1949.

APPENDIX XXV

Ref. Chapter XXXIII, p. [illegible]

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "MANÎHA"

The term "Manîha" when used alone and not with "Dhabîha", means the loan of a ewe and lamb by one person to another who requires milk in his tent. Such ewe is returned when she has no longer any milk. Such friendly loans are constantly made by men rich in flocks and herds to their poorer less neighbours or friends.

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It is important to know this custom.

during years and centuries of raid and counter-raid. Men always 674
knew that to-day they might be top-dog and to-morrow the under-
dog. It was but wise and natural to declare women sacred. The Bedawin would valued wives and daughters above all other possessions, so the principle of "You let my womenfolk alone, and I will not harm yours" gradually became established. The rule holds good to-day all over Arabia. Unfortunately the fanatical Ikhwan, during the few years in which their influence was in the ascendant, a menace to both friend and foe in Najd, did much to upset this and many other excellent customs which are dear to the true Arab.

PROTECTION OF AN ENEMY WHO HAS SURRENDERED

The laws relating to surrender are dealt with in Chapter XXVI. 726
Suffice it to have say that a Badawin surrendering to another either in battle or raid, or if pursued and overtaken, is safe and entitled to good treatment.

In surrendering a man will definitely say to one of the other side: *Ya fulan ana fi wajh ak* (O So-and-So, I place myself under your protection). If he gets the reply: *Ana fi wajh ki, sallim sallihak* (You are under my protection, hand over your arms), the matter is finished, and the person who has accepted the surrender must go bail for his captive with his life. He has given him his wajh (face), and it would go hard with any member of his own tribe who harmed the prisoner later, and so blackened the protector's face.

The rules regarding surrender are very similar to those of *dakhala*. The man who surrenders is in the position of a suppliant, and an Arab does not ignore the fact. The only difference between the two is that when the enemy asks for quarter in battle, you may or may not grant his request. Once wajh is granted, however, the prisoner must be protected. A man who breaks this law is liable to a very heavy fine in camels or money, and he is never forgiven by his own relations.

THE RAFIQ OR KHAWI

The laws relating to the *rafiq* and *rufqa* generally, are equally 672
stringent, and are comparable to those of hospitality, only here the 484

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

572 honour of the tribe as a whole is at stake, not alone the honour of the
484 individual tent-dweller.

The word *rafiq* means a friend or companion. and in the desert sense he is a man whose duty is to see you safely through his people's country (*ammamhu*), and through his tribal territory, even if it so happens that his tribe is at emnity with your own tribe or people.

The *rafiq* usually does his business for a small fee.

A man desiring to travel, say from Kuwait to the Hijaz, would usually have to take *rafiqs* from the Mutair, Harb, 'Utaiba, Qahtan and probably the Bugum or other local tribe.

If a *rafiq* cannot for any reason accompany his client, it should be sufficient for him to give him his stock or cane (*'assa*), and notch same with the tribal *wasm* (mark) of his *bani 'dm*, or tribe, as a whole.

After handing over his *'assa*, the *rafiq* will let it be known by word of mouth, and arrange for the news to be passed on, that he has given So-and-So his marked *'assa* as *rufga* or safe conduct. No one will now touch the traveller throughout the whole length and breadth of the *dirah* owned or wandered over by the *rafiq's* tribe.

Under the strong arm of Bin Sa'ud, many efforts have been made to discourage and even abolish this system of the *rafiq* as unnecessary, and likely to bring the name and prestige of the Sa'udi Government into disrepute. Nevertheless, the *rufga* system is surreptitiously kept alive, as all men feel safer under a *rafiq's* protection than when trusting themselves to the tender mercies of some of the King's frontier guards, or inland governors.

It should be understood that as soon as you have safely passed through one tribal territory, the *rafiq* who has finished his job must find a new *rafiq* from the tribe whose territory you are about to enter, and so on till the journey is finished. It would be breaking the law of *rufga* if your *rafiq*, on completing his duties, deserted you and left you stranded. You could later get heavy compensation from the man and his shaikh, when you were able to prove your claim.

THE QASÍR (pronounced *gasír*)

621 The laws of *qusara* embody the duty of a Badawin towards his tent-neighbour.

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484

A BADAWIN FAMILY MOVING CAMP

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l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4
Muntafiq

Good-looking Shepherd Girls

tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq 721
al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough 713
breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October 221
of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the 233
southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole 462
of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of 484
the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys [432]
laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in [291]
contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the [854]
march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M14
Muntafiq

484 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
361 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
233 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[122] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

221 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
233 the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
648 Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhabîhah wa manîhah*, consisting of gifts of
431 young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakât* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakât*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

836 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

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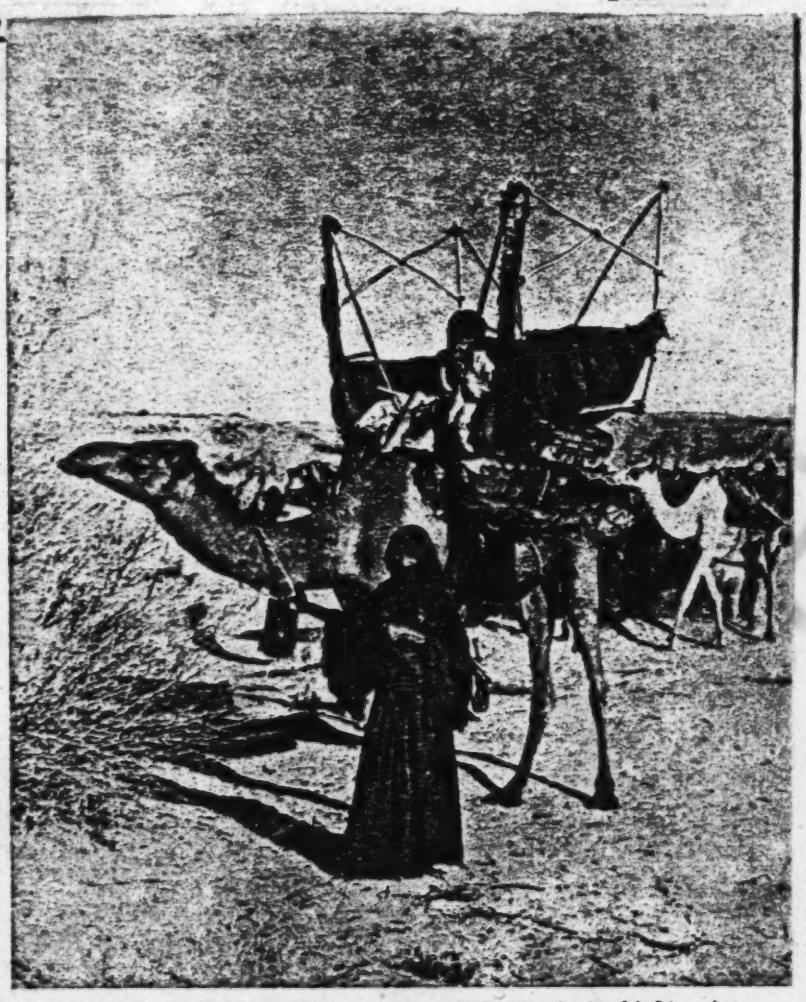

New arrivals at Mamwakh. These camel litters are peculiar to the Bin Ma'aref section of the Sa'ar and to other sand-dwelling Arabs; in them the women (some veiled and all wearing black) and infants travel during the march, which is usually very leisurely, being conditioned by such grazing as can be found for the camels

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Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XXVII

Desert Guides and Trackers

622 On 27th November, 1935, I visited and had a long talk with Shaikh
619 Mutluq al Musailim, the paramount chief of the Rashaida, in his camp. Among other things he admitted that his tribe was related to the great Hutaim group lying east of Madina. This is the powerful group whose paramount shaikhs are Ibn Barák and Ibn Naumas, and which as a whole is an "inferior" tribe.

485 He maintained that his people, the Rashaida, possessed without exception the finest guides throughout Arabia. He had men, he said, who could guide a stranger without any preparation from Kuwait to

(*a*) Damascus
(*b*) Amman
(*c*) Wejh
(*d*) Madina
(*e*) Mecca
(*f*) Ebha
(*g*) Najran
(*h*) Wadi Dawasir
(*i*) Riyadh and its environs
(*j*) Hasa and Qatar

485 The best guide in all Arabia was, in his opinion, Ibn Hadhabba of
828 his tribe, now employed by Ibn Sa'ud on his permanent staff. Ibn
151 Hadhabba was one of a family of that name, all of whom, even the women, seemed to be endowed with the same skill. The gift was born in these men, he said, not acquired in any way, and was akin to the sort of fifth sense an animal possessed. It mattered not if the sun shone or not by day, or if the sky was overcast at night, the Rashaidi could find his way anywhere. He never forgot a desert feature once seen, however small and insignificant.

On the other hand, Shaikh Mutluq admitted freely that his own tribe were not trackers. The palm in this science went easily to the Al Murra tribe of South Hasa and Jabrin. Tracking, or *ma'arifat al jarra* as it was called, was entirely different from the science of guiding or *ma'arifat al dalála*. The latter implied perfect knowledge of ground with a perfect eye for country, stars, etc., the former was more un-

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

canny, and consisted in an almost animal faculty for following up the 485
tracks of man, camel, horse or sheep, and describing from the tracks 828
the exact type of person or animal that had left its spoor. For instance, 151
it was easy for a Murri, he said, to say whether the tracks of a simple single camel were those of a white camel (*wadha*), or a brown camel (*humra*), or a black camel (*sauda*), and still easier to say if it was male or female, in calf or not.

The Murra skill was so great, contended Shaikh Mutluq, that in 485
following the tracks of a human female a tracker could say whether 151
the person was married or single, and whether she was pregnant or not.

I have myself observed some very remarkable examples of Murra skill, and have been told numberless others by men like H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, who would have no reason to exaggerate. The Murra tribe are related to the 'Ajman, and both claim descent from Yam, the ancestor of the Bani Yam of Najran in North-East Yaman. Possibly their origin is Himyaritic. All three tribes are considered *sharif* tribes, and in appearance are all more or less alike. They have broad foreheads, eyes set wide apart, and chin running into a sharp small point. This is especially the case with the women. The apparently weak chin is, in the case of the man, usually hidden by a finer beard than is common among other Badawin.

The following is a personal experience. In February 1920 I was 153
riding from Hufuf to Ojair in Hasa by a rather more circuitous and southern route than that usually used, as I wanted to examine the nature of certain ground. I had been the guest of Bin Sa'ud in Hufuf for some seventeen days. My escort consisted of twelve of Bin Sa'ud's braves under a youth called Bání. This fine young lad told me that he had just arrived in Hufuf from Riyadh for the first time in his life, and therefore had to depend on others' knowledge of the country. Half way to the coast we met an enormous herd of Murra camels with numerous baby camels slowly grazing in a northerly direction. The country was dune country and we did not see a soul, though no doubt all our movements were being watched by a hundred eyes.

Presently Bání suggested a drink of camel's milk all round. No sooner said than done. A she-camel was easily caught, milked into a panikin of wood (*jiddd*), and we all had a delightful drink. Coffee followed and we sat down for a twenty minutes' rest. Presently a

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ4

migrated from Central Arabia. Before Ibn Hadhdhal, the greatest 622
shaikh in the Syrian desert had been Ibn Jesham, who now lives in poverty on the Lower Euphrates.

It was, indeed, related that an Arab petitioner had once 181
accosted His Majesty King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud by the title of Chief of the Arabs, but that the latter had protested: "I take refuge with God, my son! The Chief of the Arabs is Ibn Hadhdhal." With less than 200 years of rule to their credit, the Sauds were a new family to the Arabs.

When this story was repeated to Ibn Hadhdhal, he interrupted the narrator to object: "I take refuge with God, my son!" said the old chieftain. "The chief of the Arabs is Ibn Jesham." Such was the modest chivalry of these old chiefs, although all of them were at war with one another.

From Ibn Hadhdhal I obtained a letter to Al Nuri ibn Shaalan, 122
chief of the Ruwallah. A retainer of Fahad's, Burjas al Dhafiri, was 628
detailed to accompany us on our journey, to save us from molesta- 485
tion by the Amarat. He could not, of course, protect us from raiders from other tribes. Burjas came from the Dhafir tribe, not the Amarat. He had been obliged to flee from his relatives owing to a blood feud, and had taken refuge with Ibn Hadhdhal, whose trusted retainer he had become. Burjas was so short-sighted that he was almost blind, but he knew the desert perfectly for hundreds of miles. As we rode along, he would cross-question us as to what we could see. "To the north-west, there should soon appear two low round hills each surmounted by a heap of stones, like a woman's breasts." "Can you see on the south a tall grey peak? It is Feridat al Wa'ar."

Burjas, half-blind, carried 200,000 square miles of desert in his 485
mind's eye, and could estimate when every distant landmark would come into view.

We made for the water-holes at Al Molussi, in the hope of 485
hearing news of Ibn Shaalan. The water-holes were in a narrow 609
valley at the foot of a rocky cliff. There was nobody camped on the water. We stopped to drink, when suddenly we were startled by a voice calling: "What are you, O camel riders?"

High above us on the rocky cliff face sat three men, each holding a rifle. Burjas argued with them without revealing our identity,

485 for we were at their mercy had they proved to be hostile. They
609 eventually identified themselves as Sba'a, a tribe friendly to the Amarat. They told us that they were picketing the well to watch for a raiding party led by Sultan al Tayyar—Sultan the Flier—of which they had received warning. They advised us to be on the look-out.

609 It was about ten o'clock one morning when we topped a low desert ridge and came in sight of a wide grassy hollow thickly covered with black bedouin tents, in the middle of which the huge tent of the shaikh was plainly visible. It was not without trepidation that we tapped our camels into their briskest walk, and closed in on one another, flank touching flank and neck to neck, so as to make a dignified entry. Perhaps because every man in the desert went with his life in his hands, and anyone he met might be an enemy, the bedouins were always careful to make a
609 dignified and reserved arrival at a strange camp. We dismounted,
576 hobbled our camels and, wrapping our cloaks around us, advanced at a stately walk side by side. A negro slave who was making coffee unrolled a rug for us to sit on. A few men sitting in the tent returned our salutation, and we sat down in silence.

609 Perhaps ten minutes elapsed before Al Nuri himself entered, a fierce, glowering face, with a hawk-like nose and bright, piercing eyes. He sat down without a word of welcome and another long silence ensued. At a scarcely perceptible gesture from the old man, his clerk rolled a cigarette and placed it between his fingers. A slave stepped forward quickly with a glowing ember in a tongs to light it. The shaikh puffed in silence and glowered round. Burjas rose and crossed the tent, and laid our letter of introduction before him. "Fahad sends you his greetings," he said. But the chief only grunted, and the letter remained lying in front of him on the ground. Another ten minutes of silence ensued. Then the shaikh beckoned his clerk to read the letter to him, for he could neither read nor write. Now at last, I thought, his churlish manners will change, for I knew what was in the letter.

The secretary read in a low voice in the shaikh's ear. When it was finished, the latter gave a grunt and relapsed once more into silence and cigarette smoke. The tension was increasing and I began to grow angry. The remainder of our journey was across

181 country. Few people in Britain have realized to what an extent personal and national freedom may be divorced, a point so clearly brought out by Gibbon at the head of this chapter. In Turkish days, the Arabs had no political existence, but as individuals they were as free as any men in the world. Their freedom admittedly owed nothing to Turkish generosity. It was due solely to the inability of the Government to control them.

485 We slept but one night in the camp of Ibn Shaalan. Next morning we set out once more, having bidden farewell to Burjas, and 609 accompanied by one Qasim ash Shemam, a swarthy villain, detailed to accompany us by Al Nuri. We had scarcely ridden for an hour when we were stopped by two camel riders who overtook us, waving their cloaks to show that they were not hostile, an advisable precaution in those days when the custom of the desert was often to shoot first and ask questions afterwards. They proved to be the nephews of the shaikh, Khalid and Trad ibn Shaalan. In contrast to Al Nuri, they greeted us only with smiles and expressions of welcome, and begged us to spend the rest of the day with them. We protested in vain that we had ridden for only an hour. Half laughing and persuading, half compelling, they turned the heads of our camels, and we soon came upon the big black tent concealed in a small valley in the bare, rocky hills.

There could be no doubt of the warmth of our welcome here. Not only were we obliged to eat and drink almost continuously all day, but Trad pronounced himself dissatisfied with our outfit. It is true that the weather was cold, and the Syrian desert can be bitter when a north wind howls over these barren steppes. First I was obliged to accept some warm gloves, then a magnificent pair of black French boots with pointed toes and buttoning halfway up the calf. I was doubtful for which sex they were originally intended. Sugar, tea, meat, bread and other additions were made to our provisions. It was with difficulty that I resisted the offer of a smart suit of clothes and a better riding camel.

An officer or administrator can rarely obtain a true impression of the people in the district in which he works. To do so, few methods can be better than to travel through the country unknown and poorly dressed, with one or two companions. I was quite unknown to Khalid and Trad, and they were themselves powerful

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
Bedouins. M54

and wealthy shaikhs, who had nothing to seek from me. Many 485
years later, I was able to acknowledge their kindness and do a very 609
little to help them.

Next morning we left the tent of Khalid and Trad, and set out 221
across the desert for the west. Before noon we came across a tribe 301
on the move, the vast flocks of camels walking and grazing slowly, the caravan of loaded camels, the shaikns' women in gaily decorated litters ornamented with red tassels and rows of white shells, the men and boys walking or riding, and the flocks of sheep. Half a mile ahead rode the chief with the advanced guard —three camelmen and two horsemen, one with a hawk on his wrist and a greyhound trotting beside his mare. Our guide, Qasim ash Shemam, must needs trot over to them to gossip. I rode 609
parallel to the group twenty or thirty yards away. Suddenly they all looked my way, and a stentorian voice called out, "God damn the English and Ibn Shaalan who shelters them!" The infidel and the stranger were not always welcome, it seemed. It was Fayyadh ibn Jendal, a tribesman of the old school. Ten years later I was to be a close friend of his son and nephew. But the fortune of the day brought us in the evening to Melih al Ga'ga, of a family who had been themselves chiefs of the Ruwallah before the rise of the Shaalan. Here we once more met with the same cordial welcome as from Khalid and Trad. An argument arose between our host and his young son in front of the tent. We could hear an exchange of angry words between them. Qasim later informed us that the boy demanded that his father slaughter a camel for our dinner, whereas the old man said that a whole sheep would suffice. Such are the extravagancies of Arab hospitality, amongst people who themselves live perilously near to the starvation level.

The ensuing days were less eventful. A bitter north-west wind 000
howled in our faces. Sand and dust filled the air so thickly that we could see only a few hundred yards. At night we failed to find any tribal camps, and shivered cheerless in the open, beneath the gusts of stinging sand. It was not safe to light a fire for fear of raiding parties.

The camel is capable of covering great distances in twenty-four 492
hours, but the idea that the "swift dromedary" skims across the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
619 **Huteim** (*continued*):	*Beni Rashīd* (*continued*):	*Fehjāt*
		Bedaunah
101	*Jerābis.* Nr. Wejh	
622 **Sulubba**	*Seidān.* In Nejd	
	Ghaneimi. In Nejd	
	Suleib Ibn Mālik. In 'Irāq and the Hamād	
Hawāzin No Paramount Sheikh of their own tribe, that authority having passed to the Sultan of Koweit	*Kā'ah*	
		Hadhālīn
		Bureikāt
		Shaqufah
	Ghiyādh	
		Malā'ibah
		Musāhimah
		Musā'idah
		Adhyeibāt
		Jawāsirah
		Muhālibah
		Muweijīyah
		Aghrubah
		Karāshah
		Sawābir
Sunnā'. Smiths		
Nawār. Gipsies		

7. *The 'Uqeil*

•485 The **'UQEIL** (Ageyl) are the guides and conductors of caravans in Arabia. They are not a tribe but an organization partaking of the 575 nature of a club or society or a masonic lodge. They have no connexion with the ancient 'Uqeil tribe of the Ahl esh-Shimāl, from whom the Muntefiq claim descent; this seems to have disappeared and left no trace. The modern 'Uqeil are all Nejd Arabs, townsfolk or nomads of any tribe from Hasa, 'Āridh, Qasīm or Jebel Shammar; but men of Sedeir and the Wādi Dawāsir are not admitted; nor are members admitted from any of the big tribes, such as the Harb and Ateibah, who are engaged in interminable blood feuds, the object being to keep the 'Uqeil society neutral. Settled Beni Tamīm and Beni Khālid of Nejd and Qasīm are most suitable for its purposes. The head-quarters of the society are at Baghdad, and its president, who is always a native of Boreidah, lives at Baghdad and there enrols the members.

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BEDOUINS MJ4

The 'Uqeil are of two kinds: **Jemāmīl**, camel-men forming the fraternity of caravan leaders, and **Dhogorti**, poor men, pedlars and mercenaries, who help to compose an irregular cavalry under the Ottoman flag and serve as escort to the Hajj and as guards to the *kellas*, stations or halting-places, on the Hajj road. These last do not belong to the society. The true 'Uqeil are recognized throughout Arabia as professional guides whose presence vouches for a caravan of merchants or travellers and removes it from all suspicion of hostile intentions. It is the 'Uqeil who conduct the camel-trade of the desert, being employed by the dealers of Damascus to purchase from the tribes in Arabia, in the Syrian Desert, and in Mesopotamia.

Such an institution as this society, with universal freedom of passage, is essential to the conduct of business in Arabia, where no tribesman, unless he be engaged on a raiding expedition, dare venture outside his own tribal territory for fear of hereditary feuds and enmities which imperil his existence. The possible service they can render to European travellers is dealt with on p. 21. It is very dangerous for such a traveller to assume the character of an 'Uqeil: but Arabs, who wish to shield the caravan in which the traveller is from molestation, will sometimes impose it on him (this was done to Shakespear near Wādi el-'Arabah in 1914). His best course then is, on the approach of any stranger, to feign illness and remain rolled up, face and all.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

224 ily narrowed as it drew near. They started hundreds of gazelles that fled past us, but Sheykh Tai' and his men shot only a few of the fat bucks in their midst.

During the day's hunting, our party gave chase to fifteen wolves, of which nine were killed. One of them had made a kill of two gazelle kids, whose remains were still lying about. The mother, who perhaps at first had fled, returned and stood near by, bleating, as gazelles will. I could not bear the pitiful cries of the poor animal and gave her the *coup de grâce* with a bullet. It was the only gazelle I have ever shot, for I could never bring myself to kill these beautiful, graceful creatures.

It was evening before our body of huntsmen, laden with booty, arrived back in camp.

574 Three days after the wolf-hunt a slave of Mishal ibn Faris, Chief of the Shammar Bedouins, arrived, with an invitation to me from his master to visit him and his tribe, which was then camping south of the Jabal Sinjar. [431] He also sent me as a present a golden-brown *aba*, such [486] as is worn by the Shammar in Hayil. It was to serve as a symbol which would ensure a safe journey for me, and his slave would be my guide.

619 The Shammar and the Tai' Bedouins are hereditary 628 enemies and their pasture lands are always, and were especially now, very dangerous regions in which to wander. Therefore, this was an act of particular courtesy and attention on the part of the old *sheykh* to give me safe conduct to his camp.

574 The following day I bade farewell to the Tai' Bed- 431 ouins. Unfortunately, I could not accept the mare

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

651 Bin Sa'ud has on more than one occasion broken this rule, and has
641 endeavoured to send his tax-gatherers after his tribes into neighbouring states, because he did not approve of his people migrating for summer into adjoining states.)

The case of Mishal al Timiat (Shammar) and his people who camped at Subahiyah in Kuwait in the summer of 1935 is a case in point. Instead of inviting the Shaikh of Kuwait to take the tax, Bin Sa'ud took it himself and upset the local political situation not a little. The Shaikh of Kuwait naturally did not ask for the tax to be paid twice over, as he had the right to do, for it was not worth having a ro . with
651 his powerful neighbour. There is a definite season for taking *zakát* throughout Desert Arabia. This is in June and July of each year, when the Badawin have settled on water for the summer. The authorities know they cannot move, so the collection of the tax is easy. At any other time of the year the Badawin would be able, by their mobility, to evade the tax-gatherers.

When the tax-gatherers start on their work, and find "strange" Badawin not yet camped on water, but obviously about to do so, they give them warning and say, "If you intend to come to such and such wells for the summer, you realise that you will have to pay *zakát*, don't you? If you are not willing to do this, then better depart at once"; in other words, "either stay and pay, or don't pay and get out."

Although these *zakát* customs are as old as the hills, there is nothing to prevent one state, say like Sa'udi Arabia, making a special agreement with another state like Iraq, whereby each state takes *zakát* from all tribes of the other state which come wandering into its territories, whether the intention is to make a short sojourn or stay the summer through. Such arrangement would have the obvious advantage of preventing foreign tribes from crossing the border to evade payment of home *zakát*.

KHÁWAH

(only paid by inferior tribes and caravans to superior ones)

651 *Kháwah* is a sort of *insurance tax* paid by strangers who enter
• 486 territory which is not theirs. For instance, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI
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Muntafiq

entering Harb country in Sa'udi Arabia would pay *khâwah* to the Shaikh of the Harb. The tax would consist of a few sheep, possibly some *dehen* (clarified butter) also, and usually is a fee agreed upon. With the rise of Bin Sa'ud, the taking of *khâwah* has been officially banned, but it continues nevertheless *sub rosa*. The Iraq Government are said to be also trying to abolish the tax and follow in Bin Sa'ud's footsteps. Whether they will succeed or not is as yet uncertain (1936).

A caravan passing through a great tribe's territory would also before the rise of Bin Sa'ud have paid *khâwah*. On one occasion the 'Ajman and Bani Hajir tribes blockaded Kuwait because Qasim merchants refused to pay them this *khâwah*. This was in Mubarak's time, and he retaliated by forbidding 'Ajman *musâbilah*, that is, he prevented them from coming up and buying supplies in Kuwait town, and arranged with Zubair and Jubail to do the same. The payment of *khâwah* entitles the payer to protection.

DHABÍHAH AND MANÍHAH ("SHEEP AND SERVICE")

(only paid by inferior tribes to superior tribes)

A curious custom has its origin in the days of Shabib al Sa'adun, the ancestor of the present family of that name and shaikhs of the Muntafiq. When Shabib first entered Iraq and settled in 'Ajwad country (Gharaf), his son happened to get killed by some shepherd tribes. Being anxious to strengthen his position he refused to take a life for a life, or to accept blood money, but made a condition that (1) he should never be required to rise if any 'Ajwad shaikh entered his presence; (2) that every shaikh should kiss his cheek or shoulder and their sons his knee or his feet, according to seniority; (3) that when he went among the 'Ajwad tribes they should always provide free his requirements of sheep's milk, wool, or young male lambs, for food.

The 'Ajwad tribes of the Gharaf gladly agreed, and the term *Dhabíhah wa Maníhah* was applied to the conditions imposed by Shabib al Sa'adun, which interpreted means *sheep and service*.

To-day *dhabíhah wa maníhah* is well understood in North-East Arabia and has become a recognised custom among shepherd tribes. For example, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe enters Kuwait in search of

151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival.
609 But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give
574 away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and
264 then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how
[271] quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet
576 no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when
● [486] everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he
577 would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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greater Emirs or the Grand Sherif. These tribes are not only 609
controlled to some extent and directed to a common policy, but 577
also have a tradition of self-respect, which ensures the observance
of the Bedouin code of hospitality. As Doughty has well said, what 621
stands to a Bedouin for religion is that which men will think of him. Fortunately the fame of a lavish entertainer and a protector of the guest is a condition of nobility among Bedouins; and an appeal against any action inconsistent with this will seldom be disregarded. A properly authorized stranger, whatever his creed, should have little to fear under ordinary circumstances among such tribes as the Shammar, the Ateibah, the Wuld 'Ali, or the Ruweilah.

What, however, does proper authority mean to the ordinary 609
Bedouin? Not the exhibition of any passport or other written docu- 577
ment. Letters from the chief Emirs, the Grand Sherif, or other great 486
sheikhs are very valuable if the traveller is passing from one of them
to another; but in ninety out of a hundred desert camps he will find [212]
no one who can read or will respect paper. The one thing needful is a *rafīq*, i. e. a companion derived from the tribe through whose range one must pass, or from some tribe allied with it or authorized to share its range. If possible, he should be a man of importance whose face will be recognized instantly by the desert men—a race which, like other unlettered races, keeps a long memory for faces and a very wide knowledge of personalities. Still better if he has been attached to the traveller by some well-known chief. The *rafīq* must be kept well in evidence and to the fore in case of such a sudden attack as Shakespear experienced at the hands of the Ateibah in Woshm, when a good deal of harm was done before his *rafīq* could make himself known in the night to the raiders. In territories controlled by a central authority, e. g. a sovereign Emir, a well-known man from the centre may suffice throughout; but even then it is better to take a *rafīq* from tribe to tribe. There are one or two [101
denominations of Arabs who are franked by all tribes and can them- 463]
selves conduct a traveller anywhere in more or less security; but it is rather less than more. Such are the *'Uqeil* (Ageyl)—recognized carriers—and the *Sulubba* (Solubba)—tinkers, medical magicians, hunters—whom no one molests. But travelling with such folk entails the disadvantage that one must go where they wish to go and at their pace; and in disturbed districts near frontiers their aegis is not to be relied upon.

The efficacy of the *rafīq* system is based on the recognition that a 486
particular range or dīra (*dīrah*) appertains to each tribe, and even to 609
each main section of a tribe. Tribes sometimes hold their dīras in common, as the 'Ajmān and Beni Khālid are said to do at present in

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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609 northern Hasa; and there are certain districts, containing but few
486 wells, where several tribes, each having a right of watering, cross and recross each other's dīras, without committing thereby acts of trespass, though not without engendering frequent friction. Such, for example, are the steppe west of Jebel Shammar and that north-east of the same district towards the lower Euphrates valley. For the right of crossing a dīra the traveller is expected to pay in money or kind to the chief, who often drives a very hard bargain, but should not be regarded as levying blackmail. After all, in return for the payment, he and his tribe concede protection and allow the traveller to consume some of their very scanty supply of fodder and
621 water. All Arab society is patriarchal. Some one man can answer for each unit, and among the best Arabs for very large units. The traveller's chief danger arises where tribes are small or so broken up that not more than one or two families recognize a chief.

486 There is, however, one recognized exception to this sanctity of
721 dīras, namely, the right of every tribe, or even section of a tribe, to raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, unless
577 barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship. To go
621 out on raid (*ghazwah*) is the young man's chance of proving himself, and to provide him with that opportunity is virtually obligatory on all tribes, except the meanest. The greater chiefs, like their ancient cousins, the Assyrian kings, make an annual practice of the Raid. The farther afield it goes, the greater the glory in a society punctiliously sensitive to public opinion. Raiding parties may, therefore, be met very far from the ranges of their own people, and no district is quite safe from them. They may generally be recognized by their travelling light, without women, and on high-bred camels. The *rafīq* is powerless against them in his own dīra, except possibly through some lucky friendship on his part or the repute of his tribe. But raiding parties are not very particular. They will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attack, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognized part of the game, and entails no slur on the courage of any members of the party.

486 The more the traveller can learn and retain in his mind of the
181 genealogy of individuals and tribes, in a land where pedigrees are very widely known back to a hoar antiquity and inordinately valued,
574 the better for his safety and the impression he will make and leave on his hosts. He should know also, as far as possible, the political grouping of tribes and recent desert history. If, like Doughty, he

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1
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travels *in forma pauperis*, he can avail himself, more than one who takes his own tents and servants, of the protection which Arab usage enjoins a Bedouin to extend to one who has touched as suppliant any part of his tent or belongings or eaten of his food. Strictly the efficacy of the last safeguard expires on the third day, when all that was eaten on the first is supposed to have passed out of the body. It is often worth while to appeal from the men to the women, whose instincts of hospitality, independence, and freedom of action are pleasing features of Bedouin life.

It is worth while to remember that no Bedouin society is wholly self-supporting. Even if it can supply itself with sheer food from its own dīra, or some purely Arabian oasis—which it rarely can—it is dependent on the outer world for other necessaries, as well as for any sort of simple luxury. Clothing materials, coffee, tobacco, and, to a great extent, arms and munitions can only reach it from ports, or from the settled districts on the fringes of Arabia. Those, therefore, who control such ports or districts can always exercise an influence upon the desert men, however inaccessible, command their behaviour in the long run, and punish their hostility.

From a military point of view Bedouins make very valueless auxiliaries of trained troops, except as scouts and raiders, or, if long, hot, and waterless stages have to be covered, as messengers.

Settled Folk.

The principal settlements will be dealt with in the special chapters on localities (see Chaps. IV ff.), followed by detailed descriptions of the tribes themselves (see Chaps. XIII ff.)

The ubiquity of nomads in Arabia explains and partly excuses common ignorance about the real extent and importance of its urban and village societies. To say that all the Arabs of the peninsula are Bedouins, or that its society is either nomadic or semi-nomadic, is far from the truth. Not only do the fertile coastal districts in the south-east and south-west of the peninsula contain numerous urban and village communities, rooted to the soil and engaged in agriculture and trade, while the goals of the Pilgrimage, Mecca and Medina, with the port of Jiddah, are considerable towns; but, as has already been pointed out, the three groups of oases in the centre support urban settlements, several of which have over 5,000 inhabitants apiece, besides many agricultural villages, large and small.

It is, however, true that all settled communities in Arabia are affected, in various degrees, by the nomad society, which is never far from them, and often surrounds them. There is much intermarriage between the settled and the unsettled folk: chiefs and

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

which their chieftain had offered me as a souvenir, for 574
we had to travel by automobile. But I accepted two 431
rarer gifts, and these heirlooms to boot. They were an ancient wood-carved coffee mortar, which had been in the possession of Sheykh Tai's family for generations. This pledge of his affection and friendship (as he called it) he had wrapped in an equally precious gift—three [531]
pieces of black cloth, artistically embroidered in gilt-silver thread, with verses from the Koran in Arabic calligraphy. They were choice pieces of the Ka'aba, which Sheykh Tai's great-grandfathers had brought many years ago from Mecca.

Loath as I was to accept such precious gifts, I was constrained to do so.

"We are brothers," said Sheykh Tai'. "Like the wolves. God be with thee. May He direct thy footsteps some future day into my dominions, so that I may meet thee again."

After bidding farewell to this wild, romantic and 493
noble man, we cruised about in our old motor-car for five days along the southern foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, visiting the camps of various lesser tribes. Motor fuel we obtained from their *shiyukhs*.

Nowadays, nearly all of them own motor-cars, and on their migrations they carry a fairly large stock of gasoline with them on their camels.

At last we reached the wide plain through which runs 487
the old historic caravan route from Deyr ez-Zor to Mosul and Baghdad. There we found the first outposts of the Shammar, and there also we parted from the 000
faithful Ibrahim. I paid him handsomely and sent the

[See pp. 163-167 cat. 116 for explanation of this statement — Analyst]

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money 177
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves.
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 511
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badui often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they 577
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 461
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 315
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com-
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

233, 166, 492 Bedouins MJ4

[For information pertaining to the Shammar and their pastoral activities, migrations, animal transportation, and the like, see 12: Glubb, MG1 Jordon, category 116, pp. 19-22.]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M-54

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SAND DUNES

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facing page 16

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

XXV

Honour among Thieves

At Deyr-ez-Zor I was eventually able to arrange for the transfer of the young stallion to Egypt by way of Aleppo and Beyruth. It was a tremendous journey, as it had to be done on its own feet; but by slow stages the Arab, who accompanied the horse, succeeded in delivering him in good condition to my friends in Egypt. 000

Meanwhile Ali and I roamed further afield and rode to the pasture-grounds of the Fid'an, then camped at the northern foot of the Bishri Mountains, west of the Euphrates. There, also, the tent of Mijhem ibn Meheyd was pitched, and he received us hospitably. We spent several pleasant days with him.

He then led his tribe southwards into the Wudian [221] area, east of the Hamad. We accompanied them through the Jabal Bishri and camped with them south of these hills. There I decided to say farewell to Ibn Meheyd, and bade Ali buy three especially strong *dhaluls* (racing-camels) and two mares. With Ali alone, and these animals, I struck through the Hamad desert, to make my way to the Ruala and to Damascus. On the first day we 443 fell in with a small caravan of four men with twenty- [492] odd camels and six stallions.

From this combination alone (for Bedouins never ride [721] stallions on a raid) it was clear they were peaceful travellers. In fact, they were *Akhayl* or camel-traders from Inner Arabia, who had purchased camels and young

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

keeps for breeding. Similarly, young male camels are sold for food 231
and only a selected few retained to carry the household tents and [492]
baggage.

Mares are never sold, and the male foals, if not killed at birth, are a source of income when sold in the towns bordering on Arabia. (See Chapter XXX.)

The Badawin of the desert has a charm of his own, and if you 572
once make friends with him or do him a kindness, he does not forget. 577
He is above all things a child of nature, and is ruled by a strange pride which he calls his *sharaf* and which he values almost above life itself. Scold a desert man or call him ugly names, and he is ready to knife you; at the very least he will sulk, dig his toes into the ground and do nothing that you wish. On the other hand, if you treat him kindly, invite him to sit down in your tent and take a cup of coffee with you, you have gone half-way to win his friendship and confidence. If you treat him as an equal, and not as a servant, even if he is merely your guide or escort, he will react wonderfully and will rarely take liberties.

He is full of humour too, and will understand a joke and a good 522
story, but you must not make fun of him before his fellow Arabs.

Next to his *sharaf*, the Badawin, and for that matter every true 577
Arab, values his family honour or *'ardh*. This word implies the good name of his womenfolk and more especially of his wife and sister. If his *'ardh* is besmirched nothing short of killing the errant woman will restore it. Respect the Badawin's *sharaf*, speak well always of his *'ardh* and help him to guard both, and all will be well with you in your relations with him.

However poor he is and however lowly his dwelling-place, the 574
Badawin excels as a host, and will slay his last camel or sheep to do honour to his guest. Nor are his womenfolk behindhand in this respect. If an important personage passes by her tent in the absence of her husband, the wife will run out of her tent holding out a frothing bowl of camel's milk or *leben*, as a sign of welcome.

THE BADAWIN'S FAULTS

The desert man has his faults, of course, and by Western standards 000
they are grave.

L. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

342 it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
515 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier
514 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

515 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
233 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

492 When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jamal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family
[291] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *maksars* or *ginns*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalúls*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *nawwakh al dhalúl* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

701 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
221 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalúls* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*shúr*) have

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER V

Tent Treasures

MEN'S PORTION OF TENT

(*see sketches*)

492 The following articles are always to be found in the guest or men's portion of the tent, *al raba'a.*

[631] (*a*) *Shadád*—riding saddle, rear pommel usually richly inlaid with finely polished lead patterns having the appearance of silver, and similar to the inlay work on incense burners. Made of tamarisk wood (*ithil*).

Ja'ad—white or black sheepskin covering for riding saddle.

Ghaṛál al shadád—pommels of riding saddle.

(*b*) *Misáma*—pack saddle, also made of tamarisk wood. The thongs used to tie the cross-pieces A A to the saddle arch B B, are made from the sinews of the camel's neck: one of these exists on either side of the neck. They are as long as the neck, and as thick as a thin wooden pencil. There are several patterns of pack saddles, the commonest is shown in the sketch p. 85.

(*c*) *Kharj*—men's saddle-bag, it hangs over the top of the *shadád* under the sheepskin covering or *ja'ad.*

NOTE.—Men's saddle-bags and women's ditto must be, if well made, 3 *shibbrs* and 1 *chaf* in width, i.e. 3 spans plus distance between extended thumb and forefinger. The richest and most fancied in Arabia are made in Kuwait and Hasa.

415 (*d*) *Dalla* (plural: *dallial*)—coffee pot, minimum set of three. (Drawing shown is type used in Kuwait.) With the coffee pot is always found the *lifa* or piece of coir or hemp which is stuffed into the spout as a strainer to prevent coffee grounds entering the cup.

[412] (*e*) *Háwan*—mortar, usually of brass, for pounding coffee berries. Sometimes a plain iron cylindrical mortar and pestle is used by poorer Arabs, or a wooden mortar and stone pestle, light and convenient for those going on journeys.

(*f*) *Mahmása*—coffee roaster. It is made of iron with brass bands let into the handle and having the appearance of gold. It is always fastened by a chain to the *yed al mahmása.*

Yed al Mahmása—coffee stirrer.

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Bedouins MJ4

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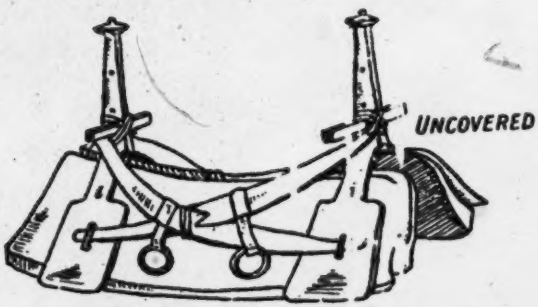
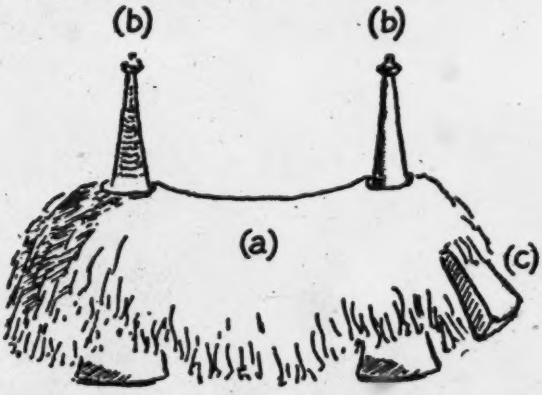
Camel Saddles

RIDING CAMEL SADDLE

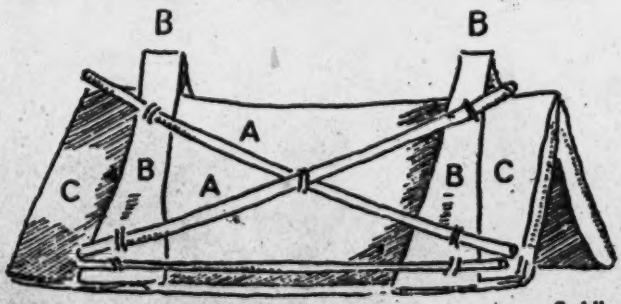


AL SHADÁD OR RIDING CAMEL SADDLE



(a) *Al Ja'ad*, black or white sheep-skin covering saddle.
(b) *Ghazál al Shadád*, pommels.
(c) *Musainad*, leather cushion to rest leg on when crossed in front of saddle.

AL MISÁMA OR COMMON PACK SADDLE



A, A. Cross pieces tied to saddle arches. B, B. Saddle arches.
C, C. Weight-carrying pads, made of sacking and stuffed with chopped straw fodder.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Men's Saddle Bag

492

AL KHARJ (MEN'S SADDLE-BAG)

A. Saddle bag goes right over saddle. Two holes permit the pommels to pass through. Sheepskin is laid on afterwards.
B. Solitary, ornamented piece hanging from both sides of rear pommel (*safisa*).
C. Three fancy woollen cords that pass from rear of saddle bag, close to pommel, and extend over camel's quarters.

The off-side bag is joined to the near-side bag by a one-piece strip (whereas the women's *mizdwal* are two entirely separate bags). Twelve ornamented strips 1½ in. broad ending in a tassel hang down from the saddle bag, seven of them are attached to its lower edge, while five hang all the way from the top.

The whole is rich red in colour, picked out in yellow, white, black and violet.

Men's Treasures

Chap. V

(*g*) *Markab*—tripod for cooking coffee on. (Used in better-class tents only.) 415

(*h*) *Malgat*—pincers (tongs).

(*i*) *Mukhbat*—wooden peg to stir boiling coffee.

(*j*) *Shat fanajil*—brass case for holding coffee cups, usually engraved round sides with patterns or texts in Arabic.

(*k*) *Finjal* (plural: *finajil*)—coffee cup.

(*l*) *Mubarrad*—wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans after roasting, studded with brass nails.

(*m*) *Mabkhar*—burner for frankincense (*luban*) or sweet-smelling wood (*'udh*). The word is from the same root as *bukhúr*, incense. Made of tamarisk wood inlaid with brass and finely studded lead patterns, or made out of *juss* (gypsum) with sides carved out in various patterns.

(*n*) *Jiddá*—wooden bowls made of tamarisk wood, all sizes, studded with brass nails, and inlaid in silver or lead.

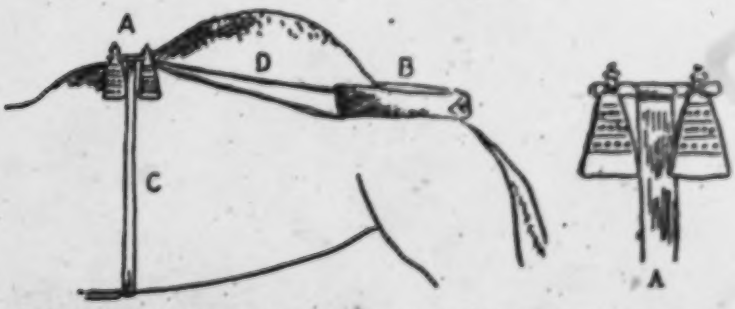
(*o*) *Miraka*—finely worked fancy leather apron, which hangs down in front of camel's chest and stretches to its knees, used by Shaikhs and leaders. [492]

(*p*) *Jiffar al tufaq*—leather bag with tassel at muzzle end to carry rifle.

(*q*) *Mishd'ab*—camel stick (sidr-tree wood).

AL FULÁNI

Special riding saddle favoured by the tribes of Southern Hasa, Trucial Coast, and Oman, for fast and light work. Found also among Bani Hájir, Sbei and 'Ájman tribes (southern sections) 492



A consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches in dark hard wood, two on each side, both pairs being joined together by a piece of stout wood, to which the girth is fixed.

B consists of a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress on which the rider sits, behind the hump.

C is the girth.

D are two ropes holding B in position and preventing it from slipping off.

Saddling a Camel

492

SADDLING A CAMEL

(a) Showing how saddle frame fits the camel's back, without showing trappings, etc.

(b) The pommels are actually two bits of wood joined together by metal pegs each half being rather like a spade with handle.

(c) To *aggal* a camel means to tie up its fore leg as per sketch. If the camel is obstreperous both legs are tied up and a rope goes over the neck, joining the leg cord on each fore leg.

RISAN

(d) *Risan* or camel head-stall. Rope from head-stall to rider always lies on left side of camel's neck.

(e) *Risan* in position.

Men's Clothes

Chap. V 492

(*r*) *'Assa*—camel stick (made of cane).
(*s*) *Bakúra*—camel stick (cane).
(*t*) *Miẓúda*—the small bag made of wool or leather for carrying money, *hail* or small quantities of dates when a man is travelling alone.
(*u*) *Risan*—camel's halter.

FALCON'S GEAR

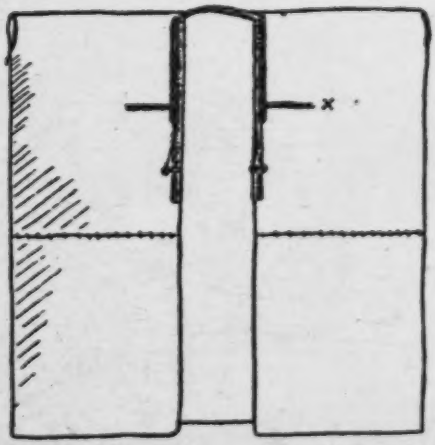
(See Chapter XXVIII on Hawking) 223

(*v*) *Burqa*—hawk's hood.
(*w*) *Wakar al tair*—hawk's stand.
(*x*) *Dasma al tair*—falconer's glove.

NOTE.—Other articles of furniture connected with a *well-to-do* person's tent are the— 352
Mattrah (plural: *mattarah*)—mattress for guests to sit on.
Mafrash—carpets to spread on floor.
We have also the various forms of firewood found in every tent, rich and poor 372
alike. These are known under the general terms of—

Jalla—camel dung.
Hamdh—a pungent-smelling bush giving a fine white ash.
'Arfaj—a well-known bush found all over North-Eastern Arabia.

MEN'S CLOTHING 291

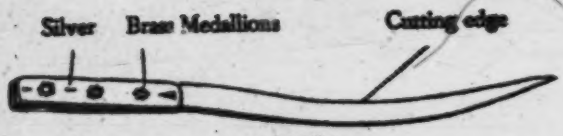


'ABBAH

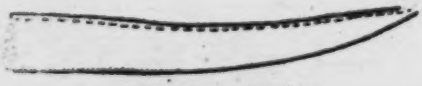
'Abbah or *Bisht*—made of finely woven sheeps' or camels' wool in two pieces. Texture can be superfine, thin, coarse or thick according to means of weaver. Round neck and down both fronts (shaded portion) is fine gold embroidery ending in a couple of tassels on both sides. The horizontal gold braid (x) indicates that the *'Abbah* is of type worn by shaikhs of Kuwait. Colour—all shades of brown verging on to black.

411

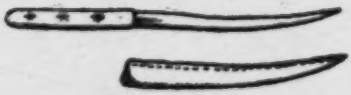
DAGGERS



AL KHÛSA
(dagger with single cutting edge)



JIFFAR al KHÛSA
(scabbard)



AL HUÁRDHI
(miniature KHÛSA)

ATTACHMENT OF KHÛSA AND HUÁRDHI

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

492

The following articles are always to be found in the portion of the tent reserved for women. (See sketches.)

Mahar or travelling litter. The name given by the Mutair and other tribes to the special type of women's covered-in saddle, most commonly used in North-East Arabia and round Kuwait. It consists of an elaborate basket framework, usually covered over when in use by a bright orange, red or other coloured woollen shawl, and the woman sits perched on the camel's back surrounded by her personal

[text continues on page 102 96 -- Analyst]

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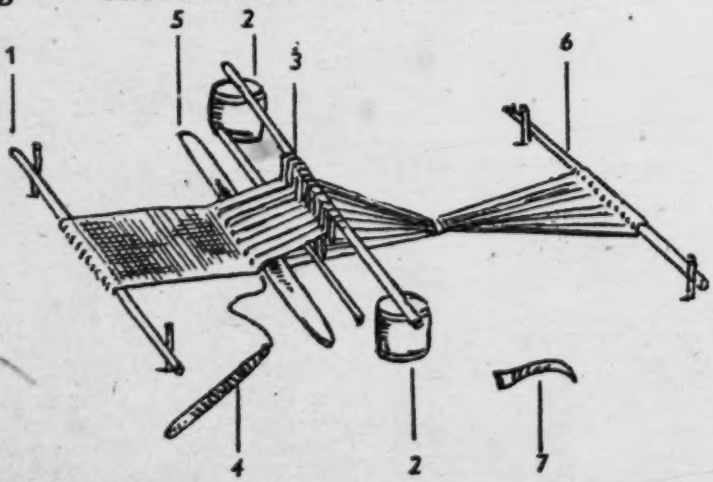
#192

CAMEL CARRYING *DHALLA* ON THE MARCH

286

NATTU or MATTÁRIH (the Tent Hand-Loom)



1. *Al ras*—wooden rod holding the end of the threads.
2. *Marakib*—circular wooden supports holding up the *Minyar*.
3. *Minyar*—wooden rod holding up threads.
4. *Misha*—shuttle.
5. *Mishirra* or *Natha*—flat piece of wood for tightening up the threads of the woven fabric.
6. Piece of wood known as *Ga'ah*.
7. Gazelle horn, *Middrah* used for pulling down thread when weaving.

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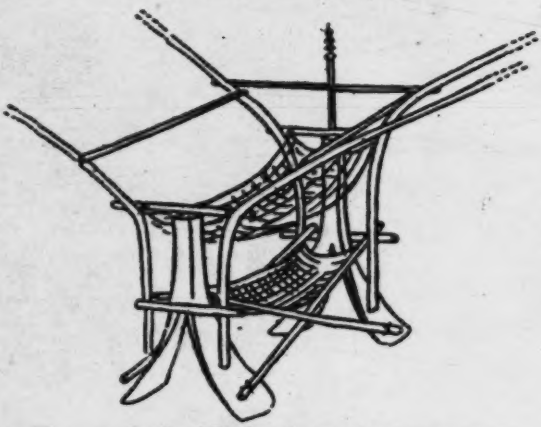
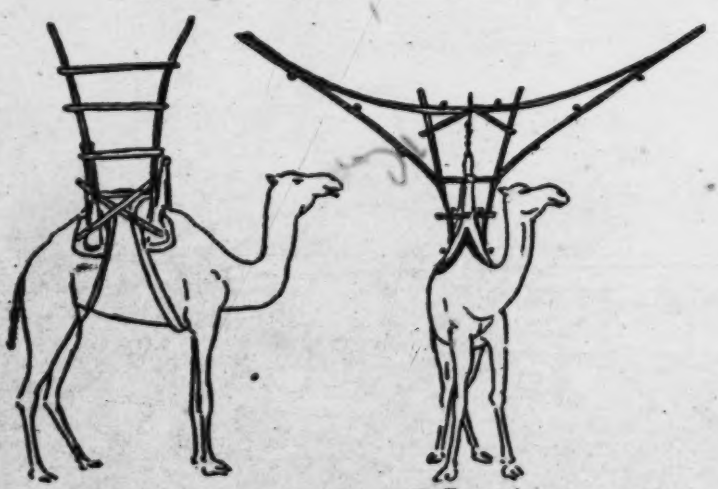
DHALLA or CHITAB



Framework of saddle showing seating arrangement

GINN

DHALLA or CHITAB
(without trappings)
Showing how it is fixed on camel's back



(a) Side view (b) Front view

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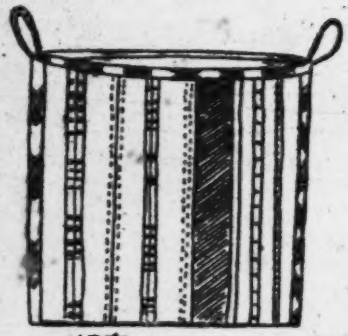
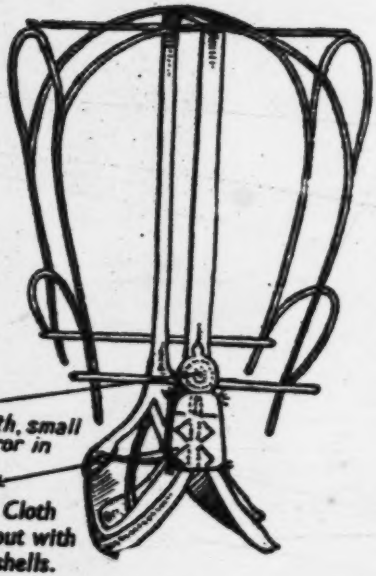
Bedouins MI4

Water Buckets, etc.

415
492



'ADÚL (women's bag)



MAKSAR

JIRBA (Qirba)

DALLU

(a) Collapsible.

(b) With cross pieces

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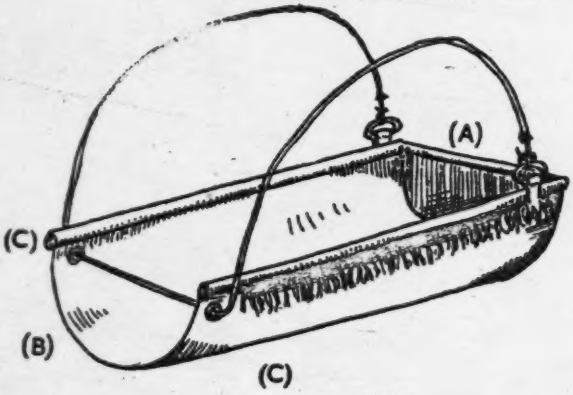
Water Trough and Cradles

415
854

HAUDH

HABÁBA (child's hammock slung inside tent)

(child's portable cradle, common to the tribes)



A. Head, with decoration on outside.

B. Foot.

C. The holes through which passes a running rope that closes the cradle at foot when it is lifted.

[531]

Outside decoration at A

492 treasures, her baby, etc., in a sort of comfortable cot. On the saddle itself is placed the woman's bedding, and hanging down on either side are her saddle-bags (*miẓáwal*). The *maksar* is always made of pomegranate wood, as this can be bent into the necessary hoop shapes. Various patterns and variations of the *maksar* are used by different tribes.

[415] *Sahára*—the woman's treasure box, containing her coffee, cardamum, saffron, tea, sugar, dyes, jewellery, trinkets, etc., etc.

Aibah (plural: *'aiyáb*)—leather saddle-bags for storing dates.

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TYPES OF WOMEN'S CAMEL LITTER

See sketches pp. 97–99; 101; and coloured plates. 492

(*a*) The *Maksar* is the common type used among the Mutair, 'Ajman, Harb and Dhafir tribes.

(*b*) *Al atf.*—This is a special pattern common to the 'Awazim tribe. It is the same as the *maksar*, but has no front vertical bar. This enables women to mount and enter with greater ease.

(*c*) *Al ghabith* is peculiar to 'Ajman women. Like *al atf* it has no front vertical bar, and the rear vertical bar is not joined on to the top arch but falls 9 inches to a foot short of it. It is more highly and [631] richly decorated with cowrie shells than the *maksar*, and as a rule the rear vertical bar is covered with such decorations from top to bottom. The Mutair women occasionally use *al ghabith*. I saw a good specimen in the possession of Faiha, wife 'Abdul 'Aziz al Májid, on 10th February, 1938.

(*d*) *Al ginn* is the square type of litter common to Shammar, 'Anizah and Dhafir. It is not so large or comfortable as the foregoing.

(*e*) *Al dhalla*, is the great winged or moon-shaped affair in which the women of the Al Sa'adun travel, and the Shaikhs of the 'Anizah and Dhafir place their wives and daughters in *al dhalla* when on the march. The framework of the *dhalla* is covered all over with fine, almost white gazelle skin.

(*f*) *Chitab*—Same as the *dhalla*, except that it is generally smaller, and its woodwork is not covered all over with gazelle skins, but only at joints. Both *dhalla* and *chitab* are rendered very colourful by brightly coloured curtains and trappings.

(*g*) *Farkh al hanni* or *Farkh al chitab*, a diminutive *dhalla* or *chitab*.

(*h*) *Mughbát* (plural: *mughabat*).—Is the same as (*g*) and is a name peculiar to the 'Ajman tribe.

(*i*) *Muthaumina* is the 'Ajman name for *al dhalla*.

(*j*) *Murauwar*.—'Ajman name for *chitab*.

Generally speaking, the women themselves make their litters from pomegranate and tamarisk wood, the parts being bought in towns. They do all the work of binding these together, and covering with pale yellow gazelle skins, as well as decorating front and rear pommels themselves. The men make only the *shadád* or riding saddle, and the *misáma* or pack saddle.

NOTE.—It should be noted that when on the march and in use (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), (*e*), (*f*), (*g*) are covered entirely over with richly coloured cloth, both woollen and silk, the more brilliant the better, so as to attract attention and give prestige to the owner. In sketches "frames" only are shown.

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MARKAB

492 713 Akin to the *dhalla* and *maksar*, but of far greater interest, is the *markab* of the 'Anizah tribe, more especially of the Ruwala. It consists of a light wooden frame and is covered with the feathers of the *na'am* or Arabian ostrich.

The *markab* is known as the Ark of Ishmael, in honour of the first Arab nomad, and when the 'Anizah go into battle, a maiden (daughter of the shaikh) rides in it and moves forward in the centre of the force to spur the warriors on to deeds of valour.

When the battle is joined the camel bearing the *markab* is said to be hobbled with a chain so that it cannot retreat from the scene or flee.

Should the battle go against the Ruwala, retirement is only allowed as far as the *markab*—there everyone must rally and fight, if necessary, to the last, in defence of the *markab* and the lady seated in it. The *markab* of the Ruwala has undoubtedly a pre-Islamic origin.

The Shaikh of Kuwait told me on the 10th January, 1935, that a similar *markab* was last used by Bin Sa'ud at the battle of Jarâb in the spring of 1915. Also that a *markab* was used by Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait a few years before he died when Bin Rashid threatened to attack Jahrah; one of the fairest of the Al Subah* ladies was put in it with hair flowing, head uncovered and face unveiled. Had not Bin Rashid withdrawn, the Subah would have rallied round their *markab* to a man.

There can be little doubt, however, that both Bin Sa'ud's *markab* and that of Mubarak al Subah were merely glorified and richly decorated tribal litters, and should be more properly called *maksars*. The Ruwala are the only tribe I know of who use the true *markab* as a tribal fetish or banner. Carl Raswan, in his book *Black Tents of Arabia*, gives some excellent photographs of the Ruwala *markab*.

Shaikh Khalid al Hithlain of the 'Ajman told me on the 5th December, 1934, that the 'Ajman tribe still use the *markab* when going to war, but call it by the ordinary name of the women's camel litter, *maksar*. Like the Ruwala, however, they put up their fairest maiden unveiled and with hair flowing to encourage the warriors to extra bravery, and to shame the laggards into pushing forward to the forefront of battle.†

* Maniera bint 'Ali, wife and first cousin of Shaikh Mubarak.

† My wife and I visited Ibn Shaalan of the Ruwala in 1945, and were shown the famous Markab.

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Women's Treasures

Chap. V

Miqáwal—coloured saddle-bags for storing women's clothes, spare garments, coloured wools, etc. These are separate and hang on hooks on either side of the *maksar*, whereas men's saddle-bags are joined together and hang over the top of the saddle. The *miqáwal*'s bag-tassels are half as long as those adorning men's saddle-bags. 415 492

'Adúl—large woollen saddle-bags for carrying rice, flour, sugar, etc.

Laháf—cotton quilts, usually red.

Fihr—a volcanic stone resembling an ox-tongue in shape. Hard and black, used as a hammer for knocking in tent pegs.

Mirjahah—wooden tripod 4 ft. high, on which the skin is slung when making *leben*, or the carcase of a sheep which is to be skinned.

Samil (plural: *samlan*)—special skin for making *leben*, always a sheepskin.

Mukrash—bladder for storing butter, known as *masrab* by the 'Awazim.

Jirba (plural: *garab*)—Goatskin for carrying water.

Ráwi (plural: *ruwi*)—Camelskin for carrying water. (Known as *miqáda* among the 'Ajman.)

Mahjan—wooden funnel for putting milk into skins

Jerób—Bag made from skin of baby gazelle with a pattern on it in coloured dyes, used for carrying coffee in on the march.

Mattárih—hand loom (also *nattu*).

Misha—shuttle.

Natha—flat wooden piece for tightening threads.

Middrah—gazelle's horn for pulling down threads.

Maghzal or *Mubbrah*—spindle.

Sarár—The pair of sticks 8 inches long used to tie up the udders of a she-camel, e.g. *saru al naja* (an order indicating that the camel's teats should be tied up). Each stick is laid alongside two udders, and each udder is tied separately with a piece of woollen thread. This is to prevent calves drinking. Calves are only allowed to drink morning and evening. The camel has four udders. 233

Birlq (pronounced *brick*) and *Maghassal*—jug and basin (used only among *hadhar* or townsmen).

Al Haudh—a leather basin for watering sheep and camels. Three bent pieces of wood form the stand.

Al Dallu—small leather bucket (two kinds) used for drawing water from wells.

Miqbah—Child's portable cradle, common to the tribes of Hasa. It is carried on the mother's back supported by thongs across her forehead, or else carried under her arm supported by thongs over the shoulder, according to which tribe she belongs to. The *miqbah* is made out of one piece of leather. As the cradle is lifted the end where the child's feet lie is automatically closed by the running rope which passes through two holes one at each side (see diagram). The *miqbah* is not 864

Skin Containers

854 used by the northern Badawin of Arabia, who carry their children on their shoulders or, when travelling, on their hips. The *miẓbah* is not to be confused with the *habâba*.

Habâba—Baby's hammock for use inside tent. It is slung between two tent poles. Especially favoured in the north.

262 *Hail*—cardamum seeds for putting in coffee.

Masmâr—cloves, for putting in coffee.

Zâfâran—saffron, for putting in tea and coffee.

492 *Shinkar*—hooks on each side of the *maksar* to hang women's saddle-bags on.

THE LOOM—MATTÂRIH, NATTU OR SADU

286 The loom gear consists of seven pieces which altogether are known as *mattârih*.

(1) Piece of wood known as *ga'ah*.
(2) Shuttle known as *misha*.
(3) Tightener known as *mishiẓẓa*.
(4) Piece of wood holding up threads known as *minyar*.
(5) Circular wooden supports of *minyar*, known as *marakib*.
(6) Piece of wood holding ends of threads known as *al ras*.
(7) Gazelle horn for pulling down threads known as *middrah*.

SKIN CONTAINERS

415 These consist of:

(*a*) Water skins.
(*b*) Skin bags for storing *dehen*, coffee beans, dates, etc.

Under (*a*) we get the *râwi*, the *thilaithi*, *minûn* and common *qirba* (*jirba*).

Râwi is the generic term for a water receptacle made out of a camel's skin.

Thilaithi is the name given to a water receptacle made out of one half of a camel skin doubled over and sewn together.

Minûn is a gigantic water receptacle made out of the two side skins of a camel sewn together. They are always very water-tight.

Qirba is an ordinary water skin made out of a whole sheep's or goat's skin which is peeled off the animal. The best and most lasting are made from goats' skins (males) and cost in the rough about Rs.2/8 each. Sheepskins do not last.

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A SBEI BADAWIN FAMILY ON THE MARCH LEAVING SUBAIHIYAH WELLS

[p. 224 A]

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231 A mare is only brought to be served by a stallion when she shows clear signs of wanting a horse (*min tutlub*) or (*a'atifa*). The proper time for the service to take place is, in the case of a bay mare, at night and when the moon is full, and in the case of a grey mare when the moon is new. Results will then nearly always be good. When pregnant the mare is said to be *legaha*—(the same word is used when pollinating the female date tree with the male pollen)—and a thoroughbred will certainly look round at her flanks, as soon as pregnancy takes place.

SHOEING AND BITTING

492 Horses and mares in the desert are always kept shod. This is done very crudely by our standards, but the local shoeing-smiths rarely prick the sole of the animal. The type of shoe used is always the flat saucer-shaped shoe of the East, which is shaped like this:

The European type of shoe is unknown. The idea of covering the whole sole of the animal shod is to prevent stones and pebbles bruising the bottom of the foot. Animals are reshod only when the old shoe falls off, and the result is that often one sees very long feet and animals that badly need shoeing.

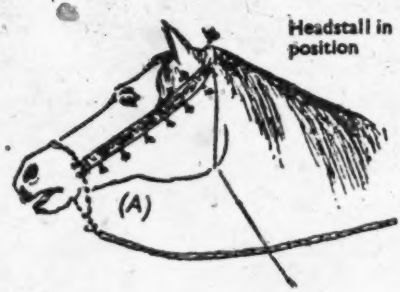
Among the Badawin a bit is never used,* and every animal is ridden on a halter (*risan*). This consists of ornamented cheek pieces made of coloured wools ending in a loose nose-band made of a coarse metal chain, which passes over the nostrils, as well as under the chin.

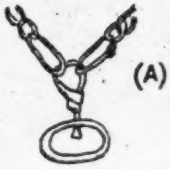
A round woollen head-rope is attached to this chain under the chin and forms the rider's only means of controlling his mount. To keep this rough headstall from slipping over the animal's head a piece of string is passed under the neck in throat-lash fashion.

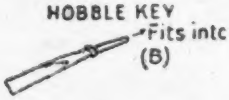
The effect of the rider's continually holding the halter in the left hand, is that an Arab mare tends to carry her head on one side and to

* This does not apply to towns-folk, or Iraq Arab tribes, who all use bits.

Riding Equipment

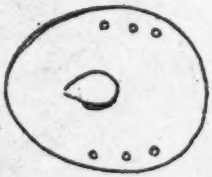






HORSE SHOE, Na'al, or Hadid.

HORSE SHOE NAIL
or Mismár.



Full View

Side View

Bit or Lijám

(a) Saddle (b) Numdah extension, not always found

492 the left. The leftward pull is, of course, accentuated when galloping or when the mount is tugging.

Readers may ask how the rider can control his horse at all without a bit. The answer is that the rough angular chain over its nostrils hurts the animal as the halter is pulled taut. This has the effect of checking the horse, but also of making it turn its head further round to shift the pressure from the top bone of the nostrils to the fleshy part at the side of the mouth.

The only places where bits will be found in use are among certain riverain tribal shaikhs in Iraq, and possibly among some of the Princes and Rulers of Arabia (I have not yet seen them in use in the desert, and Bin Sa'ud himself always rides with a halter, even to-day). The bits that are used follow the style used in Persia, Syria and North Africa, and in place of a curb chain there is a thin circular metal band which is attached to the cross-piece of the bit itself. This latter usually has an unpleasant-looking metal spike, which, as the bit is pulled, engages the roof of the mouth and causes pain. All Arab horses ridden on these bits continually throw their heads up, to the great discomfort of the rider.

SADDLES

492 704 The Badawin rank and file never use saddles or stirrups. All their riding is done barebacked, with only halters to control and guide their mounts. The wild state of non-control when a thousand howling riders is bearing down upon you can be imagined. No one can check the pace of the charge, the full weight of which is felt by the enemy. However damaging the fire, however much the individual rider may desire to pull out and beat a retreat, he is powerless to do so until the mass sense of the charging horses causes them to bear right or left away from the enemy.

704 725 When Badawin horsemen are loosed at each other, both sides ride bang through and go on galloping far beyond on the other side until they are able to pull up.

I once experienced such a wild Badawin charge at the battle of Shu'aiba (Iraq) in 1915.

We had a weak Indian Cavalry Brigade assisted by a horse battery, and had reconnoitred as far as Ratawi Mounds. There we made

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contact with a much superior force of irregular Kurdish and Badawin cavalry who forced us to retire. 704 725

After conducting a steady retreat for a distance of some eighteen miles, we were about to skirt Barjisiyah wood, when our force was suddenly charged in flank by 'Ajaimi al Sa'adun and some thousand Muntafiq mounted men, who, unknown to us, were hiding in that particular wood.

As we were up to that point retiring on a very wide front in line of squadrons at two hundred yards' interval, each squadron covering the movement to the rear of its neighbour by dismounted fire action, our force was too widely extended to change front and present a suitable face to the flank charge, and for a time the direst confusion and chaos existed.

Fortunately for us, an infantry column had come out to assist our retreat, and was entrenched close by. It saved the situation. Otherwise, many of us would not be living to tell the tale, for to give 'Ajaimi and his men full credit, his charge was magnificent, and went right through our force, quite in accordance with the best tradition of cavalry tactics. As it was, our worsted force was driven right on to the friendly infantry trenches, and great was the Badawins' surprise to see themselves suddenly confronted at almost point-blank range by a long line of British bayonets comfortably ensconced in trenches. These turned what looked like a probable *débâcle* for us into a defeat for the enemy, and by their withering fire forced 'Ajaimi's men to beat a precipitate retreat, which was successfully turned into a headlong flight by accurate salvoes from a hidden battery.

Though the ordinary Badawin rides barebacked, the shaikhs and those who can afford it use for comfort a light cloth saddle, known as a *ma'araga*. This has no stirrups and is little more than a padded numdah strapped on to the horse's back. 492

The *ma'araga* is quite short from front to rear, just allowing a man sufficient room to seat himself.

MODERN WEAPONS, AND THE MOTOR CAR

As already mentioned, stallions or males are not wanted in Arabia, and are sold as soon as possible for draught or pack purposes in the 177 231

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231 roam the country between Kuwait and Ainain (Jubail) on the Hasa coast.

RIDING CAMELS

231 492 Riding camels are invariably females, and are not allowed to breed. As already mentioned, the best come from Oman, and are beautiful specimens of nature's art. Indeed the difference between the well-bred *Bátiniyah* or *'Umaniyah* and the ordinary pack camel, generally known as a *jamal*, or a *bayir*, is quite as marked as the difference between a thoroughbred racehorse in England and an ordinary carthorse.

Like the thoroughbred horse, the *Bátiniyah* or *'Umaniyah* possesses a small head, wide forehead, small nostrils, longish ears and large eyes, and is wonderfully gentle and understanding. In body she is slightly built with thin legs, giving the appearance of fine lines. Her movements resemble those of the gazelle, whether she is at rest and grazing or moving at full speed.

As regards pace, an *'Umaniyah* will travel when fully stretched at approximately 14 miles an hour. At this pace her head and neck are held horizontally straight out in front of her.

The chief characteristic of the well-bred and especially the *Bátiniyah* camel is its staying power.

Shaikh Naif ibn Humaid of the 'Utaiba tribe told me that when he escaped from Bin Sa'ud's prison in Riyadh, *circa* 1925, he got to Nasriyah in the Muntafiq (Iraq) in eight days, riding one of the best camels his tribe could produce. The distance as travelled was close on 800 miles. (Authority Naif ibn Humaid, February 1933.)

His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud once told me that the news of the battle of Shu'aiba, near Basra, in 1915, when the British forces beat the Turks, was conveyed to him by one of his picked messengers, who was at Zubair waiting to report results. His name was Bani ibn Zaid, as far as I remember. He travelled the 530 miles separating the two towns in five and a half days. His *dhalúl* or riding camel died on arrival. (Authority Bin Sa'ud, November 1920.)

Near Ratawi Mounds, south of the Hamar Lake in Iraq, I once saw a young 'Ajman brave race the Baghdad train for some four miles out of sheer *joie de vivre*. For the whole distance he kept neck and neck with the centre portion of the train, the dining-car. This was in 1918,

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when the state of the track did not permit of trains running at more than 30 miles an hour. 231 492

NAMES OF HERDS, ETC.

Herds of camels are spoken of as *al bil*, or *al dibbash*. This is a 233 generic term in the same way as one might speak of "the flocks", "the herds". Other names for the camel are *bayir* (plural: *ba'arin*), *Al mudshi* is the name given to camels on the move and grazing, while *jamal* or *fahal* is a male camel or one reserved for breeding purposes.

To the Western mind there is a tendency to think of camels as beasts of burden only. We picture them pacing the desert tied head to tail, in long snake-like formation, conveying the necessities of life from town to town.

In Arabia proper, where the great Badawin tribes roam, the picture is quite a different one. This is the home of the camel, and vast herds sometimes as many as 100,000 at a time may be seen following the grazing from one area to another. The camel at home is like the sheep, and is kept primarily for its milk, secondarily for its meat.

The great herds consist almost entirely of females, the few odd males that are to be found being used only for carrying heavy loads such as tents from camp to camp, and for breeding purposes. The camel-stallions are kept strongly tied up and as a rule near tents during the cold weather (December and January) or rutting season. In summer, when grazing is scarce and breeding-time is over, they are allowed to graze with the females.

CAMEL BREEDING

One good *fahal* in a good spring season is capable of serving a hundred females.

The act of copulation is performed with the female in kneeling posture, her foreleg usually being tied up to the shoulder to keep her quiet. As a rule men are in attendance to assist in the process, but quite often the male is left to his own devices in the herd. At calving time the women and children all watch the delivery of the young

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Camel Diet

CAMEL FOOD

238 The staple food of the camel is the *nassi* grass, the *'arfaj* bush of the desert, and when in season wild flowers and grasses of every description. The first two grow in profusion over Central and North-Eastern Arabia after good rains. Camels near the Euphrates thrive on a thorny bush known as *a'agul*—but this does not suit the desert camel.

The salt diet of the camel is found in the *rimdh*, *thamran*, *'arád*, *'ajrum* and *gaghraf* bushes, all known under the generic term of *hamdh*.

The camel is also very fond of dates, which are given him with milk when he is being prepared for long and arduous work. He of course eats the date stones with relish.

A dainty dish for a sick camel is dates and barley mixed with milk into a mush, and followed by Arab bread broken up into small pieces.

CAMEL FLESH

262 Camels' meat is not unpleasant and is rather like coarse beef. It is widely eaten, especially in November and December, when sheep are in poor condition for lack of grass. Camels' meat is supposed to be good for man during the cold weather and to supply warmth.

Among the Badawin, camels are often killed on feast days or for rejoicing on festive occasions. I have found the hump to be the most edible part of the camel, and this is also the Arab opinion.

Camels' milk is, of course, universally drunk throughout Arabia. It is extremely nourishing, but contains no cream, and therefore yields no butter. It has a slightly purgative effect on most people, and Europeans should be careful not to indulge too freely in the desert.

GEAR FOR CAMEL TRAVEL (see Chapter V)

• 492

The main necessaries for a journey by camel are:

The camel saddle with two tall pommels fore and aft.

The large saddle bags hanging down on both sides of the saddle.

The finely-worked leather apron which hangs down in front of a camel's saddle and stretches down both sides of the camel's neck nearly to its knees.

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 492

The leather bag for rifle.
The camel stick.
The leather bag for dates.
Package of *igt* (dried milk).
The bag holding coffee, *hail* (cardamum seeds), etc.
A man's ammunition is carried bandolier fashion on his person, while spare ammunition goes in a spare woollen bag, which with the date and coffee bags are stowed away in the saddle bags.

NOTE.—There is another sort of saddle, the *fidéwi*, much used in the south among the Murra and people of the "great desert". It has no pommels, and the rider sits behind the hump (see sketch, page 87).

CAMEL PACES

The pace of an ordinary riding camel is approximately 4 miles an hour at a walk, 6 miles per hour trotting and walking, 8 miles an hour at a trot, 13 miles an hour when "all out" over a short distance and 10 miles an hour moving fast over a long distance of say 100 miles. A laden camel moves at about 3 miles an hour. Bin Sa'ud's express riders between Oqair and Hufuf take 5 hours regularly for the distance of 60 miles. Messengers going between Kuwait and Riyadh, a distance of 500 miles or slightly less, take regularly 10 days to do the journey. 492 231

In winter or when the weather is cool, travelling is done mostly by day, in summer by night.

Halts are made every 20 miles or so to drink coffee, which is carried ready made, and needs only to be heated up. Brushwood is usually found ready to hand by the way, if not, the camel dung (*jalla*), of which a small supply is always carried, is used. It burns like charcoal.

CAMEL DISEASES

232

Jarrab is the greatest enemy of the camel and is the ordinary camel-mange. This scourge breaks out every now and then among herds, and may be likened to smallpox.

It spreads through a herd with lightning rapidity, and if not taken in hand, kills the camel in forty days, especially during the summer season.

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Bedouins MI4
Muntafiq

619 101 233 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawiyah lying east of Samawa.

492 484 233 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sulubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

715 439 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawál al Dhafir and Tawál al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq-Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba-Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarin, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Aunan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 713 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarin and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

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Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use 619
donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of 101
donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as 233
is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. [492]
By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of con- 619
federacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to 622
define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a titular position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

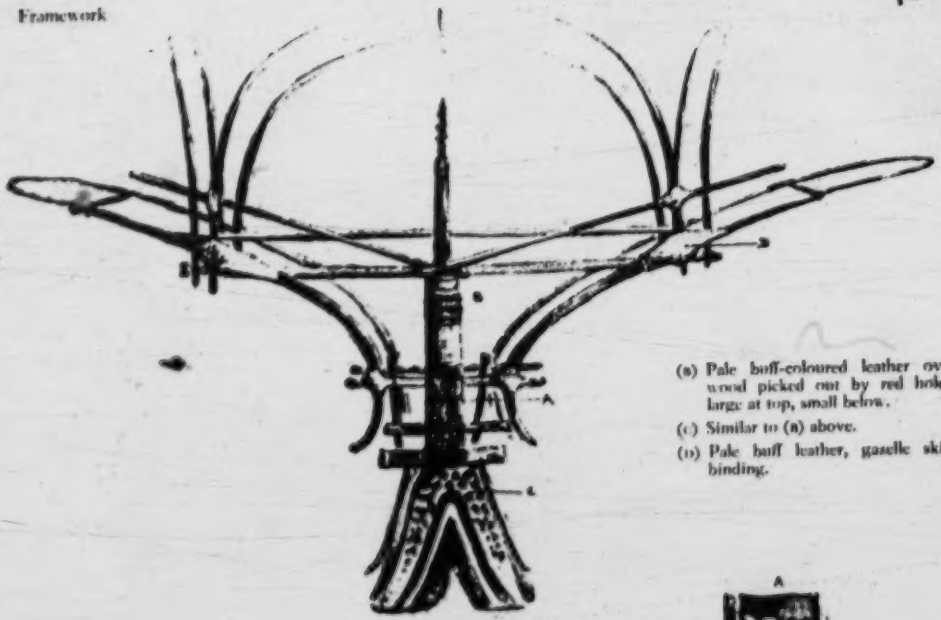
The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are 619
more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, 101
Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, [241]
by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as [226]
Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al [231]
Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are [235]
not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a [622]
strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real
authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Mt 2 Kuwait
Bedouins Mj4

492

page 656a

Framework



(a) Pale buff-coloured leather over wood picked out by red holes, large at top, small below.

(c) Similar to (a) above.

(D) Pale buff leather, gazelle skin, binding.

A

FARKH AL CHITAB or FARKH AL HANNI
(Back view)

A small type of ladies' litter known also as Dhalla

See page 99

L. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4

• 492

page 656 b.

FARKH AL CHITAB
(Framework)
Side view, with Curtain

See sketch of Farkh al Chitab or Farkh al Hanni (back view)

AL GINN

Square type of ladies' litter, more commonly used and found among Shammar, 'Anizah and Dhafir tribes—smaller than the average Mahar.

See page 99

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

MAKSAR

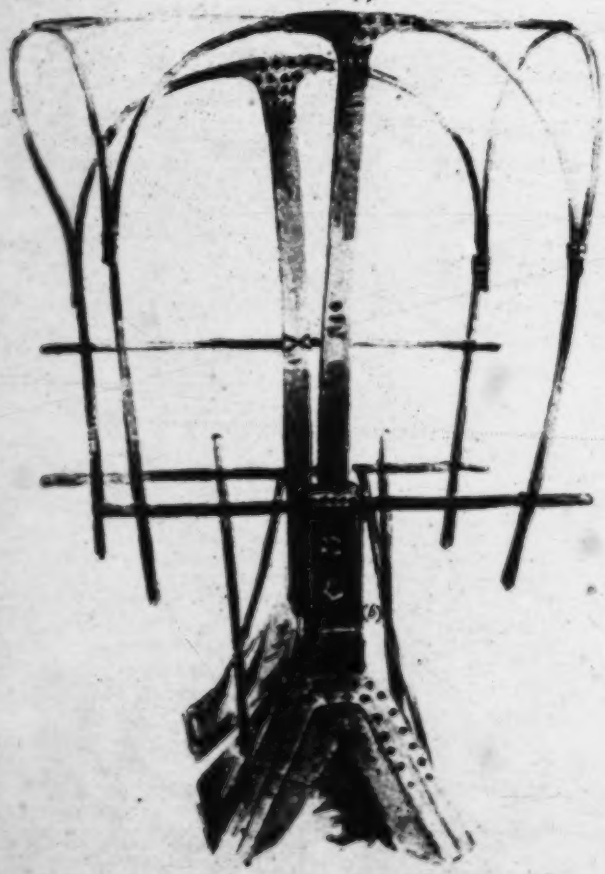
Most common form of ladies' litter among Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait tribes

(Front View)

492

Framework

(a)



(b)

(a) Pale buff gazelle skin over wood, picked out with holes through which scarlet cloth shows.
(b) Scarlet and orange cloth ground picked out with blue beads and cowrie shells set in various patterns, on top is a fringe of *hubbu* feathers.

(See page 101)

page 656 c.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS 1134

and wealthy shaikhs, who had nothing to seek from me. Many 485
years later, I was able to acknowledge their kindness and do a very 609
little to help them.

Next morning we left the tent of Khalid and Trad, and set out 221
across the desert for the west. Before noon we came across a tribe 301
on the move, the vast flocks of camels walking and grazing slowly, the caravan of loaded camels, the shaikhs' women in gaily decorated litters ornamented with red tassels and rows of white shells, the men and boys walking or riding, and the flocks of sheep. Half a mile ahead rode the chief with the advanced guard —three camelmen and two horsemen, one with a hawk on his wrist and a greyhound trotting beside his mare. Our guide, Qasim ash Shemam, must needs trot over to them to gossip. I rode 609
parallel to the group twenty or thirty yards away. Suddenly they all looked my way, and a stentorian voice called out, "God damn the English and Ibn Shaalan who shelters them!" The infidel and the stranger were not always welcome, it seemed. It was Fayyadh ibn Jendal, a tribesman of the old school. Ten years later I was to be a close friend of his son and nephew. But the fortune of the day brought us in the evening to Melih al Ga'ga, of a family who had been themselves chiefs of the Ruwallah before the rise of the Shaalan. Here we once more met with the same cordial welcome as from Khalid and Trad. An argument arose between our host and his young son in front of the tent. We could hear an exchange of angry words between them. Qasim later informed us that the boy demanded that his father slaughter a camel for our dinner, whereas the old man said that a whole sheep would suffice. Such are the extravagancies of Arab hospitality, amongst people who themselves live perilously near to the starvation level.

The ensuing days were less eventful. A bitter north-west wind 000
howled in our faces. Sand and dust filled the air so thickly that we could see only a few hundred yards. At night we failed to find any tribal camps, and shivered cheerless in the open, beneath the gusts of stinging sand. It was not safe to light a fire for fear of raiding parties.

The camel is capable of covering great distances in twenty-four 492
hours, but the idea that the "swift dromedary" skims across the

492 desert like a bird is a European illusion. The bedouin, it is true, will make his camel gallop in a battle. Good riding camels will travel at a jog-trot for considerable distances. But a journey of several hundred miles is chiefly performed at a walk. The camel covers long distances owing to its powers of endurance and the [147] hardihood of its rider. Twenty hours' riding a day at five miles an hour makes a hundred miles, and four hours' rest will often suffice the bedouins.

These long hours of slow movement are sometimes an intense weariness. The country traversed is often featureless or only slightly undulating plains. The saddle, a wooden framework with a goat-skin and saddle-bag thrown over it, soon rubs sores on the thighs of the beginner.

492 The worst enemy of the inexperienced camel rider is the heat 132 and glare, especially near Iraq or on the shores of the Red Sea, for the uplands of the hinterland are cooler. On our crossing of the Syrian desert, however, we suffered not from the heat but from the cold. Not a tree or a cliff was to be found to break the violence of that cutting north wind, which seemed to howl around us day and night. It blew round our legs as we sat shivering on our camels, it bore away our voices so that we could not hear one another speak. It filled our stale bread and sticky dates with sand when we dismounted to eat.

609 Occasionally this dumb and hopeless misery was forgotten in a wild alarm, a glimpse of raiders, a swift flight down little valleys. Once topping a small ridge, we came in sight of a group of camelmen riding towards us at a range of only a few hundred yards. Qasim, who had the raider's eye for country, raced down into a little hollow on our right. Keeping in low ground, we hit our camels sharply and dashed on at top speed. Suddenly our leader pulled up, jumped off, hobbled his camel and ran forward up a low ridge. We followed his example as best we could, and flung ourselves on the ground a few yards from him, loading as we did so. The other party had not seen us, and by raising my head slightly I could see them riding along, unconcernedly talking together. They were within close range now. The gear on their saddles and the fact that they were driving a camel laden with 000 sacks proved that they were not raiders. Qasim suddenly stood up

492
484

New arrivals at Mamunakh. These camel litters are peculiar to the Bin Ma'arif section of the Sa'ar and to other sand-dwelling Arabs; in them the women (some veiled and all wearing black) and infants travel during the march, which is usually very leisurely, being conditioned by such grazing as can be found for the camels

P397.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4

T 492 171

saddle depicted by Nachtigal the fore and the aft trees being connected by two horizontal or oblique sticks instead of two crossed sticks at each side (Le Coeur 1950, p. 175). This saddle type is also depicted from the Tebu by Moberg and Fuchs (Moberg 1953, p. 192; Fuchs 1961, p. 39), and I have myself seen a saddle like this among camel-owning Fulani at Niamey on the Niger. A related saddle type with fore and aft trees at each side connected with two horizontal sticks, is depicted by Heuglin from North-east Africa (Heuglin 1877, I, p. 26). It is perhaps the common saddle type in and around the Beja country.

B 492 171

The saddle corresponding to the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type of the Northern Tuareg is known by the Arabic word *basur* among the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while among the Arabs of North Africa the word *basur* is generally used for women's saddles of the same fundamental construction. Pack saddles of *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are known to the Arabs of Algeria as *berej*. However, such saddles do not seem to be common among Arabs of Algeria, where I have never seen them, though they are probably used by Arabs of Upper Egypt and in Sinai (cf. Murray 1935, p. 116).

In Arabia saddles constructionally resembling the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are extremely common. They are used as pack-saddles and also for riding. There seem to be three distinct Arabic names for them:— (1) a sadle known as *sdad* (or *shadaf*) and characterized by particularly high pommels; it is used mainly as a riding saddle (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 35 ff., Fig. 9–11; Musil 1928b, p. 350 ff., Figs. 37, 44; Euting 1906, p. 394 ff., ill. p. 393, 397; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (2) a saddle known as *misame* constructionally of the same type, but having no high pommels; it is very much like the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type described from the Northern Tuareg (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 61 f., Fig. 23; Musil 1928b, p. 354, Fig. 41; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (3) a saddle known as *rabit* of very much the same type as the *misame* saddle but of a somewhat heavier construction (cf. Musil 1928b, p. 354; Euting 1906, p. 398, ill. p. 394). The two last mentioned saddles are mainly pack-saddles but they are also used for riding. The distribution of the saddle types *sdad*, *misame* or *rabit* in Arabia seems to be as follows:—

The Syrian Desert; the tribes *Sha'a* and *Rawala* (cf. Boucheman 1934 & Musil 1928b quoted above).
Hedjaz; *sdad* (Musil 1926, Figs. 30, 84, 85, etc.).
Nejd; *sdad* (Musil 1928a, Figs. 8, 22, 28, 62, 63); *misame* or *rabit* (Musil 1928a, Fig. 15).
Irak; *sdad* (Musil 1927b, Figs. 1, 19, 33, etc.).
Kuweit; *misame* or *rabit* (Raunkiær 1913, Fig. 21; Dickson 1949 quoted above).
South Arabia; *sdad*; the tribes of *Murra*, *Sa'ar*, and *Harab*. Riding saddles of the *sdad* type are not found east of Dhufar (Thomas 1932, p. 268).

It would appear that a riding saddle of the *sdad* type is depicted in a 9th century B.C. relief at Tell Halaf (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2, pl. I Fig. 2).

T 492

The common pack-saddle among the Northern Tuareg is the *dlakt* (cf. p. 74 f., Fig. 55). This saddle type, as mentioned, is not made by the Tuareg themselves, but normally by sedentary *Ḥarratin* of Tidikelt where palm material is abundant, more rarely by blacksmiths who make the construction of wood, and not from the ribs of date palms. The *dlakt* is the common saddle type all

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4

The élaki is the common saddle type all

B 492 171 over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *hawiyya*, the word also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Sbo'a* and *Rawala*) (Boucheman 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Nejd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *hedâge*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *hedâge* or *hawiyya* is not mentioned from Kuweit by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al fulawi*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al fulawi* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *hawiyya* or *hedâge* type the more so because riding saddles for camels and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory B [114] that the riding saddle of *al fulawi* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *hawiyya* or *hedâge* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.180.80), from the Regeibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Ide w Aich* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 92).

T 492 Saddles of the *hawiyya* or *hedâge* type (*élaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *aruki*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fitted each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of them consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

T [177] The *élaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the

178 [493] 622 It is not a rarity to see an automobile under the tent of the sheikh, even when he still wanders and camps with his tribe. Gradually the chiefs establish luxurious residences, equipped with all the comforts of modern living. At this stage the sheikh will spend most of the time away from the tribe, favoring the social, economic and political activities of the sedentary population.

177 622 178 An instructive example of the changes in the social status of the powerful sheikh is the case of the Rwala. The Rwala tribesmen still belong to the few remaining true Bedouin. Their former Sheikh, Emir Nuri al-Sha'lan, however, showed already before World War 1 his preference for a house to a tent. His grandson Fawaz, the present Emir of the tribe, was in his youth a genuine Bedouin, but later his mode of living became thoroughly westernized.[1)]

619 178 566 The tribesmen will not remain unaffected by this development. For a while they try tenaciously to preserve the nomadic mode of existence, but sooner or later they will become the exploited tenants and share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

566 622 During the Mandatory regime the absentee landlords lost much of their grip on the cultivators, but the tenants of the tribal sheikhs are still in a virtual state of serfdom. In some cases the tribal chief still has complete authority over the

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1. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 108

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

which their chieftain had offered me as a souvenir, for 574
we had to travel by automobile. But I accepted two 431
rarer gifts, and these heirlooms to boot. They were an ancient wood-carved coffee mortar, which had been in the possession of Sheykh Tai's family for generations. This pledge of his affection and friendship (as he called it) he had wrapped in an equally precious gift—three [531]
pieces of black cloth, artistically embroidered in gilt-silver thread, with verses from the Koran in Arabic calligraphy. They were choice pieces of the Ka'aba, which Sheykh Tai's great-grandfathers had brought many years ago from Mecca.

Loath as I was to accept such precious gifts, I was constrained to do so.

"We are brothers," said Sheykh Tai'. "Like the wolves. God be with thee. May He direct thy footsteps some future day into my dominions, so that I may meet thee again."

After bidding farewell to this wild, romantic and 493●
noble man, we cruised about in our old motor-car for five days along the southern foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, visiting the camps of various lesser tribes. Motor fuel we obtained from their *shiyukhs*.

Nowadays, nearly all of them own motor-cars, and on their migrations they carry a fairly large stock of gasoline with them on their camels.

At last we reached the wide plain through which runs 487
the old historic caravan route from Deyr ez-Zor to Mosul and Baghdad. There we found the first outposts of the Shammar, and there also we parted from the ○○○
faithful Ibrahim. I paid him handsomely and sent the

[See pp. 163-167 cat. 116 for explanation of this statement — Analyst]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

443 stallions from various Bedouin tribes in the Euphrates.

Their kind is found everywhere in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Almost invariably the *Akhayl* hail from Anayza and Buraida, two large oasis-towns of Kasim in the heart of Arabia.

[437] During spring they[1] travel among the nomad Arabs and barter rice, coffee, sugar, arms, munitions, and gold for camels and colts. Bedouins have only begun to sell [493 177] mares since the arrival of the automobile, which has displaced the horse for raiding purposes.

These traders travel unmolested throughout Arabia and they pay the *sheykh* of the tribe from which they purchase animals a small sum for the privilege of pursuing their business. Each trader has his own special tribe which he visits every year.

721 On the second day, when we came on some rain water left in the rocky hollows of a *wadi,* we decided to rest awhile and let our mares drink their fill. We had hardly dismounted when two strange Bedouins on horseback suddenly appeared. Ali jumped on his mare's back at once, and deserting me and our animals, galloped away in the opposite direction from which the Bedouins had come, obviously seeking cover.

"A *ghazu!*" he yelled, as he rode away.

The two strange Bedouins were armed. They were obviously not traders, as Ali had immediately perceived. More horsemen appeared and they began to fire at Ali and myself. My "Powerful" protector, ducking low over his horse's neck, made a comical picture. The hostile [291] Bedouins were Fid'an, as I knew from their striped shepherd's cloaks. To defend ourselves was useless, as we

1-[The Akhayl or camel and horse traders--Analyst]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

alive during the summer. If they offer their animals to the King as 231
a gift, they are not only relieved of the burden of keeping them, but get back from the King double and treble the worth of their animals.

In spite of all that has been and is being done by Bin Sa'ud, how- 231
ever, the motor car remains a real and increasing menace to that 493
wonderful heritage of Arabia, the Arab Horse. Let us hope that the danger will be realised in time by the Governments of the Middle East. If Persia, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Sa'udi Arabia collaborated to save the Arab horse, they could do so. India also could help in no small measure if she could be persuaded once again to mount Indian cavalry regiments on Arabs, in preference to Walers from Australia. My own conviction is that in the hour of trial and need, the Arab will do twice the work of the Waler, and will always outlast him in age and stamina. Unfortunately, as compared with the Australian he is small, and does not look so well on parade. But what of this in these days when shock action has gone for ever, and fire-action *cum* mechanisation is the only thing left to the cavalryman.

Yet let us thank God that, in various parts of our wide-flung Empire, men mounted on horses must for many years to come still be required.

AGEING HORSES

The Badawin gives the following names to a horse according to 231
his age:

During the first year he is called a *Filu.*
As he enters his second year he is called a *Hauli.*
During his third year he is called a *Jidda* (ridden).
During his fourth year he is called a *Thenia.*
During his fifth year he is called a *Ruba.*
During his sixth year he is called a *Khamás.*
During his seventh year he is called a *Subá.*
During his eighth year he is called a *Garah* (aged).
Above eight (aged) all are *garah.*

OLD AGE AND DEATH

When a mare gets old she is gradually ridden less and less till she is, so to speak, pensioned off and given no work at all. She is well

619, 511, 182 Bedouins MJ4

/For a brief account of Bedouin Tribes in the Middle East, their way of life, tribal structure, etc. see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 369-379./

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

where wells are somewhat close together and the for-
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised, chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a lesser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure luxury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk just as humans do. They are kept and treated as household pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail partially or completely, and then the animals die by thousands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the land. Little children die because there is no food suitable for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed, and the whole community waits and prays for more rain the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a mere trifle.

St Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin·M54

mere trifle. Probably the only part of the outfit that would have any commercial value at all is the black goat's-hair tent, which affords a poor shelter from the cold in winter and from the heat in summer. And along with extreme poverty there goes an astonishing lack of any sense of cleanliness or order. The tent of a Bedouin could be little more disorderly if it were taken by some giant hand, shaken like a dice box, and the contents allowed to rest where they fell. The furniture consists of few things and poor. There are the remnants of one or more cotton stuffed quilts. These are both bed and bed clothes. There are a few skins to hold drinking water and a few skin basins. Some shaped sticks are tied together to make camel saddles. The outfit will also include a copper kettle for the cooking of food, a battered coffee pot for the making of coffee and usually a wooden bowl. This bowl, which may be the only eating utensil belonging to the household, has probably never been washed in its history. At times milk is drunk out of it, and at times rice and meat are eaten from it. The grease with which it is covered has long since exceeded the absorption limit of the wood and for years has been plastered on to the outside. Under such circumstances the prevalence of disease excites no wonder; the wonder is that many maintain excellent health.

The Bedouins clothes are a loin cloth beneath and shirt above, which shirt resembles a loose nightgown and reaches to his ankles. Over this is worn an old disreputable *aba* or cloak, in cut resembling nothing so much as a college gown. All of these are usually in a state of great disrepair and show an acute need of laundering. The town Arabs, who look with scorn on the desert Bedouin, assert that when he buys a new undershirt, he puts

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

262 [234] [205] to his masters in making possible a feast and a taste of meat for a large number. From camel's milk is made a sort of cottage cheese which is kneaded into little cakes much the shape and size of children's mud pies. These are plentifully mixed with hair in the process of manufacture and are baked in the sun almost to the consistency of bricks. They will keep indefinitely and form a savory addition to the diet in time of scarcity.

136 262 Occasionally the Bedouin will capture a *dhabb*, or armored lizard, and rejoice exceedingly at the kindness of Providence. Or he may succeed in catching a desert rat, or *jerboa*. In either case there will be meat to eat that night. On rarer occasions he may succeed in shooting a gazelle, and then there will be a real feast in his tent. [611] But even at the best there is probably no community in the world that lives constantly so close to the starvation line as the Bedouin.

574 As a host, however, the Bedouin has no peer. The unaffected joy that is shown at the opportunity of entertaining a guest may well serve as a model for those of us who come from the more practical and unfriendly West. To sit in a Bedouin's tent and enjoy his hospitality is a pleasure to be remembered, even if the small amount of meat served with the rice be so tough that biting a piece in two is impossible, to say nothing of chewing it properly.

The very poor may sometimes flee from the demands of hospitality, but once asked they may not deny entertainment to any one. In the desert the desperately poor Bedouins avoid settling in the region of a recognized caravan track. To be compelled to entertain many guests would almost mean starvation for them, but they never refuse if a guest appears. The only alternative is to re-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin. M34

parently meeting with no great obstacle on the way. In 574
five minutes everybody is filled to repletion. Pounds of 264
meat have been consumed and bushels of rice. The side dishes are empty. Enormous wooden bowls of buttermilk are brought in and the meal washed down with great draughts of this favorite Arab drink. It is not remark- [513]
able that after a feast everybody expects to take a nap. So ends the festivity and the Bedouin settles down once again to his meager and poverty-stricken existence in the desert.

Life as a nomad shepherd brings the Bedouin into 342
naked and constant contact with nature. He is out of 511
doors almost all of the time, and his tent with its rents and holes hardly serves to separate him from the outside world to any significant degree even when he is inside. The sun over him by day and the moon and stars by night, the long stretches of sand and the rough rocky plains, the sand storms which are the terror of the desert, the fierce heat of the summer and the frosts of the winter, all of these are his constant companions. He 151
learns to know the wilderness as few know it. The tracks of the various animals in the sand are to him an easily legible history of the happenings of several days back. Thus he lives not simply in contact with nature 181
but rather immersed in it. The desert may be cruel, but he pines away if transplanted. His life may be hard, but he wants nothing else.

Yet strangely enough, in spite of his intense love for 61
the desert and its freedom, all the beauties in nature 123
around him fall on blind eyes as far as the Bedouin is concerned. Even the desert sunset and the moon-lit sand dunes apparently stir no responsive chord in his heart. It is as if all such things had been stripped off

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

and cast away as useless encumbrances in the stern fight for life. He is the victim of his environment in that he suffers so desperately from poverty and want. His clothes hang in tatters and rags; his tent is cold in winter and hot in summer; his food is reduced nearly to the limit of bare subsistence. Most of his children die because of the unsuitable food, the hard conditions of life and the ignorance of the parents. The dirt and disorder in which he lives beggar description. Out of this soil springs one of the freest and most unconquerable spirits in the world, but even so it is impossible to believe that its finest development is attainable under such handicaps. The terrible thing is not that the condition in which he lives distresses his sensitive spirit, but precisely that it does not distress him at all. The Bedouin may claim to have conquered poverty. He stands forth uncrushed by its heaviest load, but his indomitable spirit has nevertheless paid a price, and a heavy price, for that victory.

Bedouin life, however, in spite of this terrible poverty and lack of the amenities that we are accustomed to regard as necessary even to existence, has in it many characteristics that we of the luxurious and effete West might emulate with benefit. Throughout the earth and almost throughout history, men have dreamed of equality. France ran with blood a hundred and thirty years ago because of man's search for it. Russia is red with the same struggle now. Men talk about it and dream about it wherever men see visions and dream dreams. In inland Arabia men practise it, and there is a charm in the dirty, poverty-cursed, arid desert that will be searched for in vain throughout the pampered and self-satisfied world outside. His sense of equality with all the world is the breath of life to a nomad Arab, and his spirit stands

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

168 if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort
361 of existence.

461 But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard
463 and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to
552 his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate
231 enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky
461 or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates,
565 and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level
186 as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

181 Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the des-
611 ert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out
755 of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

8: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

dom of books, he has attained to that supreme wisdom which is a secret hidden from most schoolmen. He has learned that the world and all its material blessings are trifles compared to the things of the spirit; that the only things that are important for us to know are how to worship God and how to associate with our fellow men.

It is by the things of the spirit that the Bedouin lives. Take him away from his beloved desert with its poverty and death, its aridity and loneliness, and he will languish although his stomach may be full and his bed soft. Let him breathe the air of the desert's freedom and equality and hospitality, and his cheerfulness is unquenchable, even though his belt is tightened because of hunger and his flocks and herds are dying of thirst. The Bedouin's cheerfulness in the face of adversity is a proverb. His happy-go-lucky spirit bows to the pressure of no adverse material conditions whatever. Perhaps it is because he has so few of the various luxuries of this world to enjoy that he looks on them with such great contempt. Doubtless also his poverty has much to do with the emphasis he puts upon the things of the next world as compared to the affairs of this one. His hopes are centered the other side of the grave. To the Bedouin God is actually the greatest reality in the universe, and the greatest task of life is to please Him. Few men anywhere in the world consider their religion a matter of such vital moment as do the Sunnis, or orthodox Mohammedans, of the Arabian desert, particularly in the inland regions which have been shaken recently by the great *Akhwan* revival. We shall have occasion in later chapters to discuss the religious conceptions and practices of the Arab in more detail, but no description of desert life would be

Social transformation of the Bedouin

When the Bedouin settle down, they gradually adopt the 177
fellah's mode of living. As their contact with village and city 178
increases, they become familiar with modern implements, matches,
oil-lamps, etc.

The Ghawarneh of Northern Palestine, for example, live like 241
peasants engaged in intensive cultivation.[1] They grow rice, 166x
maize and peas. The women are occupied with mat weaving, the 178
men join them in this work during the slack season in the fields. 511
They still dress like Bedouin, and most of them live in huts.
There are stone houses in which the family chiefs dwell.[2] After
settlement, Bedouin customs and habits give way gradually to those
of the fellahin.

In the Khiam-Finn refugee camp (southern Syria) there are
Arab refugees who claim to be members of tribes that lived until
recently in Upper Galilee, around Lake Tiberias, near Nazareth
and Safed. In July 1949, an inquiry was conducted among the
members of the camp concerning tribal habits and health conditions.[3]
The members of the tribes were agricultural folk, some small traders
and artisans. A part of them used to live permanently in stone 342
houses, others dwelt in houses during the winter months, in tents 166x
during the harvesting season. In a number of tribes only the
wealthy had houses, the poorer members lived permanently in tents.
Most of the tribal people were settled, one group for only 50 to
70 years.

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1. This was the situation prior to the Arab-Israeli war of 1948.
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, p. 46
3. Cotwell, 1950

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000 70 years.

186 The nomad gradually accepts the fellah's mode of living,
X166 but for generations after sedentarization he still prides himself of his Bedouin origin. Albert de Bouchenon tells of two remarkable instances illustrating this tendency:[1]

1. The case of a lawyer in Beirut whose family has been settled for centuries. Occasionally he dons Bedouin attire to boast of his origin.
2. The case of the Bedouin emigrants to America who continue to pay the blood money with their brothers who have remained Bedouin.

CHAPTER XII

The Bedouin Problem on the Agenda of the 1949 and 1950 United Nations Social Welfare Seminars for Arab States

648 The Arab world is concerned with the problems of the nomadic population. At the United Nations Social Welfare Seminars conducted in 1949 at Beirut and in 1950 at Cairo, special committees were appointed to study the Bedouin problems and make recommendations for their solution.

648 Poverty was recognized to be the crux of the Bedouin problem,
●511 ignorance, poor health, etc. the results.[2] The recommendations

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1. Bouchenon, 1934, pp. 140-143
2. El-Shibaly, 1950, p. 280

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which were submitted by the committee of both seminars consists of two parts

a. provisions for settling tribes to an agricultural life

b. recommendations for raising the standard of living of those nomads who will continue their pastoral mode of living.

Concerning settlement it was recognised that:

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a. it was the responsibility of the governments to sponsor such plans

b. agricultural experts should examine the agricultural potentialities

c. large capital to finance development schemes should be made available.[1]

To raise the standard of living in the desert it was recommended that:

a. centers to improve animal husbandry should be set up

b. more wells should be dug to expand pasture land

c. sheds should be erected to house animals during the cold winter months

d. mobile veterinary units should be established in Bedouin areas

e. teams of health officers should guide the tribes

f. educational facilities should be made accessible to the nomads.[2]

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1. El-Shihaly, 1952, pp. 280 – 281
2. Ibid.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

proposes to wage war on So-and-So, and on such and such a date. 622
This would not be tolerated. He must carry the public opinion of the tribe with him. Hence, before anything is undertaken, secret meetings and daily talks are held with the tribal greybeards and men of experience. Once a decision has been come to, however, and the battle joined, the leadership lies with the shaikh, and his orders must be obeyed.

To maintain his influence in the piping times of peace, the shaikh must prove himself literally the "father of his people". He must [692]
know the family troubles of every man and must give good and fair decisions when cases are brought to him for settlement. Above all, he must not be miserly, and must keep open house. No name has a [574]
more unworthy meaning, or leaves a nastier taste in the mouth of the Badawin than the epithet *bakhil*, or "stingy one". Once this name *bakhil* sticks to a chief, his influence is at an end. Hence a successful shaikh must always have coffee going in his tent, pestle must ring on mortar from morn to night. Even this is not enough; for his hungry tribesmen, the majority of whom would scarcely taste meat from year's end to year's end, expect from their shaikh an occasional feast and the slaying of a camel, that all may eat their fill. The shaikh can reasonably stage a feast on the arrival of an important guest, to celebrate a wedding, or circumcision ceremony, or the like.

A great shaikh will go even further and will regularly send presents 622
of frocks and material for dresses to the wives of the less fortunate 431
members of his tribe. This keeps the women happy, and indirectly their husbands also. The shaikh's chief lady also has herself a lot to do in keeping up her husband's prestige, and the wives of the junior members of the clan are for ever calling on her and explaining their difficulties, in the unexpressed hope that assistance to the wardrobe or kitchen will be forthcoming. The great Faisal al Duwish was a master at keeping the women of the tribe happy, and it paid: the same must also be said of His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud.

HARD LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL BADAWIN

The average Badawin has a hard and difficult existence, and may 511
be said to be always hungry and ill-clad. The main hardship he is at all times faced with is lack of money and inability to make any, by

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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511 what the world would call honest methods. Hence if ne cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work
[461] he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as is the case under Bin Sa'ud's regime to-day), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a "square" meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party.

262 His own food for most of the year consists of only camel's milk and a handful of dates per day. The camel-herd gets even less than this.

291 The Badawin's clothes are on the same scanty scale as his food, a thin cotton *dishdásha* (smock), replaced only when it falls off his back with age, and a threadbare *'abba* (cloak), *kaffiyah* and thin rope *agál* (head cloth and head cord), are all he has to cover his ill-nourished body. Yet all this makes for toughness and hardihood, and the average
[132] Badawin seems made of steel. The lack of warm clothing is probably the hardest thing in life that he has to bear, for in winter the temperature often falls below freezing point, and the winds are of ice, and cut the body through and through. I have never in my life felt so cold as in the desert a hundred miles inland of Kuwait when a *yáhi* or *jabali*
262 wind has been blowing in December or January. Yet in spite of the
574 hard life, the Badawin is never in danger of actual starvation or of dying from want. His *ahl* (family) would never permit this, nor would the system of affording three days' hospitality to all and sundry —such a splendid feature of democratic Arabia—allow of a man reaching such straits. A person who is down and out, without a penny to his name, would in reality be far worse off in London than in Arabia, where he could always hope to find a black tent or two to sponge on.

[181] A Badawin's dream and ambition in life is to possess about a dozen
231 camels, next a wife, and afterwards a mare, half a hundred sheep and a *salúqi*—I am, of course, assuming that he starts with a rifle and a *dhalúl* (riding camel). Give the desert man these essentials and he is a made man, for both camels and sheep double themselves in three years. Any male lambs that are born, he kills for food, the females he

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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CHAPTER XV

Smoking

B 276 Speaking generally, the Badawin of Central and North-East Arabia do not smoke. This is mainly due to the Wahhabi influence of Najd, but partly also because the rank and file cannot afford the B [511] luxury of a smoke. In a country where life is so hard, and 90 per cent of the population are permanently hungry, this is to be expected.

B 276 185 From 1919 to 1929 and during the revival of Wahhabi-ism under the name of 'Ikhwanism, the tribes of Najd who all became good members of the Brotherhood, eschewed smoking as a direct temptation from Satan. (I am not here referring to the Iraq desert tribes or the various septs of the 'Anizah or northern Shammar), and for a man to be seen smoking a cigarette or pipe in Wahhabi-land almost invariably meant death at the hand of a fanatic brother. In the province of Hasa, and especially among the Bahárana of Qatif and Hufuf, Bin Sa'ud allowed smoking as far back as 1920, provided it was indulged in in the strict privacy of the house. That Bin Sa'ud himself was broad minded on the subject may be seen from the fact that in 1919, when I visited him in Hafuf, he sent me round a box of Egyptian cigarettes by the hand of Dr. 'Abdullah Damluji, with a request that I should smoke only in private. I, of course, played the game according to the local rules.

K 276 In 1929, when I first came to Kuwait, the shaikh asked me as a favour not to smoke in the streets, as smoking offended some people's susceptibilities: this was shortly after the 'Ikhwan attacked their northern neighbours and made wild efforts to impose their beliefs and customs on the tribes of Kuwait and Iraq.

B 276 185 After the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 against Bin Sa'ud, a revulsion of feeling appeared to have taken hold of the Badawin world. On all sides men began to speak disparagingly of Bin Sa'ud, and of his methods, and many bright souls openly took to

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves.
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 511
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badui often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 577
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 461
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com- 315
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

511 paid into the bargain. Family ties and a certain restlessness draw some of
166 them back into the desert, but, as I have said, desert life is becoming more and more difficult and may soon become altogether impossible.

177 The hardy Badu tribesmen, the best stock in Arabia, may become, as a
315 result of circumstances outside their control, a parasitic proletariat squatting in the fly-blown squalor of shanty towns on the outskirts of the oilfields in some of the most barren and inhospitable country in the world. I do not wish to suggest that the oil companies will not take adequate care of their workers and provide them with the best possible accommodation. Many of the Badu will certainly find employment with these companies; many of them have already shown considerable aptitude as drivers and mechanics, but it is uncertain whether as a race they are capable of the sustained effort required on an oilfield. At any rate, there will be great numbers who are unadaptable, inept, or physically incapable of finding work, and there will be the women and the children. Stranded in these salt-impregnated wastes, which can produce nothing but oil, and deprived of their old mobility, they may be unable to adjust themselves almost overnight to these new conditions and so become demoralized. Tribesmen who have never seen a car or an aeroplane or even a European will find themselves suddenly working with Englishmen and Americans who have met their first Arab ten days before. Lads who have never seen an unveiled woman are going to come in contact with European women, not only unveiled, but, in their eyes, undressed. At first they will think our dress indecent, many of our customs revolting, and our lack of religion
[157] appalling. The virtues of the desert nomads are, however, enforced by their circumstances, not by a natural preference for the ascetic way of life. In their own surroundings they are forced to be continent and self-restrained, but by nature they are self-indulgent and indolent. Their nomadic way of life, their tribal loyalties, their old interests, and the conventions which have governed their lives, will soon be swept away. Bored and disillusioned, they will, I fear, fall an easy prey to the vices and diseases of
[186] town life. They have always regarded themselves as the aristocracy of Arabia. They have taken a pride in surviving when others would succumb, and it is this pride in his manhood which the nomad expresses when he boasts, "I am a Badui." In the future they may easily drop to the bottom of the social scale, below those whom they know to be their inferiors in every way but that of adaptation to urban conditions.

A problem which confronts the rulers of Arabia is how to avoid pauperizing the nomads who will inevitably drift to the oilfields in ever-increasing numbers, and whose birth-rate is likely to rise considerably once they have settled there. It will indeed be tragic if they become the slum-dwellers of an industrialized Arabia. Poverty has been their constant lot, but it was a poverty shared by all. Now they will see Europeans and Arabs living in luxury in air-conditioned houses and provided with all the amenities of modern life. They will see wealth beyond their wildest dreams poured into the hands of a few; the Sheikh of Qatar, for instance, who until recently was the ruler of a few impoverished fishing villages and whose father sold headcloths in the market-place for a living, is now receiving royalties from an oilfield which may be one of the richest in the world.

000 ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very
156 jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

221 Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more
463 intimate with the desert than the real Beduins,
511 are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far away in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

563 While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of
721 resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves
[661] from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

231 The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels,
511 used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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Canaanite invasion of Syria, the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, and the Hebrew invasion of Palestine are also to be explained by similar antecedent events in Arabia. 167 175

The distribution, grouping, character, and resources of the several tribes are the subject of a subsequent chapter (III); and their relation to particular localities will be stated in the special chapters on the different provinces. 000

It would be beyond the scope of this Handbook to give a detailed description of Bedouin society; and mere generalities about it are of little service. It is perhaps, however, worth while to say something about those features and customs of Bedouin life which most directly affect the reception and entertainment of strangers, and should, therefore, be known before contact. Dictated by similar necessities, these are more or less common to all tribesmen. For all the rest, study of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* cannot be too strongly recommended. Pretty well everything that needs to be known about Bedouin life can be found there by a patient reader.

Arabia is 'a land of ancient violence'. For this state of things geographical conditions are largely responsible. Only in very few, rare, and narrow districts is it possible to derive from the soil, not a superfluity, entailing wealth, leisure, and consequent civilization, but anything better than hand-to-mouth existence in full sight of starvation. Agriculture is impossible in three-quarters of the total area, and man must live on peripatetic food pastured on such thin and evanescent vegetation that a single family has to keep on the move in order to live. Water again, the prime condition of existence, is to be found for the most part only very occasionally in deep wells, or rain-pools, and this under a subtropical sun. Scanty sources have to be guarded with the most jealous exclusiveness. The regions over which these conditions prevail usually offer few or none of those natural features which serve elsewhere to protect or conceal; and in their vast extent and distribution they impinge so generally on the few fertile districts, or so often encircle these, that hardly any part of Arabia is altogether unaffected by the inevitable social features of life on steppe and desert. 181 511

The most obvious of these features is suspicion. Every man is treated as a potential enemy, till he shows evidence to the contrary. He is kept at a distance until his person or his authority can be recognized. Therefore, in approaching Bedouins, it is as prudent to go slow and give them time as in approaching a sentry in a war-area. Disregard of this advice will result in fight or flight, according to circumstances. While all Bedouins are instinctively suspicious of, and hostile to, the unknown, various 157 609

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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tired and dozed off again. Again I woke, and again I dozed off, till the 281
barking of the dogs became a sort of rising and falling echo in my tired and sleepy brain. Once I heard the camels, which were kneeling close behind Salim's tent, jump up in alarm and bolt 50 yards, but the reassuring voice of Salim calmed them, and I dropped off to sleep again. Presently I heard him shouting: *Ya Nasir, shunnu illi khawaf al bil?* (Oh Nasir, what frightened the camels?). *Ma'aku shai*, came the reply (Nothing at all). I went on dozing the night long, hearing many and strange sounds, but too tired to move. It is always thus, my first night with my Badawin friends; I cannot sleep. Before dawn I 512
heard Salim calling to prayer, and shortly afterwards, though it was [782]
still very dark, the goatskin of milk, rocked by one of the women to [252]
make curdled milk (*leben*) and butter, started its song. Rug-rug-rug-rug, the skin protested, and yet again, Rug-rug-rug. It was the old sound I knew so well, and it gave me a strange feeling of homeliness and comfort. They were awake before daylight, these simple people; they never seem to sleep—they also had prayed, and now they were watching for the dawn.

Presently I heard the shepherds calling their flocks of sheep to- 512
gether, and the camelmen talking to their camels. Both sheep and 233
camels had slept in the open in front of Salim's and Dhuwaihi's tents, the ewes close to their young. *Hirr, hirr*, cried Faláh, as he started calling the mother sheep to feed their lambs, before going out to graze for the day. The lambs all began to bleat at once, it was the hour of their morning meal. After this they will get nothing till nightfall, so they must drink now deep and well. Presently, with the first glimmer of dawn the daily counting of the sheep began. Aha! a cry, "Ya Salim, there are two short. Come quick, a ewe and a lamb are missing." A hurrying of feet, then eager talking. A further cry, "A
wolf, it is a wolf". "A wolf has done this in the night." From right 233
under their noses, a he- and she-wolf had clearly visited the camp and carried off the animals in the dark. A quick cast round and the enemies' pug-marks were found. The he-wolf had cleverly given the watch-dogs his scent on the side from which the wind was blowing, and as soon as the dogs had rushed after him into the night his cunning spouse had crawled close up to the tents on the other side, much as a cat crouches and creeps after a mouse (except that the wolf seems

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521 about. Yet gossips they are, and expert in tearing others' reputations.
658 Many a desert tragedy has resulted from too glib a tongue. Ordinary sexual matters are discussed before small children with a frankness
864 and simplicity which modern educationists might approve, but which an English person may find at times embarrassing. The bearing of their young by camels, mares and ewes is not only an everyday topic, but mothers will take their children to watch the progress of such events, alongside their menfolk.

837 On the whole, Badawin women are extremely moral, though they might readily succumb to temptation were it to come their way. Fortunately it does not.

They go in for love affairs, of course, and married women are not above falling desperately in love with other men than their husbands. A woman's only hope in such a case (unless her man happens to be her first cousin) is to tell her husband the whole truth, and beg him to divorce her. This happens fairly often among the rank and file, though not among the senior ladies of the tribe or the shaikh's wives. Sir Richard Burton has said somewhere that among Badawin women who were separated from their menfolk during long absences in the desert when at war, abnormal and unnatural living was not uncommon. This I think a libel, or at least a grave exaggeration.

THE DAILY ROUND OF A BADAWIN FAMILY—"AN AUTUMN STUDY"

132 Time, Early November; Place, Wafra, 30 miles from the sea in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.

[342] The tent is pitched on a slight rise in the ground, so that if rain
● 512 comes the water will not flood the interior. Everyone is busy from earliest dawn to nightfall, especially the women and girls. A little rain has fallen, the first for eight months, and grass has just started sprouting in the hollows. Both camels and sheep are thin and scarcely able to walk any distance. The summer has been a terribly severe one. More rain is urgently needed, else the grass that has come up will wither again. The head of the family has ridden off on his mare the previous evening to see if better grazing exists 10 miles away. He will not be back till sunset to-day.

000 At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the *'adhan* (call to prayer),

The Shepherd Boy

Chap. III

At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the 'adhan (call to prayer), with which the day commences. It is still quite dark, but the prayer-call has roused the camp. The women also pray, but in their own tent. After prayers, the woman whose duty it is to make the daily supply of *leben* (sour milk), starts rocking her goatskin to and fro on the *mirjahah* (wooden tripod from the centre of which it hangs). According to the tribe they belong to, some women sing when at this work, others do not. 512 [788] 462

The woman of the house then orders a little bitter coffee or tea (a modern innovation) to be prepared and gives some to the shepherd and the camelherd, who with the dawn will start off on their day's duties. With the coffee she hands them a supply of dates; part of this is eaten on the spot and part put into a little leather bag as the day's ration. If coffee or tea is scarce, the men are given a bowl of milk. While this is being done, another servant whose duty later will be to go and fetch water, etc., looses the lambs from inside the tent, where each has been attached by a woollen loop to a central rope during the night, and allows each lamb to be suckled by its mother. This done, the lambs are tied up again. The grown-up animals are counted to see that no wolf has stolen one during the night, and off they are sent to graze in charge of the shepherd boy. As the sheep are weak from lack of fodder and the long summer, they will be sent a couple of miles at most. There the shepherd-boy amuses himself one way or another till the sun gets up and makes him feel inclined to rest. He thereupon plants his staff* in the ground and hangs his *'abba* on top. This is enough to deceive the sheep into thinking the shepherd is standing near them and watching. They will not wander; the shepherd goes to sleep. There is no danger by day while he is in sight of the camp. 512 [769] 23's 462

After the sheep go the camels. A few of these, being in extra poor condition as the result of the summer, find difficulty in rising. They are given a mouthful of dates to encourage them; one or two may have to be helped up, protesting with growls and burblings as their tails are seized and given an upward twist. They are all ready now and the herdsman bursts into song of encouragement and leads the

* Called *mikhyal*. *Mikhyal* is the special stick which shepherds keep to hang their *'abba* on to prevent sheep and lambs from wandering. Every tent has one.

Najdi and Iraq sheep take no notice of the *mikhyal*, only the black sheep of Hasa and Kuwait. [See Bible. "Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me"—here "staff" is undoubtedly the Arabian *mikhyal*.]

The Camelherd

512 way, riding monkey-like on the hindquarters of one of the better-
233 conditioned animals, and looking as if every minute he would slide
462 off over the animal's tail. The herdsman's song is wild and weird,
[638] rising and falling in semitones. As often as not he starts off with a description of the beautiful grazing that his charges are going to find ahead of them. He pleads with his camels and says they are to trust him, their guide and helper. He it is who is leading them to pastures fair, and grass that is green and succulent. The camels seem to understand, for with sundry groans and moans, they slowly follow him in single file. As they disappear into the early morning mist, the last you see or hear of the party is the distant singing of the camelherd. Then all are swallowed up in the morning fog. Like the sheep, the camels will not go far. Five to eight miles is their limit just now. Grazing has been so pitifully scarce in their long summer camp they must be allowed to get fit slowly; presently they will go further afield. The camelherd does not sleep by day. His is a much more valuable herd. He watches, with rifle ready, even though there is not the slightest rumour of danger or trouble in the air. To while away the long day, he may look for truffles on the hilltops or occasionally try and catch a jerboa. In the main, however, he watches and watches till the time comes to go home.

512 The camels and sheep having gone out to graze and the sun being
264 up, the tent family will have a meagre breakfast consisting of a little tea without milk, and some dates. If the housewife is in funds she may issue a small ration of bread to all; more often than not they go without.

512 The daughter of the house with her small sister, or her girl friend
462 from the neighbour's tent, now starts off to collect brushwood for
313 the day's needs. *'Arfaj* is what they seek, and as this has a tough root, they arm themselves with a small axe and several yards of goat's hair
[95] rope to carry home the firewood on their heads. Other children of from five to ten years old often accompany the girls to see if they can find an early flower or a truffle. It is their one way of enjoying themselves, they have few other amusements. The girls move off with strong healthy stride, their long sleeves bound behind their necks to free their arms, and their skirts hitched up at the waist to give freedom of movement. How straight and supple they are! Daily this fetching

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in of firewood goes on, and the girls and children get in a two- or 512
three-mile walk every morning. It is good for them and makes them 462
strong, straight and fit to bear children later on, and they know it. 813

Two hours later they return, each bearing an enormous load of *'arfaj* bushes on their heads, and followed by the tired little mites who have gone with them. In the meantime the woman of the tent has 512
not been idle. She, with her sister, or old mother if she has one to 462
help her, has been sunning the family bedding (*lakâf*) and putting it away, or has been cleaning pots and pans from the previous night's meal and has tidied up the tent. She has sent off the spare shepherd 512
to go and fetch water from the wells they have just vacated, perhaps 462
10 miles back. He takes for the purpose a couple of male camels 312
kept back from the herd, on whom he loads up either two large camel water-skins, or four goatskins. This will suffice for the needs of the tent and its neighbours. Should a small *shawila* exist near them, as is often the case after rains, the daughters of the house will once again be sent off with goatskins (*garab*) to collect the water—(a *shawila* is a small supply of water lying under the surface of a dry, sandy water-course which does not sink deep and disappear completely, because it lies on subsurface rock or clay). The girls scratch away the sand to a depth of two or three feet to reach the brown, muddy liquid. They ladle it into skins by means of a small cup (*jiddâ*) of tamarisk wood, and keep it on one side for drinking purposes only. The water is at first opaque and yellowish, but the silt soon settles.

To keep the water-skins cool during the day, a bed of *'arfaj* bush is made just outside the women's quarters, and all skins are laid on the bed.

By now it is time to prepare the midday meal. If the family is a 512
fairly prosperous one, rice will be cooked and made tasty with *samen*, 264
clarified butter of sheep's milk, and all will sit down and eat their fill. 462
If the family is a poor one, there will be no meal till sundown.

After the midday meal, the woman of the house will first clean the cooking pots, and then start weaving any cloth that may be required for the tent, or if the tent is complete she will work on a *qdas* or *mamad*, which in due course she will sell when she visits a town to do *mudhilah*. A *qdas* if well and artistically made will bring her in [495]
Rs.45 to Rs.50—a vast sum of money for a Badawin family.

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512 An hour or so before sunset, the tent housewife takes a stroll. She has had a hard day. She enjoys herself with her children for half an hour or so. Before going out she has ordered the household to prepare [415] and fill the *haudh*. This is a large leather drinking trough fixed in basin fashion on a stand of three bent hoops of wood. This is for the sheep when they come home and for the master's mare. There is a good supply of water ready, but the sheep will not need much, for they have been having green grazing. The camels will not yet drink: it is autumn and they will not want water for five days now. It is impossible to water them in camp, so every fifth day the herdsman will take them back, either to the wells they summered on, or to others that may be handy and let them drink their fill (*i-waridun-hum*).

On such journeys the herd will take the spare shepherd with him and he will go equipped with *al haudh* (see above), the *dallu* (small leather bucket), to draw water with, and the *habl* or rope to attach to the bucket. He will also take all spare *garabs* (water-skins) to bring
512 back water to the camp. It is now nearly sunset and all eyes are on
598 the look-out for the return of the master of the house. At last he is seen on the horizon cantering leisurely home. As he nears the tents the dogs begin to bark, the children rush out to meet father and the wife orders coffee to be prepared. His welcome is like that given to a guest, for he will be tired and hungry. As he dismounts, his wife or daughter takes his mare and at once throws over her a *jilldl* (blanket) before taking her to water. That duty done, they shackle her with clumsy iron shackles and allow her to go free. If the family is fairly well off, the mare will be given a feed of barley, but the poor man's mare gets nothing.

512 Salutations over and several cups of coffee handed round, the
233 master of the house is asked about the result of his journey. He produces out of the voluminous folds of his *dishdasha* samples of different kinds of grass which he has seen growing at the spot he visited, and which he has brought home to show his wife and herdsmen; he praises his new find, he says grazing is good out there, and there is lots of it, and no other Badawin have as yet found it. He has brought good news (*bishdra*), he wants his womenfolk and all the others to rejoice with him for he is a *bashir* (a bringer of good news):

"By God it is excellent, very very excellent, and there are no Arabs

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on it—Oh my children, oh my servants, we will move to it to-morrow morning." 512 283

Yet what, after all, is this new-found grazing? Nothing but a slightly rained-upon locality, where a few green shoots and weeds wait for man and beast to find them. Yet with the scarcity that prevails, the find is welcome. At sunset the camels once again come home, this time with the herdsman riding behind them. He is no longer singing, but encourages them with a "wa-ho, wa-ho, hurry up my daughters, the night is coming on, 'tis late—'tis late".

On arrival the camels are gently shepherded to the front of the tent where they are encouraged to lie down in a semicircle forming a sort of zareeba, with heads all facing the open side of the tent. This for protection, and to give each other warmth, for the tent keeps off the chill night breeze. However cold it is, the camels have no covering on their backs, and they appreciate any shelter they can get from the night wind.

An hour after sunset, and often when it is quite dark, the sheep come in with much "baa-ing" and calling upon their lambs to come out and appease their hunger, for the lambs have been kept at home all day. The sheep are brought into the semicircle formed by the camels, and the lambs are let loose. For twenty minutes or so pandemonium reigns. The babies have to be guided to their mothers, who will accept no lamb but their own, and in the darkness there is much apparent confusion due only to the noise made by ewes and lambs.

The shepherds know their job, and the lambs, having fed, are soon taken back and tied up inside the tent. All this time there are no lights, for the Badawin family cannot afford such luxury. Only in the kitchen portion of the tent a fire is cooking the evening meal and the master of the house sitting in front of the guest portion of his tent has got a small fire going with the embers of dry camel dung. Every now and then he flings on a bunch of *'arfaj* to cause a blaze and show him what is going on. 512 378

Supper follows, a simple meal of boiled rice and possibly a little bread. It is washed down with *laben*, of which master takes long and copious draughts. The women do not eat with him. They have already had their snack. Only the wife sits by her husband to see that he has 512 264

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512 all he wants. Coffee then goes round, and master, servants and women
264 go early to bed.

132 That night Allah the All-seeing, the All-merciful, is good to his
512 people. As the camp sleeps, a great thundercloud appears and gradually creeps up from the far north-west. Nearer and nearer it comes till at 3 a.m. it is exactly overhead. There is a death-like stillness, and even the camp dogs cease their baying and the sleepers turn uneasily in their sleep. The air is oppressive, even hot. Suddenly a cold chill wind begins to blow; the shepherd watching his sheep in front of the tent wakes his master and whispers, "Allah Kerim, Insha'llah it will rain, the mercy of God is coming, Oh Allah, give us of thy blessing". Suddenly there is a soul-raising thunderclap followed by a simultaneous blaze of forked lightning, which lights up the whole landscape a vivid bluey-white. Clap after clap follows; each rolling away in the distance like salvos of great artillery. Shouts and cries rise from the camp. The men rush to the camels and sheep, the women to the tent ropes, and then with a dull roar growing every instant deeper and closer, the rain comes at last. At first great heavy drops the size of small saucers, then in a few seconds the downpour. And what a downpour! Fortunately there is no wind but just a deep booming roar, as the water pours down in sheets. For ten minutes everyone holds on to what he can grip, expecting the squall which usually follows such rain. But none comes. Then cries of joy as the open spaces round the camp site begin to fill with water. The tents perched up on higher ground than the surrounding country are safe from flood, but by 3.30 a.m. the countryside is a vast shallow lake. By
312 3.45 a.m. the rain thins off. Regardless of everything, men, women and
512 children rush forth to collect the delicious rain-water into every kind of utensil they can lay hands on: water-skins, basins, tins and cooking pots of every description are made to serve. When these are filled women and children sit in the water and literally wallow in it for sheer joy. The men rouse the camels and make them drink knee deep in the fresh brown sea. Everyone is delirious, for they have been drinking brackish and even salt water for the last nine months. The great blessing has come at last. God is great, God is good to the *Muslimin*. The incongruous part of it all is that it is still pitch dark.
000 No one has a lantern, no one cares. At length dawn breaks. Prayers,

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Rejoicing

Chap. III

At length dawn breaks. Prayers, genuine prayers of heartfelt thanks are said and the storm passes away. What a scene daylight brings! Each tent, like a little Noah's ark, is perched safely on its small Ararat, and a sea of fresh water for a couple of miles all round gives the appearance of the Flood of Bible story. Away to the right are some low hills, and to the left one can see the water tumbling down their sides as the various nullahs *sail* (the Arab word for running in spate). You can hear the dull roar of these distant water-courses running full. The summer has ended at long long last. The Badawin world comes to life and is happy once more. "Now we shall see the *fuqak* (truffles)", cry the delighted children.

(The above was a personal experience of 2nd November, 1933.)

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parently meeting with no great obstacle on the way. In 574
five minutes everybody is filled to repletion. Pounds of 264
meat have been consumed and bushels of rice. The side dishes are empty. Enormous wooden bowls of buttermilk are brought in and the meal washed down with great draughts of this favorite Arab drink. It is not remarkable that after a feast everybody expects to take a nap. [513] •
So ends the festivity and the Bedouin settles down once again to his meager and poverty-stricken existence in the desert.

Life as a nomad shepherd brings the Bedouin into 342
naked and constant contact with nature. He is out of 611
doors almost all of the time, and his tent with its rents and holes hardly serves to separate him from the outside world to any significant degree even when he is inside. The sun over him by day and the moon and stars by night, the long stretches of sand and the rough rocky plains, the sand storms which are the terror of the desert, the fierce heat of the summer and the frosts of the winter, all of these are his constant companions. He 151
learns to know the wilderness as few know it. The tracks of the various animals in the sand are to him an easily legible history of the happenings of several days back. Thus he lives not simply in contact with nature 181
but rather immersed in it. The desert may be cruel, but he pines away if transplanted. His life may be hard, but he wants nothing else.

Yet strangely enough, in spite of his intense love for 61
the desert and its freedom, all the beauties in nature 123
around him fall on blind eyes as far as the Bedouin is concerned. Even the desert sunset and the moon-lit sand dunes apparently stir no responsive chord in his heart. It is as if all such things had been stripped off

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513] ●
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

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231 plural: *salag*), on the other hand, are regarded as clean, especially by
325 those Badawin following the Maliki tenets of Islam (who are in the majority in Hasa and Kuwait), and they are allowed to enter tents and sleep in the women's portion at will. They are valued for hunting purposes, and are taught to kill hare and gazelle for the pot. Great care is taken that there shall be no interbreeding between the tent watch-dogs and the *salâqi*, and when the female *salâqi* of the household is on heat one of her hind legs is attached by a leather thong to her collar, thus forcing her to sit down, which effectually prevents a heavy dog covering her.

A STRANGER ARRIVING AT A TENT

51R. A stranger arriving must approach a Badawin tent from the front only. It is the worst of bad form to come up from the back. He must then approach the guest side of the tent and halt and make his camel kneel while some way off. This shows that he wants a night's rest or some food. He must never approach or halt his camel near the women's end of the tent (*mukarram*). The purpose of this custom is to give the women time to adjust their *burqu* or veils whilst the visitor is some distance off. Were the visitor to come up from behind, he might come upon an unveiled woman attending to nature or washing her hair, or cleaning kitchen utensils.

FAVOURITE SPOTS FOR PITCHING TENTS

342 In choosing a tent site the proximity of water is, of course, the first essential. Next, the nature of the grazing decides where a man will wish to pitch his tent. If he is migrating with the tribe or part of the tribe, the tent owner leaves the selection of the area to be camped on to the shaikh, but tries for the convenience of himself and his family to get as close as possible to a sandy nullah or dry water course with
342 high banks. This is very important, for it allows the whole household,
515 and especially the women, to attend to their toilet and other sanitary
514 duties out of sight and in sandy surroundings which are ideally healthful. In this connection a Badawin (male or female) never unnecessarily soils the ground, but makes a point of digging a small hole in the sand, which he afterwards fills in. If water is scarce, as more often than not

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342 it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
515 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier
514 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

515 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
233 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

412 When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jamal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family
[291] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *makmars* or *giwas*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalils*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *mawakh al dhalil* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

701 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
221 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalils* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*ahir*) have

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it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly accurate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so frequent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty. Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine because water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for such a purpose. The men apparently go without washing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected. There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but
flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much 272
social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity 252
for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if 415
not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the 514
equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material 291
is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the 312
Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which 515
are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a 732
substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most im- 262
portant are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese —of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread— and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally [437]
a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads them- [24]
selves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are [231
in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, 471]
not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using 264
his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they 562
are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin 000

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel. [271]

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop. [241]

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks. [826]

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515 Dirty he and his wife always are, but theirs is the dirt of the field, a thing totally different from the dirt of the town. He never washes his clothes till they are about to drop off, and then he replaces them. He and his good wife are covered with body lice, and reek of camel manure and other choice odours, but the important parts of the body are kept clean, and the wife bathes her hair once a week in she-camel's urine, and thus rids her head of vermin for a few days.

157 Both the Badawin and his women are envious to a degree, and cupidity is the breath of life to them. Both are as full of *hasad* and *tama'* (envy and cupidity) as anyone in this world could be, and they never tire of saying that others around them suffer from these vices but never they themselves. *Hasad* takes the form of backbiting at every opportunity, and disparaging the efforts and good name of anyone who happens to be better off. His *tama'* is proverbial and has caused him to be dubbed by certain Westerners "the arch parasite of world society". True it is that you can make a Badawin man or woman do pretty well anything in this world except (and here I speak for the desert only) sacrifice his or her honour, by the offer of money.

Yet with all these faults I have found the Badawin and his wife to be the most lovable and delightful of all people, just primitive Adams and Eves, like their ancestors.

771 The true Badawin is a deeply religious man, and his hard life in the desert with its perpetual dangers to man and beast increases his sense of nearness to and dependence on his Maker. The grim scenery which surrounds him, the wide sandy deserts, the blood-colour of blazing sunsets, the deep yellow-black of the dust storms, a very incarnation of monstrous evil, and last but not least the devilish flicker of the witch's oven, as it trembles above the ground, with its cruel sister the ever-deceiving mirage, all tend to convince him that the One and Indivisible God is near him always and if only he be a true Musulmán will help him when peril is about. The thought of God is always with him, and the name of Allah is perpetually on his [188] lips. He prays ceremonially five times a day. He can and will do 577 nothing without invoking God's aid. After his duty towards God, comes duty towards his neighbour, and to a lesser extent towards himself. His whole code can be summed up in the following few sentences:

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231 plural: *salag*), on the other hand, are regarded as clean, especially by
325 those Badawin following the Maliki tenets of Islam (who are in the majority in Hasa and Kuwait), and they are allowed to enter tents and sleep in the women's portion at will. They are valued for hunting purposes, and are taught to kill hare and gazelle for the pot. Great care is taken that there shall be no interbreeding between the tent watch-dogs and the *salúqi*, and when the female *salúqi* of the household is on heat one of her hind legs is attached by a leather thong to her collar, thus forcing her to sit down, which effectually prevents a heavy dog covering her.

A STRANGER ARRIVING AT A TENT

516 A stranger arriving must approach a Badawin tent from the front only. It is the worst of bad form to come up from the back. He must then approach the guest side of the tent and halt and make his camel kneel while some way off. This shows that he wants a night's rest or some food. He must never approach or halt his camel near the women's end of the tent (*muharram*). The purpose of this custom is to give the women time to adjust their *burqas* or veils whilst the visitor is some distance off. Were the visitor to come up from behind, he might come upon an unveiled woman attending to nature or washing her hair, or cleaning kitchen utensils.

FAVOURITE SPOTS FOR PITCHING TENTS

342 In choosing a tent site the proximity of water is, of course, the first essential. Next, the nature of the grazing decides where a man will wish to pitch his tent. If he is migrating with the tribe or part of the tribe, the tent owner leaves the selection of the area to be camped on to the shaikh, but tries for the convenience of himself and his family to get as close as possible to a sandy nullah or dry water course with
342 high banks. This is very important, for it allows the whole household,
515 and especially the women, to attend to their toilet and other sanitary
514 duties out of sight and in sandy surroundings which are ideally healthful. In this connection a Badawin (male or female) never unnecessarily soils the ground, but makes a point of digging a small hole in the sand, which he afterwards fills in. If water is scarce, as more often than not

Changing Camp

342 it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
515 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier
514 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

515 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
233 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

492 When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jamal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family [991] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *maksars* or *ginns*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalûls*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *nawakh al dhalûl* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

701 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
221 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalûls* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*shûr*) have

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Hair-Dressing

Chap. IX

*Hijjil—(plural: *hijjál*) massive anklet of gold or silver (worn above ankle). B
*Hámo—Gold cap for head, from which hangs a chain down either side 301
of face known as *tallal*. Used by brides. K
*Kitbát—Gold drop-like ornaments hanging on strings which are woven 301
into the plaits of hair, at back of head. (These are worn by wealthy people only.)
*Mathayid—Plain straight gold bangles. If they are wavy they are known as *mathayid al haiya*.
*Hazzám—Gold waistband worn over *dera'ah* or frock.
*Khuwaisat—Thick handsome bracelets of gold, studded with turquoise.
*Gub-gub—Gold cap worn by brides and little girls in Kuwait on festive days. It is made of small jointed squares of solid gold, each square being studded with a single turquoise. The cap is kept in place by the hair, which is threaded through loops at the back, and then braided.
Dalag—Badawin bracelet of coloured beads.

WOMEN'S HAIR

The Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Rashaida and 'Awazim women, and B
women of Central and Eastern Arabia generally, do their hair in nine 302
plaits. These are divided as follows, two on either side of the face K
which show down the side of the [illegible] thinner ones at the back, 302
starting from the middle of the [illegible], and one below them at the neck. The hair is washed [illegible], and usually redressed once a week when *dehen* (local [illegible] oil) is put on it: sometimes a mixture of herbs—*rashásh* or henna is also put on after. Camel's urine is a favourite Badawin hair wash, as it bleaches the hair and kills insects. The Shammar and some Mutair women use the dried leaves of *nifl* (sometimes called *hungresse*) (*Trigonella stellata*) in place of *rashásh*. A comb (made of wood) only is used, and is called a *misht*. The townswomen use the dried and pounded leaves of the sidr tree as a hair wash after applications of henna paste.

When Badawin women dance they undo all their plaits and allow the hair to fall entirely loose.

Sim as simach (a poison used for killing fish) is also used to kill B
lice on the head. (Arsenic?) 515 ●
K
To clean their teeth, women use a piece of the bark of a tree 515
called *darum*. This cleans remarkably well, and adds to the beauty

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B 515 K 515 effect by turning the lips saffron-red. This is more commonly used by townswomen than by their Badawin sisters.

DRESS FOR THE HAJ

K 788 292 B 788 292 Just as the man wears the *'ihrâm*, a white loin cloth and white shoulder wrap when performing the pilgrimage, all Arab women must wear a special costume* when they enter the precincts of Mecca on pilgrimage. This consists of

(a) Green *sirwâl* (pantaloons).
(b) Green *thaub* (muslin over-dress).
(c) Green *dishdâsha* (frock).
(d) Black *'abba*.
(e) *Milfa* (veil).

K 765 When a woman, especially a townswoman, is in mourning she also wears green clothes.

HENNA AND ITS USES

B 302 K 302 The use of black henna (*saumar*) for the soles of the feet and hands, and red henna (*hinna*) for the tips of the fingers and toes is universal among *hadhar* townswomen. The Badawin girls use only red henna and then only to decorate their hands, finger nails and toe nails. They do not decorate the rest of their feet. Usually the henna is applied three times, so as to get the right shade. The henna is powdered and mixed with water till a fairly liquid paste is made. It is then applied very thickly and carefully, with a wooden stick, on the hands or feet in accordance with the pattern desired. It is then allowed to dry quickly in front of a fire until the paste cracks and falls or is picked off. This is done three times, or four if a very dark colour is required.

Some women prefer that the henna markings should be black, especially for the feet. To arrange this, another paste is made from powdered lime (*nûra*) and powdered crystal ammonia (*shamada*) and is applied over the orange henna markings. At once the orange mark-

K 841 B 841 * If a woman has her period when she enters the sacred precinct of Mecca to perform the Haj, then her pilgrimage is null and void, as she is considered unclean. Several Arab ladies of Kuwait have enquired from the lady doctor when about to go on the Haj, if she could give them medicine to delay periods when due.

Sex Indulgence

834 removes the *burqa* or mask from his bride's face on the first night.
291 She invariably tries to keep it on for about ten days or so out of modesty. His Majesty Bin Sa'ud, however, told the writer that he had had, he supposed, some four hundred wives during his life, but had never seen the face of any one of them. He presumably referred to his many Badawin brides, whom he married usually for a night or two, and then divorced them. This is a custom common among important shaikhs, and involves no disgrace at all to the girl or to the
5% man. Should a child result from these one-or-two-night marriages, the shaikh or big man gives the mother a salary till the child is four or five years old, and then the child is taken away from the mother and placed in the father's house. During this nursing period the mother must not marry. If she does, the child is at once taken away and given to a wet nurse. The Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, Al Khalifah princes regularly go in for such alliances among their Badawin subjects, but usually take away at an early age any children that may be born.

515 Both man and woman must have a complete bath after sexual
833 intercourse. This is a precept of religion, and the wildest Badawin must conform to this rule. Even though only a small bowl of water may be available, the whole body must be washed all over.*

941 During her monthly periods a woman is forbidden to have inter-
515 course with her husband for full seven days. When the menstrual period is over, a woman is unclean until she washes all over; this is called "washing her hair" (*ghassal al ras*).†

833 During Ramadhan (the annual thirty-day fast) sexual intercourse is forbidden by day, but not by night.

It is no exaggeration to say that sexual intercourse is loved by the ordinary Arab above all pleasures in the world. It is the *one* gross pleasure common to rich and poor alike, and the one moment of forgetfulness in his daily round of troubles and hardships that Badawin or townsman can enjoy. Men and women equally love the act, which is said to keep man young, "just like riding a mare".

The Arab seems to possess strength above the average for sexual

* Prayer of a woman after sexual intercourse when performing ablutions: *Ashhadu an la ilaha illa Allah wa ash Muhammad rasulu Allah, ya Ilahi, ji hadha al ma al fari hadhi 'Illah ta'ala.*

† When a girl reaches womanhood, she is said to be "Now washing her head".

/s(woman. Their mode of life is very much like
543 that of other Anaiza Beduins (not like Sulubba), but owing to the taint in their blood, no Beduin tribe will intermarry with them.

OTHER BASE-BORN TRIBES

While the Sulubba are the lowest of the ignoble tribes, they are not alone. Arabia is full of base-born tribesmen, with whom the "thoroughbred" Beduin will not intermarry.

Hazim

These people seem to be a tribe of almost
544 as low standing as the Sulubba. They do not, however, work as tinkers or hunters, but live a pastoral life, like the Beduins. The Hazim live around Jauf or with the Ruwalla.

Sherarat

They live principally around Jauf, where they are collected into a considerable tribe, but members of the Sherarat are found scattered among the Ruwalla, Beni, Sakhr, Huwaitat, and
545 Shammar. Among these tribes the Sherarat perform the menial tasks of servants and herdsmen.

The origin of the Sherarat is unknown. They are not as debased as the Sulubba, but they are
546 far inferior to the Beduins. Their tents are
547 usually very small and ragged, and their clothing even dirtier and much scantier than that of the ordinary Beduin.

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Last of all he places in position the *shaz finjân* (brass case for coffee 415
cups) alongside the *yed wal hâwan* (brass pestle and mortar), the 272
mubarrad (wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans), the *mukhbir* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee), the *lîfa* (coir piece to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and finally the *mukhbir* (incense burner). All is now ready to receive a guest, except that the actual coffee beans, the cardamum seed to mix with the coffee, the firewood (*'arfaj* bush) and the *jalla* camel manure (in place of coal) and the drinking water, is round in the women's part of the tent or outside it, and will have to be fetched.

As a guest is seen arriving these last necessities are brought and by 574
the time he sits down, firewood, *jalla*, etc., all are ready to hand.

The scheme of things in a poor Badawin tent is the same, only everything is on a very much more modest scale—in fact, according to his purse.

A man leaning on the guest saddle is said to be *murtachi*; if he leans his back against a cushion (*mamaf*), he is said to be *mutawwad*. If he 516
tells a story he sits cross-legged; when eating he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel; his eating hand works outside his right upright knee; when he washes his hands he squats with knees wide apart.

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

Women and servants (if any) carry all cooking utensils, etc., into 415
the women's apartment and cooking portion of the tent, the heavy 251
baggage and bags containing rice, flour, dates, salt, sugar are stored 352
up against the *ṣdar* curtain dividing the women's from the men's 353
apartments. The camel saddle-bags are then hung up on the tent poles, as well as other odds and ends, including the owner's spare rifle and ammunition. Red *lahâfi* or quilts, which take the place of blankets, are then rolled up and placed on top of the stores, and the woman of the house and her daughter's decorated *makmars* (litters) are placed in a prominent position on the other side of the tent, so as to be seen by passers by.

Not the least important of the women's treasures are the spindles 293
(*maghzal*), with which the womenfolk in their spare time spin camels' or sheep's wool. These they are for ever whirling, whether on the

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WAR CRIES

Every Arab prince and Arab tribe has a special war cry. Some have several and some a single one. 721 192

These war cries, called *nakhwa* and *'iswak*, are yelled out in the heat of battle, and especially during the wild charge of horsemen.

The war cry is supposed to strike terror into the foe. It also enables the individual warrior to recognise friend from enemy in the general mêlée that follows a charge—for every man as he goes into action muffles up his face till only his eyes are seen, and no uniforms distinguish combatants or differentiate friend from foe. [704]

SURRENDER

Among the Badawin the equivalent of the European or Westerner's "Hands up" is for a man to drop his rifle on the ground and place *the thumbs of both hands simultaneously between his teeth with the fingers of each hand extended outwards towards the person to whom he is surrendering*. This is the normal method, when for instance a man is a fugitive and is about to be caught up and killed by his pursuers. The meaning of the act is that he realises that all is up, he has been caught, he knows death is his portion, nevertheless he casts himself on God's mercy and on that of his enemies. In nine times out of ten he will be spared. 726 516

Even in the heat of battle a man on the losing side can escape death if he recognises an old friend or acquaintance in the opposing ranks, by shouting out to him and saying, *Ya fulan, ana fi wajh-ak* (O So-and-So, I put myself under your protection). If the person so called upon has sufficient influence with his comrades to grant such protection, he replies, *Atuitak wajhki sallam nafgrak* or *salahak* (I have given you my protection, hand over your rifle, or arms). Under such circumstances the suppliant is absolutely safe, and his guarantor goes bail for his life. 572 726

Should the man appealed to not be of sufficient importance among his fellow fighters to guarantee the life of the suppliant, he will call out to him and advise him to demand protection from someone more influential than himself, i.e. *Utlub wajh fulan* (Call upon the

Joys of Cold Weather

there is a *stir* in the Badawin world. Suhail (Canopus) has also been* 221
seen, low down in the southern horizon, which to the Badawin means 182
the end of the dread summer, for man and beast then need less to drink. Even the blood grows cooler of a sudden.

A general cheerfulness now takes hold of the Badawin tent-dweller. He has safely weathered one more dread summer, the life-giving rains are coming and with them abundance once again. He joyfully packs up his belongings and by the 15th of October is ready to move. The end of the month sees him gone, rain or no rain. At first he does not go too far from water, for his camels, sheep and mares must still be watered frequently.

With the first fall of rain, however, he is gone on his great annual migration, or, to be more accurate, his grand circular tour. The various sections of the tribe now move together or follow each other from grazing ground to grazing ground, till they have systematically passed over and eaten down all the *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh* grasses that the rains have brought in their train. Should rains be delayed in a particular area, the tribe skip it and pass on to where the country has become green. The night lightning and the heavy bank of clouds seen of an evening far away on the horizon are their surest guides.

Certain areas are known to be nearly always good in autumn, and to these the shaikhs will usually take their own best camels with them.

This moving in the wake of the grazing is spread over November, December, January, February, March and April, till by May all nomad households are once more beginning to converge slowly on to water. It is a sad period, this having to go, so to speak, "home again" after the glorious annual holiday. During the migration months the tribal tents change ground about every ten days, both for sanitary reasons and because the grass has been eaten up—so the moves are slow, leisurely and pleasant. Nor are distances to the next camp great. It is 517
a period of joy for all, women renew their winter garments, make 224
ladas, wear their best frocks and amuse themselves among the flowers. 262
The better-off men hawk the lesser bustard (*hubara*), hunt gazelle

* In Najd Canopus is usually seen between 1st September and 10th September. In Kuwait if the sky is clear it is seen very close after the 20th September, and at about 3.30 a.m., very low down in the south over the Bridal Gate.

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517 (*shaik*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves
224 on fresh *laben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war,
262 then of course this utopian existence *is* at once changed, and the tribe
722 moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared
for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining
[302] and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come
into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks
before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were
able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and
622 assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on
its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp.
His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

622 No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was
157 the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not neces-
183 sarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the
family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-
paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the
shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan
or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father
and become shaikh after him must prove:

that he has the necessary courage;
that he has powers of leadership;
that he has *hadh* or luck.

777 The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership
622 in plenty if *hadh* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman
167 wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in
peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is
bound up in this word *hadh*. The great Ibn Sa'ud, the present Lord
of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with
a large quantity of *hadh*, or so says and believes every Badawin of
Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot
be compared with the all-embracing Luck.

622 The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

The Welcome

in front of my tent, everything is ready to give me welcome. Salim stands alone in front of the tent, and answers my *salām 'alaikum*, for it would not do for his womenfolk to appear in the presence of my hired driver and the shaikh's *fidāwi*, Sa'ud. They can, however, be seen discreetly peeping from their tent.

My goods and chattels are next unpacked, and I proceed to get things shipshape. Whilst Jawad is putting together my camp bed, and opening up my bedding, coffee is brought and served.

As soon as the coast is clear, and the menfolk are safely ensconced in their tent, in creeps the gentle-eyed and sweet-voiced Amsha to bid me welcome in the reception portion of my black goat-hair tent. She walks in gracefully, and in her low contralto voice bids me, "Al guwa ya Abu Sa'ud" (Strength to you, O father of Sa'ud), the usual salutation among the womenfolk. "'Allah i gauichi ya Um Hussa" (God give you strength, O mother of Hussa) I reply, and then follows a host of welcoming sentences, such as, "How are you? How is Um Sa'ud? What news of the Khatuna (the wife)? and Sa'ud and Zahra (my children) how are they? Well, well, I hope. What is doing in Kuwait, and what news of rain?" etc. Amsha is followed by Maneira, the Mumiriyah, helper in the house, and Hussa, Amsha's daughter of fifteen (recently veiled to show she is now a woman and of marriageable age). Then the daughters of Dhuwaihi the herdsman, and of Mazīad, the Dhafiri, and last of all comes coal-black little Mubarak, the negro slave's little boy—Barruk they call him in terms of endearment. The other little curly-headed boy, Marzuk or Musirik, his brother, is still with the lambs a quarter of a mile away, and so is Hamud, Maneira's small son.

The women, led by Amsha, sit round me in a circle, all asking after me and all wanting to know something. Little Hussa, whom I have known since she was seven years old, encouraged by her mother, comes and sits by my side after holding up her *burga* a moment for me to kiss her dimpled mouth. She has mother's permission to do this, even though she is now fifteen and a grown woman, for have I not known her since she was a little child? After this preliminary, she retires again and sits by her mother's side, keeping that silence which all well-behaved Badawin children maintain when their elders are present. Only shy little Barruk comes up

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in small well-bred face to my mouth for a kiss—really for a date, 231
which I had not got.

Next the new watch-dog, a fierce and shaggy brute, is produced and shown to me. I praise it in suitable terms to express the hope that he will keep off wolves. The women now go, whilst I wash and get into my warm Gilgit boots and prepare for the evening meal.

It is night. I have just had the most delightful dinner I have ever 232
tasted. Only Amsha's skilled hand could have prepared it. A dish of rice stewed with raisins and onion shreds, and on top a perfectly formed baby lamb which has not yet eaten grass. How good it was, and how soft and luscious! My two *gitas* (dividing curtains) have 000
been furled inwards and tied to the centre rope so as to form a cosy room.

A lantern is burning at the far end. The remains of my dinner are taken away. Salim has just brought coffee again. I ask Salim if the needs of my two men have been attended to, and he replies that they have had a dinner similar to mine, and are preparing to turn in. "Have they had coffee?" I ask. "Yes, Abu Sa'ud, they have had coffee. May 501
the women come and talk to you before you go to sleep?" he asks. I agree, for it is only 8 p.m. and far too early to think of turning in. Amsha and her friends again creep in and sit down. This time Salim is with them, but not Hussa. She is staying with the little black children and putting them to sleep in her tent.

Presently they ask me for the news of Kuwait, and they in turn give me all the Badawin gossip that has come their way since they arrived. They go through the names of everyone camped within 10 miles of them, and Salim tells of raids and counter-raids in distant Najd, the doings of So-and-So, the plans of the King (Ibn Sa'ud), and of how careful he must be not to get into trouble with Yaman.* "Believe me, Ya Abu Sa'ud, the Imam Yahya, is very strong and has wonderful arms and infernal machines at his disposal. Why, he even has metal walking-chickens which he sends by the thousand into his enemy's camp by night, and as soon as they get among the troops they explode and kill very many with each explosion. *Wallah* (by God) it is true! Have I not myself seen men killed in this way? Have I not just returned from Riyadh and seen bits of exploded chickens

* This scene took place just before Ibn Sa'ud's Yaman adventure of 1934.

521 that have been brought back from the Asir front for the King to see? It is true, I say, O Abu Sa'ud. You know I have never told a lie yet, and why should I do so now?"

As he tells this whopper, the women giggle and cry out in pretended alarm. They, of course, believe the story, and half Arabia believes it too.

"Do you know", said Salim again, "that there is talk in the Summán that Faisal al Duwish is alive and in hiding?" I replied caustically that this could not be, seeing that he died in prison of an aneurism two years ago. "That is just it", replied Salim, "you go and swallow any fairy tale that Ibn Sa'ud likes to put about. Actually, if you must know it, Al Duwish escaped and is in hiding. Why, as I was coming from Riyadh only twenty days ago I met a Mutairi woman who had met him. She saw him standing outside her tent in the evening. He had come from his hiding place in one of the *dáhals* to ask for a little bread. She is a person who knows the Shaikh like her own self. If you must know it was Wadha, Faisal's own sister. There, that is proof, isn't it?" Cries of pleasure come from the women, for all the world loved Faisal al Duwish, in the eyes of the Mutair the greatest Badawin leader and shaikh that was ever born of woman.

Such and many similar stories were recounted till, tiring, I told them all to go to bed as I had a long day before me in the morning.

264 "Will you want lunch for the road in the morning, Abu Sa'ud?"
574 said the practical-minded Amnha. "Yes, of course", said I. So she promised to get up at 4 a.m. and cook me three chickens* and a bowl of rice. The bowl, she said, had a cover, and with a loaf of Arab bread on top and the cover put on, the lunch would keep warm easily till noon. She was as good as her word. Next day's lunch was delicious. A salam now all round and I dismissed my woman friends, and the worthy Salim, and turned in.

251 I seemed to have slept but a little while by the entrance of my open tent, when I was awakened by ferocious barking. The three or four camp dogs had taken fright at something. I felt they were moving round and round the tents, they were quiet for five minutes or so and then broke out again in the fiercest growling and barking. I was very

* I had brought these along with me alive from Kuwait.

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A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his near neighbour (*gaar*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*dhiafa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafig*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wajh* and *dakhala*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*ghazu*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, [721] and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyat*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all /57 charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of [756] teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yurgad wijha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male [742] society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate [724] families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *sajfa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most [721] dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked [758]

1: Dickson G-6 (1959-67) 1951 Ml 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

about. Yet gossips they are, and expert in tearing others' reputations. Many a desert tragedy has resulted from too glib a tongue. Ordinary sexual matters are discussed before small children with a frankness and simplicity which modern educationists might approve, but which an English person may find at times embarrassing. The bearing of their young by camels, mares and ewes is not only an everyday topic, but mothers will take their children to watch the progress of such events, alongside their menfolk.

On the whole, Badawin women are extremely moral, though they might readily succumb to temptation were it to come their way. Fortunately it does not.

They go in for love affairs, of course, and married women are not above falling desperately in love with other men than their husbands. A woman's only hope in such a case (unless her man happens to be her first cousin) is to tell her husband the whole truth, and beg him to divorce her. This happens fairly often among the rank and file, though not among the senior ladies of the tribe or the shaikh's wives. Sir Richard Burton has said somewhere that among Badawin women who were separated from their menfolk during long absences in the desert when at war, abnormal and unnatural living was not uncommon. This I think a libel, or at least a grave exaggeration.

THE DAILY ROUND OF A BADAWIN FAMILY—"AN AUTUMN STUDY"

Time, Early November; Place, Wafra, 30 miles from the sea in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.

The tent is pitched on a slight rise in the ground, so that if rain comes the water will not flood the interior. Everyone is busy from earliest dawn to nightfall, especially the women and girls. A little rain has fallen, the first for eight months, and grass has just started sprouting in the hollows. Both camels and sheep are thin and scarcely able to walk any distance. The summer has been a terribly severe one. More rain is urgently needed, else the grass that has come up will wither again. The head of the family has ridden off on his mare the previous evening to see if better grazing exists 10 miles away. He will not be back till sunset to-day.

At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the *'adhan* (call to prayer),

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do, they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel, gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word 156
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 533
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their 771
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their religion is. A Rashidi once described to me how alone he had crossed the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times painfully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away. Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the wind-blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as thoroughbreds.

2b Thesiger T-3 (1944-47)2948 MS Saudi Arabia
Bedouin M34

609 treachery. This is probably a slander, inspired by the constant enmity which characterizes their relations with their neighbours; but they certainly deserve their reputation for gallantness, for they never fast nor pray, declaring that the Prophet gave their forefathers exemption from both.

291 We now sat looking down on the busy scene around the well, and those Arabs who
521 had finished watering strolled over and joined us. They asked us what we thought of their herds, and were soon deep in technicalities with my companions. They spoke of individual camels owned by Arabs four or five hundred miles away, of the different breeds, their milk yields and powers of endurance, of prices in Dhofar, Najran and on the Trucial Coast, of pasturage, and of camels taken in
721 raids on other tribes. We heard details of the recent raid upon the Yam and of how Mabkhout, nicknamed the Cat, had remained behind to hold up the pursuit and had been killed when his rifle jammed. He had been the greatest raider in the southern desert and his exploits and daring were legendary among the tribes. I had known him well, for he had guided us the year before from Salala to Dhofar. They spoke of raids across the waterless eastern sayyan, and among the giant dunes to the north. They told of pursuits and battles in the dark, of ruthless killings, of blood-feuds and murder. They mentioned famous guides, and waterholes and routes across the sands, where the oryx herds still
574 roamed. Meanwhile, a young lad had blown up the embers of the fire and set the long-necked coffee pot to boil. His uncovered hair fell to his naked shoulders and framed an impish laughing face. Our elderly host had roasted the coffee beans and passed them round for us to sniff, before pounding them up in a wooden mortar and putting them in the pot. He flavoured his coffee with crushed ginger as is the custom in the Hadhramaut. He also gave us parched grain and beans to eat; all that he had with him, for on such simple fare do the Bedu travel.

580 We lingered with them till the sun was nearly set and then descended past the well, deserted now, except for a bent old woman and two small children, who were loading the last of their water-skins on a young and restive camel. Tomorrow there would be the endless bargaining for camels and arguments with prospective guides, and ahead of us lay all the hardships and difficulties of the desert crossing. But my companions were content, and being happy in the present broke into song as they approached the camp-fires through the dusk.

p 400 (B)

L Dickson G-5 (1939-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

keeps for breeding. Similarly, young male camels are sold for food 231
and only a selected few retained to carry the household tents and [492]
baggage.

Mares are never sold, and the male foals, if not killed at birth, are a source of income when sold in the towns bordering on Arabia. (See Chapter XXX.)

The Badawin of the desert has a charm of his own, and if you 572
once make friends with him or do him a kindness, he does not forget. 577
He is above all things a child of nature, and is ruled by a strange pride which he calls his *sharaf* and which he values almost above life itself. Scold a desert man or call him ugly names, and he is ready to knife you; at the very least he will sulk, dig his toes into the ground and do nothing that you wish. On the other hand, if you treat him kindly, invite him to sit down in your tent and take a cup of coffee with you, you have gone half-way to win his friendship and confidence. If you treat him as an equal, and not as a servant, even if he is merely your guide or escort, he will react wonderfully and will rarely take liberties.

He is full of humour too, and will understand a joke and a good 572
story, but you must not make fun of him before his fellow Arabs.

Next to his *sharaf*, the Badawin, and for that matter every true 577
Arab, values his family honour or *'arab*. This word implies the good name of his womenfolk and more especially of his wife and sister. If his *'arab* is besmirched nothing short of killing the errant woman will remove it. Respect the Badawin's *sharaf*, speak well always of his *'arab* and help him to guard both, and all will be well with you in your relations with him.

However poor he is and however lowly his dwelling-place, the 579
Badawin excels as a host, and will slay his last camel or sheep to do honour to his guest. Nor are his womenfolk behindhand in this respect. If an important personage passes by her tent in the absence of her husband, the wife will run out of her tent holding out a frothing bowl of camel's milk or *laben*, as a sign of welcome.

THE BADAWIN'S FAULTS

The desert man has his faults, of course, and by Western standards 600
they are grave.

L Dickens G-5 (1919-47) 1951 MI I Kowell
Bedouins M24

If she is pretty, attractive and the daughter of So-and-So, she will 562
easily find a dozen other men ready to marry her. 587

As for her children: she retains the small ones till they reach the 586
age of eight, and then hands them over to their father's care, but they are never far from her, and are allowed to come and see her as often as they like. Nay, if she is a clever girl she will keep on quite friendly terms with her former husband, and call and see his new wife regularly. That is quite common practice.

Where the Bedawin housewife has distinctive rights, is in the 562
management of the tent; she is *um al 'ayyál* (mother of the family) 462
as well as *raíyat al bait*. She holds the honour and good name of her husband in the hollow of her hand. Upon her falls the duty of providing for the guest, of cooking choice and tasty dishes, of turning out good *kibes*, and generally bringing the good name of her husband into prominence among his fellow Arabs.

The mistress of the house never sees or mixes with stranger guests, 562
but she knows all that is going on, for only a curtain partition separates 674
the women's from the guest's quarters.

The personal name of the lady of the house is never mentioned by the guest, or even by the host's own friends, she is *Um al 'Ayyál* or *Raíyat al Bait* only. Should a friend wish to ask after a man's wife, he will merely say to the husband, *Kaif hal illi warráh?* or *Ishkon um al 'ayyál?* ("How is she who is behind you?" or "How is the mother of the children?"). Unpleasant bashfulness is taboo.

Even more carefully guarded and shielded are a man's marriageable daughters. They are never seen at all, except by those on very intimate terms.

Jokes about a man's getting married, and so forth, are quite com- 562
mon, and the young Lothario about to get spliced is always the butt 522
of his companions, but never is the woman's name brought into this form of rough chaff. That would be 'aib (a shameful thing).

The sanctity of a woman and her good name is most immediately 562
apparent in cases of war or hostilities between two tribes. 726

She is is who encourages her menfolk to go forth and fight bravely for her and come back triumphant. She is is, if the tribe has to be defeated, who unveiles her face, lets down her hair, and mounts the mehal of the tribe wildly to encourage the young and old men to

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Shaikh Thuwainan abu Sifra of the Mutair, and by Shaikh Khalid al Hithlain of the 'Ajman a few days later.)

Shagha married Sultan al Duwish, and became by him the mother of the famous Faisal al Duwish of the Mutair, the conqueror of Madina for the present king. Before her marriage, Shagha is said to have had a dream, in which she gave birth to an iron *mishf'ah* stick.* On telling her father Haam al Hithlain and her mother, they asked for details of the dream. The girl, frightened, said that as the iron rod in her dream came away from her, it grew a fiery "red hot" colour and started emitting great sparks, which beat on and burnt up the tents of her people the 'Ajman. Her father, knowing something of dreams, comforted her, and said that her firstborn would be a son, and a famous man, and that he would be a thorn in the flesh of the 'Ajman, yet a friend in time of need.

A year later she married Sultan al Duwish, Shaikh of the Mutair, and gave birth to Faisal al Duwish, than whom no tribal leader in Arabia has been greater or more famous. All his life Faisal, the son of the 'Ajman lady Shagha, spent his time alternately raiding the 'Ajman and making peace with them. The tribe reverenced and admired him because of his mother, and hated him because his father was an enemy and a Mutairi. To the day of his death in 1932 the 'Ajman called him the "iron camel stick" who scourged their tribe, and proved his mother's dream to have been prophetic.

Wadha became the mother of Sa'ud al 'Arafa, by 'Abdul 'Aziz bin Faisal bin Turki al Sa'ud (first cousin of His Majesty the present King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud). Hence Sa'ud al 'Arafa's preference for his mother's tribe, and the saying that he is the real Shaikh of the 'Ajman. He is the husband to-day of Bin Sa'ud's famous sister Nura, and lives perpetually by the King's side, for owing to his mother's blood the King fears him, and with reason, if we read the history of the Arab.

'AJMAN LIGHTHEARTEDNESS

The following trivial incident is typical of the merry lightheartedness of the 'Ajman.

* A *mishf'ah* is the camel-stick, used by every Bedawin.

J. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 M1 I Kuwait
Bedouins M24

Light-hearted Chaff

622
755

Once when my wife, Zahra and I visited Junaifir's tent, I asked to see 'Abdullah's wife, who had cooked our lunch so nicely. We were all taken to the women's portion of 'Abdullah's tent and met Shagha, a pretty comely girl who had had four children, all of whom had died, in spite of her having according to 'Ajman custom eaten a portion of the ear of the last arrival to keep it alive. I knew from others that Shagha was afraid that 'Abdullah intended taking another girl to wife, so I determined to help her.

622

Abdullah: When, O Abu Sa'ud, are you going to give me the rifle you promised me last year?

Self: When I hear from the lips of your wife that you deserve one.

'Abdullah to Shagha: Speak up, woman, and say that I am the best of husbands, and should have the rifle.

Shagha: He is a good man, O Abu Sa'ud, please give him his wish.

Self: I will certainly, and for your eye's sake, but a bird told me he desires the daughter of Muraiz (a local beauty), and neither God nor Um Sa'ud (my wife) here would agree to this so long as you are living. (A general cheer from the women and roars of laughter from Junaifir, father of 'Abdullah.)

Junaifir: By God, O Abu Sa'ud, you speak the truth, though whence you have heard the rumour God alone knows. She shall not be ill-treated, and you may make a condition of giving 'Abdullah the rifle, that he does not divorce our Shagha.

Self: So, 'Abdullah, I have found you out. The rifle shall be yours as soon as you bring me a paper wawqa sealed by your seal, saying that you will not marry bint Muraiz or put away Shagha. (Much laughter and joy on Shagha's part.)

'Abdullah: Very well, Abu Sa'ud, a rifle is worth more than all women put together. The wawqa shall be brought you. But don't forget also some cartridges.

NOTE.—The rascally 'Abdullah proceeded to Riyadh in June 1936 and married a young thing there. Shagha has been told she will still be considered *Raiyat al Bait*, or head of the tent. Fortunately 'Abdullah has not yet got his rifle: I don't think he will now.

After this amusing passage Junaifir rips and says, "Ya Abu Sa'ud, I have found you the 'Ajman girl, whom we are going to marry you to". "Where?" says I. "Ho, you niswa (Oh, you wenches) bring along my sister the beloved Samha and show her to the Gomul" (Consul). The proffered bride was duly brought along, an old crony of some

eighty summers. "Here she is, here she is," says old Junaifir, "though 622.
somewhat old she is a perfect cook, and we keep our best girls for such as you." "La, la" (no, no), "O Junaifir," cries out my wife, tumbling to the joke, "my husband Abu Sa'ud likes *bints*, not old women. What about bint Mursit the lovely one, my husband will surely take her?" (bint Mursit was the prospective supplanter of Shaghu, ousted for the promise of the rifle). More roars of laughter from inside and outside the tent, and cries of "That is one for you, O Abu 'Abdulla, well scored Um Sa'ud". The above incident is recounted with apologies to illustrate the cheeriness and joviality of the 'Ajman, all of whom above other Arabs seem to enjoy a joke.

Two hours later, the wife, my daughter and I were in the women's quarter of the tent of Hamad bin Midhwar. Hamad was away, but his brother Sa'ud acted as host. Sa'ud's wife was enormously fat, but full of fun. Whilst showing off her daughter Mazeira wife of Hamad, she asked if we English liked fat or thin girls; "berwiz and berwen", said I guardedly. "Then Nura my second daughter is what you must like." Nura is duly produced, Mazeira's younger sister, a rather lovely girl. "Now, O Abu Sa'ud," said the fat one, "what about her?" I greatly admired her, to Nura's delight especially, and suggested that she might with advantage leave her husband and come and be my wife. Roars of "Do you hear that, Um Sa'ud?" (Mrs. Dickson). "Abu Sa'ud wants to take my Nura for a second wife, but we shall never allow her to be taken over your head (*'ala ras ik*)." My wife made suitable rejoinder.

ORIGIN OF THE 'AJMAN

Two days later a visit was paid us by Shaikh Salim bin Udhain's 178
wife and daughter Meha. Both had been exiles in Mahrudh bin Hadhal's tents in the north for close on four years. They had just returned from the Waddiyan with Muhammad ibn Udhain, who was returning to Ibn Sa'ud to make his peace.

The next day I held a *majlis* and discussed with 'Ajman greybeards the origin of the 'Ajman, and questioned them as to what tribes in Southern Arabia were allied as coming of the same stock. I learnt the following (30th April, 1935).

Auguries

523 If a cowrie fell on ground like this, it represented a girl.

If a cowrie fell on ground like this, it represented a boy.

OTHER INDICATIVE POSITIONS

(a) Denotes sickness in man or woman according as cowrie faces upwards or downwards.
(b) Denotes a pregnant woman (zabdah over date stone).
(c) Zabdah pointing towards a person denotes a letter for him or her.
(d) Zabdah imposed above a cowrie denotes a dinner.
(e) Reverse side pointing towards a person denotes happiness.

A cowrie falling on ground in a propped-up position against a half broken zabdah shell indicates a shaikh.

The fortune-teller throws three times or five times to tell a person's fortune, scattering her trinkets in a small area, as one would throw dice. She then examines the above articles, and sees how they lie. She then tells a little story such as, "Your small boy is far across the sea, he is now writing a letter to you. It will come by an aeroplane in six days' time. He is missing you greatly, but a kind man is caring for him", or more often a sweetheart and her doings are described in language such as, "The girl you love is pining for you, and is languishing because she cannot see you", etc.

A GAME CALLED AL HAWAILAH

524 Al Hawailah,* which is a favourite Arab game, is played by two players in the following way:

* Possibly it is the original form of backgammon. There is certainly a resemblance.

Primitive Backgammon

Chap. XLI

Each player digs in the sand seven small holes in a line, opposite each other, placing in each five stones. 524

Each player in turn picks up all the stones out of any one hole on his side, and distributes them one by one anti-clockwise in the other holes, beginning at the first hole on the right of the one from which he has taken the stones. Should the last stone end in a hole which either contains one or three stones (not two), the player may "take" them, and place them on one side: also if the one immediately next to it on the right, into which a stone has been put, contains either one or three, it may also be taken.

The game is finished when all the fourteen holes are empty. The stones are then replaced, five in each hole, instead of being counted (ready for the next game).

The player whose stones exceed the number needed to fill the holes in his line wins.

Another variety of this game is called Umm al Judairah, in which the holes are placed in a circle with one in centre.

KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAÛD

On 12th December I happened to visit Sâlim al Muzaiyin's tents and those of the Al Khamit ('Awazim). They were all pitched in a hollow on the west side of the Dhahar ridge, some 15 miles from Kuwait. The day was fine and warm. 789

Outside Salim's tent and opposite the women's quarters I saw a large black ants' nest, with ants busy all over it. There were two main entrances for the ants to go in and out of the nest, some 4 feet apart.

Round the whole nest was drawn a wide circle by means of a shallow trench an inch deep, and inside the circle were placed two ropes in the form of a circle, which are used for binding the poles of the tent together when on the march. They are used for no other purpose.

The large circle had a diameter of about 12 feet, and the small rope circles were about 1 ft. 6 in. in diameter.

A Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI 1
Bedouins MJ4

Then crowds of women and children go outside the city walls to the neighbouring wells and green oases one or two miles away, and take their lunch and tea with them. Men do not accompany their women on these picnics, but each party of women has some slave women and a little boy or two to keep an eye on sisters and mothers and to call for help if necessary. These picnics are one of the most pleasing sights of Kuwait, for it means that women literally have left their prison houses, and are enjoying the lovely countryside and pure air outside the town. The picnics are very simple and well-behaved affairs, and those taking part appear to be happy in the extreme. If these picnics take place well away from any beaten tracks, a certain amount of quiet and decorous dancing also goes on. The women form circles, and whilst one of them starts to let down her hair and dance or sway about in sitting posture, her friends will sing merry songs and keep time for her. Occasionally a woman slave, who has brought out a small drum, contributes a monotonous drum-beating. Should a man or horseman appear in the offing, singing and dancing is stopped and all become as quiet as mice, till he has passed by.

Occasionally, but not often, a few women of the unfortunate type are allowed to go out in a party for a picnic at *'Id*, but they keep well away from their more respectable sisters, and are never allowed to have men in their company. The official idea is that the festival is an equally happy one for them, and they also are entitled to be carefree and joyful.*

'ID AMONG THE TRIBES

The *'Id* in the desert, as in the town, is an occasion of rejoicing, feasting and paying calls. The people, being poorer and more simple, celebrate the festival with less display and expense. Horse races and camel races are held, however, and if men happen to have spare ammunition, they will have shooting matches.

The unmarried tribal girls go in perhaps for more dancing than their town sisters, and before noon and of an evening groups of them will get inside a tent, let down their hair and, after closing the tent

* In 1938 prominent were forbidden to leave the city, and even these picnic outings were prohibited.

Sc Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 MI Middle East

main away from regions where guests are likely to be numerous. The road between Hofuf, the capital of Hasa, and Oqair, its nearest port, affords excellent pasturage for goats and camels, and water is easily available for watering the stock. The traveler, however, will probably not see so much as one tent in that whole region. Caravans are coming and going continually, and the poor Bedouin cannot possibly entertain so many. Stern necessity compels him to go where the demands on his very slender resources will be smaller.

But the finest hospitality that I have ever enjoyed has been at the hands of the Bedouins. Ten years ago in the vicinity of Kuwait we saw a good deal of them, for there is always a fringe of Bedouin tents surrounding that city. The American missionaries were far from welcome in the town. A rival Turkish doctor had been imported by a local Mohammedan society and stocked with medicines and instruments so the poor might be treated free and every excuse for visiting the missionary's establishment removed. But there was no trace of hostility among the Bedouins and it was a great pleasure to visit their tents. We had a number of patients there and had to visit them often. When the dressings and treatments were finished, we stayed and visited together. There were questions about America, and the way to come from there to Arabia, and I in my turn learned a great deal about them and their utterly poverty-stricken lives. The way in which the medical missionary was admitted to the circle as one of the family is perhaps the most prized memory that twelve years' experience affords.

In the calendar of the desert the real red letter days are those when a wedding in the sheikh's family or some other event is the occasion for a great feast. Every

Sc Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

one is invited, and the half-starved Bedouin, who has perhaps not had a full meal for months, makes such use of his opportunities as seems incredible to a student of anatomy. Four hungry Bedouins are supposed to be able to eat a whole roasted sheep at one sitting, and I am sure that I have seen many such a Bedouin company that would be equal to the task. An Arab feast is an interesting sight. A whole sheep must be cooked for any honored guest, even if he has only one or two attendants. This animal, cooked as he frequently is in one piece, is placed on a huge copper platter and buried in a mountain of boiled rice. Out of the sides of this mountain, which would measure several bushels in bulk and which stands perhaps four feet high, are to be seen protruding the amputated stumps of the animal's four limbs. This enormous central dish is flanked by various side dishes containing gravies and a few vegetables. Vegetables, however, are few in number and scanty in amount. The proportion of cooking fat put on the rice is an index of the cordiality of the guest's welcome. There is quite certain to be several times the amount that a western palate enjoys. Around this mountain of food with its foothills of side dishes the guests seat themselves, all on the floor. The signal is given by the host's remarking, "In the name of God." There follows a mad race against time, for when one guest arises, all must follow his example. Obviously, then, the affair of the moment is to see that in the short time available as much as possible of God's blessings shall be appropriated. The meat is torn off in quarter-pound chunks. Such a piece is put into the mouth, bitten in two and swallowed, if indeed it is treated with so much ceremony. The rice is gathered up in great handfuls and poured down the esophagus, ap-

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI 1
Bedouins MI4

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Occasionally, but not often, a few women of the unfortunate type are allowed to go out in a party for a picnic at *'Id*, but they keep well away from their more respectable sisters, and are never allowed to have men in their company. The official idea is that the festival is an equally happy one for them, and they also are entitled to be carefree and joyful.*

'ID AMONG THE TRIBES

The *'Id* in the desert, as in the town, is an occasion of rejoicing, feasting and paying calls. The people, being poorer and more simple, celebrate the festival with less display and expense. Horse races and camel races are held, however, and if men happen to have spare ammunition, they will have shooting matches.

The unmarried tribal girls go in perhaps for more dancing than their town sisters, and before noon and of an evening groups of them will get inside a tent, let down their hair and, after closing the tent

* In 1938 prostitutes were forbidden to leave the city, and even these picnic outings were prohibited.

h Dickson G-4 (1919-47) 1951 Ml I Kuwait
Bedouins 1434

527 curtains, will start their picturesque tribal dances. Elderly women and
535 most of the married ones refrain from dancing, as it is considered unseemly, but the young ones revel in it, and more often than not the young lads of the tents who are related to the dancers are allowed to watch the performance from a decorous distance. This offers them the coveted chance of getting a peep at the face of their future bride.

This girl-dancing continues for only seven days, and is then scrupulously discontinued as savouring of immodesty and worldliness.

My wife and I have always made a point of camping for part of the *'Id* celebrations with various of our Badawin friends, and I have been privileged on several occasions to see Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaida girls dance. But this privilege has only been extended to me at *'Id* times, never on other occasions. Curiously enough, the fathers of the young women never like to be present, and only lads closely related to the girls, not outsiders, are allowed to look on from a distance. Usually three girls at a time will dance, and they are accompanied by a sing-song chant of the elder women, who stand around and clap their hands to keep time. The dancers discard their *'abbas* and *burqas* and, decked out in all their brilliantly coloured *thawb* or long flowing undergarments, hop about in short straight-legged jerks, at the same time gracefully swinging their heads from side to side or in circular motion to make their hair fly. The girls often carry a small cane which they hold with one tip in each hand. If they have no such cane they will cover the lower part of their face with one hand, as if out of modesty, or will hold a piece of their sleeve in front of their mouth. Each girl dances till she is exhausted; when tired she stops, puts her *'abba* over her head once more and sits down. Some are very attractive to watch.

Tribal men do not dance in their own homes at all. It is considered irreligious and unmanly to do so, and savours of the low-class *Sulubba*. This taboo does not apply to the *'ardha* described above, which is a war dance in which the highest in the land may take part. On many occasions the great Bin Sa'ud himself has joined in the dance, and gained thereby the favour rather than the criticism of his people.

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533 songs sung by the elder women as the younger ones dance. They are selected at random from many which my wife and I heard and noted

Badawin Women's Songs

Chap. XVI

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I

SONG OF MUTAIRI WOMEN 539 539

(After the surrender by the English of Faisal al Dowish to Bin Sa'ud)

(Each verse is sung four times by the chorus)

Ya galbi illi ghada khartih
Haddar as sama, hum taiyara.

Taiyáramain shálar Al Dowish
Ma'ad Yirja ila Diyára.

Wa haraima fi arraf al 'Ashish
Wa ukhta a lal hadum Sabára.

Translation.

Oh my heart (expressing fear) you are become mad, for
Under the sky is heard the sound of the aeroplane.

Two aeroplanes have carried off the Dowish,
Never again will he return to his homeland.

His women now sit disconsolate among the huts made of reeds,
While his sister has been driven to break her heart.

II

SONG OF 'AWAZIM WOMEN

(Each verse repeated four times)

Abbé tánanna lét man yirkab al Tiyar
Al mautar al Saiyid la sahburiyah.

Abbé anhab aleh illi nahuda, ma'al bu Kabár
Wa abbe nahash hána, yam al diyar al Shamaliyah.

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

which their chieftain had offered me as a souvenir, for 574
we had to travel by automobile. But I accepted two 431
rarer gifts, and these heirlooms to boot. They were an ancient wood-carved coffee mortar, which had been in the possession of Sheykh Tai's family for generations. This pledge of his affection and friendship (as he called it) he had wrapped in an equally precious gift—three [531]
pieces of black cloth, artistically embroidered in gilt-silver thread, with verses from the Koran in Arabic calligraphy. They were choice pieces of the Ka'aba, which Sheykh Tai's great-grandfathers had brought many years ago from Mecca.

Loath as I was to accept such precious gifts, I was constrained to do so.

"We are brothers," said Sheykh Tai'. "Like the wolves. ? God be with thee. May He direct thy footsteps some future day into my dominions, so that I may meet thee again."

After bidding farewell to this wild, romantic and 493
noble man, we cruised about in our old motor-car for five days along the southern foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, visiting the camps of various lesser tribes. Motor fuel we obtained from their *sheyukhs*.

Nowadays, nearly all of them own motor-cars, and on their migrations they carry a fairly large stock of gasoline with them on their camels.

At last we reached the wide plain through which runs 487
the old historic caravan route from Deyr ez-Zor to Mosul and Baghdad. There we found the first outposts of the Shammar, and there also we parted from the ooo
faithful Ibrahim. I paid him handsomely and sent the

[See pp 163-167 esp. 116 for explanation of this statement — Analyst]

L. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Mt I Kuwait
Bedouins M24

CHAPTER V

Tent Treasures

MEN'S PORTION OF TENT

(*see sketches*)

1172. The following articles are always to be found in the guest or men's portion of the tent, *al rahe'a*.

[531] (*a*) *Shadad*—riding saddle, rear pommel usually richly inlaid with finely polished lead patterns having the appearance of silver, and similar to the inlay work on incense burners. Made of tamarisk wood (*athal*).

Ja'ad—white or black sheepskin covering for riding saddle.

Ghaydl al shadad—pommels of riding saddle.

(*b*) *Mizamo*—pack saddle, also made of tamarisk wood. The thongs used to tie the cross-pieces A A to the saddle arch B B, are made from the sinews of the camel's neck: one of these exists on either side of the neck. They are as long as the neck, and as thick as a thin wooden pencil. There are several patterns of pack saddles, the commonest is shown in the sketch p. 85.

(*c*) *Khurj*—men's saddle-bag, it hangs over the top of the *shadad* under the sheepskin covering or *ja'ad*.

NOTE.—Men's saddle-bags and women's ditto must be, if well made, 3 *shibbr* and 1 *chaf* in width, i.e. 3 spans plus distance between extended thumb and forefinger. The richest and most fancied in Arabia are made in Kuwait and Hasa.

415 (*d*) *Dalla* (plural: *dallal*)—coffee pot, minimum set of three. (Drawing shown is type used in Kuwait.) With the coffee pot is always found the *lifa* or piece of coir or hemp which is stuffed into the spout as a strainer to prevent coffee grounds entering the cup.

[412] (*e*) *Hawan*—mortar, usually of brass, for pounding coffee berries. Sometimes a plain iron cylindrical mortar and pestle is used by poorer Arabs, or a wooden mortar and stone pestle, light and convenient for those going on journeys.

(*f*) *Mahmasa*—coffee roaster. It is made of iron with brass bands let into the handle and having the appearance of gold. It is always fastened by a chain to the *yad al mahmasa*.

Yad al Mahmasa—coffee stirrer.

Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1956 MS 1 Kuwait
Bookplate 1956

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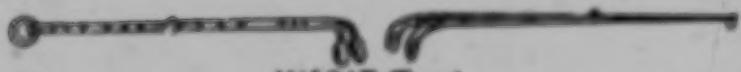


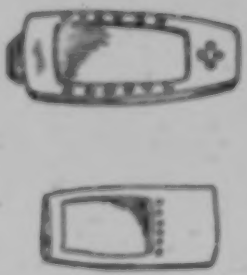
MALGAT (Tongs)

MUKHBÁT (wood stick to stir boiling coffee with)

SHAT FANAJIL (brass)

FINJAL

MABKHAR
(all wood)



MUBARRAD

MABKHAR
(carved out of piece of white gypsum)

[322]

JIDDÁ (wood)

6 Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 8531 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins 1424

415
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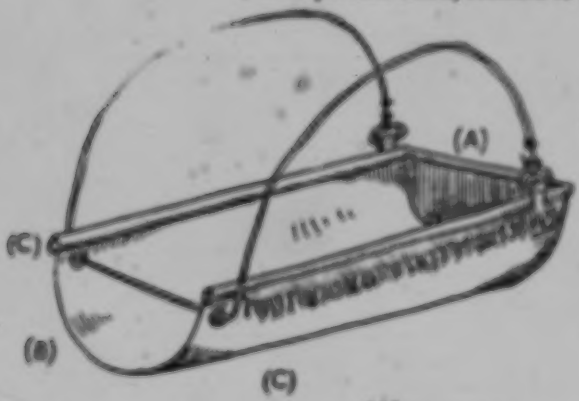
HAUDH

HABÁRA (child's hammock slung inside tent)

(child's portable cradle, common to the tribes)



a. Head, with decoration on outside.

b. Foot.

c. The holes through which passes a running rope that closes the cradle at foot when it is lifted.

[553]

Outside decoration at A

492 treasures, her baby, etc., in a sort of comfortable cot. On the saddle itself is placed the woman's bedding, and hanging down on either side are her saddle-bags (*miḫdwal*). The *mahsar* is always made of pomegranate wood, as this can be bent into the necessary hoop shapes. Various patterns and variations of the *mahsar* are used by different tribes.

[415] *Sakdra*—the woman's treasure box, containing her coffee, cardamum, saffron, tea, sugar, dyes, jewellery, trinkets, etc., etc.

Aibak (plural: *'aiyāb*)—leather saddle-bags for storing dates.

Travelling Litters

TYPES OF WOMEN'S CAMEL LITTER

See sketches pp. 97–99; 101; and coloured plates. 492

(*a*) The *Makur* is the common type used among the Mutair, 'Ajman, Harb and Dhafir tribes.

(*β*) *Al ezf*—This is a special pattern common to the 'Awazim tribe. It is the same as the *makur*, but has no front vertical bar. This enables women to mount and move with greater ease.

(*γ*) *Al ghabish* is peculiar to 'Ajman women. Like *al ezf* it has no front vertical bar, and the rear vertical bar is not joined on to the top arch but falls 9 inches to a foot short of it. It is more highly and richly decorated with cowrie shells than the *makur*, and as a rule the rear vertical bar is covered with such decorations from top to bottom. The Mutair women occasionally use *al ghabish*. I saw a good specimen in the possession of Faiha, wife 'Abdul 'Aziz al Majid, on 10th February, 1938. [491]

(*δ*) *Al gim* is the square type of litter common to Shammar, 'Aniizah and Dhafir. It is not so large or comfortable as the foregoing.

(*ε*) *Al shalla*, is the great winged or moon-shaped affair in which the women of the Al Sa'oduu travel, and the Shaikha of the 'Aniizah and Dhafir place their wives and daughters in *al shalla* when on the march. The framework of the *shalla* is covered all over with fine, almost white gazelle skin.

(*ζ*) *Chinah*—Same as the *shalla*, except that it is generally smaller, and its woodwork is not covered all over with gazelle skins, but only at joints. Both *shalla* and *chinah* are rendered very colourful by brightly coloured curtains and trappings.

(*g*) *Farkh al kawi* or *Farkh al chinah*, a diminutive *shalla* or *chinah*.

(*h*) *Mughlida* (plural: *mughlidat*).—Is the same as (*g*) and is a name peculiar to the 'Ajman tribe.

(*i*) *Mushawwiw* is the 'Ajman name for *al shalla*.

(*j*) *Marawwar*.—'Ajman name for *chinah*.

Generally speaking, the women themselves make their litters from pomegranate and tamarisk wood, the parts being bought in towns. They do all the work of binding these together, and covering with pale yellow gazelle skins, as well as decorating front and rear pommels themselves. The men make only the *shadad* or riding saddle, and the *misana* or pack saddle.

NOTE.—It should be noted that when on the march and in use (*a*), (*β*), (*ε*), (*δ*), (*ε*), (*ζ*), (*g*) are covered entirely over with richly coloured cloth, both woollen and silk, the more brilliant the better, so as to attract attention and give prestige to the owner. In sketches "frames" only are shown.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MS4

512 way, riding monkey-like on the hindquarters of one of the better-
288 conditioned animals, and looking as if every minute he would slide
462 off over the animal's tail. The herdsman's song is wild and weird,
[838] rising and falling in semitones. As often as not he starts off with a description of the beautiful grazing that his charges are going to find ahead of them. He pleads with his camels and says they are to trust him, their guide and helper. He it is who is leading them to pastures fair, and grass that is green and succulent. The camels seem to understand, for with sundry grunts and moans, they slowly follow him in single file. As they disappear into the early morning mist, the last you see or hear of the party is the distant singing of the camelherd. Then all are swallowed up in the morning fog. Like the sheep, the camels will not go far. Five to eight miles is their limit just now. Grazing has been so pitifully scarce in their long summer camp they must be allowed to get fit slowly; presently they will go further afield. The camelherd does not sleep by day. His is a much more valuable herd. He watches, with rifle ready, even though there is not the slightest rumour of danger or trouble in the air. To while away the long day, he may look for truffles on the hilltops or occasionally try and catch a jerboa. In the main, however, he watches and watches till the time comes to go home.

512 The camels and sheep having gone out to graze and the sun being
264 up, the tent family will have a meagre breakfast consisting of a little tea without milk, and some dates. If the housewife is in funds she may issue a small ration of bread to all; more often than not they go without.

512 The daughter of the house with her small sister, or her girl friend
462 from the neighbour's tent, now starts off to collect brushwood for
313 the day's needs. *'Arfaj* is what they seek, and as this has a tough root, they arm themselves with a small axe and several yards of goat's hair
[951] rope to carry home the firewood on their heads. Other children of from five to ten years old often accompany the girls to see if they can find an early flower or a truffle. It is their one way of enjoying themselves, they have few other amusements. The girls move off with strong healthy stride, their long sleeves bound behind their necks to free their arms, and their skirts hitched up at the waist to give freedom of movement. How straight and supple they are! Daily this fetching

527 curtains, will start their picturesque tribal dances. Elderly women and
535 most of the married ones refrain from dancing, as it is considered unseemly, but the young ones revel in it, and more often than not the young lads of the tents who are related to the dancers are allowed to watch the performance from a decorous distance. This offers them the coveted chance of getting a peep at the face of their future bride.

This girl-dancing continues for only seven days, and is then scrupulously discontinued as savouring of immodesty and worldliness.

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Bedouins MJ4

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SONG OF MUTAIRI WOMEN 533 539

(After the surrender by the English of Faisal al Duwish to Bin Sa'ud)

(Each verse is sung four times by the chorus)

Ya galbi illi ghada kharfsh
Haddar as sama, hass taiyara.

Taiyáratain shálat Al Duwish
Ma'ad Yirja illa Diyára.

Wa haraima fi atraf al 'Ashish
Wa ukhta a lal hathm Sabára.

Translation.

Oh my heart (expressing fear) you are become mad, for
Under the sky is heard the sound of the aeroplane.

Two aeroplanes have carried off the Duwish,
Never again will he return to his homeland.

His women now sit disconsolate among the huts made of reeds,
While his sister has been driven to break her heart.

II

SONG OF 'AWAZIM WOMEN

(Each verse repeated four times)

Abbé tamanna lét man yirkab al Tiyar
Al mautar al Saiyid la sahburiyah.

Abbé anhab aleh illi nahuda, ma'ai bu Kubár
Wa abbe nahash biha, yam al diyar al Shamaliyah.

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539

Mesir ash shahar yetwi fi tarfit nahár
La-i-gíd alay al taim, wa al khad bariyah.

Natahitni wa lagahni alay-ha ashgar al Nathár
Ghad al gulb hamaitha, a la ra'ad aishfiyah.

An in malaktaher, sirt min hazbat al Tijar
Bassat wa sigat, wa sár lutf al hashiliyah.

Translation.

I hope and long to ride her in a car
In the car of the Saiyid which hoots its horn.

I wish to steal her away, whose breasts are not too large,
And I wish to flee with her to the countries of the North.

What indeed would take a camel a month, can be done in one short day,
I'll make him haste his way, along the desert track.

She stopped me and met me, with her golden hair all loose,
My heart was afire for her, for the tattoo marks on her face.

And were I to possess her now, I'd become one of the merchant class,
Though she beat me and lamed me, happiness would be mine for ever.

III

SONG OF 'AWAZIM WOMEN

(Each verse repeated four times)

A ruz al Assa, wa al bisht, wa aumi rai al rail
Ta'ad al Zaragi, wa zah tadui ma'a hila.

Assa ha taghulla, ma waguf yum a suwat hail,
Hanna waghifiir fil turab, wa asiyah wa mila.

Ana abbé y wasalni illa-l-bait gabal al lail
Abbé ashuf ha min aimmi, wa galbi y raila.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ

Song of the Black Camels

533
539

Mita yinzelun al 'Ad ya hayiri al tawil
Sabart ya sabra al Khata, thaat al hila.

Ashiri la tub albini mithi al Nejma al Suhail
Thalatha wa Khamis wa sit saffat mujadilah.

Translation.

I raised my stick and waved my coat to the owner of the car,
He went over the rise a bag full of deceit.

May he be brought to confusion, who did not stop when I hailed him
For I stood in the road, and called and waved my cloak.

I desired him to get me to my house ere night overtook me,
I wished to see with my eyes her whom my heart desired to behold.

When will he return, that tall traveller, for
I have waited a dreadful wait, till I have lost all hope.

My dear one, you are like the star Canopus,
And I will yet unplait three, five, six of your lovely braids.

IV

QASIDAT AL SHURUF*

Al Shuruf wail ich
a la ma fad
Wail ich a la daur ich
al 'ammah

Ya tawal ma Faisal
yem Ra'iyich
Al yum Ra'iyich
ghailama

Hatti Jinnaiya†
a la yemnach
Ta-hahari add
Ibn Lami.

* The famous black camel herd of the Mutair. † A hill in the Summan (Najd).

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533
539

Translation.

Oh ye Shuruf, woe unto you
for ye failed;
Woe to you, for ye failed
when needed,
For the long-lifed Faisal
was your herdsman;
To-day your herdsman he is
no longer.
Put the hill of Jinnaiya
on your right
And depart ye to
Ibn Lami.

V

'Ajman song celebrating Rakan al Hithlain's return from captivity in Istambul.

(*Shaikh Salim al Hamud*, 10.8.40.)

Ya fátri dhibbi tawárif tamíya
Ilya zimatlich mithl khashm hassáni
Khubbi khabib al Dhíb majar haddíya
Tanáhari birzan zain al Mibámi
Mohámmadan lazmán aláina mijíah
Gabal al sadich wa gabal haiyán wadáni.
Illa guthait al lázam illi alaiya
Al lázim illi ma gatha hidáni.
Agub tănăhar dírat al azujíyah
Illa aman al ras bi zafaráni.
Lait al sabar amen walla dhahiyeh
Walla tawakkad sáhibi wa shiráli.
Umma ghadda Rakan Dhib al sarriya
Willa liffa yishál sáhil hassáni.

NOTE.—The above song was composed to celebrate the return of Rakan al Hithlain, Shaikh of the 'Ajman, from prison in Istambul. He had been there eight years, and the report being current that he had died in captivity, his wife Shagha was taken in marriage by Sultan al Duwish (father of Faisal) head of all the Mutair tribe. The returned exile upbraided Shagha for only waiting seven years and asked why she could not have waited for

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Shagha, Mother of Faisal

him. The distressed Sultan offered to divorce Shagha, but Rakan would not 533
agree to this and himself insisted on putting Shagha away. Shagha had borne 539
Sultan a son, who afterwards became the great Faisal.

It was before the birth of Faisal that Shagha had her famous dream (recounted elsewhere) that she had given birth to a fiery *mish'ab* or camel-stick.

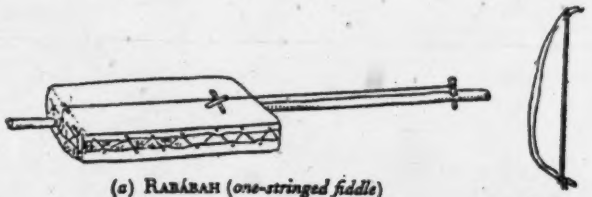
L

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

535 852 kept her lips tightly shut, and occasionally placed her hand over her nose and mouth. If the male dancer approached her, as he did on several occasions in rather "loud" fashion, the girl struck him lightly with her cane as if to drive him back. A feature was the girl's rouged lips, and a bright saffron-coloured streak half an inch broad down the centre parting of her hair. They all had this, and it looked like saffron paint (probably strong solution of henna). The dance ended by the girl's brother rushing into the ring and covering his sister's head and face with a portion of her voile garment, and taking her away.

THE RABÁBAH

● 534 The *rabábah*, or Badawin guitar, was once universally used among the Badawin tribes of Arabia. The minstrels were men of an inferior tribe, or of the servant class, such as Sanas and the like. With the spread of Wahhabism and the rise of the fanatical 'Ikhwan in 1919, the decree went forth that the *rabábah* was a sign of sin, and it was



(*a*) RABÁBAH (*one-stringed fiddle*) (*b*) Bow

banned entirely. The Northern Shammar, Dhafir and 'Anizah tribes, who were scarcely affected by the puritan revival, still continued to use the *rabábah* freely, getting the servants and retainers to play for them, and with the collapse of 'Ikhwanism after the rebellion and defeat of Faisal al Duwish in 1930, listening to the *rabábah* and the singing of war and love songs by the Sana sections of the tribes, appears to be once again slowly taking hold. To-day, 1937, some of the Rashaida, Hirshan and 'Awazim are definitely taking to it again. The Sulubba and Kauliyah (Gipsies of Iraq) have always used it, even in the days of ultra-Wahhabism, and perhaps this is why it was considered the instrument of the low-born.

534 535 554 To accompany women and girls dancing, only a chorus of women

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singers is used, never the *rabábah*. Men never dance to the tune of the instrument, but only sing to it, either singly or in unison, repeating the words of the soloist, and keeping time by clapping their hands. 534 535 554

It is definitely considered undignified for a pure-bred Arab to play the *rabábah*, and must always be so.

FORTUNE-TELLING AND PROPHECY 787

Fortune-telling and prophecy are commonly practised among Badawin women, the Sulubba especially. A common Mutairi method of telling fortunes (more as a means of amusement than as a serious forecast) is similar to that practised by our gipsies and old folk at home. Cards are not used, but shells, date-stones, bits of pottery, etc., all jumbled together and cast at random on the ground are used to tell a person's fortune.

Maneira Mutairi (Sana) frequently entertained us in camp with her bag of fortune-telling articles. She used

3 large cowrie shells (with backs missing).

3 cowrie shells with backs missing (small size).

9 Zababit sea-shells with faces broken off, e.g.

1 piece of blue pottery ½" to 1" in diameter.

1 piece of red pottery ½" to 1" in diameter.

5 date stones.

The blue piece of pottery represented the sea.

The red piece of pottery represented the land.

A date stone represented a woman.

A date stone with back uppermost represented a man.

A date stone if it fell sideways on ground represented a camel.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ4

After the first shyness had disappeared, conversation became free and general. The growing danger from the Ikhwan was anxiously debated—a raiding party had recently been seen at the well of Garagir, only a few miles south of Kaf. It was at this same well that Khalid ibn al Waleed had watered 1,300 years before, during the first Muslim invasion of Syria. Then, to forget the fears and anxieties of the day-to-day world, the one-stringed violin was brought out, and with a fresh round of tea began the poetry and music. In Central Arabia there is a story to every poem, and before reciting the ballad itself, the story should be told. One of the best stories told that night was the tale of Ibn Hadi's daughter.

Two of the most powerful tribes of Central Arabia are Ateiba and Qahtan, whose shaikhs, Ibn Humaid and Ibn Hadi, used in the old days to be perpetually at war. Once upon a time the then Ibn Hadi had a beautiful daughter, who resolutely refused to marry any of the numerous suitors who presented themselves for her hand. Ibn Humaid, head of the rival tribe, was a young man and a famous raider, and had carried plunder and devastation through the camps and flocks of Qahtan. His prowess was the talk of every camp and fireside in Nejd. In Ibn Hadi's tent many long and anxious debates were held to discuss how to resist the daring assaults of Ibn Humaid and Ateiba, and the Qahtan shaikhs swore to sacrifice a camel each as a thank-offering if their relentless enemy should ever fall into their hands. One day, yet another suitor presented himself at the tent of Ibn Hadi to solicit the hand of his daughter, and her father came to consult her. But she rejected the proposal contemptuously, and swore that she would never marry at all, unless her suitor were a bedouin shaikh, who was at the same time the most gallant in war, the most generous, the most handsome and the most witty of the Arabs. The suitor retired discomfited.

But a Sulubbi, a tinker of Arabia, a member of that menial tribe the members of which pass from camp to camp unmolested even in war-time, had overheard the conversation. "Ya amaimati! (My little Aunt)," he whined, "there is only one man who answers the description you have given, and that is Ibn Humaid." "Oh, if only I could once see him," said the daughter of Ibn Hadi.

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Women's Picnics

Chap. XVI

Then crowds of women and children go outside the city walls to the neighbouring wells and green oases one or two miles away, and take their lunch and tea with them. Men do not accompany their women on these picnics, but each party of women has some slave women and a little boy or two to keep an eye on sisters and mothers and to call for help if necessary. These picnics are one of the most pleasing sights of Kuwait, for it means that women literally have left their prison houses, and are enjoying the lovely countryside and pure air outside the town. The picnics are very simple and well-behaved affairs, and those taking part appear to be happy in the extreme. If these picnics take place well away from any beaten tracks, a certain amount of quiet and decorous dancing also goes on. The women form circles, and whilst one of them starts to let down her hair and dance or sway about in sitting posture, her friends will sing pretty songs and keep time for her. Occasionally a woman slave, who has brought out a small drum, contributes a monotonous drum-beating. Should a man or horseman appear in the offing, singing and dancing is stopped and all become as quiet as mice, till he has passed by.

Occasionally, but not often, a few women of the unfortunate type are allowed to go out in a party for a picnic at *'Id*, but they keep well away from their more respectable sisters, and are never allowed to have men in their company. The official idea is that the festival is an equally happy one for them, and they also are entitled to be carefree and joyful.*

'ID AMONG THE TRIBES

The *'Id* in the desert, as in the town, is an occasion of rejoicing, feasting and paying calls. The people, being poorer and more simple, celebrate the festival with less display and expense. Horse races and camel races are held, however, and if men happen to have spare ammunition, they will have shooting matches.

The unmarried tribal girls go in perhaps for more dancing than their town sisters, and before noon and of an evening groups of them will get inside a tent, let down their hair and, after closing the tent

* In 1938 prostitutes were forbidden to leave the city, and even these picnic outings were prohibited.

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527 curtains, will start their picturesque tribal dances. Elderly women and
535 most of the married ones refrain from dancing, as it is considered unseemly, but the young ones revel in it, and more often than not the young lads of the tents who are related to the dancers are allowed to watch the performance from a decorous distance. This offers them the coveted chance of getting a peep at the face of their future bride.

This girl-dancing continues for only seven days, and is then scrupulously discontinued as savouring of immodesty and worldliness.

My wife and I have always made a point of camping for part of the *'Id* celebrations with various of our Badawin friends, and I have been privileged on several occasions to see Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaida girls dance. But this privilege has only been extended to me at *'Id* times, never on other occasions. Curiously enough, the fathers of the young women never like to be present, and only lads closely related to the girls, not outsiders, are allowed to look on from a distance. Usually three girls at a time will dance, and they are accompanied by a sing-song chant of the elder women, who stand around and clap their hands to keep time. The dancers discard their *'abbas* and *burqas* and, decked out in all their brilliantly coloured *thaubs* or long flowing undergarments, hop about in short straight-legged jerks, at the same time gracefully swinging their heads from side to side or in circular motion to make their hair fly. The girls often carry a small cane which they hold with one tip in each hand. If they have no such cane they will cover the lower part of their face with one hand, as if out of modesty, or will hold a piece of their sleeve in front of their mouth. Each girl dances till she is exhausted; when tired she stops, puts her *'abba* over her head once more and sits down. Some are very attractive to watch.

Tribal men do not dance in their own homes at all. It is considered irreligious and unmanly to do so, and savours of the low-class *Sulubba*. This taboo does not apply to the *'ardha* described above, which is a war dance in which the highest in the land may take part. On many occasions the great Bin Sa'ud himself has joined in the dance, and gained thereby the favour rather than the criticism of his people.

527 The following five songs are given as examples of tribal dance-
533 songs sung by the elder women as the younger ones dance. They are selected at random from many which my wife and I heard and noted

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565 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-
619 Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.
[142] In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a
[861] large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

582 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his
595 people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are
565 in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs,
619 some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shennut is the Shaikh of the Mutair Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aithif is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

291 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

• 535 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of
619 the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba
174 are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

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black tents, moving about by the aid of donkeys which seem to form their only visible means of support. These Iraq Kauliyahs are thieves, bad characters, fortune-tellers, are versed in the art of palmistry of sorts, and last but not least their women are in demand for performing the operation of "circumcision of female babies", a rite which is widely practised in Southern Iraq, and among the Muntafiq tribes of the Euphrates and Bani Tamim Arabs.

DESCRIPTION OF A SULUBBA DANCE

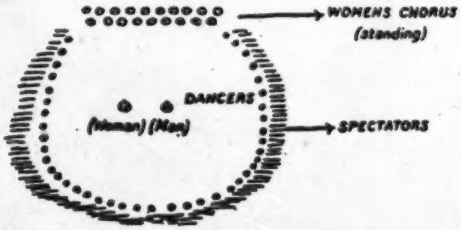
(seen on 3rd June, 1934, at Kuwait)

B 535 852

The dance took place in the Sulubba Encampment near Qasr Naif just inside the Naif Gate. The occasion was the three days' feasting preceding the circumcision of a male child. For two days dancing had taken place, but the third day was reserved for the best and biggest show.

The usual cross with half a woman's *thaub* hanging to it or draped over it was in its place over the tent which was rejoicing, a sign to all and everyone that a dance was to take place.

The chief performer and master of ceremonies combined was an elderly man whose child had just been circumcised. He entered the arena formed by Sulubbas male and female and other onlookers, waving a sword round his head and inviting the Sulubbi maidens and Sulubbi braves to come and join him. Presently, after marching round the human circle several times, there was a stir and from a



neighbouring tent a pretty young lass decked out in her festal garments (saffron, violet or green covered with her voile *thaub*), dashed into the circle, bare-headed and bare-faced with her tresses all undone

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and blowing in the breeze. A pretty sight she was, for her hair was long and rich, and her face comely, and chin and neck tatooed all over in pretty patterns. The girl's appearance was the sign for her brother or husband to run into the circle and embrace her, lightly kissing her on the lips (a sort of sign of encouragement no doubt). The girl was then given a cane and the man, with several shrill war-whoops, started dancing before and away from her, all the time facing her, however. As the dance started, the choir consisting of a dozen Sulubbi women started a staccato shout, clapping their hands the while.

The dance was continued by other young men and maidens entering the ring and carrying on as above described. At times several men and women were in the ring together. There was nothing indecent about the behaviour of the dancers, except when the old man with the sword once or twice danced behind his partner in rather suggestive manner. He was the one exception to a perfectly decorous performance. Of the eight or nine maidens who danced, several were distinctly comely—two in particular had remarkably fine hair shining a golden red in the sun from constant treatment with henna. *Ya awaiyil, ya awaiyil* ("Come and dance"), was often repeated between dances by the tough old Master of Ceremonies.

During the dance the girl appeared to act the following: She was pursuing her male dancing partner opposite, and trying to make him come to her. He from retiring in the first place, and acting the part of a shy lover, would eventually succumb to his lady's charms, and would start advancing and showing his admiration by his every movement. Next his girl would start retiring, having won her point, but should the admirer come too near or try and touch her, she would strike him lightly with her cane and force him to beat a retreat.

The man with the sword danced sometimes on one foot and sometimes on the other, but would suddenly start dancing up and down on both feet in rubber-like fashion. The girl danced as most Badawin women do, on the flat of both feet, jumping up and down with stiff legs, and advancing and retiring before her man. As she danced, she nodded her head vigorously, keeping time with her feet, in the direction of the man, but every now and then she varied it by swinging her tresses round and round her head by sideways and circular movements of her head. Throughout the dancing the girl never smiled, but

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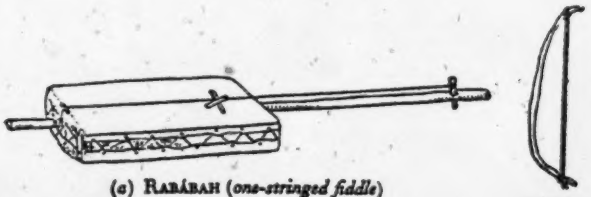
535 852 kept her lips tightly shut, and occasionally placed her hand over her nose and mouth. If the male dancer approached her, as he did on several occasions in rather "loud" fashion, the girl struck him lightly with her cane as if to drive him back. A feature was the girl's rouged lips, and a bright saffron-coloured streak half an inch broad down the centre parting of her hair. They all had this, and it looked like saffron paint (probably strong solution of henna). The dance ended by the girl's brother rushing into the ring and covering his sister's head and face with a portion of her voile garment, and taking her away.

THE RABÁBAH

534 The *rabábah*, or Badawin guitar, was once universally used among the Badawin tribes of Arabia. The minstrels were men of an inferior tribe, or of the servant class, such as Sanas and the like. With the spread of Wahhabism and the rise of the fanatical 'Ikhwan in 1919, the decree went forth that the *rabábah* was a sign of sin, and it was



(*a*) RABÁBAH (*one-stringed fiddle*) (*b*) Bow

banned entirely. The Northern Shammar, Dhafir and 'Anizah tribes, who were scarcely affected by the puritan revival, still continued to use the *rabábah* freely, getting the servants and retainers to play for them, and with the collapse of 'Ikhwanism after the rebellion and defeat of Faisal al Duwish in 1930, listening to the *rabábah* and the singing of war and love songs by the Sana sections of the tribes, appears to be once again slowly taking hold. To-day, 1937, some of the Rashaida, Hirshan and 'Awazim are definitely taking to it again. The Sulubba and Kauliyah (Gipsies of Iraq) have always used it, even in the days of ultra-Wahhabism, and perhaps this is why it was
534 considered the instrument of the low-born.

535 554 To accompany women and girls dancing, only a chorus of women

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singers is used, never the *rabábah*. Men never dance to the tune of the instrument, but only sing to it, either singly or in unison, repeating the words of the soloist, and keeping time by clapping their hands. 534 535 554

It is definitely considered undignified for a pure-bred Arab to play the *rabábah*, and must always be so.

FORTUNE-TELLING AND PROPHECY 787

Fortune-telling and prophecy are commonly practised among Badawin women, the Sulubba especially. A common Mutairi method of telling fortunes (more as a means of amusement than as a serious forecast) is similar to that practised by our gipsies and old folk at home. Cards are not used, but shells, date-stones, bits of pottery, etc., all jumbled together and cast at random on the ground are used to tell a person's fortune.

Maneira Mutairi (Sana) frequently entertained us in camp with her bag of fortune-telling articles. She used

3 large cowrie shells (with backs missing).

3 cowrie shells with backs missing (small size).

9 Zababit sea-shells with faces broken off, e.g.

1 piece of blue pottery ½" to 1" in diameter.

1 piece of red pottery ½" to 1" in diameter.

5 date stones.

The blue piece of pottery represented the sea.

The red piece of pottery represented the land.

A date stone represented a woman.

A date stone with back uppermost represented a man.

A date stone if it fell sideways on ground represented a camel.

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so desires give her my shirt, perhaps it may comfort her a little.' 173
Abraham said, 'My son, you help me to do what God hath com- 539
manded me to perform'.

"Then Abraham did as his son requested, and after he had bound him he bent down and kissed him, weeping all the time. Ishmael his son also wept till the tears ran down his cheeks.

"Then Abraham put the knife to his son's throat, but it did not cut.

"It has been said that God had put a sleeve of brass round his son's throat.

"Then Ishmael said: 'O my father, turn me on my face, for when you see my eyes you are sorry for me, and pity takes hold of you and keeps you from doing that God has commanded you to do'.

"So his father did this, but when he put the knife to the back of the neck, it turned over, and a voice called to him, 'Faithfully done, O Abraham, thou art my servant indeed'.

"Then Abraham turned round and found a ram entangled by its horns in a nearby bush, so he sacrificed it in place of his son Ishmael.

"And it came to pass that after sojourning awhile with his son Ishmael and his wife who had joined him, Abraham returned to his own country, but Ishmael remained in the land of his adoption."

The above story appears to have been taken from a very old book 173
known as *Qisás al Anbiyá* or Stories of the Prophets, written cen- 538
turies ago, though I have no reference book which gives its date. Suffice it to say that the writer wrote many tales regarding events of the Old Testament, and almost all the knowledge the Badawin of Arabia has of ancient Biblical history comes from this book.

It has been said that educated Muslims do not pay much attention to the *Qisás al Anbiyá*, though I do not like to think this is the case.

It is interesting to learn from this book that among early Muslims there was a difference of opinion as to whom Abraham was going to offer up. The Qur'an does not definitely give the name. Some persons of prominence thought it was Isaac and not Ishmael, while others even held that it was Joseph. The tradition that for a long time, and until the Ka'bah was burned in the days of Hajjaj, there hung on its walls a *pair of ram's horns*, made the author of the *Qisás al Anbiyá* decide that it must have been Ishmael.

desert country, full of tribes which recognized the authority of no 609
government. Without the assistance of this old man, it might be impossible to proceed. Even so, I felt that I could with dignity wait no longer, and I signalled to my two companions. We rose, walked out of the tent to our camels, and began to adjust the saddles and prepare to mount. But a slave ran out to us and, pulling Ibn Hadhdhal's man by the sleeve, he led him back to the tent. Apparently he persuaded the shaikh that we were harmless, for we were invited back, and Al Nuri himself so far unbent as to say, "You are welcome! We are always glad to see the English!" This appeared to use up his available conversation, and he soon afterwards disappeared. We spent the rest of the day strolling about, talking to the slaves and tribesmen, or sitting amongst bales of cloth and tobacco in the tiny tent of an itinerant merchant from the Iraq desert oasis of Kubaisa.

Al Nuri was a tremendous personality who maintained despotic 622
control over his tribe. His authority was notorious, and the 538 ●
Ruwallah were frequently laughed at by other tribes for their 181
tame submission to such autocracy. One such story related how a man of the tribe, summoned in the tomb by the recording angels to give an account of his actions on earth, replied, "I am only a dead Ruweili, and all claims are settled by Ibn Shaalan." But although a redoubtable champion in action (he had murdered his elder brother in order to make himself shaikh of the tribe), he did not, like most Arabs, possess the gift of conversation.

The authority which Ibn Shaalan wielded over the Ruwallah 622
was probably unique amongst bedouins, and was due to personal 554
fear of this formidable old man. The Arab tribesman will accord 181
theoretical and verbal respect to the old families of chiefs, but he will rarely accord them obedience in practice. He constantly opposes and argues against his shaikh. Not infrequently he loses his temper, creates a violent scene and hastens to strike his tent and move away to join the following of some other chief who will treat him with more consideration. Amongst bedouins freedom always tended to degenerate into anarchy—but free they were—freer perhaps than any other race in the world.

In happy England we have come, for centuries past, to identify 181
our personal liberties with the political independence of our

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538 The tinker wandered off, and days and weeks passed, until one day he came to a camp of the tribe of Ateiba and told the story, which was repeated by the tribesmen to Ibn Humaid. That night the shaikh slipped away from the camp unnoticed, and riding alone for several days across the desert, came in sight of the grazing flocks and the distant black tents of Qahtan. He lay concealed till the evening, and, after dark, slipped into the camp with his drawn sword in his hand. Reaching the shaikh's great tent, he crawled to where the daughter of Ibn Hadi was sleeping alone in a curtained compartment. Waking her quietly, he announced who he was, and they remained talking in whispers until the dawn appeared. Then the girl implored him to go, saying that he was courting death: but he refused. Soon the appearance of broad daylight made escape impossible.

In bedouin camps the chief makes coffee early in the morning, and the men of the tribe collect in his tent to drink it and discuss the topics of the day. Only a curtain, hung across the centre of the tent, divides them from the women. Soon the tribesmen began to collect in Ibn Hadi's tent, until all the leaders were present, talking and drinking coffee, and divided only by a curtain from their bitterest blood enemy, Ibn Humaid.

Then the girl nerved herself for the supreme crisis. Carefully steadying her voice, she stood up and, looking over the curtain dividing the tent, said: "O Father, I ask you to grant me a request." "It is granted before you ask it," said the shaikh, with whom she was a favourite child. Turning to the assembled chiefs of the tribe, she said: "O Qahtan! You are witnesses of my father's promise." Then addressing her father again, she asked him to spare the life of Ibn Humaid. The old man replied that such a request was ridiculous and told her not to be foolish. This was not women's work, and, in any case, Ibn Humaid was two hundred miles away in the tents of the biggest tribe in Arabia. When they had caught him, they could decide what to do with his life. "He is this moment in your tent," said she. The shaikh jumped to his feet, snatched his sword and glared round at his companions. Everybody was on his feet, crying out at once. But the fearless girl was not a raider's daughter for nothing. "O Qahtan!" she cried, "you are witnesses to my father's oath!"

The old men intervened and said that it was true. They were 538 witnesses that her request had been granted whatever it might be. Ibn Humaid was received as an honoured guest, and the men of Qahtan who had sworn to sacrifice their camels if Ibn Humaid fell into their hands slaughtered them for the marriage feast.

The narrator's voice was silent. The hall was in darkness except for the glow of the embers on the hearth. It was past midnight. We rolled ourselves in our sheepskin cloaks, the shaikh's retainers produced pillows and quilts, and in a few minutes we were asleep.

Only when we were saddling up next morning did we discover B that Qasim ash Shemam had made off in the night with my 609 saddle. Our hosts professed themselves deeply ashamed and indignant at this treachery, and the invaluable Salih ibn Uthman produced another saddle, on which I rode in some discomfort for the rest of the journey. There remained only 120 miles to J Amman. We left the Ruwallah country at Kaf, and, saying fare- [619] well to our kind friends, set out for the country of the Beni Sakhr 609 B tribe of Trans-Jordan. 609

The wind had dropped, the sky was cloudless, the air soft and warm, and range upon range of blue desert hills stretched before and behind us. Three hours' riding brought us to the tent of a shaikh of the Beni Sakhr. Our reception was non-committal, the J shaikh, it appeared, being away. We had not been seated long [493] before an old car rattled up, and two Arabs descended from it and entered the tent. Everybody rose, and hastily spread carpets and cushions and welcomed the visitors, who were obviously people of importance. By way of making conversation, I enquired what news there was. One of the visitors replied that as an Englishman I obviously knew more of world events than they. I answered that this was not so in my case at least, for I had spent a month on a camel in the desert, whereas he had just arrived by car from Amman. "Oh, in that case," replied the shaikh, "I will tell you. We hear that the English have broken their promises again, as usual."

Such was my first reception by the tribes of Trans-Jordan, with whom I was later on to become so intimate.

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do, they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel, gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word 156
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their 771
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away. Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the wind-blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as thoroughbreds.

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CHAPTER VII

Arab Honour

GUESTS AND THE LAWS OF HOSPITALITY

574 Among Arabs generally, and more especially among the Badawin of the desert, a guest (*thaif*) is a very sacred person indeed, and the unwritten laws of hospitality lay down that such a person, even though he be a perfect stranger, and of a strange tribe, be entertained, fed and looked after in fitting manner, and to the best of the host's power.

There is a beautiful Arab couplet, which takes the form of a host's welcome to his guest, and illustrates better than any words of mine, the tent-dweller's duty towards his guest. It runs as follows, and has been addressed to me in my capacity as guest on several occasions, notably by H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud when I visited him in 1920:

[539] "O Guest of ours, though you have come, though you have visited us, and though you have honoured our dwellings:
We verily are the real guests, and you are the Lord of this house."

A guest is, of course, expected not to impose on his host nor take advantage of the laws of hospitality, unless he genuinely requires food and rest. A traveller, for instance, at the end of a long day's journey, will look round for a tent where he can spend the night, and finding one in the distance can legitimately go to it and get a night's food and lodging. Should he, however, be within a mile or two of his own destination, he must make an effort and complete the distance rather than sponge on perhaps poor strangers.

In the desert a man (or party) does not brazenly go up to a tent, and demand hospitality. That is never done. Gentlemanly instincts are highly developed in the Badawin. A man approaches the tents of his prospective host modestly and with becoming diffidence. He must

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when in camp. I have found them very difficult to translate, for there is a great deal of local patois in the text. 527 533

I

SONG OF MUTAIRI WOMEN 533 539

(After the surrender by the English of Faisal al Duwish to Bin Sa'ud)

(Each verse is sung four times by the chorus)

Ya galbi illi ghada kharísh
Haddar as sama, hass taiyara.

Taiyáratain shálat Al Duwish
Ma'ad Yirja illa Diyára.

Wa haraima fi atraf al 'Ashish
Wa ukhta a lal hathm Sabára.

Translation.

Oh my heart (expressing fear) you are become mad, for
Under the sky is heard the sound of the aeroplane.

Two aeroplanes have carried off the Duwish,
Never again will he return to his homeland.

His women now sit disconsolate among the huts made of reeds,
While his sister has been driven to break her heart.

II

SONG OF 'AWAZIM WOMEN

(Each verse repeated four times)

Abbé tamanna lét man yirkab al Tiyar
Al mautar al Saiyid la sahburiyah.

Abbé anhab aleh illi nahuda, ma'ai bu Kubár
Wa abbe nahash bíha, yam al diyar al Shamaliyah.

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Mesir ash shahar yetwi fi tarfit nahár
La-i-gíd alay al taim, wa al khad bariyah.

Natahitni wa lagahni alay-ha ashgar al Nathár
Ghad al gulb hamaitha, a la ra'ad aishfiyah.

An in malaktaher, sirt min hazbat al Tijar
Bassat wa sigat, wa sár lutf al hashiliyah.

Translation.

I hope and long to ride her in a car
In the car of the Saiyid which hoots its horn.

I wish to steal her away, whose breasts are not too large,
And I wish to flee with her to the countries of the North.

What indeed would take a camel a month, can be done in one short day,
I'll make him haste his way, along the desert track.

She stopped me and met me, with her golden hair all loose,
My heart was afire for her, for the tattoo marks on her face.

And were I to possess her now, I'd become one of the merchant class,
Though she beat me and lamed me, happiness would be mine for ever.

III

SONG OF 'AWAZIM WOMEN

(Each verse repeated four times)

A ruz al Assa, wa al bisht, wa aumi rai al rail
Ta'ad al Zaragi, wa zah tadui ma'a hila.

Assa ha taghulla, ma waguf yum a suwat hail,
Hanna waghifiir fil turab, wa asiyah wa mila.

Ana abbé y wasalni illa-l-bait gabal al lail
Abbé ashuf ha min aimmi, wa galbi y raila.

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Song of the Black Camels

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Mita yinzelun al 'Ad ya hayiri al tawil
Sabart ya sabra al Khata, thaat al hila.

Ashiri la tub albini mithi al Nejma al Suhail
Thalatha wa Khamis wa sit saffat mujadilah.

Translation.

I raised my stick and waved my coat to the owner of the car,
He went over the rise a bag full of deceit.

May he be brought to confusion, who did not stop when I hailed him
For I stood in the road, and called and waved my cloak.

I desired him to get me to my house ere night overtook me,
I wished to see with my eyes her whom my heart desired to behold.

When will he return, that tall traveller, for
I have waited a dreadful wait, till I have lost all hope.

My dear one, you are like the star Canopus,
And I will yet unplait three, five, six of your lovely braids.

IV

QASIDAT AL SHURUF*

Al Shuruf wail ich
a la ma fad
Wail ich a la daur ich
al 'ammah

Ya tawal ma Faisal
yem Ra'iyich
Al yum Ra'iyich
ghailama

Hatti Jinnaiya†
a la yemnach
Ta-hahari add
Ibn Lami.

* The famous black camel herd of the Mutair. † A hill in the Summan (Najd).

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Translation.

Oh ye Shuruf, woe unto you
for ye failed;
Woe to you, for ye failed
when needed,
For the long-lifed Faisal
was your herdsman;
To-day your herdsman he is
no longer.
Put the hill of Jinnaiya
on your right
And depart ye to
Ibn Lami.

V

'Ajman song celebrating Rakan al Hithlain's return from captivity in Istambul.

(*Shaikh Salim al Hamud*, 10.8.40.)

Ya fátri dhibbi tawárif tamíya
Ilya zimatlich mithl khashm hassáni
Khubbi khabib al Dhíb majar haddíya
Tanáhari bizzan zain al Mibámi
Mohámmadan lazmán aláina mijíah
Gabal al sadich wa gabal haiyán wadáni.
Illa guthait al lázam illi alaiya
Al lázim illi ma gatha hidáni.
Agub tănăhar dírat al azujíyah
Illa aman al ras bi zafaráni.
Lait al sabar amen walla dhahiyeh
Walla tawakkad sáhibi wa shiráli.
Umma ghadda Rakan Dhib al sarriya
Willa liffa yishál sáhil hassáni.

NOTE.—The above song was composed to celebrate the return of Rakan al Hithlain, Shaikh of the 'Ajman, from prison in Istambul. He had been there eight years, and the report being current that he had died in captivity, his wife Shagha was taken in marriage by Sultan al Duwish (father of Faisal) head of all the Mutair tribe. The returned exile upbraided Shagha for only waiting seven years and asked why she could not have waited for

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Shagha, Mother of Faisal

him. The distressed Sultan offered to divorce Shagha, but Rakan would not 533
agree to this and himself insisted on putting Shagha away. Shagha had borne 539
Sultan a son, who afterwards became the great Faisal.

It was before the birth of Faisal that Shagha had her famous dream (recounted elsewhere) that she had given birth to a fiery *mish'ab* or camel-stick.

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mena were common to the Al Rimal or Al Ramla (Rub'al Kháli) 823
and were always the work of Jinns (spirits).

(*d*) Individual Murra, he said, themselves often came out of the 828
great desert "mad", which made them sing and laugh in strange
manner. This was undoubtedly due to Jinn influence.

(*e*) The word Rub' al Kháli, he said, was a *hadhar* or townsman's 369
expression, and Badawin did not know the name, and he himself had 103
only once or twice heard it.

(*f*) Ráshid knew seven of Philby's guides personally when he made
his great trans-desert journey; one of them, Falah abu Ja'sha, was his
cousin. (See page 10 of Philby's book; also first part of this chapter.)

THE DEAD WOMAN WHO NURSED HER CHILD

(Recounted by Dhuwaihi bin Kharmit of the 'Awazim on 21st 539
April, 1935, in camp at Malah, Kuwait.)

A man of the 'Awazim was once travelling near Hail with his young wife. The latter was with child, and in a gorge between some high rocky hills she suddenly gave birth to a baby boy, but in the process died. Her husband did all he could for her, but as he was alone, he could not save her. He buried her by putting her body in a small cave nearby, and filled up the entrance with stones. Loth to remove the child, and knowing it would shortly die for lack of milk, he laid it on its mother's breast with her left arm round it, and put the mother's left breast to the baby's mouth. He then rode away.

Nine months later a party of Badawin of the same tribe happened to wander by and camp close to the spot where the woman and child had been buried. Knowing the story they went to the cave's mouth to see if the wall was intact. To their surprise they found a few stones removed and a hole in the wall; outside on the sand they found the tracks of a child's feet running all over the ground. In great fear and filled with superstition they quickly rode away from the haunted place. In course of time the Badawin told the father, who hastened to the spot, and found the hole in the wall and the small footmarks. Looking inside the cave, he found a live boy-child sitting and prattling beside the mummified form of his dead wife. The mother's body was all dried up, except her left eye and the left side of her face, her left

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B 539 breast (which was full of milk) and left arm. These were alive, and similar to those of a living woman. The man, greatly fearing and praising God, took away the infant boy, placed him on his camel and rode away.

Before departing he carefully buried the remains of his dead wife, this time in a sand tomb.

According to the storyteller, this happened in his father's time, and he had it from his father that the child grew up favoured by God and man, and became a renowned fighting warrior of the tribe. He was named Khalawi and is alive to-day though very old. The name Khalawi means "born of the desert".

THE 'AWAZIM FISHERFOLK AND THE BLIND STRANGER

K 619 735 Fahad al Muhait was an old 'Azmi and lived with his two wives, his son, daughter-in-law, daughter and several children in two tents on the seashore on the southern side of the spit of land known as Ras al Ardh, some 14 miles from Kuwait. He was proud of his tribe —the great and wealthy 'Awazim—and though he was poor, they never forgot him or lost touch with him. Each spring there came to him four or five ewes to keep him supplied with milk until the summer came round again, when he would return them to their owners with many thanks. This custom is called *manihah*.

K 226 Friend Fahad was a fisherman. In spring and summer he eked out an existence by setting a reed fish-trap or *hadhara* in the sea opposite the few *sidr* trees which we used to call "Jerboa Spinney", for it was a nice place in which to free our pets when summer came and we had to go to England.

In winter he and his son fished from the shore with circular nets. Their one donkey took the catch into the bazaar where it was sold for a few annas.

On the first and fifteenth of each Arab month, and for a period of four days, the people of the coast are able to collect a certain shellfish called locally *ʿababit* when the ebb-tide recedes extra far and uncovers the shells. All the 'Awazim are fond of these. I tried th[illegible] once, but they were so full of sand that I did not enjoy them; perhap[illegible] the local people have a knack of cleaning them better than we did.

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Saudi Arabia MJ1

A Hunting Story

Chap. XXII

Such are the methods of the Great Bin Sa'ud, and it is by such deeds that he has won and continues to win the loyalty and love of his people.

Al Daghamma is still alive in the 'Awazim country to-day (the 25th February, 1939).

SA 643

TALE OF AN ARAB HUNTER

A true story, well known in Najd

B 537

There was once a man of the Shammar tribe of Arabia who was a very keen sportsman, and whose favourite pastime was hunting the wild oryx. One day he set off on his *dhahlúl* towards the hills of Jabal Shammar, intending to be away a few days hunting. As was his custom, he told his wife that he would be back four days hence, before noon, and that if he was not, she would know that he was either sick or something untoward had happened to him.

On the morning of the fourth day, his brother, who had been away on a long journey to Hasa returned, and at once asked where his brother was. He was told that he had gone hunting but was due back that very day before noon. Noon came, and there was no sign of him; then sunset came and still no sign. His brother then sent for his *dhahlúl*, and taking some food set out to seek his brother.

He knew the place where there were oryx in great numbers, in a part of the country where there was especially good grazing, and made sure his brother would have gone that way.

He travelled all through the night and next morning came across a "hide" which had been carefully made in the ground and surrounded by brushwood. He was very surprised to see lying in it a gun and a powder-horn, also a dagger which he recognised as belonging to his brother, and leading away from the hide a thin trail of blood. There were footmarks of oryx in great numbers round about, also footmarks along the line of blood. His only course now was to follow the line of blood. This he did, and in a depression some little way off he found his brother's *dhahlúl* grazing peacefully. At last, after going some miles, he saw in the distance a herd of oryx grazing. He approached them slowly and carefully, still following the blood

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539 tracks on the ground, when to his amazement he saw that one of them had something on its back. On getting closer he recognised his brother on the back of the oryx: his thighs were impaled on the long bayonet-like horns, his head was hanging down over its tail, and his arms clasped the animal's belly.

What could he do now? If he were to shoot the oryx he would most certainly kill his brother, and how could he get close enough to kill the beast with his dagger! The hunter was still alive and conscious even after the loss of much blood.

The brother thought out a plan. Making a large detour he came into a depression where he was hidden from view, and here he picked out a spot which had the very best of grazing, and to which the oryx were very likely to come. In among the grass and flowers he stuck in the ground his two daggers some way apart, and prayed that chance might bring the animals to that very spot and enable his brother to reach a dagger. He now went some distance away behind a rock and waited. Sure enough the oryx came along and grazed in the very spot where he had planted his daggers. He was able to signal to his brother to look for the daggers without frightening the oryx as the latter was facing away from him. The man on the back of the oryx looked very carefully and sure enough spotted his own dagger "growing" in the grass and was just able to reach it with his one hand. He still had the strength to plunge it into the animal's heart. The oryx rolled over on the ground, and the rescuer rushed up and gave the beast a final bullet.

He now had to pull his brother off the animal's horns which had pierced right through his thighs. This done, he bandaged him up as best he could and put him on his *dhahlúl* together with the dead oryx.

For many months the brother lay very sick, but slowly recovered. As he got better he told his family all that had happened. How he came upon this large herd of oryx and made his "hide" very carefully and then waited many long hours for them to come near enough to shoot. When he thought the right moment had arrived, he fired his old muzzle-loader at the biggest of the herd. So sure was he that he had killed it that he jumped up preparing to go out and get it. At that same instant the wounded animal was actually making a headlong

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charge at the hide, unable to see whence the shot had come but sensing the direction. As the hunter stood up, the oryx with his head down impaled him on his long horns and carried him away. Although nearly fainting with agony he had the presence of mind to hold on very tight with both hands round the belly of the animal, for he knew that if he once fell over on one side or the other his head would be dashed against the ground as the beast galloped off. He was powerless to kill the oryx as both his dagger and gun had dropped from him when the animal rushed him, and he had no other weapon. 539

The story is an old one and believed to be true. It is known to all Shammar tribesmen and is said to have taken place near Hail about one hundred years ago.

Told by 'Abdulla al Othman al Rashid of Buraida

ABRAHAM AND ISHMAEL

Coming home one day from a hawking expedition in the autumn of 1937 with Mirshid ibn Twala of the Shammar tribe, I was discussing the Palestine troubles with him, and asked why it was that the Arabs hated the Jews. 173 186

"O Abu Sa'ud," said he, "God has told us that the Jews are an accursed people whose witness is not acceptable. They were always against every Prophet sent them, notably Moses and Jesus, and when finally Muhammad the last of the Prophets was sent them by God, did they not try and murder him also on three occasions?

"Yes, Abu Sa'ud, they are a cruel and stiff-necked people and always were so, but we Badawin hate them particularly for the way Abraham's wife intrigued against Hagar the mother of Ishmael, and cruelly expelled her into the waterless desert. She intended that Hagar should die there of thirst, but God saved her and her son, our ancestor.

"Abraham was later filled with remorse and spent the latter years of his life trying to find his son Ishmael, having been told by God that he was still alive and would receive great blessing. Your Book and the Jewish Taurat says nothing about this nor how Abraham found him and then was ordered by God to take him up into the high mount of 'Arafat and there sacrifice him. No, the accursed Bani Israel (Jews) were not going to have it that way, they were going to

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173 have it that Isaac was the one preferred of God, and they cooked the
186 Scriptures, so that their descendants and you Christians to this day believe that Isaac was the son whom Abraham was bidden to sacrifice."

173 "Tell me the story, O Mirshid," I said, "for I have not heard it."

539 "It happened in this wise, and I will make it short, for the whole tale is very long. It will show you, however, that Abraham in the end made up for the wrong he did to Hagar the mother of Ishmael, and proved that Ishmael was in truth the dearer of his two sons, and was the one favoured of God. And don't forget that Ishmael was the ancestor of half the great Arab race. The other or Southern half are descended from Qahtan (Yokdan) the son of Set (Seth), and an older branch of Abraham's ancestors. The descendants of Qahtan accepted Ishmael and his descendants though they called them 'Arab al Musta'ariba, or Arabs who became Arabs as opposed to their own proud title of 'Arab al 'Ariba or those who were Arabs from the first.

"When Hagar was driven into the desert to die with her baby boy, Abraham had migrated to the south as was his annual custom and as all Badawin even to this day move, in search of grazing. He was at the time not far from where the town of Mecca stands to-day. There was of course no Bait Allah (House of God) in those days. Well, as the unfortunate Hagar was about to die of thirst, she grieved greatly for her offspring—and in frantic agony left her baby in a sandy water-course, and started running about near two small hills which were at hand, praying to God all the while to save her child.

"The two hills later became known as Safa and Marwa, and are now inside the precincts of modern Mecca. God heard her prayer, for on staggering back exhausted to see if her child were still alive, she found a small *thamila* (pool) of water lying in a hole in the sand that had been excavated by her child's legs as it lay kicking in the sand. She dug further and more water oozed into the hole, and she drank long and deeply. She was saved and her prayers had been answered. That *thamila* is to-day the famous well of Zam Zam which lies inside the precincts of the Harám or Holy Place in Mecca. Later Hagar was found by certain Arabs of the locality and was cared for and became one of them.

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Ishmael's Wives

Chap. XXII

"In the course of time Ishmael grew up and Hagar was gathered to her fathers, and never saw Abraham again. 173 539

"Ishmael then took unto himself as wife a girl of the tribe which had befriended his mother, and he built her a small mud and stone home near the water that had saved his and his mother's life. From there Ishmael would wander forth with the camels and sheep that he had now acquired, and would return in the evening to his wife. He also was a great hunter.

"It came to pass when Ishmael was about one score and five years of age that the aged Abraham, having once more moved with his flocks and camels to that region, was ordered by God in a dream to look for his son Ishmael the son of Hagar, as he was surely alive. Abraham had always yearned for the lost Hagar and greatly rejoiced at the news. He accordingly left his camp daily to see if he could find his son. One day God guided his footsteps and brought him to Ishmael's little house. Ishmael was away but his wife, seeing an aged man, and obviously a shaikh from his finely caparisoned camel, which he was making kneel in front of her house, went out and invited him in. Abraham entered and sat down, but was given only a drink of water, for the wife explained that she had no food in the house. This was untrue, for she had in fact some milk and dates in her larder but did not want to waste them on a stranger. Abraham felt within him that the house was that of his long-lost son, but said nothing, and at length rose to go. As he mounted his camel he said, 'O woman, when thy husband returneth tell him to cleanse the threshold (*'atiba*) of his house'. With that he was gone.

"When Ishmael returned in the evening and heard about the visit of the aged stranger and what he had said to his wife, he was wroth and said, 'Woman, thou didst not do well, in thou didst fail to honour the guest and give him of all thou hadst; Verily thou art the threshold of my house, and it shall be cleansed'. With that he put her away and sent her back to her people. Not long after Ishmael took unto himself another wife, and two years later Abraham again presented himself at his house in the same way as before.

"Again Ishmael was absent, this time a-hunting. Ishmael's wife welcomed the stranger in, tended him kindly and gave of all she had in the house. Again Abraham rose to go, and as he mounted his camel

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173 he said, 'O woman, tell thy husband to guard the threshold of his
539 house, for it shall be blessed with a great blessing for this day's work'.

"When Ishmael returned from the chase and heard the story, he too rejoiced and said, 'I smell the smell of my father, verily it is he who hath been with thee. Blessed also art thou, O wife, for thy children shall be known throughout the ages for their hospitality to strangers. This shall be the sign unto the world that the children of Ishmael have been blessed and are the favoured of God.'

"Then Ishmael rose up and searched for his father Abraham and finding him after some days, he made himself known to him. And Abraham rejoiced exceedingly that he had found his son.

"Now the age of Ishmael was twenty and seven summers. Now it came to pass after these things that Abraham one day dreamed a dream. He then called his son Ishmael and said unto him, 'My son, I saw in my sleep that I have to take thee up into yon high mountain, prepare therefore an ass for me to ride on, and do thou follow me'. On the journey and as Ishmael followed some way behind his father, Iblís (the devil) in the form of a benign old man stepped from behind some rocks and spake to him thus: 'My son, follow not the footsteps of that wicked old man going before thee, for assuredly he will kill thee on the top of that mountain, turn thee back that thou may be saved'. But Ishmael cursed the old man and drove him away, casting seven stones after him. Now the place where Ishmael stoned the tempter Iblís, is known as Muna to this day, and is marked by three pillars which all good Muslims stone during the Pilgrimage. The name of the mountain is known also as 'Arafat or the 'mountain of witness' to this day, and is visited by thousands of Muslims when performing the Haj.

"When Abraham and Ishmael reached the top of the mountain Abraham said unto Ishmael: 'My son, I saw in my sleep that I have to sacrifice thee'. Then the son said to his father: 'My father, thy will is my will, but tie the cords very tight to keep me from trembling, and remove my garments lest some of my blood spatter on them and I shall thus lose merit, and lest my wife grieve when she sees them. Also sharpen the blade well, and pull it quickly across my throat so that death may be easier, for verily death is a very hard matter. And when you come back to my wife, give her my salaams, and if she

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so desires give her my shirt, perhaps it may comfort her a little.' 173
Abraham said, 'My son, you help me to do what God hath com- 539
manded me to perform'.

"Then Abraham did as his son requested, and after he had bound him he bent down and kissed him, weeping all the time. Ishmael his son also wept till the tears ran down his cheeks.

"Then Abraham put the knife to his son's throat, but it did not cut.

"It has been said that God had put a sleeve of brass round his son's throat.

"Then Ishmael said: 'O my father, turn me on my face, for when you see my eyes you are sorry for me, and pity takes hold of you and keeps you from doing that God has commanded you to do'.

"So his father did this, but when he put the knife to the back of the neck, it turned over, and a voice called to him, 'Faithfully done, O Abraham, thou art my servant indeed'.

"Then Abraham turned round and found a ram entangled by its horns in a nearby bush, so he sacrificed it in place of his son Ishmael.

"And it came to pass that after sojourning awhile with his son Ishmael and his wife who had joined him, Abraham returned to his own country, but Ishmael remained in the land of his adoption."

The above story appears to have been taken from a very old book 173
known as *Qisás al Anbiyá* or Stories of the Prophets, written cen- 538
turies ago, though I have no reference book which gives its date. Suffice it to say that the writer wrote many tales regarding events of the Old Testament, and almost all the knowledge the Badawin of Arabia has of ancient Biblical history comes from this book.

It has been said that educated Muslims do not pay much attention to the *Qisás al Anbiyá*, though I do not like to think this is the case.

It is interesting to learn from this book that among early Muslims there was a difference of opinion as to whom Abraham was going to offer up. The Qur'an does not definitely give the name. Some persons of prominence thought it was Isaac and not Ishmael, while others even held that it was Joseph. The tradition that for a long time, and until the Ka'bah was burned in the days of Hajjaj, there hung on its walls a *pair of ram's horns*, made the author of the *Qisás al Anbiyá* decide that it must have been Ishmael.

542

A Lewd Story

Chap. XLIV

AN 'AJMAN STORY TOLD AT THE EXPENSE OF THE 'AWAZIM

539 The 'Awazim tribe use a curious expression which differs from
342 that of all other tribes. When they want to put up the back and side walls of their tent (*rawg*) instead of saying, *Ya fulan rawag al bait* ("O, So-and-so, place the side curtains round the tent"), as it said by all self-respecting tribes, they say, *Ya fulan, istir al bait* ("So-and-so, make the tent respectable"). This particular expression is said to recall a rather lewd story about their tribe, of which they are heartily ashamed. The story is of 'Ajman origin and is as follows:

639 A young 'Ajman warrior once had his tent close to that of an 'Azmi (singular of 'Awazim), who was on very friendly terms with him. Both young men had pretty sisters who often played together, when their brothers were out with the camels or away raiding. The young men themselves were unmarried, as neither had the wherewithal to buy himself a wife. One day as the two lads were coming home after a long day's hunting, the 'Ajman youth said to the 'Azmi, "What do you say to exchanging sisters this evening—I take yours and you take mine, no one is about or near us, let us enjoy ourselves?" The 'Azmi having agreed, both on reaching their camp told their sisters. The girls also agreed, but the 'Ajman youth before he actually sent his sister off to his friend's tent warned her saying, "Be very careful not to let that low-born 'Azmi really mishandle you; if you do, I shall certainly kill you. When he comes to make love you must roll about the floor and avoid his embrace, and generally prevent him working his will on you."

The two youths then took each the other's sister to bed, but the clever 'Ajman girl would not allow the 'Azmi to get near her, and by rolling about and ever escaping his clutches, managed to do as her brother had told her. Maddened with disappointment the 'Azmi called out to his sister in the other tent saying, "Do not let my friend touch you but do as this one is doing, roll about, roll about (*rowagi, rowagi*)". His sister's voice came in reply, "My brother, I cannot, I cannot, it is already too late".

Since that time the 'Awazim tribe never use the expression *rowagi al bait* to a woman, or to a man *rawag al bait*.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

Then crowds of women and children go outside the city walls to the neighbouring wells and green oases one or two miles away, and take their lunch and tea with them. Men do not accompany their women on these picnics, but each party of women has some slave women and a little boy or two to keep an eye on sisters and mothers and to call for help if necessary. These picnics are one of the most pleasing sights of Kuwait, for it means that women literally have left their prison houses, and are enjoying the lovely countryside and pure air outside the town. The picnics are very simple and well-behaved affairs, and those taking part appear to be happy in the extreme. If these picnics take place well away from any beaten tracks, a certain amount of quiet and decorous dancing also goes on. The women form circles, and whilst one of them starts to let down her hair and dance or sway about in sitting posture, her friends will sing pretty songs and keep time for her. Occasionally a woman slave, who has brought out a small drum, contributes a monotonous drum-beating. Should a man or horseman appear in the offing, singing and dancing is stopped and all become as quiet as mice, till he has passed by. k 527 264

Occasionally, but not often, a few women of the unfortunate type are allowed to go out in a party for a picnic at *'Id*, but they keep well away from their more respectable sisters, and are never allowed to have men in their company. The official idea is that the festival is an equally happy one for them, and they also are entitled to be carefree and joyful.* k [548]

'ID AMONG THE TRIBES

The *'Id* in the desert, as in the town, is an occasion of rejoicing, feasting and paying calls. The people, being poorer and more simple, celebrate the festival with less display and expense. Horse races and camel races are held, however, and if men happen to have spare ammunition, they will have shooting matches. B 527 541 526

The unmarried tribal girls go in perhaps for more dancing than their town sisters, and before noon and of an evening groups of them will get inside a tent, let down their hair and, after closing the tent B 527 535

* In 1938 prostitutes were forbidden to leave the city, and even these picnic outings were prohibited.

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XIII

Morality

587 There is no immorality, as we know it, among the desert tribes. There is, of course, plenty of marrying and giving in marriage, and as I have said, divorce is so easy that a woman often has six or seven husbands in her lifetime, and a man always as many wives as he can 548 afford, provided he confines himself to four at a time. Prostitutes are 837 unknown among the Badawin, and adultery is punishable with death.

572 Friendships between men and women, on the other hand, exist, and are recognised, especially if the parties are of the same tribe and are related, for example my friend Shaikh Thuwairan Abu Sifra of the Mu'aha section of the Mutair, was a friend of Muthi, wife of Falah bin 369 'A'amir, also of the Mu'aha. Every Badawin, of course, is aware that 548 immorality exists in the big towns, and this is one of the main reasons why he despises the townsman.

Unfortunately a Badawin man up from the distant desert sometimes finds his way to the prostitute quarters when he visits towns [164] such as Mecca and Madina, Jiddah, and Kuwait. This has resulted in the spread of syphilis and venereal disease among the tribes.

In Wahhabi-land proper (i.e. Sa'udi Arabia, excluding the Hijaz), no prostitute is tolerated even in the towns, let alone among the tribes, but I am told that there is nevertheless a good deal of clandestine immorality.

731 It is curious but true that if you discuss the question of morals with 612 well-informed Najd Badawin, they will always tell you that certain great shaikhly families of the desert, especially in the north, have always had rather loose morals, while certain others stand out for their good morals and generally high tone. For instance, the well-known shaikhly house of Al Sha'alan (Ruwala) as well as that of the Hawaitat, Bani Sakhr (both Trans-Jordan), and Shammar Jarba (Iraq), are all said to be pretty lax where women are concerned, and conversely Al Hadhal (Amarat), the Dushan (Mutair) and the Hamidda ('Utaiba)

29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
721 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
563 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
157 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

837 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
548 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

221 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
[10] the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Ma'adan

582 It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman,
591 even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharíf Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

619 In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Badawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharíf tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashira) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or ÁL)

[619] (*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al.*

Ál is like the term "Bani", e.g. Bani Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Wain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Naẓlin fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 A man says *Ya 'Aiyál* when addressing his sons or his family
601 as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Aiyál?* when enquiring after
551 the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'aiyál* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal
[576] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

[576] A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing
592 his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi warákum?* (How is the
601 person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.
551 Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indi-
613 cate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

613 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some
582 of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4
Muntafiq
Middle East MI

B 304

I gathered, for a needle and thread to be passed through the clitoris, which was pulled outwards to its full length by means of the thread. When so extended it was cut off close to the body.

ME 779 304

According to Haji 'Abdullah al Fathil, Musulmani (Mr. Williamson) 28th March, 1933, the circumcision of females was advised by the Islamic religion, but was in no way ordained as necessary. He also added that the reason why the Sunnis of Basra generally, and especially their leading families, went in for the custom, was because of the own's Bani Tamim ancestry. The old Bani Tamim always practised female circumcision. My friend Haji 'Abdullah went further, and made the rather surprising statement that the circumcision of Islamic males was not definitely laid down as necessary in Islam. It was conceivable that an adult convert who objected to or feared the operation might evade it, though ordinary custom demanded the ceremony in almost every case. I leave my readers to discuss this last statement. I prefer not to commit myself.

WOMEN'S NAMES

B 551

(Among Mutair, Dhafir, Shammar, 'Ajman, 'Awazim, 'Anizah and other great tribes.)

'Adda
'Afra
Al 'Aati
Al Jázi
Al Jidá'a—Given to a girl who has had part of her ear cut off and eaten by her mother. If a woman has lost several children the mother seeks by this procedure to save her latest. ['Ajman and other tribes.]
'Amsha
'Asheba
'Athaiya
'Atsha
'Aysha
'Azíza
Daghaima
Dahmeliya
Dhiba
Dhira—Given to a girl whose mother was frightened by bad news before her birth.
Faiha
Fátima
Filwa
Ghanima
Ghazaiyil—little gazelle ['Ajman.]
Gwai'a
Hajaja
Haiyya
Hathla
Hussa
Huwaiya
'Iyda
Jahaira
Khasna

L: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
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551

Latífa
Lulua
Mahara
Maneira
Mastura
Maziuna
Múdhi
Muzni
Nassara
Naufa
Nejela
Nejma
Núra
Nurfyah
Radífa
Sa'ada
Sabícha
Sanwa
Shagha—['Ajman] Janaifer's granddaughter
Shaikha
Sidha
Síta—('Ajman)
Sukort
Tufala
Ubdida
Wadha
Wasmíyah
Zahwa—[Shammar]

UPBRINGING OF BABIES

The birth of a Badawin baby is attended with as little fuss as the birth of a baby-camel. The infant is first and foremost bathed in a female camel's urine. As soon as possible afterwards, its eyes are rubbed over with antimony, to make them strong. All day long the baby is kept wrapped up in swaddling clothes, the arms being folded across the chest and bound there, and the legs tied close together at the knees and ankles. Before being swaddled the baby is laid flat on a square piece of black cloth covered with dry, powdered camel dung (formed into a dust). The baby is then wrapped up, and a little piece of black cloth is wound round its head to be replaced when it is about a month old by a cap which comes right down over both ears. 846

When the baby is being nursed, it is invariably placed on a circular piece of leather (*nattah*). 853

When the mother moves about on her various duties, or if cutting brushwood, she carries her baby slung across her back in a leather hammock (*miṛbáh*)*, the end-thongs of which are either passed round her forehead, or more often over one shoulder, the baby hanging down under her arm for warmth. On the march, the baby and hammock are placed with the mother in the *maksar* (or woman's litter). 854

When the child is a few months old it is often slung in one of the

* Only 'Ajman, Bani Hajir, Bani Khalid, 'Awazim, Zaab, Murra, Manasir, Muntafiq ('Ajwad) do this. Other tribes do not carry babies in leather hammocks.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

854 saddle bags with its head out. After this age the baby is practically never washed; and it is taken out of its swaddling clothes only at night and then for only short periods.

The idea underlying the swaddling clothes is firstly, to keep the baby quiet, and secondly, to make it grow strong and straight.

853 The baby is fed at any hour of the day and night, or whenever it cries. It is not immodest for a Badawin woman to feed her baby in

Nattah.

the presence of her menfolk, or even of strange men; and I have often seen women to whom I have been talking, open their front garment and bring out a breast to suckle their infant.

BADAWIN NAMES

103 552 The Badawin frequently name men and places after parts of the human body. Some of the best-known examples are given below.

Places.

Al Sirra—"The Navel"; a hill near Kuwait.

Al Diúd—"The woman's breasts"; a hill in the Neutral Zone south of Kuwait.

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551 *Men.*

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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Capture of Riyadh

After lunch we heard all about the hawk incident. The bird had 223
been branded between the eyes much as *salúqi* dogs are branded by the Badawin for distemper. The wound made by the *hubara* was on the top centre of the head, and was as large as a sixpence, the brand was the size of a threepenny bit and was placed just in front of the other wound. The hawk looked very sorry for itself, but Amir Haif assured me it would get quite well and "recover its courage". He said he was known to be an expert falcon doctor, and everyone knew that what he said would turn out as foreshadowed. I cordially hoped it would.

After lunch we met Nahar al Mutalaqqim and his brother 'Abdulla 173
(known as 'Ubaid from the dark colour of his skin, and his rather [651]
thick lips). Both were the Shaikhs of the Al Mutalaqqim sept of the 'Ajman, and great warriors.

'Ubaid told me that he had been one of the famous twenty paladins* (two of Sbei, one Qahtani and seventeen of 'Ajman) who under the leadership of Bin Sa'ud, Muhammad his brother, and 'Abdulla ibn Jiluwi had captured Riyadh and killed Ajlan, the Bin Rashid Governor, as he bolted back into the *kút* or fort of Riyadh. "Ah, Abu Sa'ud, those were great days, and it was worth a whole man's life to have seen them. It was Bin Jiluwi who hurled his dagger at the fleeing Ajlan and missed him,† and it was Bin Jiluwi's hand that seized Ajlan's leg as he tried to enter the wicket gate, and brought him to the ground, but it was 'Abdul 'Aziz's sword which struck off Ajlan's head, as he lay on the ground struggling with Bin Jiluwi. I can even now see Bin Sa'ud preparing for the sortie from Ajlan's lady's house, on the other side of the square. How cool and calm he was. He had discarded his *agál* (head rope) and tied his *kaffiyah* over his head and round his neck, and had followed it by carefully tying his long sleeves round the back of his neck.

And what a woman was Ajlan's wife. She was found in deep sleep, and it was Bin Sa'ud who touched her and woke her up. *Minu, minu?* (who is it, who is it?), was all she said. On being told by Bin Sa'ud

* According to Bin Sa'ud's story related as recently as November 1937, 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim was not among the famous twenty, but was among his supporters who awaited outside Riyadh among the palm groves.

† The mark of Bin Jiluwi's dagger which stuck in the great door of the fort after missing Ajlan can be seen to this day in Riyadh.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

168 if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort
361 of existence.

461 But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard
463 and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to
552 his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate
231 enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky
461 or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates,
565 and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level
186 as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

181 Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the des-
611 ert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out
735 of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

One of the documents the *sheykh* handed to me was a 574
deed of gift and a token of his friendship; the other set 431
forth the pedigree of the colt. Mishal rose to his feet. He 231
took me by the hand to set me on my way, and together we walked far out into the desert. He spoke no word and I made no attempt to break the silence. My eyes were held by the picture of the powerful young stallion which was being led ahead of us by Naif and a slave. Full of fire and grace, with prancing steps, he looked the living epitome of this wild and romantic land.

When some tribesmen rode by on their mares, the young stallion stopped still, his whole body tense, neck arched, and small head held high. His chest quivered as he neighed in long-drawn silvery notes. His uplifted tail flowed out from his croup like a cascade of water. He was surely as magnificent as any of those aboriginal wild horses, which, according to Bedouin lore, Ishmael caught in the Nufud desert. "Black-skinned antelopes (*kubay-* [825]
lan) they were called of old, by reason of the black rims around the eyes, which make them look as if they had been painted with *kuhl* (pure antimony)."

The *sheykh* at last called to my companions, who had gone ahead, to halt. Looking back, Mishal and I saw the great camp a long way off. The old chief laid his hands in blessing on the forehead of the young stallion, and said to me: " 'Amud,' I have named thy stallion. It [552]
is a name of my people. The peace of God be with thee forever."

Then he kissed both my cheeks and the hoof of the horse, and strode back to his tents.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

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Hawk Traps

231 The famous "Petrol" indeed appeared always ready to try his luck
223 with a *hubara*, and I have seen him after killing his tenth bird lie on his back in a fit of exhaustion, and appear to be at the point of death. A small dose of aspirin crushed in water used to bring him round on these occasions.

[552] Hawks always bear good names, selected either after famous falcons of the past or after well-known historical heroes, for instance, "Sultán", "Shabíb", "Dhiáb", "Sáhud", "Sádáh", etc.

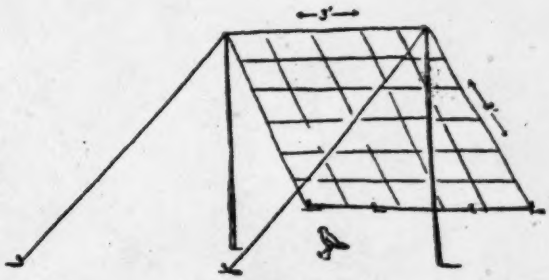
A falconer is called a *saggár*. It takes thirteen days for a good *saggár* to train a year-old hawk. If the hawk is a two- or three-year-old bird, the training period may last twenty to twenty-five days.

223 Hawks are in general called *tair* (plural: *tuyúr*). (Hurr and Sháhín falcons are particular hunting types mentioned above.)

There are two common methods for snaring hawks:

(*a*) The small square net and jerboa or pigeon method.
(*b*) The long narrow net with raven and pigeon method.

(*a*) A very coarse-mesh net of thin light texture 3 feet by 3 feet in size, is erected at an angle of 60° from the ground. The lower edge is pegged very lightly to the ground, while the upper side is supported



Hawk Trap (*a*)

on two light sticks, which are kept in position by two light cords also very lightly pegged to the ground. The net is sloped away from the wind, as the hawk always dives after its prey down and into the wind.

Under the net a jerboa (bounding field rat) or a pigeon is tied by the leg and pegged to the ground.

The hawk, seeing the animal from afar, and not perceiving the

J. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

231 littoral. It would be interesting to have a real expert's views on this question.

The Arabian *salúqi*, like all greyhounds, I suppose, feels the cold of winter very much, and is always given a coat by his owner when the winter season sets in.

Like the Arab horse and camel the *salúqi* is very fond of dates, and will eat them stone and all with relish and apparently no ill-effects.

Sometimes a *salúqi* will turn vicious and start chasing and killing sheep. According to the Badawin there is then nothing for it but to destroy the animal.

I was once asked (1934) by a lady fancier and very well-known breeder of *salúqis* in London if the Arabs kept different breeds of Arabian *salúqis*, in the same way that they have definite breeds of horses. On my return to Kuwait in the same year, I made enquiries on the subject from the shaikhs and many Badawin. I satisfied myself that there were no special breeds or names indicating different species, but that certain tribes favoured the all-smooth type (*a*) and others the silky-eared and fluffy-tail type (*b*).

[552] The following are some of the most common names given to *salúqis* by the Badawin:

Turfa (f.)	Dhabba'án (m.)
Khatáf (m.)	Shihán (f.)
Sulfa (f.)	Najma (f.)
Khazza (f.)	Wadha (f.)

I am told, though I have not been able to verify the story, that at Samarra in Iraq there is a very good strain of *salúqis* known as the "Saglawiyah". These, it is said, are fine big animals rather like Shaikh Hamad's, while the ears and tails of these animals have the long hair mentioned above as typifying strain (*b*). This is the only case that I have come across of a definite name being given to a breed of *salúqis*.

Some of my Shammar friends also make mention of a breed of fine hunting *salúqis* without tails (like the Manx cat), but I have never seen any, nor can I say with any certainty that they exist.

H. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

238 mothers and handing the baby to its dam to suckle, he was calling out name after name amidst the din of mothers' "baaing" and lambs crying for their food. To me it was pandemonium, to Nasir and Faláh an everyday procedure.

Those ewes whose male lambs had been killed for food were given strange lambs to feed, after the latter had had a short drink from their rightful mothers. In this case the rightful mothers had to be forcibly held by Salim whilst their little ones were fostered by another.

The mothers all appeared to recognise their own lambs by smell. The lambs on the other hand did not seem to mind much whether they drank from their mother or from a stranger. It was the mothers who made the fuss.

239 552 In conversation afterwards with Nasir, the shepherd, the latter told me that he named a ewe only when it gave birth to a lamb, not before. The purpose was purely utilitarian. The names saved time at night when the mothers came home. He had names for all the sheep and goat mothers. He could recognise each mother and each baby by the feel with his eyes shut. All were black, but by feeling heads and backs he knew by touch which was which.

This skill, Nasir said, was universal among all the 'Awazim tribes, and among the shepherds of Kuwait and Najd. None of the Iraq tribes or the Muntafiq shepherd tribes named their sheep, nor could they recognise them in the dark.

SHEEP NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

(1) *Al Hamrah* (The red one).
(2) *Al Suwaid* (The little black one).
(3) *Al Hadaid* (The hairy one).
(4) *Al Shahaid* (The white-shouldered one).
(5) *Al Sugaih* (The one with the white blaze).
(6) *Al Kahail* (Soft black-haired one).
(7) *Al Wada'ah* (The little cowri).
(8) *Al Ziuadah* (The wattled one).
(9) *Al Arthaim* (The white-nosed one).
(10) *Al Hajlah* (The white-stockinged one).
(11) *Al Dahrijah* (The stumpy one).
(12) *Al Suwaidan* (The black one).

233 Sheep which are fat and have plenty of grazing are inclined to get exhausted when the sun grows stronger with the advancing summer.

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232 *hallit* (not found in Arabia). The ear of the sick goat is sliced open at the top end until blood is drawn, and the mixture is well rubbed into the wound. Usually a small ball of the mixture is made and placed under the skin for an hour (the skin being cut and the ball placed underneath, and the skin flap placed over the ball to keep it in position). All goats of the flock, whether known to be infected or not, are treated thus, and if attacked have a good chance of recovery. The disease is highly contagious.

Under the above treatment 50 per cent usually recover. If no treatment is given the whole flock is doomed. The disease reappears in a district every two or three years.

Al Jarrah.—A virulent form of mange. The cure is to cut all the goat's hair off and smear the skin plentifully with an ointment made from gunpowder and clarified butter. This must be done three times to effect a cure. The mange does not attack sheep, dogs, camels or horses, and man is also safe from the disease. Ninety per cent of goats escape if treated in time.

GENERAL REMARKS

233 In the desert goats are chiefly kept for the sake of their milk and hair. The Badawin prefer sheep, but the more well-to-do try to keep a certain number of goats, for goats' hair is superior to sheep's wool for certain parts of their black tents.

In every Badawin hair tent the roof consists of a central broad strip, with two strips of black wool or hair on either side of it. The strip furthest from the central strip is always made of goats' hair, as it is stronger and takes the weight of the *rusg*, or back curtain, better.

GOAT-NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

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Al Dunjya (no meaning).
Al Sha'ail (The yellow one).
Al Rakuk (The spotted one).
Al Khaim (The white-headed one).
Al Daghaim (The black-headed one).
Al Tawil (The tall one).

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

The Goats' Homecoming

B
231
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Chap. XXXI

Al Dugugah (The thin one).
Al Hazzah (The white-tailed one).
Al Bakkah (The small-voiced one).
Al Sayahah (The bleater).
Al Dahsah (The grey one).
Al Haraish (The coarse-haired one).
Al Hass (The short-haired one).

The Town Goat.—Every town in Arabia keeps goats in large quantities. They need less grazing, are hardier and give better milk than sheep. It is a great sight to see the flocks of goats daily leaving Kuwait at sunrise and returning at sunset.

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231

Every householder, according to his means, keeps one or more goats in his backyard. These are all she-goats and are kept only for milking. A man's social status may be judged by the number of goats he so keeps.

In different parts of the town, so as to be convenient to all, goat herdsmen reside who have a stable or yard where the women bring the family's goats to be taken out into the desert to graze. Goats are assembled about sunrise each day, and the herdsman then drives them (in herds of a couple of hundred or so) out of the town to a distance of some 5 to 10 miles according to the time of the year and presence of grazing. The goats thus get exercise and fresh food daily. At sundown the goats are brought home again, and driven into their yard. This is a common and interesting daily sight in the towns, though a dusty business in summer. Round about the entrance to each goat *Aadzah* or yard, the daughters of the houses, often tiny little girls, meet the herds, pick out their own particular goat and bring it home. Very often the goats leave the herd of themselves and go straight to their homes. They are full of milk, and are anxious to reach their mistress, who at once milks them, and gives them relief. Most of the goats, especially the Berberiyah, have so much milk that they can scarcely walk with comfort.

This daily home-coming of the goats is a familiar and very interesting sight. It is a joy to see the shouting children taking their charges home, and relieving the goatherd of his responsibility at the end of a hard day. Laughter and cries of pleasure are in the air. Little girls

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

000 forth scornfully triumphant over the worst that environment can do to him. There is no division of labor in the desert. Every man has the same occupation and is pursued by the same gaunt specter of starvation. Every man breathes the same atmosphere of the great free desert and shares the same conceptions of God and His terrible omnipotence. How could men be otherwise than equal when they all live in the same desert and worship the same God? The hypocrisies and pretenses of caste and rank cannot live long in that country where God is so great and so terrible and so omnipotent and where men at the best are helpless insects in His hands.

156 The Arab is perhaps the most incorrigible individualist that the world affords. He regards any abridgement of his liberty as intolerable. His desert is a land of freedom. Everybody does what is right in his own eyes with perhaps less restraint than anywhere else in the world. To one who is familiar with the Orient, perhaps the most significant fact to be noted in Arab society is the complete absence of the caste system. The Arab 565 622 knows nothing about caste. His sheikh, who has the 554 power of life and death over him, the Bedouin regards as on precisely his own level. He expects this sheikh to rule well, to have a heavy hand for offenders, to maintain relations with neighboring tribes, to protect the poor from the rapacity of the rich. If the sheikh does not do all these things, he will join cheerfully with his comrades in assassinating him and will submit with equal cheerfulness to whomsoever may be his successor. He would be not at all nonplussed if asked to be ruler himself; quite possibly he might fill the office with credit. All this he 565 knows, as does his sheikh. The result is a society where there is almost no feeling of superiority and inferiority,

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedawin M34

264 On occasion when supplies are plentiful the Badawin
146 eat copiously, because the time and scale of the next meal may be
147 uncertain. In general, the standard of nutrition of the Badawin is low—in the opinion of some, below the level necessary in other regions to sustain life. As a result, the Badawin are small, even stunted, and lightly built, though their physical powers and endurance are great. Life is, however, very hard; and by forty, particularly in the case of women, old age has begun. Fifty years is a long life for a nomad.

721 One means of supplementing the deficiencies in arid areas is by raiding. Amongst Badawin the *rhazw* (*razzia* or *rezzou*) is a recognised activity amounting almost to sport, but it also fulfils a definite economic function. The effects of a bad season are mitigated, as when rains have failed in the desert, the Bedu has a choice of taking what he requires by force from other people, or of starving. The word 'sport' has been used, because although fundamentally a serious matter, Badawin raids are conducted under certain conventions—almost, one might say, rules.[1] Rapid, unlooked-for coups, using cunning and guile, are most favoured: bloodshed is as far as possible avoided, though goods, womenfolk, and children become the property of the victors under a kind of slavery. Successful leadership in tribal raids
[554] is the means by which personal reputation and power is built up: King Ibn Saud, originally a dispossessed desert nomad, has gained absolute power in Arabia through successful tribal encounters on an increasingly
721 large scale. Badawin raids may be directed against other tribes, but
651 frequently, toll is levied on agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert. Less able to resist, and with more at stake than the nomad, settled cultivators sometimes remain under permanent tribute to Badawin tribes, and supply a quantity of needed foodstuffs to their overlords. The name *khaoua* (tribute of friendship) is applied to such transactions. Raiding is now declining, because of increasing control by local governments, but in addition to the political problem presented in controlling outbreaks, there is the economic factor of providing alternative occupation to ensure a livelihood.[2] Though declining, the practice is still not extinct. For as recently as 1946, J. C. Crowfoot could write, 'Arabs are now raiding each other in Fords and Chevrolets'.

[1] There are only three sources of amusement or distraction in Badawin life: conversation round a coffee hearth, family life, and raiding.

[2] Cf. the decline in population of the Barbary coastlands since the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean. There, precisely the same economic factor was involved.

,21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Badouin MJ4

Strict discipline, necessary both in everyday routine and because of liability to attack, has left its mark on Badawin ways of thought. In religion, there is little room for compromise or doubt—a strong, vivid, and intolerant faith is held. Similarly, there is a strict code of behaviour. Hospitality, in an environment without fixed routes or settlements, is a highly regarded virtue, and ordinary social intercourse has been developed into an elaborate code of manners and conduct. In view of the vagaries of human existence amongst the Badawin, it is hardly surprising that superstition and fatalism are also strongly marked. The operation of the 'evil eye' and malevolent spirits is seen in everyday life—nothing is praised directly without attributing its excellence as due to God—and men and animals wear charms.[1]

Possibly as a result of reduced physical strength, and their enforced preoccupation with household tasks, the status of women is low. Although not veiled, like the women of the settled areas, Badawin women are regarded as in all things the inferiors of men. It may be significant that among pastoral communities, religious deities are regarded as masculine in attribute. Only in the religious systems of non-pastoral peoples do we find female deities—mother-goddesses of wide influence—with a corresponding rise in importance of women above the level of mere drudges and bearers of children.

Though Badawin life is hard and unrewarding, those who follow it value it highly. A true Bedu looks down with disdain on other ways of life, particularly that of cultivators in better watered districts, for whom he often has a profound contempt as effete and subservient. Despite their own strict social organisation, the Badawin can contrast the dull routine of agricultural practice, and the looseness and self-indulgence of city life with their own courage, independence of thought, abstemiousness, and mobility.

Nomadism is a special response to environment, by which the frontier of human occupation is pushed farther within a region of increasing difficulty. In the past, nomadism has often been regarded as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture; it was believed that primitive man passed from a life of hunting and collecting first into a stage of pastoralism, and later, in places where conditions were favourable, to the fullest development of a life based on cultivation. In the opinion of H. J. Fleure and others this view must be modified—pastoralism may, in some instances, represent a special, later development *from* agriculture—a dynamic response to environmental

[1] Even Arab taxis in the cities carry a charm on the radiator.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

000 man back to Aleppo, with his "wild ostrich", happy and contented.

Here, too, rain had fallen and transfigured the arid,
157 yellow wastes into lush green meadows. From the small band of Shammar, our guide borrowed riding-camels for our further journey, and we reached the camp of Mishal ibn Faris on the following day. Of Mishal the Arabs say that "no cloud can be compared with him for generosity." I, too, must say that I have seldom met so unselfish and kind-hearted a man.

Outside his large tent we drew up and dismounted. How many guest fires must have been lighted under this smoke-blackened roof, which had sheltered three generations!

574 The elderly *sheykh* stood on the threshold and bade
609 me welcome with the sacred formula of the wilderness,
[576] the assurance of peace, "Salam Alayk."

I responded in the manner of the desert: "God keep thee well." Then, Mishal ibn Faris took with his own hand the headstall from my mare and hung it on the main post of his tent. He had wanted to know me, he said, as soon as he had heard that a stranger, who loved Arab horses, was visiting the Tai'.

I thanked him for his pleasant and friendly invitation. In his way of addressing me there was more than ordinary politeness. From now on, whether with them in person, or far away, I had the freedom of his tribe.

157 Mishal ibn Faris, the great Shammar *sheykh*, esteemed
554 from one end of the desert to the other for his staunch righteousness, had a peaceful and moderating influence on Bedouin politics, both in Mesopotamia and Syria. "A

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

man without a single enemy", Arabs have called him 157 534
to me.

I was Mishal's guest for several weeks. In the company 231
of his son Naif, I was able to look over a large number 435
of Arab horses amongst the different Shammar clans. One two-year-old Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion of purest blood pleased me exceedingly. One day I enquired of the *sheykh's* secretary if he thought it possible that Mishal would sell this stallion. It had indeed come to my ears that Mishal had refused an offer of eight hundred gold pounds from the French Remount Service. From my experience, I knew that really thoroughbred Arab horses were quite rare and therefore exceedingly expensive. Considering the stallion's breeding, the French offer certainly did not appear too high, when one remembers that foreign military commissions and breeders have paid in the desert anything up to three thousand pounds gold for blue-blooded stallions.

I asked the scribe to submit my offer to his *sheykh* up to one thousand pounds gold. I also declared myself [431]
ready to make the customary presents to the *katib* (secretary) and to the slave who had looked after the stallion from birth.

That same day I sat with Mishal and his son Naif and 574
their friends until late into the night. By the light of 231
the campfire I showed them photographs of Arab horses, 572
among them the stallions and mares which I had bought from the stud of Lady Anne Blunt's daughter in England, for the ranch in California.

"Is it known to thee," asked Mishal, "that Lord Blunt and my father Faris formed a blood brotherhood fifty

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ 4

desert country, full of tribes which recognized the authority of no 609
government. Without the assistance of this old man, it might be impossible to proceed. Even so, I felt that I could with dignity wait no longer, and I signalled to my two companions. We rose, walked out of the tent to our camels, and began to adjust the saddles and prepare to mount. But a slave ran out to us and, pulling Ibn Hadhdhal's man by the sleeve, he led him back to the tent. Apparently he persuaded the shaikh that we were harmless, for we were invited back, and Al Nuri himself so far unbent as to say, "You are welcome! We are always glad to see the English!" This appeared to use up his available conversation, and he soon afterwards disappeared. We spent the rest of the day strolling about, talking to the slaves and tribesmen, or sitting amongst bales of cloth and tobacco in the tiny tent of an itinerant merchant from the Iraq desert oasis of Kubaisa.

Al Nuri was a tremendous personality who maintained despotic 622
control over his tribe. His authority was notorious, and the 538
Ruwallah were frequently laughed at by other tribes for their 181
tame submission to such autocracy. One such story related how a man of the tribe, summoned in the tomb by the recording angels to give an account of his actions on earth, replied, "I am only a dead Ruweili, and all claims are settled by Ibn Shaalan." But although a redoubtable champion in action (he had murdered his elder brother in order to make himself shaikh of the tribe), he did not, like most Arabs, possess the gift of conversation.

The authority which Ibn Shaalan wielded over the Ruwallah 622
was probably unique amongst bedouins, and was due to personal 554
fear of this formidable old man. The Arab tribesman will accord 181
theoretical and verbal respect to the old families of chiefs, but he will rarely accord them obedience in practice. He constantly opposes and argues against his shaikh. Not infrequently he loses his temper, creates a violent scene and hastens to strike his tent and move away to join the following of some other chief who will treat him with more consideration. Amongst bedouins freedom always tended to degenerate into anarchy—but free they were—freer perhaps than any other race in the world.

In happy England we have come, for centuries past, to identify 181
our personal liberties with the political independence of our

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

him to make his escape to safety, if necessary calling in all his own 628
family for the purpose. Or if the *qasir* says he will pay blood money 721
in settlement, then the protector must protect him until the negotiations are put through.

If a *qasir's* tribe declares war on his protector's tribe, and later the *qasir's* camels are captured by raiders belonging to the protector's tribe, then the latter is absolved from returning the camels and vice versa, unless both protector and his *qasir* make public declaration before their respective shaikhs that they are tent-neighbours (*qusara*) and each will make good any damage suffered by the other party. If, then, the tribe of either party accidentally or purposely captures camels or mares from either of the men, they must return the loot when asked to do so.

The protector must make this public declaration to his own shaikh in person, and if the *qasir* cannot get through himself he must send neutral messengers to his own shaikh and people and do likewise.

Should the protector have in his employ a strange Badawin to herd his camels or sheep, and raiders of the herdsman's tribe suddenly appear and carry off the herd, then because the man in charge is their own fellow-tribesman the raiders must restore three she-camels to the herdsman, one for riding on and two for milking.

Certain desert tribes, notably the Dhafir, are particularly proud 554
of the name they have won for protecting their tent-neighbours. 619
They have become famous in this respect, as the following stories 622
will show. (The chief actors in both cases were well known to me, 628
though Hamud al Suwait has now been dead some years.) 577

The uncle of Hamud al Suwait, the Shaikh of all the Dhafir tribe, once threatened in public *majlis*, to impale himself on his sword which he had drawn for the purpose, unless *his own son* were brought before him and slain in his presence, because the son had killed his tent-neighbour in the heat of a foolish quarrel. The various members of the family tried hard to shield the youth, but realising that the old shaikh was in deadly earnest, Hamud al Suwait (he became shaikh after his uncle's death two years later) himself seized the boy and with his own hand cut him down before the eyes of his father. Thus was tribal honour satisfied. This incident happened in 1912, and was told

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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554 me by Shaikh Hamud himself, and later vo ned for by the Shaikh
619 of Kuwait on 9th September, 1932.

622 Shaikh Jada'an al Suwait, who succeeded to the Shaikhship of the
628 Dhafir after the death of Hamud, was camped near Athaiba and
577 Ruhail on the Kuwait–Iraq border in 1931. Hearing that one of his own tribesmen had fired at and wounded a Mutairi tribesman who was his *qasir* at the time, even though the Mutair tribe and the Dhafir tribe were open enemies, Shaikh Jada'an had the offending tribesman brought before him, and with his own hand slashed him over the head with his sword.

The deed flashed through the Badawin world like lightning at the time, and Jada'an's name, as the upholder of Badawin hon ur,
[682] became almost as famous as that of his forbear. Unfortunately the Iraq authorities, with that folly which has frequently characterised them in dealing with the high-spirited tribesmen of the desert, imprisoned Shaikh Jada'an for several weeks, before they saw that they were making a martyr of a desert hero. This act cost them his allegiance. Shortly after, Shaikh Jada'an went over to Bin Sa'ud, taking half the tribe with him.

Shaikh Jada'an told me the story himself, saying that he only acted as he did in order to keep the vital Badawin law clean and untarnished.

So greatly have the Dhafir tribe preserved and guarded their good name in the above respect, that it is said of Mana, another famous Shaikh of the Dhafir, that the immediate cause of his death was the news (which was brought to him as he was riding home from a raid), that a certain well-known guest of the tribe had, in his absence, been attacked and slain. Certain it is that on being told what had happened, his heart seemed to stop beating and he fell forward on to his camel's neck and rolled to the ground a dead man. His daughter, whom I met in 1935, told me that the old man had literally died of a broken heart, and her words were vouched for by her husband, Shaikh Hautush al Suwait, cousin of Jada'an.

621 I myself have only once been appealed to by a person who was
671 my *qasir*. I am glad to say that the results were eminently satisfactory.
577 It happened on this wise. I was in Kuwait, and it was in the hot month of July 1932, when everyone was sleeping on the roof at night. I was sleeping outside the old Agency dining-room, over the cook's quarters.

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CHAPTER XXVI

Badawin Warfare

Raiding is the breath of life to the Badawin. Prevent him from raiding 721
and he becomes the most melancholy of men.

Just as in the civilised West man must have his various sports, football, cricket, tennis, shooting, etc., to keep himself fit and happy, so in Arabia the primitive Badawin must have his raids. These denote to him everything that is manly and sporting.

A famous raider is honoured above all men, and boys and young [554]
men pine for the day when they will be allowed to accompany their elders on forays, and so win their spurs.

Raiding brings out all that is hard, brave and skilful in man, so the occupation is honoured and encouraged, just as everything tending to make a man soft and effeminate is despised by all true desert men.

Desert raids do not as a rule entail much bloodshed. Raiders are 721
primarily inspired by greed for camels, and with this goes the desire 422
to score off their enemies. To lift an enemy's camels is the best way of all to hurt him and add to the raider's own stock, for a Badawin values his camels above everything.

There is no such thing in ordinary desert warfare as men fighting 726
"to the death" or making a "last stand" in defence of wives, children and stock. That would be merely foolish. The Badawin appreciates at once the odds against him. If he knows he can drive off the raider he will stand and do so; if, on the other hand, he sees that he has no chance, he will desert family and camels and bolt into the desert to live to fight another day. He knows his women and children will be safe, why then risk certain death by fighting against odds? He allows his camels to be taken knowing his turn will come another day. *Nakhud wa nawakhid* (We take and are ourselves taken) is his creed.

This is no reflection on the Badawin's courage. He is a brave man, but he has no false notions of standing up against an obviously superior force till he is killed.

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Speaking generally, however, bought slaves are the rule.

A desert shaikh will keep a certain number of *'abid* whom he has received as a gift from some prince or fellow-shaikh, or has himself bought in Mecca when on the Haj. A woman slave is called a *jdriah* among the tribes, and not an *'abda*, which is the term used in the towns.

The Najd and Northern Badawin treat their bought slaves far better than the slave-owning fraternity generally. Being a born gentleman, and as a rule far more religious than his town brother, the desert man has a natural inclination to treat his slave well. The latter has, of course, to work and take his full share in drawing water for sheep and camels, and cutting brushwood for the use of the tent. Since he can stand the summer heat better than the Arab, he does a lot of the work connected with the care and tending of camels when his master and mistress are camped on water during the hot season.

As Mr. Rutter so forcibly puts it, the shaikh of a tribe is above all things patriarchal, he loves to feel that he is the head of the tribe, the father and mother of his own particular *hamula*. He gets satisfaction from feeling that members of his family, and especially his servants and slaves, are for ever dancing attendance on him, and depend on him for a thousand and one things connected with the daily round of life. He likes to think that at the two annual *'Ids* or festivals it will be he who will disburse largesse in the shape of presents of clothing (*kiswah*), foodstuffs (*ta'am*) and so forth, to those depending on him. Just as he is always out to gain a following and increase it, because it gives him prestige, power and honour among his fellows, so he increases the number of his slaves where he can, as they give him definitely added strength in the eyes of his fellow Arabs.

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According to Shaikh Hillal bin Faja'an of the Mutair (7th January, 1935) this is the code of the desert man where slaves are concerned:

(*a*) Slaves are good *chessib* (*kessib*) or spoil when tribes are at war. In this sense they are counted as camels.

(*b*) Normally a body of riders on a camel-lifting expedition will not worry to carry off a single slave man found in charge of grazing camels. The raiders will merely bind and leave him, as he would hinder rapid movement.

(*c*) It is lawful, if you are at enmity with another tribe, to steal slave children and make them yours. Unwritten law insists, however, that such children be over ten years of age. Of course the owner

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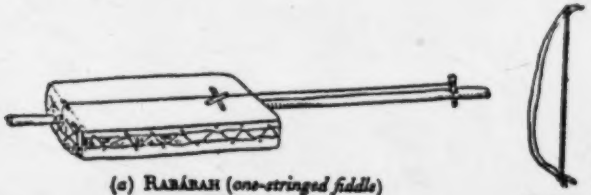
535 kept her lips tightly shut, and occasionally placed her hand over her
852 nose and mouth. If the male dancer approached her, as he did on several occasions in rather "loud" fashion, the girl struck him lightly with her cane as if to drive him back. A feature was the girl's rouged lips, and a bright saffron-coloured streak half an inch broad down the centre parting of her hair. They all had this, and it looked like saffron paint (probably strong solution of henna). The dance ended by the girl's brother rushing into the ring and covering his sister's head and face with a portion of her voile garment, and taking her away.

THE RABÁBAH

534 The *rabábah*, or Badawin guitar, was once universally used among the Badawin tribes of Arabia. The minstrels were men of an inferior tribe, or of the servant class, such as Sanas and the like. With the spread of Wahhabism and the rise of the fanatical 'Ikhwan in 1919, the decree went forth that the *rabábah* was a sign of sin, and it was



(*a*) RABÁBAH (*one-stringed fiddle*) (*b*) Bow

banned entirely. The Northern Shammar, Dhafir and 'Anizah tribes, who were scarcely affected by the puritan revival, still continued to use the *rabábah* freely, getting the servants and retainers to play for them, and with the collapse of 'Ikhwanism after the rebellion and defeat of Faisal al Duwish in 1930, listening to the *rabábah* and the singing of war and love songs by the Sana sections of the tribes, appears to be once again slowly taking hold. To-day, 1937, some of the Rashaida, Hirshan and 'Awazim are definitely taking to it again. The Sulubba and Kauliyah (Gipsies of Iraq) have always used it, even in the days of ultra-Wahhabism, and perhaps this is why it was
534 considered the instrument of the low-born.

535 To accompany women and girls dancing, only a chorus of women
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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M'

singers is used, never the *rabábah*. Men never dance to the tune of the instrument, but only sing to it, either singly or in unison, repeating the words of the soloist, and keeping time by clapping their hands. 534 535 554

It is definitely considered undignified for a pure-bred Arab to play the *rabábah*, and must always be so.

FORTUNE-TELLING AND PROPHECY 787

Fortune-telling and prophecy are commonly practised among Badawin women, the Sulubba especially. A common Mutairi method of telling fortunes (more as a means of amusement than as a serious forecast) is similar to that practised by our gipsies and old folk at home. Cards are not used, but shells, date-stones, bits of pottery, etc., all jumbled together and cast at random on the ground are used to tell a person's fortune.

Maneira Mutairi (Sana) frequently entertained us in camp with her bag of fortune-telling articles. She used

3 large cowrie shells (with backs missing).

3 cowrie shells with backs missing (small size).

9 Zababit sea-shells with faces broken off, e.g.

1 piece of blue pottery ½" to 1" in diameter.

1 piece of red pottery ½" to 1" in diameter.

5 date stones.

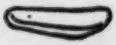
The blue piece of pottery represented the sea.

The red piece of pottery represented the land.

A date stone represented a woman.

A date stone with back uppermost represented a man.

A date stone if it fell sideways on ground represented a camel.



k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Appendix XIII

SA 175

6. Hijáz	Tussun Pasha, 1811	of Egypt.
7. Hijáz	Mohomed 'Ali Pasha, 1815	
8. Qasím and Najd	Ibrahim Pasha, 1817	
9. Asír	Ahmad Pasha of Turkey, 1835.	
10. Hasa	Turkish expedition under Maz'aid Pasha as Sa'adun from Iraq, 1871–2.	
11. Qasím	Turkish expedition from Iraq, 1903–5.	
12. Madain Salih and Wadi Sirhan	Lawrence's operations during Great War, 1916–18.	

APPENDIX XIII

B 582

MARRIAGE BETWEEN SHARÍF AND NON-SHARÍF ARABS

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On 17th January, 1938, Shaikh Mirshid ibn Twála of the Shammar, in discussing whom a pure Arab could marry, told me that an Arab like himself could not possibly marry a Sulubbi girl, or an 'Awazim, Rashaida or Hutaim lass. His people, the Shammar, would kill him if he did.

He added that it was true that the Amir 'Abdul 'Aziz al Rashid, ruler in Hail, had once lost his head and enjoyed for a few hours only a beautiful Sulubbi maiden, as he supposed, *without the knowledge of anyone.* He did not even marry her, but took her sinfully, added Mirshid. What was the result? The news got about, and Ibn Shurraim and all his tribe left him —Ibn Twála and all his followers did likewise and moved north into Iraq. Agáb ibn 'Ijil and his Abda sections did the same, never to come back. In fact all the Saiyah group of Shammar in protest deserted their hereditary lord in a body.

B 554

Apart from marriage with a low-born Arab woman, certain trades considered dishonourable for a pure-bred Arab to take up were forbidden him. These included, said Shaikh Mirshid, ironmongering (Sána trade), carrying and making salt, burning *juss* (lime), skinning animals and curing the skins, and burning charcoal.

To quote an example: Shaikh Mubarak found a very poor man of 'Anizah extraction burning *juss* one day. He sent for him and upbraided him, saying that he should not do a low-born Arab's work. The man, a very poor man, replied that he had to make his living, for he had a family to support,

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and if he did not do the work he did, they would starve. Shaikh Mubarak rejoined sternly that if he persisted he would have to drive him out of the State or have him killed. Shaikh Mubarak al Subah, like all the Subah, was also of 'Anizah extraction and was adamant. 554

APPENDIX XIV

THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN SHAKESPEAR, LATE P.A., KUWAIT

I have mentioned that the battle of Jaráb in which the above officer was killed took place in the spring of 1915. 000

K. B. Mulla Salih of Kuwait, with whom I discussed the question, said that this was correct, making the date ever closer by saying that on 19th November, 1914, and whilst our troops were still at Saihan opposite Mohammerah, Shakespear visited Sir P. Cox and Sir Arthur Barrett, the G.O.C. at Army H.Q., and from there took his orders to go into Naid and visit Bin Sa'ud.

Shakespear started from Kuwait when the Viceroy, Lord Harding, arrived in Iraq (January–February 1915). As Lord Harding was due to visit Kuwait after seeing Basra and the troops there, Shaikh Mubarak tried to dissuade Shakespear from going till the Viceroy had left Kuwait. He failed to do so, and it was when Lord Harding was in Kuwait (February 1915) that news reached the town that Shakespear had fallen at Jaráb whilst helping to man one of Bin Sa'ud's guns.

Shaikh Mubarak, who had been trying previously to get Bin Sa'ud to come in and pay respects to the Viceroy, was later able to say to Bin Sa'ud —"I told you so. You would not take my advice, and not only failed to see the Viceroy, but you lost a battle and made me lose my Political Agent."

The death of Shakespear may therefore be fixed as having taken place in the *latter part of February* 1915.

181 thoroughbreds. No race prizes lineage higher, yet they are the most
554 democratic people in the world and the most individualistic. Among
177 them there is real equality. To certain families, by virtue of their descent,
577 they accord certain privileges, but as a courtesy, not as a right, and Badu sheikhs command respect only as long as they merit it. The traditional Arab way of life, fast vanishing to-day in contact with the West, owed much to Badu concepts, for the villagers and townsmen of Arabia, who form by far the greater part of her population, live close to the desert and were profoundly affected by it until motor-cars and aeroplanes removed for ever the need for camel journeys. Most of them are, indeed, of Badu origin, for the desert tides have always stranded the weak and broken upon the fringes of the Sown. Everywhere the Arabs have, at all times, judged honour and chivalry and hospitality by the standards of the tribesmen. Their love of liberty, their freedom from prejudice of class and caste, and their enthusiasm for poetry have come to them from the desert.

157 It is impossible to assess the character of the Badu, for among no other
577 race have so many contradictory qualities been fused together. I myself
81 have witnessed their courage and self-reliance, their endurance and pride of race, and I remember their patience, generosity, and unselfishness. But often I have been exasperated by their avarice and wearied by their endless
[135] importunities. No Badu thinks it shame to beg, and usually he will look disparagingly at the gift which he has received and grumble, "Is this all
[137] that you are going to give me?" Grasping and avaricious, they will talk unceasingly of money and argue heatedly for days about a dollar, then they will slaughter a camel worth 150 dollars to feed a stranger. Loyal to each other, they are yet without regard for human life and will knife an unarmed herdsboy with a jest. Cheerful and easily amused, they are generally good-tempered, though passionate when roused and quick to resent an injury.

166 I have often wondered as I rode across the desert what the future, and even the immediate future, holds for my companions and their kinsmen. The discovery of oil on the Persian Gulf is going to affect them profoundly and make it impossible for them to continue in their old ways, even if they would. I think myself that the oilfields will empty the desert. This movement of tribes from the Yaman and the Hadhramaut towards the north and the north-east is a movement which has been going on for thousands of years. It probably started even before the great migration of the Qahtan tribes, when, overwhelmed by calamity in their homes round Marib, some of them pushed across the deserts and occupied Oman. In recent years tribes such as the Awamir, Ruashid, and Manahil have left their homelands in the steppes to the north-east of the Hadhramaut and moved out into the sands to escape from the incursions of more powerful
166 tribes pressing on them from the west. Having accustomed themselves to
177 life in the sands, they have penetrated ever further and further into the Empty Quarter. In the past twenty or thirty years as conditions have become more settled in the north, due to the extension of Ibn Saud's influence over the powerful Murra tribe, they have grazed their herds round the Liwa oasis and in the sands near the Trucial Coast. Now the money to be earned on the oilfields along the Gulf is drawing the Badu

world. In the past, Arab rulers were always accessible to their subjects, and the most destitute Badui was accustomed to enter the audience chamber of an all-powerful king and address him by name, scorning the use of titles. Now these rulers may be tempted to seclude themselves in offices and to interpose a convenient façade of secretaries between themselves and the importunities of the needy and the oppressed. It is significant of the changes which are taking place that customary banquets are already being replaced by meals at which delicacies brought specially from America by air are served in European fashion. 554 177

Freedom is the birthright of the nomad. If he should be dispossessed, disillusioned, and yet remain as poverty-stricken as he was before, he might readily be induced to believe that Communism offered him a society similar to that which he had lost.

Brigadier S. H. Longrigg: Are the Badu of Southern Arabia—similar to those of Northern Arabia—nomadic within limits? Has each tribal group its well-understood limits of migration in terms of movement and duration, or can they go anywhere? 221

Mr. P. W. Thesiger: That depends to a large extent on the various tribes. The northern tribes are usually very limited in migration: they graze their camels on the salt bushes, which do not die during drought, but they have then to water the camels two or three times a day, and therefore do not move any great distance. The more nomadic tribes, however, will range over one hundred miles questing for the type of desert pasture which springs up here and there after rain. The extent of their migrations often depends on whether there is peace or war between them and their neighbours. If peace prevails they can go into their next-door neighbour's territory; if they are at war they are limited in their movements. Sometimes there is good grazing in the middle of the desert, but no tribe can go there because there happens to be a war between two of the tribes.

One of the tribes I saw on my last journey, the Wahba (one of the biggest of the desert tribes), are very restricted and remain always within their own particular area. Certain of the tribes may range further than others. The widest ranging tribes are probably those living on the sands, whereas those who live on the steppes and round the mountains are much more restricted in their migrations.

The Chairman said: On your behalf I wish to thank Mr. Thesiger for what he has told us. Since he has said that he can stay with us for three months and with the Badu for nine, there is little more than I can add. (Laughter.) I feel sure, however, that Mr. Thesiger is absolutely right in that. I can only hope, Mr. Thesiger, that when you go back to Southern Arabia you will enjoy your sojourn there as much as you did on your recent visit, and that when you return to England you will stay a little more than three months with us. 000

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Abdullah Bin Nuwa, Sheikh of the Bin Ma'ruf, plaits a rope for use at Mamzakh well. Such sheiks do not think it beneath their dignity to help with watering and other everyday tasks

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5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

where wells are somewhat close together and the for-
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised,
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les-
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure lux-
ury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk
just as humans do. They are kept and treated as house-
hold pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their
only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for
pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part
of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but
they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the
very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou-
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the
land. Little children die because there is no food suit-
able for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even
more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly
bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed,
and the whole community waits and prays for more rain
the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea
of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a
mere trifle.

St Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 MI Middle East
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which I was glad not to understand, but one of the Bedouin youngsters who were with us flared back at the townsman with remarks that reduced him immediately to unconditional surrender. Every noon and every night the boy took her some of our rice and bread, and she accompanied this men's caravan, entirely alone, till we arrived in the city. I remember that same boy's earnest and simple cordiality as he congratulated one of his warm friends on her recent marriage. "May God increase your prosperity, your camels and your children." 534

It is interesting to observe the fundamental economic conceptions in a community as primitive as that of the desert. Contracts are sacred in Arabia, as in the West. The guest and his host are bound by a contract the terms of which are perfectly understood by both parties and are practically never violated. Many of these Bedouins enter into contracts to dive at the opening of the diving season in Bahrein, and one never hears of such a contract being broken. There is little occasion for the making of contracts in the desert, but even at the price of personal loss, a contract entered into in good faith must be carried out. 577 675

The Bedouin's conception of property, however, differs from ours considerably. To say that it is communistic is to exaggerate, but there is certainly a stronge tinge of communism about it. Property, that is to say what the earth affords in the way of food, shelter and clothes, is of value because it sustains human life. The food, the clothes and the houses that the Bedouin's world can produce, are never enough to go around. He considers them valuable simply as they minister to human need. In the cases property comes to be regarded as sacred, much as it is in the West. Beautiful houses are admired and 121 [956]

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
Bedouin MJ4 115

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin 369
in the transition stage to a more settled existence. 361

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of 361
sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents 232
as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock
such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their [382]
members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and
regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the 565
pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter un- 369
doubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has
grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots
of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi,
are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-
bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs.
The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions 369
involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as 574
host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging 556
in the city.

Akaluna al Badu, is a common cry heard among the 'Arab-
dawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their
neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially [121]
their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful,
for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather
than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and
lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin
raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is
an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or
defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with 233
either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the 463
tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either 619
of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As
sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which
they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined
than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds
has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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577

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his tent neighbour (*gasir*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*dhiafa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafig*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wejh* and *dakhala*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*chazaib*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, [721] and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyat*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all /57 charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of [556] teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yurgud wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, deberred from any male 562 society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate 724 families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most 521 dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked 558

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521 about. Yet gossips they are, and expert in tearing others' reputations.
658 Many a desert tragedy has resulted from too glib a tongue. Ordinary sexual matters are discussed before small children with a frankness
964 and simplicity which modern educationists might approve, but which an English person may find at times embarrassing. The bearing of their young by camels, mares and ewes is not only an everyday topic, but mothers will take their children to watch the progress of such events, alongside their menfolk.

937 On the whole, Badawin women are extremely moral, though they might readily succumb to temptation were it to come their way. Fortunately it does not.

They go in for love affairs, of course, and married women are not above falling desperately in love with other men than their husbands. A woman's only hope in such a case (unless her man happens to be her first cousin) is to tell her husband the whole truth, and beg him to divorce her. This happens fairly often among the rank and file, though not among the senior ladies of the tribe or the shaikh's wives. Sir Richard Burton has said somewhere that among Badawin women who were separated from their menfolk during long absences in the desert when at war, abnormal and unnatural living was not uncommon. This I think a libel, or at least a grave exaggeration.

THE DAILY ROUND OF A BADAWIN FAMILY—"AN AUTUMN STUDY"

192 Time, Early November; Place, Wafra, 30 miles from the sea in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.

[342] 512 The tent is pitched on a slight rise in the ground, so that if rain comes the water will not flood the interior. Everyone is busy from earliest dawn to nightfall, especially the women and girls. A little rain has fallen, the first for eight months, and grass has just started sprouting in the hollows. Both camels and sheep are thin and scarcely able to walk any distance. The summer has been a terribly severe one. More rain is urgently needed, else the grass that has come up will wither again. The head of the family has ridden off on his mare the previous evening to see if better grazing exists 10 miles away. He will not be back till sunset to-day.

000 At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the *'adhan* (call to prayer),

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

565 but rather an unaffected equality among all members of the community and a good fellowship and free association on that basis which is one of the most beautiful
562 things in the world. The women share this freedom, and are engaged with the men in practically every activity that is useful in keeping the wolf from the door. Men and women fight side by side for a naked existence, and there is no submission to anything or anybody, except to God above.

562 It is a hard life, but the desert is a maker of men.
157 Women may express their feelings, their joys and their griefs, but men are expected to remain silent and self-controlled, and magnificent Stoics some of them are. An
759 old patriarch came to the Bahrein Hospital bringing for
855 treatment his only son, the pride of his life and the joy of his heart. They had come a long distance, two weeks' journey. The old man had the light of a father's pride in his eye and the shadow of a father's anxiety was there, too.

"My boy has been sick for some time. I have brought him here for you to cure."

My heart sank at the boy's appearance. "Does he cough?"

"Yes, he coughs a great deal. That is the trouble."

"Does he cough up any blood?"

"Yes, he has done that several times."

It gave me almost the sensation of physical faintness that one feels when in an elevator that is shot down rapidly, to see that fine old man standing there and to know what we would have to tell him, but we examined the boy carefully first. There were large cavities in both lungs. He was far beyond all hope. The whole faculty of Johns Hopkins could not have helped him. "My

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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593 a family to each other, the way that old and feeble members of a previous generation are cared for without question or complaint, the unquenchable cheerfulness that no misfortune or discomfort can dampen, are a pleasure to recall. The same poverty that makes polygamy impossible forces the women to be partners in all the activities of the household. There are no secluded women in this community, and the result is a comradeship and mutual helpfulness and unashamed love between a man and his wife that are beautiful to see. They share the same poverty and the same hardships. Together they watch probably two-thirds of the children that come into the home sicken and die. Bedouin families are not large, but that is not because the number of children born is small. Bedouin women also follow their husbands in war and manage the commissary department. In times of necessity they take up weapons themselves and fight.

593 562

834 As might be expected, the standards of morals are far higher than in other parts of Arabia. An unaccompanied girl caring for her sheep out in the desert is safe in that country of poverty and equality, of freedom and simplicity. We came from Abu Jifan once, a whole caravan of us, to Hasa, a distance of three days' journey, and from among the Bedouins that were congregated in the neighborhood of the wells of Abu Jifan a girl came along to Hasa for treatment. She rode at a distance of half a mile from our caravan all the distance to Hasa and encamped by herself each of the three nights that we were out. Not all of the men of our caravan were Bedouins. Some were townsmen, and camel-men at that, with talk as foul as might be expected from birds of passage of that variety. The first night there was some remark about the girl off there by herself, the exact import of

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin 1854

spacious[1] chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

1 [than the desert -- Anakyst]

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but
flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much 272
social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity 252
for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if 915
not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the 514
equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material 291
is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the 312
Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which 515
are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a 782
substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most im- 262
portant are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese —of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread— and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally [437]
a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads them- [241]
selves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are [291
in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, 471]
not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using 264
his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they 562
are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin 000

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel. [271]

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop. [241]

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks. [824]

,21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

Strict discipline, necessary both in everyday routine and because of liability to attack, has left its mark on Badawin ways of thought. In religion, there is little room for compromise or doubt—a strong, vivid, and intolerant faith is held. Similarly, there is a strict code of behaviour. Hospitality, in an environment without fixed routes or settlements, is a highly regarded virtue, and ordinary social intercourse has been developed into an elaborate code of manners and conduct. In view of the vagaries of human existence amongst the Badawin, it is hardly surprising that superstition and fatalism are also strongly marked. The operation of the 'evil eye' and malevolent spirits is seen in everyday life—nothing is praised directly without attributing its excellence as due to God—and men and animals wear charms.[1]

Possibly as a result of reduced physical strength, and their enforced preoccupation with household tasks, the status of women is low. Although not veiled, like the women of the settled areas, Badawin women are regarded as in all things the inferiors of men. It may be significant that among pastoral communities, religious deities are regarded as masculine in attribute. Only in the religious systems of non-pastoral peoples do we find female deities—mother-goddesses of wide influence—with a corresponding rise in importance of women above the level of mere drudges and bearers of children.

Though Badawin life is hard and unrewarding, those who follow it value it highly. A true Bedu looks down with disdain on other ways of life, particularly that of cultivators in better watered districts, for whom he often has a profound contempt as effete and subservient. Despite their own strict social organisation, the Badawin can contrast the dull routine of agricultural practice, and the looseness and self-indulgence of city life with their own courage, independence of thought, abstemiousness, and mobility.

Nomadism is a special response to environment, by which the frontier of human occupation is pushed farther within a region of increasing difficulty. In the past, nomadism has often been regarded as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture; it was believed that primitive man passed from a life of hunting and collecting first into a stage of pastoralism, and later, in places where conditions were favourable, to the fullest development of a life based on cultivation. In the opinion of H. J. Fleure and others this view must be modified—pastoralism may, in some instances, represent a special, later development *from* agriculture—a dynamic response to environmental

[1] Even Arab taxis in the cities carry a charm on the radiator.

The Badawin's Code

Chap. III

577

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his tent neighbour (*qasir*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*dhiáfa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafiq*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wejh* and *dakhála*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*chessib*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, [721] and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyah*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all 157 charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a chiid.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of [855] teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yargud wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male 562 society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate 834 families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most 521 dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked 558

The Salt Bond

574 Faleh bin 'Aamir, a Mutairi of the Mu'aha branch of the 'Ilwa,
628 whom I have known for several years and with whom I have spent many a pleasant evening in the desert, has from time to time told me many stories relating to Arab hospitality. Among other things, he detailed the duty of guests towards their host which I recorded in my notes on 7th January, 1935.

Not only, said he, is there a binding duty of the host towards his guest, but such guest, so long as his host's salt (*milah*) is in his stomach (*fi battinu*)—which is always assumed to be three days and three nights—is responsible that no harm comes to the host from the guest's tribe. For example, A was the host of B, who quite casually and as an ordinary traveller, had stopped at A's tent and spent the night (*nauwakh andhu*). Next day B left A's tent (second day) and went his way. On the third day A's tent was attacked by raiders from B's tribe, and five camels and one mare were carried off. A then had a rightful claim against B and was able through B's intervention to recover his lost camels and mare.

In practice A would follow B to his tribe, however far away, and would lay his claim before him, or if B's tribe were not on a friendly footing with A's tribe, A would send a neutral messenger to B, and demand satisfaction.

Not only would B be in honour bound to make complete restitution, but he would have the whole of his tribe behind him if it were necessary to coerce the raiders who had harmed A's camp and stolen the camels. On top of the restitution to A, "honour" money or "honour" camels, would have to be paid to B. That is, the raiders would have to give an extra camel or two to B as compensation for having, so to speak, broken the salt bond between the two men.

SANCTITY OF WOMEN

562 In the desert the position of women is a far freer and happier one
587 (if we except the hard life and privation that is their lot), than that
586 of their Arab sisters of the town. It is true that they are frequently divorced. Such divorces, however, are not over-serious. Perhaps there is incompatibility of temper, or perhaps the wife has failed to serve up a tasty dinner for her husband and lord. It matters little.

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Bedouins MJ4

If she is pretty, attractive and the daughter of So-and-So, she will 562
easily find a dozen other men ready to marry her. 587

As for her children: she retains the small ones till they reach the 586
age of eight, and then hands them over to their father's care, but they are never far from her, and are allowed to come and see her as often as they like. Nay, if she is a clever girl she will keep on quite friendly terms with her former husband, and call and see his new wife regularly. That is quite common practice.

Where the Badawin housewife has distinctive rights, is in the 562
management of the tent; she is *um al 'aiydl* (mother of the family) 462
as well as *raiyat al bait*. She holds the honour and good name of her husband in the hollow of her hand. Upon her falls the duty of providing for the guest, of cooking choice and tasty dishes, of turning out good *leben*, and generally bringing the good name of her husband into prominence among his fellow Arabs.

The mistress of the house never sees or mixes with stranger guests, 562
but she knows all that is going on, for only a curtain partition separates 574
the women's from the guest's quarters.

The personal name of the lady of the house is never mentioned by the guest, or even by the host's men friends, she is *Um al 'Aiydl* or *Raiyat al Bait* only. Should a friend wish to ask after a man's wife, he will merely say to the husband, *Kaif hal illi warrak?* or *Shlaun um al 'aiydl?* ("How is she who is behind you?" or "How is the mother of the children?"). Unpleasant badinage is taboo.

Even more carefully guarded and shielded are a man's marriageable daughters. They are never seen at all, except by those on very intimate terms.

Jokes about a man's getting married, and so forth, are quite com- 562
mon, and the young Lothario about to get spliced is always the butt 522
of his companions, but never is the woman's name brought into this form of rough chaff. That would be *'aib* (a shameful thing).

The sanctity of a woman and her good name is more immediately 562
apparent in cases of war or hostilities between two tribes. 726

She it is who encourages her menfolk to go forth and fight bravely for her and come back triumphant. She it is, if the tribe has to be allied, who uncovers her face, lets down her hair, and mounts the *markab* of the tribe wildly to encourage the young and old men to

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562 victory once more. On these occasions the men will go mad for
726 her, and if she happens to be the shaikh's daughter they will die, but never give way.

Should a camp be suddenly raided and overrun by a horde of screaming enemy horsemen, the Badawin woman has absolutely nothing to fear for herself. The laws of the desert hold her inviolable. Her men may be killed, her sons may have to scatter and flee for safety, but the women of the tent are safe. On such occasions they sit about in their tents, moaning and crying softly, but they know that the victors will not touch a hair of their head. The carrying off of women is impossible in Arab warfare. The victorious raiders having rounded up and driven off the camels and sheep, are allowed by definite laws to seize certain articles of property, and these only, from the tents. This legitimate loot includes carpets, coffee-pots and spare tents, if a family has more than one. They may also take foodstuffs if there is a plentiful supply, but they must leave one tent overhead for the mistress of each family and sufficient food to see her provided for a definite period of time.

No part of the personal clothing which the women are wearing may be taken, and not a finger must be laid on any woman. It follows that any article of jewellery which a woman is wearing is entirely safe, and so also is her camel saddle (*maksar*).

These rules are all very explicitly and minutely laid down. To break them would be to dishonour the good name and *sharaf* of the attackers who have to-day brought their enemy low. No one can afford to risk such dishonour in the desert.

Shaikh Hzam al Mashari al Sa'adun of the Muntafiq, himself a well-known desert warrior of the old days, told me that in 1917 (in the days of the Turks) he had cut down one of his own raiders who, in the excitement of the charge and victory, so far forgot himself as to try to take a bangle off a girl's arm, she being of the Badur tribe, and of the vanquished side.

Few such cases actually happen in desert warfare, however, but those that have occurred have been most severely dealt with, and almost invariably have resulted in the death of the culprit, who forgot himself and infringed the rules of desert warfare.

This inviolability of women in war has been naturally evolved

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during years and centuries of raid and counter-raid. Men always 562
knew that to-day they might be top-dog and to-morrow the under- 726
dog. It was but wise and natural to declare women sacred. The Badawin world valued wives and daughters above all other possessions, so the principle of "You let my womenfolk alone, and I will not harm yours" gradually became established. The rule holds good to-day all over Arabia. Unfortunately the fanatical 'Ikhwan, during the few years in which their influence was in the ascendant, a menace to both friend and foe in Najd, did much to upset this and many other excellent customs which are dear to the true Arab.

PROTECTION OF AN ENEMY WHO HAS SURRENDERED

The laws relating to surrender are dealt with in Chapter XXVI. 726
Suffice it to here say that a Badawin surrendering to another either in battle or raid, or if pursued and overtaken, is safe and entitled to good treatment.

In surrendering a man will definitely say to one of the other side: *Ya fulan ana fi wejh ak* (O So-and-So, I place myself under your protection). If he gets the reply: *Inta fi wejh ki, sallim saldhak* (You are under my protection, hand over your arms), the matter is finished, and the person who has accepted the surrender must go bail for his captive with his life. He has given him his *wejh* (face), and it would go hard with any member of his own tribe who harmed the prisoner later, and so blackened the protector's face.

The rules regarding surrender are very similar to those of *dakhdia*. The man who surrenders is in the position of a suppliant, and an Arab dare not ignore the fact. The only difference between the two is that when the enemy asks for quarter in battle, you may or may not grant his request. Once *wejh* is granted, however, the prisoner must be protected. A man who breaks this law is liable to a very heavy fine in camels or money, and he is never forgiven by his own tribesmen.

THE RAFIQ OR KHA'WI

The laws relating to the *rafiq* and *rafiqa* generally, are equally 572
stringent, and are comparable to those of hospitality, only here the 484

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NOTE ON DAKHÁLA

In discussing the law of *dakhála* with Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra, head of the Rukhman section of the Mutair on 6.2.39, the latter told me that in the matter of *dakhála*, the Mutair, Qahtan and 'Utaiba granted *dakhála* to any member of their own tribe who asked for it, for a set period of twelve months, and the *dakhil* could wander about with entire safety in his particular tribe for this period and could go anywhere without danger of molestation provided he did not go beyond the confines of the tribal *dirah*. 609 171

The 'Ajman, he said, had the same rule, but the *dakhil* must not leave the vicinity of the tents or tent of the person affording him *dakhála* and should camp alongside him as his *qasir* or tent neighbour, thus getting double protection.

The Shammar, Dhafir, Harb and 'Awazim tribes on the other hand granted *dakhála* only for three days and three nights, and then were obliged to help the *dakhil* make good his escape to a safe place or person indicated by himself. This rule, he said, was also followed by nearly all the riverain tribes in Iraq.

He asserted that a woman had no *wejh*, and so could not grant *dakhála* to any person unless her husband was absent from his tents. In such circumstances she could give refuge to a man making his *dakhála* to her. [562]

Lastly he told me that a Mutairi breaking another Mutairi's *dakhála* (i.e. harming his *dakhil* in any way) entitled the man giving the *dakhála* to raid the aggressor's tents seven times, kill as many men as he could of the aggressor's family, and kill as many camels as he could with full impunity and with no ill consequences to himself. (*Illu il haq i sabbahu saba marrat.*) 628 609

A point to note here is that he may not carry off camels, but must kill them, lest he be accused of cupidity when just vengeance is what he seeks.

'Ikhwan Tactics

Chap. XXVI

In both cases, the principle of always seizing any Badawin found 723
en route and making him march with the raiders to prevent his spreading news is strictly followed. It is also common for leaders to give out that they are going in one direction and then to double back and pursue a totally different direction when they are a day's march out. Attacks at dawn or in the thick of a duststorm are much favoured. A usual stratagem of the attacked is to seize wells by which the raiders must retire. 'Azaiyiz, the son of Al Duwish, was intercepted and his force destroyed in 1929 at Um ar Ruthumah in this way.

Organised attacks on a township, a fortified camp on water, or on 725
an enemy trying to deny wells to a retiring force, are usually carried out on foot and in a series of lines in imitation of regular troops, horsemen and camelmen being kept in reserve. This form of attack was perfected by the 'Ikhwan and was specially favoured by them. They employed it when they endeavoured to capture Jahrah in 1920 in face of the combined forces of Kuwait, also in the operations leading up to the capture of Hail. On such occasions the first, second and third lines are found by irregular Badawin styled *'Arab* by the faithful, while the supports and reserves consist of the *Mutadayyanin* or "those with religion". These deliver the main stroke. Though invented by the 'Ikhwan, the above method would probably be employed in any future operations in which Sa'udi Arabia forces were engaged.

Flank attacks, rearguard actions and dispersing on the approach of enemy aircraft are well understood, and would no doubt be employed as occasion demanded.

In all forms of attack, water for men and horses is carried on selected 705
camels in *jirbas* or goatskins. Camels get nothing till the attack is over.

The inviolability of women in war has been dealt with in Chapter VII.

For a brief period only during Arab history have women been 721
treated in any other way than with chivalry and consideration; this 562
was in 1925 and the following years, when the fanatical 'Ikhwan, evolved of Bin Sa'ud's genius for furthering his political ends, were at the height of their power and were raiding the Iraq, Kuwait and trans-Jordan tribes, and cutting up scattered detachments of the Muntafiq and Khazail shepherd tribes in the southern desert.

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In these attacks the 'Ikhwan unpardonably butchered numbers of women and children. In mitigation of their offence it may be said that most of the women and children were shot down when the 'Ikhwan poured their first heavy volleys into the camps, preparatory to charging home, as was their wont, with the sword and dagger.

I have since had it on the authority of many of the then 'Ikhwan leaders that their killing of women was considered quite inexcusable, and many of them at the time felt deep shame and regret for their action. Some indeed of the more moderate fanatics went out of their way to spare and even save women and babes from their more fanatical brethren, while others deserted the cause of the 'Ikhwan and came into Kuwait. On my asking why they had so far forgotten their honour as to act as they did, I have been given reply by more than one, "We were infected by a great sickness, the Imám (Ibn Sa'ud) had so filled us with rage and bitterness against all mankind who were not of our faith, and especially those holding the Shi'ah creed, that we were literally mad, and quite incapable of forming proper judgment. We had again and again been told of the great reward that would come to us from God for every infidel we slew, and we believed what we were told implicitly. Nay more, we were promised immediate Heaven and glorious *hûris* there, if we were fortunate enough to get killed. Do not, therefore, blame us for those matters overmuch, for it shall never happen again."

Now that the 'Ikhwan have disappeared, or at any rate now that the movement has been definitely checked, and brought under control by the King, we may assume that the old Arab chivalry towards women in war or raiding has once again reasserted itself. The Arab of the desert says to-day that 'Ikhwanism is dead, and my own investigations and enquiries also confirm this. We must thank God that this is so.

I have myself such complete confidence in Badawin chivalry that I have for several years regularly taken my own wife and children into camp, and have left them there without guard or escort for days at a time, often as far as fifty miles away from Headquarters and on the very borders of Sa'udi Arabia. That they will always be safe I am quite certain; they are doubly safe because I leave them with Arab women for companions and friends. The Badawin world knows this and honours my trust.

Appendix I

Great half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Ibn Saud in 1929-30 under Faisal al Dawish. The other half remained loyal under ibn Mumiyin, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Ibn Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Ibn Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929-30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Ibn Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Ibn Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Ibn Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Ibn Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the lavish treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929-30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(a) The imprisonment of Faisal al Dawish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.

(b) The confiscation by Ibn Sa'ud of their almost sacred hard of camels known as the *Sharaf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They own the famous breed of *Kruk* horses, and up to the 1929-30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929-30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'Ajman (Singular 'Ajmi)

Paramount Shaikh—IBN MUTLAQ* (from Shakhly Clan AL MA'TOM, subsection MAJAN).

* Is also pronounced Shakhlan.

Appendix I

703 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

196

(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of

291 rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious

562 feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929-30 Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
571 leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
either end of the rope which runs over the
415 pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full
the other descends empty. Men and women
draw together on the well-ropes, four or five
to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel
herds arrived and the serious work of watering
began. Great leather troughs supported on
crossed wooden hoops were set up by each
family around the well. Soon there was no
room for more watering parties, and late-
comers had to wait their turn. The buckets
rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs
about which the thirsty camels pushed and
thrust while their calves frolicked around.
Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran
in and out among them, driving away camels
which did not belong to them, and restraining
the more impatient of their own. Others
scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite
beasts, while they sang them their watering
songs to induce them to drink deep. When
they had drunk they were couched nearby, to
be watered again later in the day, before
being driven back to pasturage. Round the
well-mouth women filled their water-skins,
which then lay swollen and quivering upon
the ground, guarded from the trampling feet
of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad
only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined
freely in the constant jests and laughter.
Among them was a tall girl of startling
beauty. She had come down to the well early
in the day, carrying a water-skin and accom-
panied by her young sister. The centre of a
happy laughing group of lads, she dallied
here till the evening.

574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink
coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'ruf, they yet
49 differed from them in their dress and way of
life. They wore indigo-dyed loincloths and
wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion
among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin
Ma'ruf wore clad like the Northern Arabs in
long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell
nearly to the ground. They were returning
to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days'
[34] journey to the south. Plantations of sorghum
[312] and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
guarded by numerous stone-built forts and
609 watch-towers, which look out across the desolate rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for treachery.

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Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

B 281 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 ('Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 619 The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 619 641 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of

B 619 641 Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, *and armed* them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929-30 'Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the 'Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B 623 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MÁNA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAAI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 718 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MURAILIM.

101 *Present incumbents*—'ABI IBN MURAILIM (Senior) and MUTLIQ IBN MURAILIM.

221 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[622] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

101 that the Sulubba believe that they originated
149 from the Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf,
173 but I have not heard this story. The few Sulubba I have asked usually replied that they came from an old people who were not Moslems. I imagine, however, that this was merely conjectural; I would not attribute these answers to ancient tradition. Two Sulubba once surprised me by saying that they were descended from Crusaders! But on pressing them for the origin of their statement, they admitted that they had been told so by a French officer in Syria!

101 The Sulubba are to be found in an area extending roughly from Damascus to Mosul in the north, down to Jauf, east of the Nefud, Hail, Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, the Tigris above Baghdad, and Mosul.

101 They are scarcely ever found in Trans-Jordan
144 west of the Wadi Sirhan; I believe that they do not exist in the Hejaz or in the western half of Arabia. This distribution might reinforce the *legend of their origin from Hasa Province on the* Persian Gulf, from which they might well have emigrated north to the more fertile lands in Syria or Iraq, but would have been unlikely to have emigrated to the Hejaz, which is less fertile than the Hasa itself.

•563 The Sulubba have long been regarded by the
41 Beduins as a subject race. Many of them work as
72 tinkers for the Beduin tribes and perform other menial duties. They have never taken part in the wars and feuds, which have occupied the greater part of the Beduins' lives for centuries. A Sulubbi, like a woman, was a creature with whom it was too inferior to fight. The Sulubba maintained a strict neutrality in raids, and, for fear of being beaten, told all raiders what they knew of the nature of the country and the movements of their enemies.

29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
724 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
543 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
157 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

537 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
544 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

221 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
(10) the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsman, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 [262] 290 463 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

438 251 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

921 178 During the last ten years, the desert belonging to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

● 563 797 921 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst

797 of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. The
563 Beduin manifested his enthusiasm by declaring
721 that all Moslems were equal before God, and hence that the Sulubba were equal to "free men," i.e. Beduins. Ibn Saud, anxious to increase his fighting men, backed this idea (in fact he may have originated it), and raised fighting forces from the Sulubba and gave them war banners. The Sulubba took part in a number of war-like operations, and it was said that, in the massacres which usually followed a Wahhabi victory at this time, the Sulubba were the most cruel and bloodthirsty.

The outbreak of fanaticism, however, died down from 1925 to 1929, and it is believed that these Nejd Sulubba have again fallen back to their original condition.

342 In order to escape unwelcome Beduin guests,
574 the Sulubba live in tiny tents, many of them
563 scarcely larger than a blanket. They show great
69 skill in pitching these tents in the beds of ravines or behind rocks so as to be invisible to passers-by. The more important Beduin sheikhs take pride in pitching a large tent in a prominent place, which conveys not only defiance of enemies but a distant welcome to guests. According to Beduin interpretation the Sulubba reveals his baseness by concealing his camp from both strangers and guests.

Sulailat

101 These consist of a tribal section, who
563 usually camp with the Amarat branch of the Anaiza in the Iraqi desert west of the Euphrates. These people are said to be descended from a man of the Anaiza tribe, who married a Sulubba

/el woman. Their mode of life is very much like
•563 that of other Anaiza Beduins (not like Sulubba), but owing to the taint in their blood, no Beduin tribe will intermarry with them.

OTHER BASE-BORN TRIBES

While the Sulubba are the lowest of the ignoble tribes, they are not alone. Arabia is full of base-born tribesmen, with whom the "thoroughbred" Beduin will not intermarry.

Hazim

These people seem to be a tribe of almost
[465] as low standing as the Sulubba. They do not, however, work as tinkers or hunters, but live a pastoral life, like the Beduins. The Hazim live around Jauf or with the Ruwalla.

Sherarat

They live principally around Jauf, where they are collected into a considerable tribe, but members of the Sherarat are found scattered among the Ruwalla, Beni, Sakhr, Huwaitat, and
[463] Shammar. Among these tribes the Sherarat perform the menial tasks of servants and herdsmen.

The origin of the Sherarat is unknown. They are not as debased as the Sulubba, but they are
542 far inferior to the Beduins. Their tents are
518 usually very small and ragged, and their clothing even dirtier and much scantier than that of the ordinary Beduin.

ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very
156 jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

221 Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more
462 intimate with the desert than the real Beduins,
811 are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far away in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

563 While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of
721 resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves
[461] from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

231 The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels,
811 used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

or carriers.
563 The Sherarat are thus halfway between the Beduins and the Sulubba. Needless to say no Beduin will intermarry with them.

Awazim

101 Although scattered widely these people form
563 a large tribe. The principal group of the Awazim (sing. Aazimi) is south of Kuwait, in the northern half of Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf coast. There are others in Nejd and in Trans-Jordan with the Beni Sakhr. In manner and livelihood and other customs, they are similar to the Beduins, and live by breeding camels and sheep. No Beduin will intermarry with them owing to the tradition that they are not of pure descent.

Huteim

This is a large tribe which lives the usual Beduin pastoral life, in the area northeast of
[651] Medina, between that city and Hail. I have heard that some generations ago, the Huteim did not fight but paid tribute to all the Beduins. Of recent years, however, they fight much like any Beduin tribe. No Beduin will marry them, however, as they are known to be of base descent.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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B 525

as others of inferior or non-Sharif Arab stock. It all depends where the camel-buyer has originated from before he took to the trade. For example the great house of Al Bassam are not only AQAILIS but are considered among the noblest in the land from the point of view of 'sharaf'."

APPENDIX XX

NOTE ON WORD "DÍYA"

K 104

and the various ways it is spelt according to context (see p. 528, Chapter XLII).

1. AL 'IDIYATU al QATIL, means settlement of a killing.
2. DÍATUN, e.g. the court orders that DÍATUN should be taken from the man doing the killing.
3. 'IDIATUN, e.g. "The accused shall pay to the injured party 'IDIATUN of so much" (Qadhis order).
4. The Quran says—"Wa inkan min qaum-in bain-a-kum wa bain-a-hum 'adawatun, fa diatun musallamatun illa ahliha".

APPENDIX XXI

(Ref. to Chapter XLI on Sulubba)

B 619 548 224 B 251

On June 21, 1949, Amsha al Mohomed al Duwish (Mutair) told me that Bander al Duwish and other Shaikhs kept Sulubba hunters who went off on camels regularly to the Dahana sands to hunt gazelle in summer. They drank from the various "Duhul", and would bring back as many as thirty-five to forty sun-dried carcases of gazelle (jalla). Wooden poles and mats are set up to dry the meat on.

APPENDIX XXII

SOME FISH OF KUWAIT

K 136

(Caught off Masjan Island in a reed fish trap) (hadhara) April 1941. (See also Appendix X, p. 592.)

*Sheem — Two dorsal fins—on lower lip half inch rough external surface—fork tail.

* Mentioned in Appendix X.

113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721 Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 197-204.]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

forth scornfully triumphant over the worst that environment can do to him. There is no division of labor in the desert. Every man has the same occupation and is pursued by the same gaunt specter of starvation. Every man breathes the same atmosphere of the great free desert and shares the same conceptions of God and His terrible omnipotence. How could men be otherwise than equal when they all live in the same desert and worship the same God? The hypocrisies and pretenses of caste and rank cannot live long in that country where God is so great and so terrible and so omnipotent and where men at the best are helpless insects in His hands.

The Arab is perhaps the most incorrigible individualist that the world affords. He regards any abridgement of his liberty as intolerable. His desert is a land of freedom. Everybody does what is right in his own eyes with perhaps less restraint than anywhere else in the world. To one who is familiar with the Orient, perhaps the most significant fact to be noted in Arab society is the complete absence of the caste system. The Arab knows nothing about caste. His sheikh, who has the power of life and death over him, the Bedouin regards as on precisely his own level. He expects this sheikh to rule well, to have a heavy hand for offenders, to maintain relations with neighboring tribes, to protect the poor from the rapacity of the rich. If the sheikh does not do all these things, he will join cheerfully with his comrades in assassinating him and will submit with equal cheerfulness to whomsoever may be his successor. He would be not at all nonplussed if asked to be ruler himself; quite possibly he might fill the office with credit. All this he knows, as does his sheikh. The result is a society where there is almost no feeling of superiority and inferiority,

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

565 but rather an unaffected equality among all members of the community and a good fellowship and free association on that basis which is one of the most beautiful
562 things in the world. The women share this freedom, and are engaged with the men in practically every activity that is useful in keeping the wolf from the door. Men and women fight side by side for a naked existence, and there is no submission to anything or anybody, except to God above.

562 It is a hard life, but the desert is a maker of men.
157 Women may express their feelings, their joys and their griefs, but men are expected to remain silent and self-controlled, and magnificent Stoics some of them are. An
759 old patriarch came to the Bahrein Hospital bringing for
855 treatment his only son, the pride of his life and the joy of his heart. They had come a long distance, two weeks' journey. The old man had the light of a father's pride in his eye and the shadow of a father's anxiety was there, too.

"My [illegible] been sick for some time. I have brought him here [illegible] to cure."

My heart sank at the boy's appearance. "Does he cough?"

"Yes, he coughs a great deal. That is the trouble."

"Does he cough up any blood?"

"Yes, he has done that several times."

It gave me almost the sensation of physical faintness that one feels when in an elevator that is shot down rapidly, to see that fine old man standing there and to know what we would have to tell him, but we examined the boy carefully first. There were large cavities in both lungs. He was far beyond all hope. The whole faculty of Johns Hopkins could not have helped him. "My

Sr Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin #754

421 luxury and display have a certain number of devotees. In the desert the viewpoint is very different. Human needs and rights are always and in all circumstances the most important thing and property rights are always [565] subordinate to them. More than that, it follows that no one, whatever his station, is entitled to more than he needs of the scanty supply of food, clothing and shelter which the world affords until every one else has had all that he needs. Concerning the surplus over and 454 574 above the subsistence requirements of the community the Arab has no definite convictions, but the man who desires to live in wasteful luxury, or who hoards wealth while his fellow tribesmen starve, may expect to be sent down very promptly to the eternal fire to roast where he belongs. It is on this foundation that the obligations of hospitality are built. The traveler is a man in need—in need of shelter and of food. The mere fact that he has no money to pay for these does not modify the situation in the slightest degree. His need, in and of itself, establishes his host's obligation to feed him. No possible notion of private ownership can in the Bedouin mind establish the right of the householder to his surplus so long as a hungry guest remains to be fed.

423 Land in the desert is free as the air. It is practically worthless in its sterile aridity, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that private ownership has not attempted to control it. Live stock is owned individually. 422 425 This type of property, however, occupies a peculiar position. Animals are privately owned, but they are the object of never-ending raids, and property rights in them are almost as far removed from our notion of private property as from communism itself. Live stock remains

8: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 MI Middle East
Bedouin 1934

spacious chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

[than the desert -- Arabet]

Sc Harvard D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin 19.54

if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort of existence.

But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates, and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the desert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the close and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

Si Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ1
Bedouin MJ4

erty, whereas in the desert land is free as the air. Even the function and wealth of the merchant as compared with the gardener and the artisan would lead to comparatively little splitting into economic strata if it were not for the private ownership of land, which produces, as nothing else in Arabia does, the feeling of haughty superiority and cringing subservience. The Bedouin in the desert faces his sheikh with little or no feeling of inferiority, for all that the sheikh has the power of life and death over him. The poorest Bedouin knows that associated with a few others of like mind, he has the same power over the sheikh. The oppressed gardener, however, certainly does not face his land-owner with any feeling of equality. He is compelled to beg on his knees, figuratively speaking, for a chance to live, and it is impossible to escape the conviction that something inexpressibly valuable is lost in the process.

There is no such sense of unfettered freedom in the towns as prevails in the desert. Men work under direction and under a certain restraint. Their hours and their outlook are governed largely by the men they work for. The date cultivator looks up to the man who owns his land. He in turn looks down on any man who works for him. The atmosphere of democracy where each man looks his brother in the eye without flinching, on the even level of entire equality, has disappeared. The unity of the community is gone. The date gardener would not think of intruding in the reception room of the rich man who owns his garden. He is at liberty to see him on business, but not as a social equal.

On the other hand, there are compensations. By any possible standard, life in the oasis is much more civilized and refined than in the desert. The comfort of the people

I. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M24

to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin 369
in the transition stage to a more settled existence. 361

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of 361
sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents 232
as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock
such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their [352]
members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and
regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the 545
pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter un- 369
doubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has
grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots
of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi,
are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-
bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs.
The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions 369
involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as 574
host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging 556
in the city.

Ahalna al Badu, is a common cry heard among the 'Arab-
dawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their
neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially [121]
their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful,
for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather
than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and
lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin
raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is
an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or
defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with 233
either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the 43
tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either 619
of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As
sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which
they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined
than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds
has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

233 or form part of the nomad camel tribes, or have stock of their own
465 and roam the outer desert in various formed tribal bodies. These
619 shepherd tribes are known under the general term of *Shawâwi* (singular: *Shâwi*) by town dwellers, or *Hadra* in the desert.

233 For example, in North-East Arabia we have the following:
619 (*a*) The great *Shawâwi* or *Hadra* shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq confederation on the Euphrates, who for seven months in the year move south into the great desert and only return with the advent of the hot weather. These in origin were the shepherds who looked after the flocks and herds of the Al Sa'adun hereditary Shaikhs of the Muntafiq in bygone days, but who to-day for the most part own their own stock. (See Chapter XLV.)

(*b*) The *Hirshân* or *Shawâwi* tribes of the Muntir, a more or less serf-community owing allegiance to that great tribe of nomads.

(*c*) The *'Awazim Ahl al Ghanam*, or people of the sheep, who care for the flocks of the camel sections of that tribe and are in closest touch with them. These 'Awazim shepherd tribes by no means confine their attention to caring for their own, or their camel brethren's sheep. They are such good shepherds and so well trusted that many of them come up to Kuwait to hire themselves out to those townsfolk who own sheep, and even take those sheep many miles south and graze them with their own in the Suda region and 100 miles south of Kuwait town, where water is plentiful when summer sets in. Being honest in the extreme, they hold it a matter of tribal pride to account faithfully for every animal so entrusted to them.

The true Badawin nomads (*Bâdia*) breed only camels, and for nine months in the year dwell in the interior of the far desert places, far away from civilisation and towns, where the best grazing after the winter rains is to be found. Their object is to find the best grazing grounds, irrespective of water; this means the ground which has been rained upon. With the first signs of autumn, therefore, they anxiously look out for signs of rainstorms in the distant skies, indicated by lightning flashes at night, low down on the horizon, and they make for those areas, as if life depended on it. The bustard, the gazelle and other wild animals obey the same instinct.

619 These Badawin proper are entirely exclusive, and look upon them-
665 selves as the very salt of the earth, marrying only with exclusive

b Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

tribes like their own and despising the rest of the world. They are the *'Arab al 'aribe* and with their co-equals the *'Arab al Musta'ribe*.* 619 565

These 'Arab or pure desert Badawin divide themselves into:

(*a*) Superior or Sharif tribes.

(*b*) Inferior or non-Sharif tribes; everyone knowing and accepting the origin of his neighbour without question.

Of these the former are *'Aslin*, i.e. pure in origin and blood, and claim descent from the Patriarchs Qahtan and Ishmael. The latter are not *Asil*, i.e. are not of pure descent.

The following are the best known of the Sharif Arab tribes of Arabia proper:

'Anizah, Shammar, Harb, Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Bani Khalid Bani Hajir, Al Murra, Qahtan, 'Utaiba, Duwasir, Manasir, Bani Yas, Shei, Qawasim, Hawaitat and Bani Tamim (not found as a whole tribe to-day).

The 'Anizah especially consider themselves to be the aristocrats of the desert, though the others do not always admit their superiority.

The following well-known present-day Arab Rulers claim descent as follows: [643]

His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud—'Anizah (Mawalikh section).
His Highness Ibn Sabah of Kuwait—'Anizah (Amawat section).
His Highness Ibn Khalifah of Bahrain—'Anizah (Amawat section).
His Excellency Ibn Thani of Qatar—Bani Tamim.

Also the noble family of the Al Sa'adun, former Rulers of the Muntafiq (present head His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Faisal Pasha) claim direct descent from the Quraish tribe, as well as being descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.†

The following are some of the Inferior or Non-Sharif tribes of Arabia proper:

* Arab historians have it that Yaqtan, the son of Qantur, who lived some centuries before Abraham, was the father of the ancient Arab peoples, and gave his name to Arabia. Hence the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, are known as "*Arab al Musta'ribe*" (those who became Arabs) in contradistinction to the Arab who calls himself "*Arab al 'aribe* (Arab of the Arabs), to distinguish himself from the later comers. 174

† The Sa'adun indeed claim that they are the parent of all descendants of the Prophet, in that they have never throughout their history given their daughters outside their clan, nor married with non-Sa'adun women.

Inferior Tribes

449 (i) *In Hasa and Kuwait* (East Arabia).

545 The 'Awazim tribe, probably of Hutaim origin, and originally a serf-community of the 'Ajmán.

The Rashaida Tribe—certainly of Hutaim origin; originally serfs of the Mutair, and retainers of the Shaikhs of Kuwait from earliest times.

(h) *In North-West Arabia.*

The Hutaim—A large and very powerful group of tribes, who generally acknowledge the overlordship of Shaikhs Ibn Barak and Ibn Nauman. (The Shararat tribe, for instance, forms part of the great Hutaim group.)

(i) *All over North and North Central Arabia.*

The Sahaba—The lowest, most despised of desert men, and said to be descendants of the Christian Crusaders. Great guides and hunters. (See Chapter XLI.)

(j) *Central and North Arabia.*

The Aqail or Agail*—residents of Qasim and Baghdad. From time immemorial camel-dealers of the desert.

The great house of Al Bassam are Aqailis.

[326] (k) Not to be confused with the above, are the Al Sana,† a community of ironmongers, farriers and arms-repairers, sections of whom each Sharif tribe protects and possesses as part of itself. *Sanaa* is the plural of *Sana*, e.g. Sanaa al Mutair, Sanaa al Rashid, etc.

[327] No Sharif Arab can take a daughter from (or give a daughter to) (i) (j) (k) (l) (m) above. His own tribe would not tolerate it, and his relations would kill the offender. The excuse would be that he

[328] was spoiling the tribe's blood. Everyone will remember the shooting of the capable 'Abdullah Beg al Sana, Governor of Baghdad in 1932, by His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha al Sa'adun, because of the former's foolish attempt to marry the Europeanised daughter of His Excellency 'Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Prime Minister of Iraq. The true Arab of the desert, from Ibn Sa'ud downward, not only condoned the murder, but highly approved it.

361 * The Aqail or Agail are, of course, not a Badawin tribe in any sense of the word, for they live in the towns. They more correctly should be termed a *hadhar* community.

† Members of this class have often risen to the highest positions of trust under various Arab Rulers as well as under the Turks.

I. Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1950 Ali I Kuwait
Reference 1024

CHAPTER XLI

The Sulubba

The word *Sulubba* is a generic term. The singular of the name is *Sulubbi*, and the plural *Sulubi*.

Much has been written about this low-class tribe, or more properly community.

They are found all over the northern half of the Arabian Desert roughly from a line drawn east and west through Medina and Riyadh in the south, to another line drawn from Aleppo to Mosul.

In the south they are more despised and looked down on than in the north, and their worldly possessions are less.

Practically every tribe within the area described has a community of Sulubba living with it, as they are found useful as members of posts and pass, hunters and trackers.

Chief among the Sulubba's characteristics is their uncanny knowledge of the secret water-holes of the country they live in. They are valued for this knowledge by the tribe which possesses them, as it is a great asset in war, and most useful on long raids. Some Sulubi, for this reason, are rarely always taken with a raiding party.

Similarly a Sulubbi hunter is rarely always to be found in the entourage of a shaikh, as he usually knows better than others where gazelle and ostrich are to be found.

The Sulubba are said to be Muslims, but few pray properly, and it would probably be true to say that they possess no religion, except where it is diplomatic to appear to have one as in Najd and Kuwait.

The Sulubba men are in general a miserable fawning lot; they affect endearing and diminutive Arab terms of address, and are cringing in their manner.

Both men and women are good-looking above the average, especially the women, among whom there are often very pretty girls indeed. Their usually half-starved appearance is repellent, and gives colour to the Arab story that they eat offal and "animals they find dead".

Origin of the Sulubba

566 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-
619 Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.
[142] In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a
[261] large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

512 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his
595 people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are
565 in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs,
619 some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shamsur is the Shaikh of the Munir Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shamsur Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'ashif is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

291 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognizable.

595 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organize a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of
619 the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba
174 are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

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in which the Crusaders were worsted, and were carried off into slavery by the desert Arab, and that the present-day Sulubba are their descendants. Shaikh 'Abdullah will quote to prove his point,

(a) The fact that the "cross" is the symbol of the Sulubba.
(b) That the plural of their name "Sulub" is clearly the same as the Arab name for the Christian cross which is known as *Salib*, the word *sulub* being merely a diminutive form of *Salib*.

There is perhaps something to say for the theory, but it would be dangerous to form conclusions pending the collection of more data about these interesting people. In particular would it be interesting to collect extensive anthropometric measurements.

The Sulubba women are accused of having (i) the power of casting the Evil Eye (*'ain*), (ii) special knowledge in preparing poisons and love potions for those who want them (*sagwa*), and (iii) above all of being versed in the devilish lore of witchcraft (*sahar*).

(i) The first accusation is probably due to the fact that many young Badawin men have lost their heads over pretty Sulubba girls and have had to flee their tribes. (ii) and (iii) are probably fairly true accusations, for they certainly claim to have the power of making one person love another, as well as of divination. On the other hand they are a useful target for the public, if something evil happens to a prominent person. "It must be a Sulubba woman who has cast a spell on so-and-so", they say.

The Sulubba must not be confused with the Kaulyah or Gipsies. These latter are to be found all over Iraq and its borders, and are, I think, without doubt one and the same as the Romany Gipsies of Europe and England. They dress like Badawin and live in small

Appendix XIX

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difficulty be turned, the Arabs, on the contrary, have great management of theirs, and who having thrown their long darts (spears) quickly turned the heads of their horses and galloped away, which the Persians mistaking for flight, pursued with great eagerness, until the Arabs had led them into a swampy ground, when they faced about and attacked the pursuers in their turn. This masterly evolution so disconcerted the Persians that they attempted an immediate retreat, which from the nature of the ground and the ungoverrable state of their horses, they so illy effected, that 3 men only (and they much wounded) reached Bussora (Basra) to relate the fate of their unfortunate comrades, all of whom, that day on the field of ARGIA, were cut to pieces by the victorious Arabs. The Gallivats when they perceived the destruction of their army, sailed away down river. . . .

. . . ."We walked over the battlefield, and found it entirely strewn with the bones of the slaughtered Persians. What appears surprising is, that the Arabs lost only twenty men in this engagement. We left this dreadful scene at four o'clock and about five o'clock passed a very handsome town, belonging to the Turks, called ARGIA. . . ."

"(A journal kept on the journey from Bussora to Baghdad; over the little desert to Aleppo, Cyprus, etc., etc., in the year 1779. By a gentleman, late an officer in the service of the Honble. East India Coy. Horsham. Printed by Arthur Lee, and sold by J. & C. Rivington, St. Paul's Churchyard. MDCCLXXXIV)".

Author's Note.—There is no sign to-day of any village or town on the banks of the Euphrates bearing a name resembling ARIA or ARGIA.

APPENDIX XIX

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Ref.: the community known as "AQAIL" or "AGAIL" (see middle of p. 112, Chapter VI).

The following additional information is given about this interesting class.

"It is not correct to number the AQAIL (or AQAILAT) among the inferior or Non-Sharif tribes of Arabia, for as explained in the note at foot of p. 112, they are not a tribe in any sense of the word. They are a camel-buying community with headquarters in Baghdad, Damascus and Qasim. Any Badawin can become an AQAIL whether he be of an inferior tribe or of a Sharif tribe. Hence among the AQAIL or AGAILAT community as they are called, we find many families of irreproachable Sharif Arab stock, as well

as others of inferior or non-Sharif Arab stock. It all depends where the camel-buyer has originated from before he took to the trade. For example the great house of Al Bassam are not only AQAILIS but are considered among the noblest in the land from the point of view of 'sharaf'."

APPENDIX XX

NOTE ON WORD "DÎYA"

and the various ways it is spelt according to context (see p. 318, Chapter XLII).

1. AL 'ISHATU al QATL, means settlement of a killing.
2. DÎATUH, e.g. the court orders that DÎATUH should be taken from the man doing the killing.
3. 'ISHATUH, e.g. "The accused shall pay to the injured party 'ISHATUH of so much" (Qadhi order).
4. The Quran says—"Wa inkan min qaum-in bain-a-kum wa bain-a-hum 'adawatun, fa diatun musallamatun ila ahlihi".

APPENDIX XXI

(Ref. to Chapter XLI on Sobhiha)

On June 11, 1949, Amaha al Mohamed al Dawish (Mozain) told me that Bandar al Dawish and other Shaikhs kept Sobhiha hunters who went off on camels regularly to the Dahana sands to hunt gazelle in summer. They drank from the various "Dahal", and would bring back as many as thirty-five to forty sun-dried carcases of gazelle (jalla). Wooden poles and mats are set up to dry the meat on.

APPENDIX XXII

SOME FISH OF KUWAIT

(Caught off Mangar Island in a reed fish trap) (Indians) April 1941. (See also Appendix X, p. 391.)

*Shaam	Two dorsal fins—no lower lip half inch rough external surface—fork tail.

* Mentioned in Appendix X.

421 considered the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and the Registration
425 Law of 1859 as governmental measures designed for purposes of taxation and military conscription. They left it to the village notables and tribal sheikhs to enter all the land in their names. During the second part of the 19th century the large landholdings of the powerful sheikhs were substantially increased as the result of the Sultan's policy to win their co-operation by gifts of land. The developments during the 19th century thus laid the foundations for the inequality of land-ownership which has become the scourge of the Middle Eastern agrarian society.

421 As long as the patriarchal social order was maintained, the
425 nomadic life of the tribe was not disturbed by the growing con-
427 centration of land in the hands of the sheikhs. Part of the land
●566 was cultivated by slaves or fellahin tenants, the rest used by the tribesmen as grazing areas for their flocks of animals. But when the tribal leaders began to evince an ever increasing interest in agriculture, the semi-legal transfer of land, formerly the collective property of the tribe, to the private ownership of the sheikhs had the effect that the "primus inter pares" within the democratic tribal society emerged as the big semi-feudal landlord.

421 The Hashemite authorities further strengthened the power of
566 the landlords by legal recognition of their rights in the lands which they claimed as their own.

421 Progressive circles in the Arab countries are in favor of

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178 [493] 622 It is not a rarity to see an automobile under the tent of the sheikh, even when he still wanders and camps with his tribe. Gradually the chiefs establish luxurious residences, equipped with all the comforts of modern living. At this stage the sheikh will spend most of the time away from the tribe, favoring the social, economic and political activities of the sedentary population.

177 622 178 An instructive example of the changes in the social status of the powerful sheikh is the case of the Rwala. The Rwala tribesmen still belong to the few remaining true Bedouin. Their former Sheikh, Nuri Bey Sha'lan, however, showed already before World War I his preference for a house to a tent. His grandson Fawaz, the present Emir of the tribe, was in his youth a genuine Bedouin, but later his mode of living became thoroughly sedentarized.[2]

619 178 566 The tribesmen will not remain unaffected by this development. For a while they try tenaciously to preserve the nomadic mode of existence, but sooner or later they will become the exploited tenants and share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

566 622 During the Mamluk regime the absentee landlords lost much of their grip on the cultivators, but the tenants of the tribal sheikhs are still in a virtual state of serfdom. In some cases the tribal chief still has complete authority over the

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2. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 108

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members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he imposes and collects his own levies.[1]

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Beduin tribe Ala Hiada that owned 20 000 dunums of land in the Huran.[2] The sheikh's family in whose name the land was registered, sold 10 000 dunums to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 140 dunum orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh.

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CHAPTER II

Attitude of the Trans-Jordan Beduin Bedouins.

The Beduin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1928 and 1930 the situation of the Trans-Jordan Beduin was desperate; 1926/27 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall. In Trans-Jordan alone about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen

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1. Himeidi, 1935, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted for sheep and goats — 40%, cattle — 25%, camels — 50%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1933, p. 32

not done. He must approach her through her father. He can and does, however, propose in person to a widow or a divorced woman.

After marriage the Badawin takes his bride to the tent he has previously pitched for her, close to that of her father, and consummation takes place. Many are the curious eyes and ears which are concentrated on the bridal tent.

As with us, those chiefly interested in the marriage ceremony are the other women of the camp.

Slaves marrying go through the same ceremonies as the freeborn, the master and mistress of the slave acting the part of the parents of the bridegroom: and as much interest is evinced in the marriage of one of their slaves as in that of one of the family.

The Badawin's love for cohabitation is well known, and as I have said elsewhere, sex is to him the supreme joy of life. Both bride and bridegroom indulge riotously in this honeymoon period. So wildly passionate is their love-making that I have known of a man breaking two of his wife's ribs on the first night of their marriage. As soon as the wife finds herself with child, she lets the other women know about it, and it becomes the occasion for much rejoicing. She continues cohabiting with her husband as a matter of course till just before the baby's birth.

DIVORCE

Divorce procedure is simplicity itself. The man need only say to his wife before witnesses that he does not want her any more. He has to make the statement three times for it to be valid: *Ma wid ik, ma wid ik, ma wid ik.* No disgrace attaches to the woman, who takes the matter quite philosophically, and proceeds to look for another husband.

If the man divorces the woman, she keeps the *jahaz* he has given her, which is sufficient provision for her for a considerable time, or till she gets a second husband. It must not be forgotten that she has nearly always invested her *jahaz* in buying a camel or some sheep and has thus become an owner of livestock.

The point to emphasize is that no disgrace whatsoever clings to divorce, and if the girl is fair, or was the wife of a big sheikh, there is

The Female Slave

[347] Among Arabian potentates, slaves are also entrusted with the
[357] functions of personal guards and protectors to the ruler, by reason of their trustworthiness, and men like H.M. King ibn Sa'ud, the Shaikhs of Kuwait and Bahrain, maintain carefully selected negro bodyguards of greater or lesser strength for this purpose. State "executioners" are always slaves, for they can be counted on to carry out the ruler's decrees and orders to the letter, as the ordinary Arab cannot. Slaves have also on occasion been made useful to get rid of undesirable enemies, though such days fortunately are nearly past.

The lot of the female domestic slave in a nice family is an easy and a privileged one. She looks after her mistress and her robes, and always dresses her—she is often the cook, or seamstress, she goes down to the seashore and does the family washing with the younger women of the house, and accompanies her mistress on her calling expeditions. Like the male slave she often holds positions of considerable responsibility and trust. Both male and female slaves are naturally proud to be considered their master's and mistress's chosen guards and sometimes trade on this. They know too that their lord will avenge himself on any stranger who harms his slave, more than if he were his own son. This is literally true, for to kill or kidnap a man's slave affects his honour, not so the slaying of his son.

On the other hand, all householders and others owning slaves pretend to believe that a slave must be continually suppressed and reminded of his position if he is not to lose his head and get out of hand. The Arab will tell you that occasionally to show the heavy hand to a beloved slave is to keep him in proper state of mind.

So much for the town domestic slave. The bought slave (*mamlûk*) receives similar treatment from a good master, but speaking generally his life, where he exists (and this is not in Kuwait), is much harder. Unlike the domestic slave, he may be sold at the whim of the master, or given away like a horse or mare as a present to a friend.

SLAVERY AMONG THE BADAWIN TRIBES

[347] Almost every desert shaikh, or well-to-do member of a tribe, has his male slaves, whether born in the family or bought, and their *wamarîth* have female slaves.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Speaking generally, however, bought slaves are the rule. 567

A desert shaikh will keep a certain number of *'abid* whom he has received as a gift from some prince or fellow-shaikh, or has himself bought in Mecca when on the Haj. A woman slave is called a *jâriah* among the tribes, and not an *'abda*, which is the term used in the towns.

The Najd and Northern Badawin treat their bought slaves far better than the slave-owning fraternity generally. Being a born gentleman, and as a rule far more religious than his town brother, the desert man has a natural inclination to treat his slave well. The latter has, of course, to work and take his full share in drawing water for sheep and camels, and cutting brushwood for the use of the tent. Since he can stand the summer heat better than the Arab, he does a lot of the work connected with the care and tending of camels when his master and mistress are camped on water during the hot season.

As Mr. Rutter so forcibly puts it, the shaikh of a tribe is above all things patriarchal, he loves to feel that he is the head of the tribe, the father and mother of his own particular *hamula*. He gets satisfaction from feeling that members of his family, and especially his servants and slaves, are for ever dancing attendance on him, and depend on him for a thousand and one things connected with the daily round of life. He likes to think that at the two annual *'Id* or festivals it will be he who will disburse largesse in the shape of presents of clothing (*kiswah*), foodstuffs (*ta'am*) and so forth, to those depending on him. Just as he is always out to gain a following and increase it, because it gives him prestige, power and honour among his fellows, so he increases the number of his slaves where he can, as they give him definitely added strength in the eyes of his fellow Arabs. 622 567 554

According to Shaikh Hilal bin Faja'an of the Manaie (7th January, 1933) this is the code of the desert man where slaves are concerned:

(a) Slaves are good *ghanîmah* (*ghanîmah*) or spoil when tribes are at war. In this sense they are counted as camels.

(b) Normally a body of riders on a camel-lifting expedition will not worry to carry off a single slave man found in charge of grazing camels. The raiders will simply blind and leave him, as he would hinder rapid movement.

(c) It is lawful, if you are at enmity with another tribe, to send slave children and make them yours. Unwritten law insists, however, that such children be over ten years of age. Of course the owner

The Slave Code

567 will follow to the death in his efforts to effect a rescue, and will kill the raider if he can, even if he has to wait years to do so.

(d) If in a raid a freed slave (*mu'atiq*), male or female, be carried off in error, it is the duty of the raiders to return him or her as soon as the mistake is found out.

(e) No true Arab may lawfully marry a freed slave woman. His *ahl* will kill him if he so disgraces the tribal honour and blood.

The recognition of these rules, and several others, was confirmed on 11th August, 1936, by Shaikh Nahar al Mutalqim of the Al Hadi tribe of the 'Ajman, and also by Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutaqqa al Harri of the Diyabin section of the Mutair, both of whom added the following interesting bit of information, which was new to me. They emphasised that the *'asil*, or pure-bred Arab, will never demean himself by having sexual connection with any of his bought female slaves. It is considered very *'aib* (disgraceful) to do so.

Unfortunately this excellent rule has been abused among certain noble and princely semi-Badawin families such as the Al Sa'adun, and others, who argue that because a slave-girl is your property entirely, she is yours to do with as you like, without sin. The Badawin proper, to his honour, refuses utterly to accept this method of arguing and calls it sophistry. It is one of the things that causes him to despise the *hadhari*, or town dweller, and take proportionate pride in himself.

[§ 31] *Footnote.*—(a) There is a curious and widely accepted belief, among Arab townsmen especially, that to have connection with a virgin makes a man actually strong over men (*'ajuz shadid*), if he happens to be suffering from debility.

(b) Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutaqqa al Harri learns that it is the immemorial right of his house to take over all slaves and traces captured in war or raid by any of his Diyabin adherents. This is a right rarely found among Badawin tribes. Its existence was confirmed by Shaikh Hilal al Mutair, of the same tribe.

(c) I have purposely not discussed the Georgian, Armenian and Circassian slave-girl, as a separate chapter would be required to deal with this class. Suffice to say that many beautiful women of this class exist among the ruling and rich classes of Arabia, Iraq and neighbouring Muslim countries. Their lot is not an unhappy one either, for as a rule they are bought very young and are treated with great consideration.

camels to draw up the water, but the southern Bedu always lift it by hand. They have a leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to either end of the rope which runs over the pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full the other descends empty. Men and women draw together on the well-ropes, four or five to each rope, singing in chorus as they work. We had not been here long before the camel herds arrived and the serious work of watering began. Great leather troughs supported on crossed wooden bases were set up by each family around the well. Soon there was no room for more watering parties, and newcomers had to wait their turn. The buckets rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs above which the thirsty camels pushed and thrust while their calves frolicked around. Shouting herdsmen, stripped to the waist, ran in and out among them, driving every camel which did not belong to them, and recruiting the more impatient of their own. Others scrambled the kind-quarters of their favourite beasts, while they sang them their watering songs to induce them to drink deep. When they had drunk they were marched nearby, to be watered again later in the day, before being driven back to pasturage. Round the well-mouth women filled their water-skins, which then lay swollen and quivering upon the ground, guarded from the trampling feet of the camels by dark-robed little girls, who only in a leather fringe covered their waists. Few of the women were veiled and all joined freely in the common jest and laughter. Among them was a tall girl of startling beauty. She had come down to the well early in the day, carrying a water-skin and accompanied by her young child. The centre of a happy laughing group of kids, she dallied here till the evening.

A family of ba'ir from off the mountains were camped under an overhanging cliff nearby, and they took us into their tent and drink coffee. Elements of the Bin Ma'ward, they yet differed from them in their dress and way of life. They were indigo-dyed kaftans and wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin Ma'ward wear plaid like the Northern Arabs in long white skirts whose pointed sleeves fell nearly to the ground. They were returning to their homes in Wadi al Ba'ir, a two days' journey to the south. Plantations of sorghum and beans are grown there in a shallow valley, guarded by sheer-sided fault forts and watch-towers, which look out across the dunes into rocky plateaus. Rather in addition raided by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of the ba'ir, who have an evil reputation for

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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man without a single enemy", Arabs have called him 157 554
to me.

I was Mishal's guest for several weeks. In the company 231
of his son Naif, I was able to look over a large number 435
of Arab horses amongst the different Shammar clans. One two-year-old Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion of purest blood pleased me exceedingly. One day I enquired of the *sheykh's* secretary if he thought it possible that Mishal would sell this stallion. It had indeed come to my ears that Mishal had refused an offer of eight hundred gold pounds from the French Remount Service. From my experience, I knew that really thoroughbred Arab horses were quite rare and therefore exceedingly expensive. Considering the stallion's breeding, the French offer certainly did not appear too high, when one remembers that foreign military commissions and breeders have paid in the desert anything up to three thousand pounds gold for blue-blooded stallions.

I asked the scribe to submit my offer to his *sheykh* up to one thousand pounds gold. I also declared myself [431]
ready to make the customary presents to the *katib* (secretary) and to the slave who had looked after the stallion from birth.

That same day I sat with Mishal and his son Naif and 574
their friends until late into the night. By the light of 231
the campfire I showed them photographs of Arab horses, 572
among them the stallions and mares which I had bought from the stud of Lady Anne Blunt's daughter in England, for the ranch in California.

"Is it known to thee," asked Mishal, "that Lord Blunt and my father Faris formed a blood brotherhood fifty

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

574 years ago? He, as thou, loved our fast and enduring run-
231 ners, those 'Drinkers of the Wind', which Allah be-
572 stowed on our forefather Ishmael."

Neither the scribe nor anyone else said a word about the stallion, and I dared not ask again; for I imagined that Mishal was particularly fond of this young horse.

574 The day of my departure came. The patriarchal
431 *sheykh* and I exchanged words of formal farewell. Then he led me aside and bade me sit down with him at the farthest tent-peg. After a few minutes of silence, he took two documents from a leather pouch and said: "I have long noticed that thou hast taken the Saqlawi colt to thy heart. He is the best of our breeding, and I am happy to make thee a present of him, that thou mayest always remember our friendship and noble horses. Take the young stallion with thee and mention no thanks nor price, so that this remembrance may live forever unclouded in our hearts."

"The Lord be good to thee, O Mishal ibn Faris," I replied, "for that I am allowed to part from thee with such happy memories."

What more could I say in response to his simple
[181] words? I knew the Bedouins. To be open-handed makes most of them happy; and further, Mishal was a very
[423] rich man. To him "belonged" not only the Shammar in the Northern Jesirah (Mesopotamia), but he actually owned sixty-nine villages and their cultivated lands on the Khabur River. I could only hope that God would grant me the opportunity some time of showing my heartfelt thanks to Mishal in some special way.

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Bedouins 1934

keeps for breeding. Similarly, young male camels are sold for food 231
and only a selected few retained to carry the household tents and 492
baggage.

Mares are never sold, and the male foals, if not killed at birth, are a source of income when sold in the towns bordering on Arabia. (See Chapter XXX.)

The Badawin of the desert has a charm of his own, and if you 672
once make friends with him or do him a kindness, he does not forget. 677
He is above all things a child of nature, and is ruled by a strange pride which he calls his *sharaf* and which he values almost above life itself. Scold a desert man or call him ugly names, and he is ready to knife you; at the very least he will sulk, dig his toes into the ground and do nothing that you wish. On the other hand, if you treat him kindly, invite him to sit down in your tent and take a cup of coffee with you, you have gone half-way to win his friendship and confidence. If you treat him as an equal, and not as a servant, even if he is merely your guide or escort, he will react wonderfully and will rarely take liberties.

He is full of humour too, and will understand a joke and a good 672
story, but you must not make fun of him before his fellow Arabs.

Next to his *sharaf*, the Badawin, and for that matter every true 677
Arab, values his family honour or *'ardh*. This word implies the good name of his womenfolk and more especially of his wife and sister. If his *'ardh* is besmirched nothing short of killing the errant woman will restore it. Respect the Badawin's *sharaf*, speak well always of his *'ardh* and help him to guard both, and all will be well with you in your relations with him.

However poor he is and however lowly his dwelling-place, the 574
Badawin excels as a host, and will slay his last camel or sheep to do honour to his guest. Nor are his womenfolk behindhand in this respect. If an important personage passes by her tent in the absence of her husband, the wife will run out of her tent holding out a frothing bowl of camel's milk or *laben*, as a sign of welcome.

THE BADAWIN'S FAULTS

The desert man has his faults, of course, and by Western standards 000
they are grave.

during years and centuries of raid and counter-raid. Men always 642
knew that to-day they might be top-dog and to-morrow the under- 726
dog. It was but wise and natural to declare women sacred. The Badawin world valued wives and daughters above all other possessions, so the principle of "You let my womenfolk alone, and I will not harm yours" gradually became established. The rule holds good to-day all over Arabia. Unfortunately the fanatical Ikhwan, during the few years in which their influence was in the ascendant, a menace to both friend and foe in Najd, did much to upset this and many other excellent customs which are dear to the true Arab.

PROTECTION OF AN ENEMY WHO HAS SURRENDERED

The laws relating to surrender are dealt with in Chapter XXVI. 726
Suffice it to here say that a Badawin surrendering to another either in battle or raid, or if pursued and overtaken, is safe and entitled to good treatment.

In surrendering a man will definitely say to one of the other side: *Ya falan ana fi wajh ak* (O So-and-So, I place myself under your protection). If he gets the reply: *Inta fi wajh hi, sallim sakkak* (You are under my protection, hand over your arms), the matter is finished, and the person who has accepted the surrender must go bail for his captive with his life. He has given him his *wajh* (face), and it would go hard with any member of his own tribe who harmed the prisoner later, and so blackened the protector's face.

The rules regarding surrender are very similar to those of *dakhala*. The man who surrenders is in the position of a suppliant, and an Arab dare not ignore the fact. The only difference between the two is that when the enemy asks for quarter in battle, you may or may not grant his request. Once *wajh* is granted, however, the prisoner must be protected. A man who breaks this law is liable to a very heavy fine in camels or money, and he is never forgiven by his own tribesmen.

THE RAFIQ OR KHAWI

The laws relating to the *rafiq* and *rifqa* generally, are equally 572
stringent, and are comparable to those of hospitality, only here the 484

572 honour of the tribe as a whole is at stake, not alone the honour of the
1954 individual tent-dweller.

The word *rafiq* means a friend or companion, and in the desert sense he is a man whose duty is to see you safely through his people's country (*ammanda*), and through his tribal territory, even if it so happens that his tribe is at enmity with your own tribe or people.

The *rafiq* usually does his business for a small fee.

A man desiring to travel, say from Kowait to the Hijaz, would usually have to take *rafiqs* from the Mutair, Harb, 'Utaiba, Qahtan and probably the Bugum or other local tribe.

If a *rafiq* cannot for any reason accompany his client, it should be sufficient for him to give him his crook or cane ('*asa*), and mark same with the tribal *wasm* (mark) of his *hawi 'dar*, or tribe, as a whole.

After handing over his '*asa*, the *rafiq* will let it be known by word of mouth, and arrange for the news to be passed on, that he has given So-and-So his marked '*asa* as *rafiqa* or safe conduct. No one will now touch the traveller throughout the whole length and breadth of the *dirah* owned or wandered over by the *rafiq's* tribe.

Under the strong arm of Ibn Sa'ud, many efforts have been made to discourage and even abolish this system of the *rafiq* as unnecessary, and likely to bring the name and prestige of the Sa'udi Government into disrepute. Nevertheless, the *rafiqa* system is surreptitiously kept alive, as all men feel safer under a *rafiq's* protection than when trusting themselves to the tender mercies of some of the King's frontier guards, or inland governors.

It should be understood that as soon as you have safely passed through one tribal territory, the *rafiq* who has finished his job must find a new *rafiq* from the tribe whose territory you are about to enter, and so on till the journey is finished. It would be breaking the law of *rafiqa* if your *rafiq*, on completing his duties, deserted you and left you stranded. You could later get heavy compensation from the man and his shaikh, when you were able to prove your claim.

THE QASÍR (pronounced *gasir*)

621 The laws of *qasira* embody the duty of a Badawin towards his tent-neighbour.

L. Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 MS I Kuwait
Bedouins M24

CHAPTER XIII

Morality

517 There is no immorality, as we know it, among the desert tribes. There is, of course, plenty of marrying and giving in marriage, and as I have said, divorce is so easy that a woman often has six or seven husbands in her lifetime, and a man always as many wives as he can 548 afford, provided he confines himself to four at a time. Prostitutes are 537 unknown among the Badawin, and adultery is punishable with death.

572 Friendships between men and women, on the other hand, exist, and are recognised, especially if the parties are of the same tribe and are related, for example my friend Shaikh Thuwainan Abu Sifra of the Mu'aba section of the Mutair, was a friend of Muthi, wife of Falah bin 369 'A'amir, also of the Mu'aba. Every Badawin, of course, is aware that 548 immorality exists in the big towns, and this is one of the main reasons why he despises the townsman.

Unfortunately a Badawin man up from the distant desert sometimes finds his way to the prostitute quarters when he visits towns [64] such as Mecca and Madina, Jiddah, and Kuwait. This has resulted in the spread of syphilis and venereal disease among the tribes.

In Wahhabi-land proper (i.e. Sa'udi Arabia, excluding the Hijaz), no prostitute is tolerated even in the town, let alone among the tribes, but I am told that there is nevertheless a good deal of clandestine immorality.

731 It is curious but true that if you discuss the question of morals with 672 well-informed Najd Badawin, they will always tell you that certain great shaikhly families of the desert, especially in the north, have always had rather loose morals, while certain others stand out for their good morals and generally high tone. For instance, the well-known shaikhly house of Al Sha'alan (Ruwala) as well as that of the Hawaitat, Bani Sakhr (both Trans-Jordan), and Shammar Jarba (Iraq), are all said to be pretty lax where women are concerned, and conversely Al Hadhal (Amarat), the Dushan (Mutair) and the Hamidda ('Utaiba)

Surrender

Chap. XXVI

WAR CRIES

Every Arab prince and Arab tribe has a special war cry. Some have several and some a single one. 721 192

These war cries, called *nakhwa* and *'iowah*, are yelled out in the heat of battle, and especially during the wild charge of horsemen.

The war cry is supposed to strike terror into the foe. It also enables the individual warrior to recognise friend from enemy in the general melée that follows a charge—for every man as he goes into action muffles up his face till only his eyes are seen, and no uniforms distinguish combatants or differentiate friend from foe. [724]

SURRENDER

Among the Badawin the equivalent of the European or Westerner's "Hands up" is for a man to drop his rifle on the ground and place *the thumbs of both hands simultaneously between his teeth with the fingers of each hand extended outwards towards the person to whom he is surrendering.* This is the normal method, when for instance a man is a fugitive and is about to be caught up and killed by his pursuers. The meaning of the act is that he realizes that all is up, he has been caught, he knows death is his portion, nevertheless he casts himself on God's mercy and on that of his enemies. In nine times out of ten he will be spared. 726 516

Even in the heat of battle a man on the losing side can escape death if he recognises an old friend or acquaintance in the opposing ranks, by shouting out to him and saying, *Ya falan, ana fi wajh-ak* (O So-and-So, I put myself under your protection). If the person so called upon has sufficient influence with his comrades to grant such protection, he replies, *Atsitak wajhki sallam tufagnak* or *salahak* (I have given you my protection, hand over your rifle, or arms). Under such circumstances the suppliant is absolutely safe, and his guarantor goes bail for his life. 572 726

Should the man appealed to not be of sufficient importance among his fellow fighters to guarantee the life of the suppliant, he will call out to him and advise him to demand protection from someone more influential than himself, i.e. *Utlub wajh falan* (Call upon the

Dashing Raiders

572 protection of So-and-So), and he will forthwith point out where he
726 is and who he is. Success is also assured this way.

When the Ikhwan were predominant in Najd, especially from 1920 to 1930, and for a time upset the laws of God and man, scenes such as the above were unheeded, and whether a man surrendered or not he was put to the sword.

The man granting protection to an enemy on the field of battle can always reserve the right to add such provisos as, "Your life or rifle only are guaranteed, not your horse," or "Your life alone is safe, not your weapons or horse," or "I give you your life subject to my master, the shaikh's final orders".

FAMOUS RAIDERS I HAVE KNOWN

721 (1) Shaikh Muhammad ibn Salim al Urbain of the Misra sept of the 'Ajman is perhaps the most dashing raider I have met. He did Ibn Sa'ud's cause incalculable harm during the 1929–30 rebellion of the Ikhwan. A cheerful man and always laughing—short, of immense width of shoulder, with straight nose and a rather long jet-black beard with a pretty curl at the end of it.

His best piece of work was his raid from the borders of Kuwait (Wafra) to a point east of Abu Jifan Wells, on the direct Hufuf-Riyadh route. There he held up and captured several camel convoys, and ended by attacking, on 5th August, 1929, twelve cars full of armed men near Rumah as they proceeded across the Dahana sands from Riyadh to Hufuf. He captured and burnt them all, none of the crews escaping.

I happened to meet him on 22nd August, 1929, a fortnight after the event, when he tried to see the Shaikh of Kuwait in company with Farhan ibn Mashur, and beg supplies. He wore a large white turban after the fashion of the Ikhwan, and merrily told me how he had brought off his coup. He finished his story by handing me some sixty letters and cypher telegrams which the king had sent to Bahrain for despatch. These, he said, he took off a dead man. I was sorely tempted to take the telegrams and despatch them for the king myself, but thought better of it.

For several years after the above rebellion was put down, Muham-

Thieving

Chap. XLII

[illegible] in putting [illegible] a man who steals a slave of a prince or prominent Arab, whether in war or by underhand means, is never forgiven, and his death will be sought for and encompassed, if the original owner has to search for the culprit all his life and to the ends of the earth.

THEFT

Common thieving, whether from enemy or friend, is considered 'aib or a shameful thing among the true Badawin and is simply "not done".

The lifting of horses and camels from other Badawin with whom an ancient feud or enmity exists is not theft: it is a ghazzu, or honourable raid. The appropriation of other people's property never takes place between persons or tribes who are on terms of friendship or alliance.

Given a strong central government such as in Sa'udi Arabia, and raiding becomes at once unfashionable, but if there is the least loss of control at the centre then out go the raiders, all intent on fun and chasuil (loot).

Common thieving is punished by the loss of the right hand for the first offence, and so on for subsequent offenses, and this punishment has the sanction of the Shari'ah Law behind it. The method is in force throughout Sa'udi Arabia to-day, in Yemen and in some of the neighbouring Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

Among the Northern Badawin of Arabia, if an accused man denies a theft, and there is no proof either way, the shaikh of a tribe or community sometimes orders the accused to stand the ordeal by fire. A sword or ramrod is brought and the end heated red hot in a fire and applied for a couple of seconds to the accused's tongue. If he is innocent he will not be hurt and will depart honourably acquitted and with head held high. If guilty his tongue will at once be badly burnt and the crime will be brought home to him.

I only once had a case of this brought to my notice. Shaikh Mahruth ibn Fahad Beg al Hadhal, of the Amarat ('Anizah), had a sword stolen from him when camped near Kerbela in 1922. As Political Officer Middle Euphrates I had a man from Mussiyib arrested on suspicion, the theft having been laid at his door by Shaikh Mahruth himself. No definite evidence was forthcoming and I was about to release the

Sa Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

where wells are usually close together and the forage of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised, chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a lesser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure luxury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk just as humans do. They are kept and treated as household pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail partially or completely, and then the animals die by thousands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the land. Little children die because there is no food suitable for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed, and the whole community waits and prays for more rain the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a mere trifle.

St Harrison D-4 (1922-1924) 1924 341 Middle East
Bedouin m34

to his masters in making possible a feast and a taste of meat for a large number. From camel's milk is made a sort of cottage cheese which is kneaded into little cakes much the shape and size of children's mud pies. These are plentifully mixed with hair in the process of manufacture and are baked in the sun almost to the consistency of bricks. They will keep indefinitely and form a savory addition to the diet in time of scarcity.

Occasionally the Bedouin will capture a *dhabb*, or armored lizard, and rejoice exceedingly at the kindness of Providence. Or he may succeed in catching a desert rat, or *jerboa*. In either case there will be meat to eat that night. On rarer occasions he may succeed in shooting a gazelle, and then there will be a real feast in his tent. But even at the best there is probably no community in the world that lives constantly so close to the starvation line as the Bedouin.

As a host, however, the Bedouin has no peer. The unaffected joy that is shown at the opportunity of entertaining a guest may well serve as a model for those of us who come from the more practical and unfriendly West. To sit in a Bedouin's tent and enjoy his hospitality is a pleasure to be remembered, even if the small amount of meat served with the rice be so tough that biting a piece in two is impossible, to say nothing of chewing it properly.

The very poor may sometimes flee from the demands of hospitality, but once asked they may not deny entertainment to any one. In the desert the desperately poor Bedouins avoid settling in the region of a recognized caravan track. To be compelled to entertain many guests would almost mean starvation for them, but they never refuse if a guest appears. The only alternative is to re-

Sc Harrison D-4 (1912-1954) 1954 MI Middle East
Bedouin 1954

main away from regions where guests are likely to be numerous. The road between Hofuf, the capital of Hasa, and Oqair, its nearest port, affords excellent pasturage for goats and camels, and water is easily available for watering the stock. The traveler, however, will probably not see so much as one tent in that whole region. Caravans are coming and going continually, and the poor Bedouin cannot possibly entertain so many. Stern necessity compels him to go where the demands on his very slender resources will be smaller.

But the finest hospitality that I have ever enjoyed has been at the hands of the Bedouins. Ten years ago in the vicinity of Kuwait we saw a good deal of them, for there is always a fringe of Bedouin tents surrounding that city. The American missionaries were far from welcome in the town. A rival Turkish doctor had been imported by a local Mohammedan society and stocked with medicines and instruments so the poor might be treated free and every excuse for visiting the missionary's establishment removed. But there was no trace of hostility among the Bedouins and it was a great pleasure to visit their tents. We had a number of patients there and had to visit them often. When the dressings and treatments were finished, we stayed and visited together. There were questions about America, and the way to come from there to Arabia, and I in my turn learned a great deal about them and their utterly poverty-stricken lives. The way in which the medical missionary was admitted to the circle as one of the family is perhaps the most prized memory that twelve years' experience affords.

In the calendar of the desert the real red letter days are those when a wedding in the sheikh's family or some other event is the occasion for a great feast. Every

fs Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East

one is invited, and the half-starved Bedouin, who has perhaps not had a full meal for months, makes such use of his opportunities as seems incredible to a student of anatomy. Four hungry Bedouins are supposed to be able to eat a whole roasted sheep at one sitting, and I am sure that I have seen many such a Bedouin company that would be equal to the task. An Arab feast is an interesting sight. A whole sheep must be cooked for any honored guest, even if he has only one or two attendants. This animal, cooked as he frequently is in one piece, is placed on a huge copper platter and buried in a mountain of boiled rice. Out of the sides of this mountain, which would measure several bushels in bulk and which stands perhaps four feet high, are to be seen protruding the amputated stumps of the animal's four limbs. This enormous central dish is flanked by various side dishes containing gravies and a few vegetables. Vegetables, however, are few in number and scanty in amount. The proportion of cooking fat put on the rice is an index of the cordiality of the guest's welcome. There is quite certain to be several times the amount that a western palate enjoys. Around this mountain of food with its foothills of side dishes the guests seat themselves, all on the floor. The signal is given by the host's remarking, "In the name of God." There follows a mad race against time, for when one guest arises, all must follow his example. Obviously, then, the affair of the moment is to see that in the short time available as much as possible of God's blessings shall be appropriated. The meat is torn off in quarter-pound chunks. Such a piece is put into the mouth, bitten in two and swallowed, if indeed it is treated with so much ceremony. The rice is gathered up in great handfuls and poured down the esophagus, ap-

Sa Hartson D-4 (1919-1934) 1934 M1 Middle East
Bedouin #34

parently meeting with no great obstacle on the way. In five minutes everybody is filled to repletion. Pounds of meat have been consumed and bushels of rice. The side dishes are empty. Enormous wooden bowls of buttermilk are brought in and the meal washed down with great draughts of this favorite Arab drink. It is not remarkable that after a feast everybody expects to take a nap. So ends the festivity and the Bedouin settles down once again to his meager and poverty-stricken existence in the desert.

Life as a nomad shepherd brings the Bedouin into naked and constant contact with nature. He is out of doors almost all of the time, and his tent with its rents and holes hardly serves to separate him from the outside world to any significant degree even when he is inside. The sun over him by day and the moon and stars by night, the long stretches of sand and the rough rocky plains, the sand storms which are the terror of the desert, the fierce heat of the summer and the frosts of the winter, all of these are his constant companions. He learns to know the wilderness as few know it. The tracks of the various animals in the sand are to him an easily legible history of the happenings of several days back. Thus he lives not simply in contact with nature but rather immersed in it. The desert may be cruel, but he pines away if transplanted. His life may be hard, but he wants nothing else.

Yet strangely enough, in spite of his intense love for the desert and its freedom, all the beauties in nature around him fall on blind eyes as far as the Bedouin is concerned. Even the desert sunset and the moon-lit sand dunes apparently stir no responsive chord in his heart. It is as if all such things had been stripped off

Bedouin 934

421 luxury and display have a certain number of devotees. In the desert the viewpoint is very different. Human needs and rights are always and in all circumstances the most important thing and property rights are always subordinate to them. More than that, it follows that no one, whatever his station, is entitled to more than he needs of the scanty supply of food, clothing and shelter which the world affords until every one else has had all that he needs. Concerning the surplus over and above the subsistence requirements of the community the Arab has no definite convictions, but the man who desires to live in wasteful luxury, or who hoards wealth while his fellow tribesmen starve, may expect to be sent down very promptly to the eternal fire to roast where he belongs. It is on this foundation that the obligations of hospitality are built. The traveler is a man in need—in need of shelter and of food. The mere fact that he has no money to pay for these does not modify the situation in the slightest degree. His need, in and of itself, establishes his host's obligation to feed him. No possible notion of private ownership can in the Bedouin mind establish the right of the householder to his surplus so long as a hungry guest remains to be fed.

423 Land in the desert is free as the air. It is practically worthless in its sterile aridity, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that private ownership has not attempted to control it. Live stock is owned individually. This type of property, however, occupies a peculiar position. Animals are privately owned, but they are the object of never-ending raids, and property rights in them are almost as far removed from our notion of private property as from communism itself. Live stock remains

By Harrison D-4 (1913-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East

is greater. The gardener may consider himself hard worked and poorly rewarded. Both of these statements are true. The terms of his agreement with the man who owns the garden are oppressive. He knows very well that his labor is making the land-owner rich while he remains poor. Nevertheless, his lot is vastly more comfortable and he is much more of a polished gentleman than the Bedouin. His wife at least does not wash her hair in camel's urine. The community as a whole, including the artisans and gardeners, has sufficient food and adequate clothes. Compared with desert conditions, people keep clean. Whether built of stone or of mud bricks or of date beams and date leaves, their houses are good shelter from the weather, are warm in winter and fairly cool in summer. On holidays it is refreshing to see how gaily attired they all are. The poorest have a large amount of leisure and can visit their friends and enjoy a pleasant social life.

This society is confined to members of their own class, but within those limits it is quite as free and unconstrained and free as that of the Bedouin. Indeed, in some ways there is a spontaneity and a good fellowship and a genuine brotherhood that go far beyond anything that the Bedouin knows. The Bedouin is an individualist, and in his home he is seen at his best. His association with friends outside of his own tent, even though they are members of his tribe, is marked by a grave taciturnity that is far removed from the spirit shown when the silversmiths of Hasa have a social evening together or when the date gardeners of Katif entertain a stranger.

Furthermore, in these oasis towns there are the beginnings of Arabic art. Arabic penmanship, when done by a master, is real art, and the expert Arab penman is probably the most highly developed artist the place affords

True Badu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion for much social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, at least for city dwellers, coffee is truly the "wine of Islam", and the equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, bellows sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for mouth washing[1]—indeed, the Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most important are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese—of which *labne*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread—and *samen*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads themselves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel.

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop.

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

XXIV

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

101 361 233 LUCK FAVOURED US in eluding the vigilance of the French on our second attempt to reach the grazing grounds of the Tai' Bedouins under their *sheykh,* Muhamed Abd-er-Rachman at-Tai'.

His great camp spread out in a verdant valley, threaded by a long chain of rain pools. The snow-covered mountain ranges of Kurdistan, stretching beyond the Turkish frontier, formed a picturesque background. Camels and great flocks of sheep grazed over the desert, which recent rains had turned into rich pasture. Dotted about in groups were the black tents of the Bedouins. A horseman came to meet us. A foal, so it seemed in the distance, pranced round its mother, but as the rider drew nearer, we saw that the playful creature was a tame gazelle. The Bedouin rode a magnificent mare, that pranced on her feet like a dancer.

574 609 "Where is the abode of our host who will receive us?" I enquired. He pointed to the black outline of the largest tent, which showed from behind a ridge some distance away.

"Ha-wallah—by God—there dwells the Generous One!" He looked us over for a moment, then greeting us curtly, turned his horse and galloped away, the gazelle after him.

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

As we neared the large tent, the merry "ringing" of the coffee mortar bade us welcome. Malla Sulumeh, scribe to Sheykh Tai', conducted us within. 574 609 [212]

A considerable number of tribesmen were gathered in the roomy tent. As usual, the favourite falcon of the *sheykh* stood perched on a camel-saddle. [223]

A slave removed the bird and placed cushions on the saddle for us. The coffee-cook poked apart the pieces of glowing desert roots on the hearth and poured between them dried camel dung from a fold of his cloak. He blew energetically on the hard nuggets, the size of walnuts, until small bright flames commenced to dance all over them. Then a large, beaked can was placed on the glow and it was not long before the coffee-water boiled and bubbled over. "Revive thy spirit!" said the every-ready cup-bearer as he offered me the aromatic cup. 574 272 [372]

Previously he had, in accordance with Bedouin practice, conscientiously wiped out every cup with the sleeve of his old shirt. Adroitly he held in his other hand four small china cups without handles, like so many eggs in a nest, and jingled them lightly one against the other.

The coffee made the round. The favoured guests, whom the Negro served first (unhappily I belonged to them) were the victims of especial politeness; before pouring the coffee, he spat first into the cup and wiped it dry with his shirt sleeve. Three times had I to endure this rite at the hands of the punctilious coffee-priest, who waited on us with the utmost solemnity on each occasion. Only then might I waggle the cup between my finger-tips in token of thanks and satisfaction and hand it back to him.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

224 ily narrowed as it drew near. They started hundreds of gazelles that fled past us, but Sheykh Tai' and his men shot only a few of the fat bucks in their midst.

During the day's hunting, our party gave chase to fifteen wolves, of which nine were killed. One of them had made a kill of two gazelle kids, whose remains were still lying about. The mother, who perhaps at first had fled, returned and stood near by, bleating, as gazelles will. I could not bear the pitiful cries of the poor animal and gave her the *coup de grâce* with a bullet. It was the only gazelle I have ever shot, for I could never bring myself to kill these beautiful, graceful creatures.

It was evening before our body of huntsmen, laden with booty, arrived back in camp.

● 574 Three days after the wolf-hunt a slave of Mishal ibn Faris, Chief of the Shammar Bedouins, arrived, with an invitation to me from his master to visit him and his tribe, which was then camping south of the Jabal Sinjar. [431] He also sent me as a present a golden-brown *aba*, such [486] as is worn by the Shammar in Hayil. It was to serve as a symbol which would ensure a safe journey for me, and his slave would be my guide.

619 The Shammar and the Tai' Bedouins are hereditary 628 enemies and their pasture lands are always, and were especially now, very dangerous regions in which to wander. Therefore, this was an act of particular courtesy and attention on the part of the old *sheykh* to give me safe conduct to his camp.

574 The following day I bade farewell to the Tai' Bed- 431 ouins. Unfortunately, I could not accept the mare

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

which their chieftain had offered me as a souvenir, for 574
we had to travel by automobile. But I accepted two 431
rarer gifts, and these heirlooms to boot. They were an ancient wood-carved coffee mortar, which had been in the possession of Sheykh Tai's family for generations. This pledge of his affection and friendship (as he called it) he had wrapped in an equally precious gift—three [531]
pieces of black cloth, artistically embroidered in gilt-silver thread, with verses from the Koran in Arabic calligraphy. They were choice pieces of the Ka'aba, which Sheykh Tai's great-grandfathers had brought many years ago from Mecca.

Loath as I was to accept such precious gifts, I was constrained to do so.

"We are brothers," said Sheykh Tai'. "Like the wolves. God be with thee. May He direct thy footsteps some future day into my dominions, so that I may meet thee again."

After bidding farewell to this wild, romantic and 493
noble man, we cruised about in our old motor-car for five days along the southern foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, visiting the camps of various lesser tribes. Motor fuel we obtained from their *shiyukhs*.

Nowadays, nearly all of them own motor-cars, and on their migrations they carry a fairly large stock of gasoline with them on their camels.

At last we reached the wide plain through which runs 487
the old historic caravan route from Deyr ez-Zor to Mosul and Baghdad. There we found the first outposts of the Shammar, and there also we parted from the 000
faithful Ibrahim. I paid him handsomely and sent the

[See pp. 163-167 cat. 116 for explanation of this statement—analysis]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

000 man back to Aleppo, with his "wild ostrich", happy and contented.

Here, too, rain had fallen and transfigured the arid,
157 yellow wastes into lush green meadows. From the small band of Shammar, our guide borrowed riding-camels for our further journey, and we reached the camp of Mishal ibn Faris on the following day. Of Mishal the Arabs say that "no cloud can be compared with him for generosity." I, too, must say that I have seldom met so unselfish and kind-hearted a man.

Outside his large tent we drew up and dismounted. How many guest fires must have been lighted under this smoke-blackened roof, which had sheltered three generations!

•574 The elderly *sheykh* stood on the threshold and bade
609 me welcome with the sacred formula of the wilderness,
[576] the assurance of peace, "Salam Alayk."

I responded in the manner of the desert: "God keep thee well." Then, Mishal ibn Faris took with his own hand the headstall from my mare and hung it on the main post of his tent. He had wanted to know me, he said, as soon as he had heard that a stranger, who loved Arab horses, was visiting the Tai'.

I thanked him for his pleasant and friendly invitation. In his way of addressing me there was more than ordinary politeness. From now on, whether with them in person, or far away, I had the freedom of his tribe.

157 Mishal ibn Faris, the great Shammar *sheykh*, esteemed
554 from one end of the desert to the other for his staunch righteousness, had a peaceful and moderating influence on Bedouin politics, both in Mesopotamia and Syria. "A

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

man without a single enemy", Arabs have called him 157 554
to me.

I was Mishal's guest for several weeks. In the company 231
of his son Naif, I was able to look over a large number 435
of Arab horses amongst the different Shammar clans. One two-year-old Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion of purest blood pleased me exceedingly. One day I enquired of the *sheykh's* secretary if he thought it possible that Mishal would sell this stallion. It had indeed come to my ears that Mishal had refused an offer of eight hundred gold pounds from the French Remount Service. From my experience, I knew that really thoroughbred Arab horses were quite rare and therefore exceedingly expensive. Considering the stallion's breeding, the French offer certainly did not appear too high, when one remembers that foreign military commissions and breeders have paid in the desert anything up to three thousand pounds gold for blue-blooded stallions.

I asked the scribe to submit my offer to his *sheykh* up to one thousand pounds gold. I also declared myself [431]
ready to make the customary presents to the *katib* (secretary) and to the slave who had looked after the stallion from birth.

That same day I sat with Mishal and his son Naif and 574
their friends until late into the night. By the light of 231
the campfire I showed them photographs of Arab horses, 572
among them the stallions and mares which I had bought from the stud of Lady Anne Blunt's daughter in England, for the ranch in California.

"Is it known to thee," asked Mishal, "that Lord Blunt and my father Faris formed a blood brotherhood fifty

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

●574 years ago? He, as thou, loved our fast and enduring run-
231 ners, those 'Drinkers of the Wind', which Allah be-
572 stowed on our forefather Ishmael."

Neither the scribe nor anyone else said a word about the stallion, and I dared not ask again; for I imagined that Mishal was particularly fond of this young horse.

574 The day of my departure came. The patriarchal
431 *sheykh* and I exchanged words of formal farewell. Then he led me aside and bade me sit down with him at the farthest tent-peg. After a few minutes of silence, he took two documents from a leather pouch and said: "I have long noticed that thou hast taken the Saqlawi colt to thy heart. He is the best of our breeding, and I am happy to make thee a present of him, that thou mayest always remember our friendship and noble horses. Take the young stallion with thee and mention no thanks nor price, so that this remembrance may live forever unclouded in our hearts."

"The Lord be good to thee, O Mishal ibn Faris," I replied, "for that I am allowed to part from thee with such happy memories."

What more could I say in response to his simple
[181] words? I knew the Bedouins. To be open-handed makes most of them happy; and further, Mishal was a very rich man. To him "belonged" not only the Shammar in
[423] the Northern Jesirah (Mesopotamia), but he actually owned sixty-nine villages and their cultivated lands on the Khabur River. I could only hope that God would grant me the opportunity some time of showing my heartfelt thanks to Mishal in some special way.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

One of the documents the *sheykh* handed to me was a deed of gift and a token of his friendship; the other set forth the pedigree of the colt. Mishal rose to his feet. He took me by the hand to set me on my way, and together we walked far out into the desert. He spoke no word and I made no attempt to break the silence. My eyes were held by the picture of the powerful young stallion which was being led ahead of us by Naif and a slave. Full of fire and grace, with prancing steps, he looked the living epitome of this wild and romantic land.

When some tribesmen rode by on their mares, the young stallion stopped still, his whole body tense, neck arched, and small head held high. His chest quivered as he neighed in long-drawn silvery notes. His uplifted tail flowed out from his croup like a cascade of water. He was surely as magnificent as any of those aboriginal wild horses, which, according to Bedouin lore, Ishmael caught in the Nufud desert. "Black-skinned antelopes (*kuhaylan*) they were called of old, by reason of the black rims around the eyes, which make them look as if they had been painted with *kuhl* (pure antimony)."

The *sheykh* at last called to my companions, who had gone ahead, to halt. Looking back, Mishal and I saw the great camp a long way off. The old chief laid his hands in blessing on the forehead of the young stallion, and said to me: " 'Amud,' I have named thy stallion. It is a name of my people. The peace of God be with thee forever."

Then he kissed both my cheeks and the hoof of the horse, and strode back to his tents.

Rumours.

521 that have been brought back from the Asir front for the King to see? It is true, I say, O Abu Sa'ud. You know I have never told a lie yet, and why should I do so now?"

As he tells this whopper, the women giggle and cry out in pretended alarm. They, of course, believe the story, and half Arabia believes it too.

"Do you know", said Salim again, "that there is talk in the Summán that Faisal al Duwish is alive and in hiding?" I replied caustically that this could not be, seeing that he died in prison of an aneurism two years ago. "That is just it", replied Salim, "you go and swallow any fairy tale that Bin Sa'ud likes to put about. Actually, if you must know it, Al Duwish escaped and is in hiding. Why, as I was coming from Riyadh only twenty days ago I met a Mutairi woman who had met him. She saw him standing outside her tent in the evening. He had come from his hiding place in one of the *dáhals* to ask for a little bread. She is a person who knows the Shaikh like her own self. If you must know it was Wadha, Faisal's own sister. There, that is proof, isn't it?" Cries of pleasure come from the women, for all the world loved Faisal al Duwish, in the eyes of the Mutair the greatest Badawin leader and shaikh that was ever born of woman.

Such and many similar stories were recounted till, tiring, I told them all to go to bed as I had a long day before me in the morning.

264 "Will you want lunch for the road in the morning, Abu Sa'ud?"
574 said the practical-minded Amsha. "Yes, of course", said I. So she promised to get up at 4 a.m. and cook me three chickens* and a bowl of rice. The bowl, she said, had a cover, and with a loaf of Arab bread on top and the cover put on, the lunch would keep warm easily till noon. She was as good as her word. Next day's lunch was delicious. A salam now all round and I dismissed my woman friends, and the worthy Salim, and turned in.

231 I seemed to have slept but a little while by the entrance of my open tent, when I was awakened by ferocious barking. The three or four camp dogs had taken fright at something. I felt they were moving round and round the tents, they were quiet for five minutes or so and then broke out again in the fiercest growling and barking. I was very

* I had brought these along with me alive from Kuwait.

The Shaikh's Consort

proposes to wage war on So-and-So, and on such and such a date. 622
This would not be tolerated. He must carry the public opinion of the tribe with him. Hence, before anything is undertaken, secret meetings and daily talks are held with the tribal greybeards and men of experience. Once a decision has been come to, however, and the battle joined, the leadership lies with the shaikh, and his orders must be obeyed.

To maintain his influence in the piping times of peace, the shaikh must prove himself literally the "father of his people". He must [692] know the family troubles of every man and must give good and fair decisions when cases are brought to him for settlement. Above all, he must not be miserly, and must keep open house. No name has a [574] more unworthy meaning, or leaves a nastier taste in the mouth of the Badawin than the epithet *bakhil*, or "stingy one". Once this name *bakhil* sticks to a chief, his influence is at an end. Hence a successful shaikh must always have coffee going in his tent, pestle must ring on mortar from morn to night. Even this is not enough; for his hungry tribesmen, the majority of whom would scarcely taste meat from year's end to year's end, expect from their shaikh an occasional feast and the slaying of a camel, that all may eat their fill. The shaikh can reasonably stage a feast on the arrival of an important guest, to celebrate a wedding, or circumcision ceremony, or the like.

A great shaikh will go even further and will regularly send presents 622
of frocks and material for dresses to the wives of the less fortunate 431
members of his tribe. This keeps the women happy, and indirectly their husbands also. The shaikh's chief lady also has herself a lot to do in keeping up her husband's prestige, and the wives of the junior members of the clan are for ever calling on her and explaining their difficulties, in the unexpressed hope that assistance to the wardrobe or kitchen will be forthcoming. The great Faisal al Duwish was a master at keeping the women of the tribe happy, and it paid: the same must also be said of His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud.

HARD LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL BADAWIN

The average Badawin has a hard and difficult existence, and may 511
be said to be always hungry and ill-clad. The main hardship he is at all times faced with is lack of money and inability to make any, by

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511 what the world would call honest methods. Hence if he cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work [461] he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as is the case under Bin Sa'ud's regime to-day), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a "square" meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party.

262 His own food for most of the year consists of only camel's milk and a handful of dates per day. The camel-herd gets even less than this.

291 The Badawin's clothes are on the same scanty scale as his food, a thin cotton *dishdásha* (smock), replaced only when it falls off his back with age, and a threadbare *'abba* (cloak), *kaffiyah* and thin rope *agál* (head cloth and head cord), are all he has to cover his ill-nourished body. Yet all this makes for toughness and hardihood, and the average [132] Badawin seems made of steel. The lack of warm clothing is probably the hardest thing in life that he has to bear, for in winter the temperature often falls below freezing point, and the winds are of ice, and cut the body through and through. I have never in my life felt so cold as in the desert a hundred miles inland of Kuwait when a *yáhi* or *jabali* 262 wind has been blowing in December or January. Yet in spite of the 574 hard life, the Badawin is never in danger of actual starvation or of dying from want. His *ahl* (family) would never permit this, nor would the system of affording three days' hospitality to all and sundry —such a splendid feature of democratic Arabia—allow of a man reaching such straits. A person who is down and out, without a penny to his name, would in reality be far worse off in London than in Arabia, where he could always hope to find a black tent or two to sponge on.

[181] A Badawin's dream and ambition in life is to possess about a dozen 231 camels, next a wife, and afterwards a mare, half a hundred sheep and a *salúqi*—I am, of course, assuming that he starts with a rifle and a *dhalúl* (riding camel). Give the desert man these essentials and he is a made man, for both camels and sheep double themselves in three years. Any male lambs that are born, he kills for food, the females he

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keeps for breeding. Similarly, young male camels are sold for food 231
and only a selected few retained to carry the household tents and [492]
baggage.

Mares are never sold, and the male foals, if not killed at birth, are a source of income when sold in the towns bordering on Arabia. (See Chapter XXX.)

The Badawin of the desert has a charm of his own, and if you 572
once make friends with him or do him a kindness, he does not forget. 577
He is above all things a child of nature, and is ruled by a strange pride which he calls his *sharaf* and which he values almost above life itself. Scold a desert man or call him ugly names, and he is ready to knife you; at the very least he will sulk, dig his toes into the ground and do nothing that you wish. On the other hand, if you treat him kindly, invite him to sit down in your tent and take a cup of coffee with you, you have gone half-way to win his friendship and confidence. If you treat him as an equal, and not as a servant, even if he is merely your guide or escort, he will react wonderfully and will rarely take liberties.

He is full of humour too, and will understand a joke and a good 522
story, but you must not make fun of him before his fellow Arabs.

Next to his *sharaf*, the Badawin, and for that matter every true 577
Arab, values his family honour or *'ardh*. This word implies the good name of his womenfolk and more especially of his wife and sister. If his *'ardh* is besmirched nothing short of killing the errant woman will restore it. Respect the Badawin's *sharaf*, speak well always of his *'ardh* and help him to guard both, and all will be well with you in your relations with him.

However poor he is and however lowly his dwelling-place, the 574
Badawin excels as a host, and will slay his last camel or sheep to do honour to his guest. Nor are his womenfolk behindhand in this respect. If an important personage passes by her tent in the absence of her husband, the wife will run out of her tent holding out a frothing bowl of camel's milk or *leben*, as a sign of welcome.

THE BADAWIN'S FAULTS

The desert man has his faults, of course, and by Western standards 000
they are grave.

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342 462 (1) "Spread out the tent *ya 'aiyál*" (O my people) (from its rolled up position when taken off the camel's back).
(2) "Stretch out the ropes *ya auládí*" (O children) (so that they are at right angles to the tent).
(3) "Anchor the rope ends in the ground *ya fulan wa fulan*" (O So-and-So).
(4) or "Drive in the pegs and wind the ropes round them *ya Nasir*."
(5) "Tighten the ropes *ya Hussa, ya Wadha*."
(6) "Take a pull on the end ropes *ya Marzuk, ya Nasir*."
(7) "Affix the *majadím*" (front-side, support-poles.) This is done on side away from wind.
(8) "Raise the centre poles"—the men's job.
(9) "Raise the back side poles and remaining end side poles."
(10) "Now lay to and take a pull at all the ropes once more."
(11) "Now *rawwagu al bait*, i.e. attach the *ruag* or back and side curtains, and cover the lower edge with sand to keep them down."
(12) "Now affix the *qáta* or partition curtains."
(13) Lastly, "Spread out the carpet and the *dawáshaks* and get ready the women's and men's portions of the tent". Women's quarters centre and left (*margad al harim*), men's quarters right (*margad al rijál*).

The tent is now fully pitched and the women place their treasures and stores in the centre portion of the tent, including their litters (*maksar*, *ginn*, etc.), sleeping gear, blankets, food, etc., and transfer to the end compartment the cooking pots, cooking utensils, etc., turning it into a sort of kitchen.

MEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

352 574 In the men's portion of the tent are then unrolled a well-worn carpet or two, the best *dawáshaks* (mattresses), to sit on, and the master's own camel saddle covered with white or black sheepskin. Pillows (*masanad*) are placed on both sides of this camel saddle, and also behind it for the guest's back to rest on, and generally the place is turned into a neat guest chamber for anyone who may [411] come. The master now hangs up his rifle on a hook attached to the 415 tent pole in the guest chamber, and prepares a fireplace to make coffee 272 in the centre of the floor by digging out a shallow circular hole (*wujár*). This done, he gets out his row of three coffee pots (*dalla*), also a fourth "stock" pot, and lays them alongside the fireplace, together with the *mahmása* (coffee roaster) and *yed al mahmása* (coffee-berry stirrer).

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Last of all he places in position the *shat finajin* (brass case for coffee 415
cups) alongside the *yed wal hawan* (brass pestle and mortar), the 272
mubarrad (wooden slipper for cooling coffee beans), the *mukhbát* (wooden peg for stirring the hot coffee), the *lifa* (coir piece to stuff into the coffee-pot's spout), and finally the *makhbár* (incense burner). All is now ready to receive a guest, except that the actual coffee beans, the cardamum seed to mix with the coffee, the firewood (*'arfaj* bush) and the *jalla* camel manure (in place of coal) and the drinking water, is round in the women's part of the tent or outside it, and will have to be fetched.

As a guest is seen arriving these last necessities are brought and by 574
the time he sits down, firewood, *jalla*, etc., all are ready to hand.

The scheme of things in a poor Badawin tent is the same, only everything is on a very much more modest scale—in fact, according to his purse.

A man leaning on the guest saddle is said to be *murtachi*; if he leans his back against a cushion (*masnad*), he is said to be *mutasannad*. If he 516
tells a story he sits cross-legged; when eating he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel; his eating hand works outside his right upright knee; when he washes his hands he squats with knees wide apart.

WOMEN'S PORTION OF THE TENT

Women and servants (if any) carry all cooking utensils, etc., into 415
the women's apartment and cooking portion of the tent, the heavy 251
baggage and bags containing rice, flour, dates, salt, sugar are stored 352
up against the *ṣáta* curtain dividing the women's from the men's 353
apartments. The camel saddle-bags are then hung up on the tent poles, as well as other odds and ends, including the owner's spare rifle and ammunition. Red *laḥáfs* or quilts, which take the place of blankets, are then rolled up and placed on top of the stores, and the woman of the house and her daughter's decorated *maksars* (litters) are placed in a prominent position on the other side of the tent, so as to be seen by passers by.

Not the least important of the women's treasures are the spindles 283
(*maghzal*), with which the womenfolk in their spare time spin camels' or sheep's wool. These they are for ever whirring, whether on the

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to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin 369
in the transition stage to a more settled existence. 361

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of 361
sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents 233
as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharíf stock
such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their [582]
members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and
regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the 565
pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter un- 369
doubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has
grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots
of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi,
are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-
bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs.
The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions 369
involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as 574
host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging 556
in the city.

Akaluna al Badu, is a common cry heard among the 'Arab-
dawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their
neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially [121]
their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful,
for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather
than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and
lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin
raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is
an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or
defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with 233
either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the 463
tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either 619
of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As
sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which
they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined
than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds
has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

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CHAPTER VII

Arab Honour

GUESTS AND THE LAWS OF HOSPITALITY

574 Among Arabs generally, and more especially among the Badawin of the desert, a guest (*thaif*) is a very sacred person indeed, and the unwritten laws of hospitality lay down that such a person, even though he be a perfect stranger, and of a strange tribe, be entertained, fed and looked after in fitting manner, and to the best of the host's power.

There is a beautiful Arab couplet, which takes the form of a host's welcome to his guest, and illustrates better than any words of mine, the tent-dweller's duty towards his guest. It runs as follows, and has been addressed to me in my capacity as guest on several occasions, notably by H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud when I visited him in 1920:

[539] "O Guest of ours, though you have come, though you have visited us, and though you have honoured our dwellings:
We verily are the real guests, and you are the Lord of this house."

A guest is, of course, expected not to impose on his host nor take advantage of the laws of hospitality, unless he genuinely requires food and rest. A traveller, for instance, at the end of a long day's journey, will look round for a tent where he can spend the night, and finding one in the distance can legitimately go to it and get a night's food and lodging. Should he, however, be within a mile or two of his own destination, he must make an effort and complete the distance rather than sponge on perhaps poor strangers.

In the desert a man (or party) does not brazenly go up to a tent, and demand hospitality. That is never done. Gentlemanly instincts are highly developed in the Badawin. A man approaches the tents of his prospective host modestly and with becoming diffidence. He must

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draw near from the front, and not from the back of the tent or tents of his host—in other words, he must come up on the side where the tents are open and facing him. He must then make his camel kneel a couple of hundred yards away, and then busy himself with its saddlery or start tying his camel's knees up (*aggal rikayibu*) until he is noticed. The host will then either go out himself from his tent, and invite the traveller to come and rest, or he will send out a servant, according as he thinks the man is a more or less important person. 574

The guest will then be conducted to the guests' part of the tent, will be given coffee, a meal and a night's rest, and will depart in the early morning. This normal form of entertaining a guest in the desert is exercised every day. It may be called giving a traveller a "night's rest". The guest never dreams of offering payment, nor would such offer be accepted.

The quality of the food naturally depends on the status of the tent-owner, but a host will always offer of his best.

Similarly, if by day a traveller passes close by a tent and would like a drink, he has only to turn towards the tent and he will be given a bowl of *leben* or camel's milk.

A traveller's social status is indicated by the number and style of his retinue. If an important person passes by, the would-be host will move out of his tent, and stand in such a position that it is obvious he is offering a welcome.

Should the master of the house (tent) be absent, the wife steps forward and holds out a bowl of camel milk in such manner as to make it quite clear that she expects the passing cavalcade to halt and partake of her hospitality by drinking at least her buttermilk.

If she has reason to think that it is her own shaikh, or someone equally important, who is passing by, she will go further and hang up her best holiday garment (*thaub*) on a pole in banner fashion, to signify that she gives double welcome. This is called hoisting the *raiyat* (*ta'allag al raiyat*).

Three days is the time limit for a guest to stay in his host's tent. Should he shamelessly stay longer, the host has a right to ask where he is bound for, and whether he can assist him in any way. This hint is as a rule sufficient, and the laggard guest moves on.

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GIFTS

Kings, such as Bin Sa'ud, great Princes, and important shaikhs in the desert, will press their honoured guests to stay and partake of their hospitality up to ten days, but after that period is up, the guest is supposed to take his leave (*yatarakhas*). Both sides will, before parting, exchange presents. The host to his guest and to all the members of his party, and the guest to the servants and retainers of his host.

Should a prince or big shaikh visit another of like status to himself and by invitation, then the arriving guest brings special gifts for his host, his host's ladies and his host's servants. These usually take the form of coffee, bags of rice, men's cloaks, strips of silk for men's *zibúns*, or overgarments, and coloured cloth for women's frocks.

This giving of gifts among persons of rank is an important and essential part of the ritual of hospitality, and has before now fallen hardly on British officials, who have been sent on special missions, for example to Bin Sa'ud's court.

I recollect that on the two occasions when I visited H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz Bin Sa'ud with Sir Percy Cox (then H.M.'s High Commissioner for Iraq), Sir Percy on leaving paid Rs.600 as largesse to the King's servants and retainers, while he and all his party (Europeans) received each a mare in return, with a complete change of Arab garments apiece. The servants received *'abbas*, *kaffiyahs* and *agáls*.

Similarly, when I accompanied Sir Hugh Biscoe (H.M.'s Political Resident in the Persian Gulf) to Hufuf and Khabari Wadha respectively, I distributed Rs.500 on his behalf to the King's retainers.

I mention the above, for it is important that a benign Government should abandon the English standpoint and loosen Treasury purse-strings in recognition of the fact that such an exchange of gifts is a vital custom of the country, and if adequate gifts were not made, its representatives would lose face and influence, and give offence.

In January 1936, when H.M. Bin Sa'ud visited Kuwait, he distributed *zibúns* and *'abbas* to three hundred of the shaikh's retainers, gave Rs.50,000 to deserving persons as presents, and distributed Rs.10,000 to the poor, mostly in person. He followed this up by later presenting

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eleven motor-cars to the shaikh's relations. The shaikh for his part disbursed Rs.95,000, including Rs.25,000 to the King's sons, as well as 750 *ziibúns* and *'abbas* to retainers. K 574 431

This giving of gifts by a host to his guest is more particularly the prerogative of the host if he be the big man and the guest be the poor man. It follows then that any Badawin shaikh who comes on a visit to his King, his prince or his paramount shaikh, and is hospitably received by him, expects to receive some sort of present before he departs. "After all," thinks he, "have I not come a distance of many miles, have I not shown my loyalty and have I not imparted much information of value?" B 574 431

I had the honour to be for seven and a half years the Political Agent of Kuwait, and I can testify that this officer can similarly maintain good relations with the great desert tribes of Iraq, Hasa, Najd and Jabal Shammar, only by keeping open house at all times and receiving with due honour the shaikhs of these tribes whenever they come to the town to purchase supplies. These shaikhs call, as a measure of duty, receive coffee, sherbet and other refreshments and before departing are given a present of cash, clothing or coffee by the Political Agent.

The expenditure is worth while, for each man has given a full picture of what is happening in his country, and has unconsciously provided the official with much valuable intelligence. Were the Political Agent to cease giving his guests a present, however small, they would immediately cease to come and see him, and in a very short time indeed H.M.'s representative would find himself blind and deaf. He certainly would get little news out of the local powers, seeing that in self-defence their policy must always be to keep H.M.'s representative more or less in the dark or at least in blinkers.

THE SALT BOND

To have eaten with a person gives a guest security from the man who has fed him and entertained him, and even from his host's people or tribe, for a period of three days. B 574 628

Even if you merely drink coffee with your host, this counts as if you had eaten his food.

574 Faleh bin 'Aamir, a Mutairi of the Mu'aha branch of the 'Ilwa,
628 whom I have known for several years and with whom I have spent many a pleasant evening in the desert, has from time to time told me many stories relating to Arab hospitality. Among other things, he detailed the duty of guests towards their host which I recorded in my notes on 7th January, 1935.

Not only, said he, is there a binding duty of the host towards his guest, but such guest, so long as his host's salt (*milah*) is in his stomach (*fi battinu*)—which is always assumed to be three days and three nights—is responsible that no harm comes to the host from the guest's tribe. For example, A was the host of B, who quite casually and as an ordinary traveller, had stopped at A's tent and spent the night (*nauwakh andhu*). Next day B left A's tent (second day) and went his way. On the third day A's tent was attacked by raiders from B's tribe, and five camels and one mare were carried off. A then had a rightful claim against B and was able through B's intervention to recover his lost camels and mare.

In practice A would follow B to his tribe, however far away, and would lay his claim before him, or if B's tribe were not on a friendly footing with A's tribe, A would send a neutral messenger to B, and demand satisfaction.

Not only would B be in honour bound to make complete restitution, but he would have the whole of his tribe behind him if it were necessary to coerce the raiders who had harmed A's camp and stolen the camels. On top of the restitution to A, "honour" money or "honour" camels, would have to be paid to B. That is, the raiders would have to give an extra camel or two to B as compensation for having, so to speak, broken the salt bond between the two men.

SANCTITY OF WOMEN

562 In the desert the position of women is a far freer and happier one
587 (if we except the hard life and privation that is their lot), than that
586 of their Arab sisters of the town. It is true that they are frequently divorced. Such divorces, however, are not over-serious. Perhaps there is incompatibility of temper, or perhaps the wife has failed to serve up a tasty dinner for her husband and lord. It matters little.

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If she is pretty, attractive and the daughter of So-and-So, she will 562
easily find a dozen other men ready to marry her. 587

As for her children: she retains the small ones till they reach the 586
age of eight, and then hands them over to their father's care, but they are never far from her, and are allowed to come and see her as often as they like. Nay, if she is a clever girl she will keep on quite friendly terms with her former husband, and call and see his new wife regularly. That is quite common practice.

Where the Badawin housewife has distinctive rights, is in the 562
management of the tent; she is *um al 'aiydl* (mother of the family) 462
as well as *raiyat al bait*. She holds the honour and good name of her husband in the hollow of her hand. Upon her falls the duty of providing for the guest, of cooking choice and tasty dishes, of turning out good *laben*, and generally bringing the good name of her husband into prominence among his fellow Arabs.

The mistress of the house never sees or mixes with stranger guests, 562
but she knows all that is going on, for only a curtain partition separates 574
the women's from the guest's quarters.

The personal name of the lady of the house is never mentioned by the guest, or even by the host's men friends, she is *Um al 'Aiydl* or *Raiyat al Bait* only. Should a friend wish to ask after a man's wife, he will merely say to the husband, *Kaif hal illi warrak?* or *Shlaun um al 'aiydl?* ("How is she who is behind you?" or "How is the mother of the children?"). Unpleasant badinage is taboo.

Even more carefully guarded and shielded are a man's marriageable daughters. They are never seen at all, except by those on very intimate terms.

Jokes about a man's getting married, and so forth, are quite com- 562
mon, and the young Lothario about to get spliced is always the butt 522
of his companions, but never is the woman's name brought into this form of rough chaff. That would be *'aib* (a shameful thing).

The sanctity of a woman and her good name is more immediately 562
apparent in cases of war or hostilities between two tribes. 726

She it is who encourages her menfolk to go forth and fight bravely for her and come back triumphant. She it is, if the tribe has to be rallied, who uncovers her face, lets down her hair, and mounts the *markab* of the tribe wildly to encourage the young and old men to

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PRETTY CUSTOMS AND EXPRESSIONS AMONG WOMEN

B 192

(*a*) *Expressions of astonishment* (at seeing or hearing something startling).

Ya kabdi kabda—Oh! my liver. (Especially 'Ajman women.)
Ya galbi galba—My heart of hearts. ('Ajman women.)
Yummah!—Oh Mother!
Ybbah!—Oh Father!

Men have one very common expression, "'Allâh" pronounced with a long drawl on the final "a". This when they have seen or heard something really surprising or wonderful.

(*b*) *Expressions of affection.*

Ba'ad aini aini—Oh my eyes, my eyes.
Ba'ad galbi galbi—My heart, my heart.
Ba'ad ruhi ruhi—My soul, my soul.

(*c*) *Woman's expression of impatience.*

Ya waili waila—E.g. "Come here Nura, the English lady wants to speak to you, why don't you hurry you foolish one, *ya waili waila*, what is the matter with you!"

(*d*) When the head of the house, or a son, returns from a long journey or from the pearl-banks, the woman of the house hangs up on a pole, with a cross-piece to it, one of her best and most brilliantly coloured *thaubs*. Among townswomen, this is hung up on the roof of the house, for the world to see. In the case of Badawin women in the desert the pole is placed in front of the tent. This custom is almost similar to that observed when an important shaikh or personage is expected to arrive at or pass a camp, and the Badawin ladies desire to show him welcome.

K 201 B 201

The custom is known as *raiyat*.

(*e*) Another pretty custom is to show to a guest at a tent, or big man passing by and staying for coffee, a baby that is just born, when for luck he gives into its little hand a rupee or riyal.

B 574

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The statement often made that a bride never shows her face to her Arab husband is not exactly correct. As often as not the husband forcibly

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CHAPTER XII

Food and Hospitality

262 The well-to-do Badawin, such as our man Salim al Muzaiyin or the shaikh of a tribe, has one square meal a day, usually in the evening. This consists of plain rice cooked in *semen* (ghi), a few dates dipped in butter, some *leben* (butter-milk), finishing up with coffee. In the early morning he starts the day with some *leben* and dates, also coffee. He does not often eat meat himself, because he cannot afford to do [574] so. Should a guest of standing arrive, the host will always kill a sheep or lamb for him, which goes the round of the family after the guest has had his share.

The poor Badawin, and the great majority of Badawin are poor, get one meal a day consisting of dates and camel's milk, with a very occasional dish of plain rice or a piece of bread.

The very poor Badawin, such as the herdsman (*shâwi*) who tends the sheep or camels of the more fortunate, gets nothing but camel's milk. Very rarely he gets some dates also, and still more rarely a bit of rice and meat when his shaikh or employer has a guest, his share being the entrails of the sheep that has been killed.

Speaking generally, in the province of Hasa rice is eaten where possible in preference to bread. The opposite is the case in inner Najd, Qasim, etc. The reason is obvious: wheat is grown in Najd and [264] rice has to be transported there. The Badawin, like all other Muslims, eats with his right hand only and gives it a cursory wash before starting his meal. He is always hungry, and as a result if he can get such things as locusts, edible monitors (*dhub*), game of any sort and even foxes, 788 he will eat them with relish. Speaking generally, the Badawin proper will eat anything that comes his way, especially if no one is looking, though he must always ceremonially cut the throat of any animal or bird he snares or shoots, saying as he does this: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" (*b'ismi'llah al Rahman al Rahim*).

[pages 187 and 188 contain no textual material]

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B 264 After the meal is over, though he ought to wash his hands, he rarely does so, owing to shortage of water. He prefers to wipe his hands on the tent and later in his beard. The 'Ajman tribe pride themselves in being able to show grease hand-marks on their tents; these B 262 indicate "hospitality". Bread is rarely eaten except among the well-to-do Badawin, though of course if bread is available any man will eat it with pleasure.

Mushrooms (*ftur*) and truffles (*fagah*) are eagerly sought for and eaten in the rainy season, but these are a luxury.

On special occasions the Badawin gets camel's meat, if for instance his shaikh is entertaining. The "hump" especially is considered a great delicacy in the cold weather. I have not infrequently eaten camel's meat myself and found it rather coarse and leathery, but the Badawin loves it.

K 262 In Kuwait town and among the town-dwellers of Najd, camel's meat and beef are regularly eaten during the winter months. Both are said to keep a person warm, and the former to make him strong.

B 262 Every Badawin, whether rich or poor, must entertain and feed a stranger who asks for a night's lodging.

574 If such guest be a big man and his host is fairly well to do, a sheep is invariably killed and served up with rice, sprinkled with sultanas, almonds and a few onion shavings.

If the guest is a poor nomad Badawin, the guest will be given a dinner of plainly cooked rice and some dates and *leben*. Should the host himself be very poor, he will still take the traveller in, and do the very best he can for him, even if he has only a few dates to offer; but entertain him he must, that is, give him food and a night's shelter.

B 574 Should a shaikh or well-to-do person visit a poor man's tent and ask for hospitality, he is expected to reward his host, either on leaving or on reaching home, with either a money present or a *kiswah* (present of clothing). This is the invariable custom.

Should a traveller pass a tent with only women in it, the head of the tent being away, say tending sheep or camels, the principal woman of the tent will come out, and stand in front of her tent with a bowl of *leben*, a signal to the passer-by to come and refresh himself. If an important cavalcade passes by, and the lady of the tent desires to attract their attention and get them to come and partake of her bounty,

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she will seize a light pole, usually one of the tent side-supports, and 574
hang one of her holiday orange, red or black garments on it, and stick it into the ground in front of her tent as a signal. This is her silent way of inviting the stranger to come and partake. I have been thus invited on several occasions, especially by members of the 'Ajman tribe and the Muntafiq.

If a man and his wife are both at home and a guest arrives, of whatever status, he is welcomed by the man and placed in the *diwâniyah* portion of the tent, that is, the end furthest away from the women's quarters. There he is given his coffee, food and a place to sleep. The women do not come near him or attempt to talk to him, unless he happens to remain two or three days, on account perhaps of heavy rains. The women then thaw somewhat, and when they do address him it is as "my brother".

When Badawins are encamped singly, they always endeavour to 361
hide their tents in hollows and in such positions as to escape notice. 574
This is partly due to a natural desire to escape attention in case an enemy is about, but more often to escape being seen by a traveller. The latter must be attended to if he begs for food and a night's shelter, and this entertaining of strange guests often bears very heavily on the tent-dweller. These remarks apply to the Badawin of the desert proper and do not include tribes such as the settled ones of Iraq, who are very wealthy and normally entertain on a most lavish scale.

Some tribes, especially the Muntafiq of the Euphrates, are so 574
scrupulous in exercising hospitality that they often almost ruin themselves rather than be thought stingy to guests. A man having only a single sheep in the world will go and kill it to feed a strange guest. The Braih (Wasil) section of the desert Mutair have a similar reputation for entertaining, and are looked up to in consequence. The Birzan subsection of this tribe, having been blessed by the Prophet himself for their kindness and hospitality, were rewarded by being told that their blood even was blessed—hence it is believed that to drink a Birzani's blood will cure a man of impotence, cause a woman to conceive and counter the poison of a mad dog.

Some tribes, notably the Dhafir, have an unpleasant custom which 264
often annoys those sitting down to a meal. Say there are ten men dining together, if one gets up satisfied, the rest must at once all get

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backbone, the muscles of the shoulders and the muscles of the leg 264
near the knuckle: the tongue, the kidneys, the cheek bits and the eyes, are also well-known delicacies. The fat of the tail is always looked upon as the guest's particular right. The Arabian sheep is of the fat-tailed variety unknown in England. Round the central dish of rice and meat, the shaikh places two or three bowls of *leben*, with lumps of rather dirty butter floating in it—also a plate or two of dates. The guest, after finishing his meal, drinks *leben*, and then turns to the dates, which he eats with the butter floating in the *leben*. These dates and butter, especially if the dates are fresh (*ratab*), are delicious.

Prior to the meal, and after the meal, coffee is handed round. 264
Among the Badawin coffee is rather a poor and watery stuff, and 272
following the Najd fashion is made with lots of *hail* (cardamum) in it. After lunch, it is polite to thank your host with a *Allah i kathir* 576
khair ak or a *'An'am Allah 'alaik* (God increase your good works! or God reward you!).

It is also quite correct to make pleasant remarks about the good cooking of the housewife, and if you catch a glimpse of her, as you often may behind the *qáta* or curtain dividing the women's from the men's quarters, you may say *Allah i kathir khair ich ya ma'aziba* (God give you plenty, hostess of mine!). The lady will always reply with a *hanni wa 'a'afiah* or *'alaikum al 'a'afiah* (may you be satisfied!).

Having enjoyed the shaikh's hospitality, you leave after taking 264
coffee, and the relatives, young men, big children, etc., eat up what is left of the meal: it is always amusing to see these hang back in pretended shyness, as if to say, "You know I never came here to get a meal", when the host invites them to come forward and partake with a *Yalla ya flan, gúm*, or *Yalla ya raba'a gúmu*, or *Thafadhalu ya awlád*. He usually has to do this several times and in a rather injured voice.

The host of course does not eat with his guests, but later with the 574
members of the family. It is always seemly for the guest, if he be a 431
prominent person like a shaikh or Political Agent, to bring a present of rice, coffee or sugar with him for the tent. This gift he presents in casual manner before he leaves: if he wants to win more praise, he will also have brought with him materials for half a dozen frocks for the

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B 574 431 women of the tent. This makes him their friend for life. I always made a point of trying to do this in Kuwait.

A dinner party given by a townsman (hadhari) or better-class semi-nomad tribesman ('arabdar)

B 252 264 This is a very much grander affair than the preceding, and the rice is usually of the *ambar bu* kind from Iraq or North Iran. After boiling, the whole sheep is browned all over by plunging it in boiling *dehen* K 252 or *semen* (clarified butter). It may be even baked in a baker's oven, 264 when it is known as *lahm mashwi*.

Over the rice is spread a thin layer of hot sultanas, shredded onions (fried), gram and other spices. Dried pomegranate seeds are often introduced (an unpleasant habit, as grit like sand-grains seems to have got into the food). The whole dish is surrounded with plates, or small bowls, containing various meat dishes, vegetables, sweetmeats and fruit (usually cut-up melon). The number of these dishes increases with the importance and wealth of the host. The following are the names of the more important dishes thus served:

(*a*) *Marag*—a tasty brown stew containing small lumps of meat, tomatoes (*tamáta*), egg-plant (*baitan-jan*), and ladies' fingers (*bámia*).

(*b*) *Shaikh Mahshi*—Young white pumpkins, or preferably large cucumbers, stuffed with rice, nuts, and minced meat.

(*c*) *Baragh* or *Dólma*—A mash of rice and meat wrapped up in young vine leaves, and thoroughly boiled. It is delicious to the taste. (Originally from Turkey.)

(*d*) *Tamáta marag*— is like (*a*) above, but made of tomato and onion sauce.

(*e*) *Dólmat*—Stuffed onions like (*c*) above.

(*f*) *Kabáb*—Meat, rice and sultana rissoles.

(*g*) *Mahallibi*—Ground rice or arrowroot cooked in milk and flavoured with cardamum, and sometimes with chopped pistachio nuts.

(*h*) *Mahallibi wa Záfáran*—Like (*g*) mixed with saffron to colour it yellow.

(*i*) *Harís*—A kind of crushed corn-and-meat porridge, very nourishing.

B Interspersed with the above are plates of dates (*tamar*), bowls of 264 sour milk (*leben*), grapes, sections of melon (if in season), also large K 264 flat thin wafers of unleavened bread or thick round flat oven-made

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173 (1) One and all discarded what they called the commonly believed and foolish story of Kisra (Chosroes) having colonised Hasa with war prisoners, who later became the ancestors of the 'Ajman. They could not say where the story had originated, but were emphatic that it was untrue.

(2) One and all of the leaders and old men (including Salim al Udhain, the aged Musra Shaikh) declared that the story of their Najran ancestry was the only correct one. This was proved also by many of their old songs and verses, composed over a thousand years ago, and handed down from father to son. These clearly showed, they said, that the mysterious Yam was their founder, and that from him also had sprung the Murra, the Manasir, the Manahir, the Awámir, the Rashid, the Saiar (of Hadhramaut and Dhufar), also the Karab, and many also of the Yaman tribes proper. They, the 'Ajman, the greatest of the Yam descendants, invaded (according to their ancient sagas) the Persian Gulf littoral in the days when the Araiar house of the Bani Khalid ruled Eastern Arabia and modern Hasa. In fact, this took place in the day of the famous Araiar ruler who made the touching of a *hubara* egg punishable by death.

A VISIT TO THE CAMP OF AMIR HAIF BIN HAJRAF (HEAD OF THE SULAIMAN SEPT OF THE 'AJMAN) 25TH MARCH, 1935

574 My last visit to Amir Haif's camp was interesting for various reasons, but especially because of the way they were doctoring a valuable hawk, which had had its head badly cut in a fight with a *hubara*.

We (my wife, myself, my daughter and 'Addas the hawk-eyed Rashidi hunter of the Shaikh of Kuwait) arrived at about 10 a.m. at the Amir's camp on the eastern edge of the Shaqq, and in the depression known as Khaur al Hajlan.

My wife brought enough silks and satins to satisfy the needs of the Amir's ladies, some seven in number (including sisters and daughters), and after distributing them, and giving other silks to the two wives of Anaizan al Munaikhar on a visit from Najd, we had lunch. A good spread it was too, set out in 'Ajman fashion. The Amir made an excellent host, and entertained us right royally.

151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival. But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious
609 and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give
574 away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and
264 then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how
[271] quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet
576 no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when
[486] everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he
577 would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

101 Hadhramaut we had crossed the Sa'ar From the plateau
619 to this last well upon the desert's edge, where
622 we had heard that Bin Maiqal and his Bin Ma'aruf section of the Sa'ar were camped. Normally he and his clan lived in the desert around Najran, and of recent years they had acknowledged Ibn Saud as their overlord; but they had been involved in a raid upon the Yam and had fled south to seek refuge among their kinsmen from the animosity of that great tribe and the wrath of Ibn Saud. The desert was full of fear and everywhere the talk was of raids and counter-raids, of deaths and of looted stock.

233 In the sharp cold of the winter's morning we rode down the valley beyond the well, past the milch herds of the Bin Ma'aruf. The herdboys had just driven them forth to graze from their couching-place around the tents, and my companions spoke appreciatively of their condition, calling each other's attention
574 to their finer points. The Sa'ar had news of our approach, for a party of them had ridden

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• 574 past our stopping-place at sunset the day before. Now as we drew near they assembled to receive us and greeted us as is the Bedu custom by firing low over our heads. Then drawing their daggers they swept down on us in a wild yelling mob while we fought to control our startled camels. Dismounting we greeted each of them in turn, and after joining the coffee circle exchanged our news in the traditional Bedu formula. A dish of dates was then set before us and a young lad moved round the ever-growing circle, pouring out to each in turn the customary sips of bitter black cardamom-flavoured coffee.

619 Sitting among them were visitors from neighbouring tribes, who had come here to discuss truces and blood-money, and some of them I had met before. The names of many of the Sa'ar were also familiar to me, for I had heard them repeated again and again, in tales of skirmishes and bloodshed, while on the
411 march and in desert camps. Every man and boy among these tribesmen held a rifle in his

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 398(B) -- ANALYST]

411 hand and all wore the distinctive carnelian-
[157] studded dagger, and one and all impressed
me as virile, reckless and uncontrolled, but
701 humorous and friendly. While we sat among
621 them talking there was a sudden stir, for they
had noticed a dozen mounted Arabs approaching rapidly across the dunes. Then someone recognized one of the camels and they relaxed. These camels were stretched out and travelling very fast, yet were urged to even greater efforts by the wild yells of their riders. They were the scouts, sons of sheikhs and the very pick of the tribe, who set out each dawn to scour the surrounding desert, keen-eyed for the tracks of strangers. Lithe, hard-bodied and alert, these lads rode their splendid beasts with effortless mastery. They had heard the firing and, thinking the camp attacked, had ridden back to help.

621 Scattered upon the dunes around us were
small black tents, round which naked infants
592 romped, while dark-clad women moved about gathering sticks and tending herds of goats. Sometimes a family changed its site, for, though fear of raiders had imposed upon them the need to keep together, their restless nomad instincts drove them to constant movement within the wide confines of the camp. Such short migrations provided an interesting sight as they moved slowly past. The children drove the camels, laden with tents, cooking-pots, watering-troughs and ropes, the simple requirements of their life; while the Bedu mothers and the virgin beauties of the tribe rode in the slow swaying camel-litters.

574 That evening they feasted us on meat and,
after the camel herds had drifted in at dusk,
brought us great frothing bowls of milk, the nectar of the Arabs. The night was filled with the haunting sounds of an Arab camp—the ceaseless restless moaning of camels, the barking of dogs, the rise and fall of Arab voices from their gathering-places round the fires, and sometimes the distant harmony of song.

312 Next morning when the sun was warm we
drove our camels across the sandy plain to water at the well, which is situated close under high limestone cliffs on the northern
401 edge of the valley. A few Arabs had already
312 arrived and were fastening their pulleys to the scaffolding around the well. It is over 200 feet in depth and stone-lined, a monument to some forgotten people in the dim past. At the deep wells in the Najd the Arabs use their

P. 398 (B) [TEXT CONTINUES ON P 400 (A) -- ANALYST

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
571 leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
415 either end of the rope which runs over the
[462] pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full
the other descends empty. Men and women
draw together on the well-ropes, four or five
to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel
herds arrived and the serious work of watering
began. Great leather troughs supported on
crossed wooden hoops were set up by each
family around the well. Soon there was no
room for more watering parties, and late-
comers had to wait their turn. The buckets
rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs
about which the thirsty camels pushed and
thrust while their calves frolicked around.
Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran
in and out among them, driving away camels
which did not belong to them, and restraining
the more impatient of their own. Others
scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite
beasts, while they sang them their watering
songs to induce them to drink deep. When
they had drunk they were couched nearby, to
be watered again later in the day, before
being driven back to pasturage. Round the
well-mouth women filled their water-skins,
which then lay swollen and quivering upon
the ground, guarded from the trampling feet
of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad
only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined
freely in the constant jests and laughter.
Among them was a tall girl of startling
beauty. She had come down to the well early
in the day, carrying a water-skin and accom-
panied by her young sister. The centre of a
happy laughing group of lads, she dallied
here till the evening.

● 574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink
coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet
69 differed from them in their dress and way of
life. They wore indigo-dyed loincloths and
wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion
among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin
Ma'aruf were clad like the Northern Arabs in
long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell
nearly to the ground. They were returning
to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days'
[241] journey to the south. Floodcrops of sorghum
312] and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
guarded by numerous stone-built forts and
watch-towers, which look out across the deso-
609 late rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited
by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of
the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for

treachery.
P. 100 (A)

609 treachery. This is probably a slander, inspired by the constant enmity which characterizes their relations with their neighbours; but they certainly deserve their reputation for godlessness, for they never fast nor pray, declaring that the Prophet gave their forefathers exemption from both.

231 We now sat looking down on the busy scene around the well, and those Arabs who
521 had finished watering strolled over and joined us. They asked us what we thought of their herds, and were soon deep in technicalities with my companions. They spoke of individual camels owned by Arabs four or five hundred miles away, of the different breeds, their milk yields and powers of endurance, of prices in Dhofar, Najran and on the Trucial Coast, of pasturage, and of camels taken in
721 raids on other tribes. We heard details of the recent raid upon the Yam and of how Mabkhaut, nicknamed the Cat, had remained behind to hold up the pursuit and had been killed when his rifle jammed. He had been the greatest raider in the southern desert and his exploits and daring were legendary among the tribes. I had known him well, for he had guided us the year before from Salala to Dhofar. They spoke of raids across the waterless eastern steppes, and among the giant dunes to the north. They told of pursuits and battles in the dark, of ruthless killings, of blood-feuds and murder. They mentioned famous guides, and waterholes and routes across the sands, where the oryx herds still
574 roamed. Meanwhile, a young lad had blown up the embers of the fire and set the long-necked coffee pot to boil. His uncovered hair fell to his naked shoulders and framed an impish laughing face. Our elderly host had roasted the coffee beans and passed them round for us to sniff, before pounding them up in a wooden mortar and putting them in the pot. He flavoured his coffee with crushed ginger as is the custom in the Hadhramaut. He also gave us parched grain and beans to eat; all that he had with him, for on such simple fare do the Bedu travel.

600 We lingered with them till the sun was nearly set and then descended past the well, deserted now, except for a bent old woman and two small children, who were loading the last of their water-skins on a young and restive camel. Tomorrow there would be the endless bargaining for camels and arguments with prospective guides, and ahead of us lay all the hardships and difficulties of the desert crossing. But my companions were content, and being happy in the present broke into song as they approached the camp-fires through the dusk.

p 400 (B)

797 of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. The
563 Beduin manifested his enthusiasm by declaring
721 that all Moslems were equal before God, and hence that the Sulubba were equal to "free men," i.e. Beduins. Ibn Saud, anxious to increase his fighting men, backed this idea (in fact he may have originated it), and raised fighting forces from the Sulubba and gave them war banners. The Sulubba took part in a number of war-like operations, and it was said that, in the massacres which usually followed a Wahhabi victory at this time, the Sulubba were the most cruel and bloodthirsty.

The outbreak of fanaticism, however, died down from 1925 to 1929, and it is believed that these Nejd Sulubba have again fallen back to their original condition.

342 In order to escape unwelcome Beduin guests,
574 the Sulubba live in tiny tents, many of them
563 scarcely larger than a blanket. They show great
69 skill in pitching these tents in the beds of ravines or behind rocks so as to be invisible to passers-by. The more important Beduin sheikhs take pride in pitching a large tent in a prominent place, which conveys not only defiance of enemies but a distant welcome to guests. According to Beduin interpretation the Sulubba reveals his baseness by concealing his camp from both strangers and guests.

Sulailat

101 These consist of a tribal section, who
563 usually camp with the Amarat branch of the Anaiza in the Iraqi desert west of the Euphrates. These people are said to be descended from a man of the Anaiza tribe, who married a Sulubba

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

609 northern Hasa; and there are certain districts, containing but few
486 wells, where several tribes, each having a right of watering, cross and recross each other's dīras, without committing thereby acts of trespass, though not without engendering frequent friction. Such, for example, are the steppe west of Jebel Shammar and that north-east of the same district towards the lower Euphrates valley. For the right of crossing a dīra the traveller is expected to pay in money or kind to the chief, who often drives a very hard bargain, but should not be regarded as levying blackmail. After all, in return for the payment, he and his tribe concede protection and allow the traveller to consume some of their very scanty supply of fodder and
621 water. All Arab society is patriarchal. Some one man can answer for each unit, and among the best Arabs for very large units. The traveller's chief danger arises where tribes are small or so broken up that not more than one or two families recognize a chief.

486 There is, however, one recognized exception to this sanctity of
721 dīras, namely, the right of every tribe, or even section of a tribe, to raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, unless
577 barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship. To go
621 out on raid (*ghazwah*) is the young man's chance of proving himself, and to provide him with that opportunity is virtually obligatory on all tribes, except the meanest. The greater chiefs, like their ancient cousins, the Assyrian kings, make an annual practice of the Raid. The farther afield it goes, the greater the glory in a society punctiliously sensitive to public opinion. Raiding parties may, therefore, be met very far from the ranges of their own people, and no district is quite safe from them. They may generally be recognized by their travelling light, without women, and on high-bred camels. The *rafīq* is powerless against them in his own dīra, except possibly through some lucky friendship on his part or the repute of his tribe. But raiding parties are not very particular. They will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attack, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognized part of the game, and entails no slur on the courage of any members of the party.

486 The more the traveller can learn and retain in his mind of the
181 genealogy of individuals and tribes, in a land where pedigrees are very widely known back to a hoar antiquity and inordinately valued,
574 the better for his safety and the impression he will make and leave on his hosts. He should know also, as far as possible, the political grouping of tribes and recent desert history. If, like Doughty, he

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia MJ1
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B

travels *in forma pauperis*, he can avail himself, more than one who takes his own tents and servants, of the protection which Arab usage enjoins a Bedouin to extend to one who has touched as suppliant any part of his tent or belongings or eaten of his food. Strictly the efficacy of the last safeguard expires on the third day, when all that was eaten on the first is supposed to have passed out of the body. It is often worth while to appeal from the men to the women, whose instincts of hospitality, independence, and freedom of action are pleasing features of Bedouin life.

486 181 574

B

It is worth while to remember that no Bedouin society is wholly self-supporting. Even if it can supply itself with sheer food from its own dīra, or some purely Arabian oasis—which it rarely can—it is dependent on the outer world for other necessaries, as well as for any sort of simple luxury. Clothing materials, coffee, tobacco, and, to a great extent, arms and munitions can only reach it from ports, or from the settled districts on the fringes of Arabia. Those, therefore, who control such ports or districts can always exercise an influence upon the desert men, however inaccessible, command their behaviour in the long run, and punish their hostility.

433

B

From a military point of view Bedouins make very valueless auxiliaries of trained troops, except as scouts and raiders, or, if long, hot, and waterless stages have to be covered, as messengers.

783

Settled Folk.

S

The principal settlements will be dealt with in the special chapters on localities (see Chaps. IV ff.), followed by detailed descriptions of the tribes themselves (see Chaps. XIII ff.)

162 621

The ubiquity of nomads in Arabia explains and partly excuses common ignorance about the real extent and importance of its urban and village societies. To say that all the Arabs of the peninsula are Bedouins, or that its society is either nomadic or semi-nomadic, is far from the truth. Not only do the fertile coastal districts in the south-east and south-west of the peninsula contain numerous urban and village communities, rooted to the soil and engaged in agriculture and trade, while the goals of the Pilgrimage, Mecca and Medina, with the port of Jiddah, are considerable towns; but, as has already been pointed out, the three groups of oases in the centre support urban settlements, several of which have over 5,000 inhabitants apiece, besides many agricultural villages, large and small.

S

It is, however, true that all settled communities in Arabia are affected, in various degrees, by the nomad society, which is never far from them, and often surrounds them. There is much intermarriage between the settled and the unsettled folk: chiefs and

621

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
619 **Huteim** (*continued*):	*Beni Rashīd* (*continued*):	*Fehjāt*
		Bedaunah
101	*Jerābis.* Nr. Wejh	
622 **Sulubba**	*Seidān.* In Nejd	
	Ghaneimi. In Nejd	
	Suleib Ibn Mālik. In 'Irāq and the Hamād	
Hawāzin No Paramount Sheikh of their own tribe, that authority having passed to the Sultan of Koweit	*Kā'ah*	*Hadhālīn*
		Bureikāt
		Shaqufah
	Ghiyādh	*Malā'ibah*
		Musāhimah
		Musā'idah
		Adhyeibāt
		Jawāsirah
		Muhālibah
		Muweijiyah
		Aghrubah
		Karāshah
		Sawābir
Sunnā'. Smiths		
Nawār. Gipsies		

7. *The 'Uqeil*

485 575 The **'UQEIL** (Ageyl) are the guides and conductors of caravans in Arabia. They are not a tribe but an organization partaking of the nature of a club or society or a masonic lodge. They have no connexion with the ancient 'Uqeil tribe of the Ahl esh-Shimāl, from whom the Muntefiq claim descent; this seems to have disappeared and left no trace. The modern 'Uqeil are all Nejd Arabs, townsfolk or nomads of any tribe from Hasa, 'Āridh, Qasīm or Jebel Shammar; but men of Sedeir and the Wādi Dawāsir are not admitted; nor are members admitted from any of the big tribes, such as the Harb and Ateibah, who are engaged in interminable blood feuds, the object being to keep the 'Uqeil society neutral. Settled Beni Tamīm and Beni Khālid of Nejd and Qasīm are most suitable for its purposes. The head-quarters of the society are at Baghdad, and its president, who is always a native of Boreidah, lives at Baghdad and there enrols the members.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

The 'Uqeil are of two kinds: **Jemāmil**, camel-men forming the fraternity of caravan leaders, and **Dhogorti**, poor men, pedlars and mercenaries, who help to compose an irregular cavalry under the Ottoman flag and serve as escort to the Hajj and as guards to the *kellas*, stations or halting-places, on the Hajj road. These last do not belong to the society. The true 'Uqeil are recognized throughout Arabia as professional guides whose presence vouches for a caravan of merchants or travellers and removes it from all suspicion of hostile intentions. It is the 'Uqeil who conduct the camel-trade of the desert, being employed by the dealers of Damascus to purchase from the tribes in Arabia, in the Syrian Desert, and in Mesopotamia.

Such an institution as this society, with universal freedom of passage, is essential to the conduct of business in Arabia, where no tribesman, unless he be engaged on a raiding expedition, dare venture outside his own tribal territory for fear of hereditary feuds and enmities which imperil his existence. The possible service they can render to European travellers is dealt with on p. 21. It is very dangerous for such a traveller to assume the character of an 'Uqeil: but Arabs, who wish to shield the caravan in which the traveller is from molestation, will sometimes impose it on him (this was done to Shakespear near Wādi el-'Arabah in 1914). His best course then is, on the approach of any stranger, to feign illness and remain rolled up, face and all.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

one is invited, and the half-starved Bedouin, who has perhaps not had a full meal for months, makes such use of his opportunities as seems incredible to a student of anatomy. Four hungry Bedouins are supposed to be able to eat a whole roasted sheep at one sitting, and I am sure that I have seen many such a Bedouin company that would be equal to the task. An Arab feast is an interesting sight. A whole sheep must be cooked for any honored guest, even if he has only one or two attendants. This animal, cooked as he frequently is in one piece, is placed on a huge copper platter and buried in a mountain of boiled rice. Out of the sides of this mountain, which would measure several bushels in bulk and which stands perhaps four feet high, are to be seen protruding the amputated stumps of the animal's four limbs. This enormous central dish is flanked by various side dishes containing gravies and a few vegetables. Vegetables, however, are few in number and scanty in amount. The proportion of cooking fat put on the rice is an index of the cordiality of the guest's welcome. There is quite certain to be several times the amount that a western palate enjoys. Around this mountain of food with its foothills of side dishes the guests seat themselves, all on the floor. The signal is given by the host's remarking, "In the name of God." There follows a mad race against time, for when one guest arises, all must follow his example. Obviously, then, the affair of the moment is to see that in the short time available as much as possible of God's blessings shall be appropriated. The meat is torn off in quarter-pound chunks. Such a piece is put into the mouth, bitten in two and swallowed, if indeed it is treated with so much ceremony. The rice is gathered up in great handfuls and poured down the esophagus, ap-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

224 A tribesman entered the tent with the information that the chief's[1] hunting-party was returning.

It was a wonderful sight as the horsemen drew up. There were about seventy of them, with hares, gazelles, and bustards hung over the withers and cruppers of their mares. A pack of greyhounds had been unleashed and they immediately sought the shade of the tent, where they stretched themselves out with heaving flanks and hanging tongues. Several slaves got up and brought them water, which they lapped up thirstily. Meanwhile, the riders had dismounted, and unloosing the casting-leads of the hooded falcons, set each bird on a padded perch before the rug of the *sheykh*.

622 Tai', on alighting from his horse, passed into the
576 women's apartment. After a while he appeared before us. In honour of his guest, he had girded on an old sabre.

We all stood up and greeted him. Ali came forward and kissed the *sheykh's* hand, and pressing it to his forehead, said in his extravagant manner:

"Ya Muhafut—O Protector! God grant thee long life, most magnanimous of all Arabs!"

Then Ali presented me to the *sheykh*, who embraced me. With simple and grave courtesy he said:

"Peace be with thee."

With a polite movement of his hand, he indicated to me my seat and I sat down.

[576] After we had settled in our places, Sheykh Tai' rolled a cigarette and lighted it between his own lips before he handed it to me.

622 Our host was a man nearly as tall as Ali, but very slender and small-boned. Rarely have I seen such refined

1 [Sheykh Tai' of the Tai Bedouins -- Analyst]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

000 man back to Aleppo, with his "wild ostrich", happy and contented.

Here, too, rain had fallen and transfigured the arid,
157 yellow wastes into lush green meadows. From the small band of Shammar, our guide borrowed riding-camels for our further journey, and we reached the camp of Mishal ibn Faris on the following day. Of Mishal the Arabs say that "no cloud can be compared with him for generosity." I, too, must say that I have seldom met so unselfish and kind-hearted a man.

Outside his large tent we drew up and dismounted. How many guest fires must have been lighted under this smoke-blackened roof, which had sheltered three generations!

574 The elderly *sheykh* stood on the threshold and bade
609 me welcome with the sacred formula of the wilderness,
[576] the assurance of peace, "Salam Alayk."

I responded in the manner of the desert: "God keep thee well." Then, Mishal ibn Faris took with his own hand the headstall from my mare and hung it on the main post of his tent. He had wanted to know me, he said, as soon as he had heard that a stranger, who loved Arab horses, was visiting the Tai'.

I thanked him for his pleasant and friendly invitation. In his way of addressing me there was more than ordinary politeness. From now on, whether with them in person, or far away, I had the freedom of his tribe.

157 Mishal ibn Faris, the great Shammar *sheykh*, esteemed
554 from one end of the desert to the other for his staunch righteousness, had a peaceful and moderating influence on Bedouin politics, both in Mesopotamia and Syria. "A

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS M 74

485 for we were at their mercy had they proved to be hostile. They
609 eventually identified themselves as Sba'a, a tribe friendly to the Amarat. They told us that they were picketing the well to watch for a raiding party led by Sultan al Tayyar—Sultan the Flier—of which they had received warning. They advised us to be on the look-out.

609 It was about ten o'clock one morning when we topped a low desert ridge and came in sight of a wide grassy hollow thickly covered with black bedouin tents, in the middle of which the huge tent of the shaikh was plainly visible. It was not without trepidation that we tapped our camels into their briskest walk, and closed in on one another, flank touching flank and neck to neck, so as to make a dignified entry. Perhaps because every man in the desert went with his life in his hands, and anyone he met might be an enemy, the bedouins were always careful to make a
609 dignified and reserved arrival at a strange camp. We dismounted,
576 hobbled our camels and, wrapping our cloaks around us, advanced at a stately walk side by side. A negro slave who was making coffee unrolled a rug for us to sit on. A few men sitting in the tent returned our salutation, and we sat down in silence.

609 Perhaps ten minutes elapsed before Al Nuri himself entered, a fierce, glowering face, with a hawk-like nose and bright, piercing eyes. He sat down without a word of welcome and another long silence ensued. At a scarcely perceptible gesture from the old man, his clerk rolled a cigarette and placed it between his fingers. A slave stepped forward quickly with a glowing ember in a tongs to light it. The shaikh puffed in silence and glowered round. Burjas rose and crossed the tent, and laid our letter of introduction before him. "Fahad sends you his greetings," he said. But the chief only grunted, and the letter remained lying in front of him on the ground. Another ten minutes of silence ensued. Then the shaikh beckoned his clerk to read the letter to him, for he could neither read nor write. Now at last, I thought, his churlish manners will change, for I knew what was in the letter.

The secretary read in a low voice in the shaikh's ear. When it was finished, the latter gave a grunt and relapsed once more into silence and cigarette smoke. The tension was increasing and I began to grow angry. The remainder of our journey was across

Qasim suddenly stood up
and shouted, though with his rifle still at the ready, "Wesh 609
entum? (What are you?)" The strangers were thrown into some 721
confusion, but one of them slipped from his camel and advanced on Qasim, also with his rifle ready. Both men had their kerchiefs tied over their faces, so that only their eyes were visible. They advanced towards one another intently and cautiously, like fighting cocks waiting for an opening. "Wa ent wesh ent?" replied the other. ("And you, who are you?") The rest of the other party had couched their camels out of sight in another hollow. They did not look like raiders, but I could not but hold my breath as the two advanced towards one another. Then suddenly the tension relaxed. "Dhana Muslim, sons of Muslim," said the other man—it was the name of the division of Aneizah of which the Ruwallah formed part. Qasim lowered his rifle.

"Are you Ubaid?" 609

"You're Qasim." 576

"Keif ent? (How are you?)"

"God bless you."

"May you be well!"

"How are the boys?"

The two ragged, bearded ruffians slowly kissed one another, first on one cheek and then on the other.

"How are you?"

"God keep you."

"May God bless that face."

We stood up. The members of the other party advanced, reassured, dragging their camels by their head-ropes. Such were the daily incidents of desert life. Ten years later the Iraq Petroleum Company's pipeline passed this way, a pumping station had been built in this waste, and English ladies were taking their tea out for a picnic in these stony valleys. That ten years was to see the passing of an era.

Meanwhile Qasim ash Shemam was becoming increasingly 609
domineering and threatening. He regarded us with ill-concealed contempt, as might an old deep-sea fisherman a couple of landlubbers who had never been to sea before. He repeatedly informed us that he was courting a girl, whom he shortly hoped to

B 609 576 J 609 I decided, in spite of my reception, to stay for the night in the Beni Sakhr tents, both in the hope that more intimate acquaintance would overcome this inauspicious beginning and also to learn more about the Beni Sakhr, a tribe which I had never met before. The shaikh in the car drove off after lunch, and by the time we had had dinner and were sitting in a circle round the fire, the atmosphere had become more cordial.

B 142 J 142 Sitting over the coffee-pots, I noticed a long, slim, dark-complexioned youth, with those fine features which distinguish a certain type of Nejdi nomad, and which were in contrast to the fairer complexions and thicker build of the Beni Sakhr. When an opportunity offered, I enquired about his origin, and was told that he came of the tribe of Mutair. My work in southern Iraq had brought me into contact with this tribe, though usually as enemy raiders, and I knew the names of their leaders and the geography of their country. The boy's face glowed with pleasure when he heard once more the names of his tribesmen and the news of their latest raiding exploits. He then told me his story.

B 721 J 721 He had joined a large raiding party which had attacked Trans-Jordan the year before, and which included several war banners of Mutair. A Beni Sakhr camp had been surprised and overwhelmed at dawn, and many killed. During the battle, he was hit by a bullet and fell unconscious from the back of his camel. When he recovered consciousness, he felt very cold. He looked around him. It appeared to be shortly after dawn, but the sun had not risen yet. He was stark naked and lying on the ground, with corpses and dead animals strewn around. A short way from where he lay were some black bedouin tents, from which a few wisps of smoke showed that the occupants were already awake. Shivering with cold, dazed and weak, he staggered towards the nearest tent. A man was kneeling in the tent with his back to him, blowing up the embers of a fire.

B 576 When the wounded boy was some ten paces from the tent, the man looked round. With a savage cry he sprang to his feet, snatched a rifle and ran towards him. But in his excitement he fumbled with the bolt and safety-catch. The naked Mutairi staggered past him and embraced the tent pole. "I am under the protection of this house," he cried. The Sakhri threw his rifle

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1
BEDOUINS MJ 4

down in disgust. "God curse thee, traitress," he growled. He disappeared behind the curtain into the woman's half of the tent, and returned carrying a shirt and cloak, and dragging a carpet, which he spread. He gave the clothes to the wounded boy, with the words "Welcome to the guest," and quietly proceeded to blow up the embers of the fire again. "Since which," added the Mutairi with a sad smile, "I have lived with these worthies, who have allowed me to lack nothing. But you have brought me happiness with news of my people." He rose with the coffee-pot and cups in his hand to pour out another round of coffee.

Whatever the Beni Sakhr thought of British diplomacy, they had obviously not forgotten the old chivalry of Arabia.

We reached Amman in the morning, and entered a narrow street through a crowded bazaar. We were on four camels, myself and my servant, a man of the Ruwallah sent with us from Kaf and a Sherari of the despised tribe of that name. Our camels were shy and nervous in the bustle of the bazaars, after the wide spaces of the silent desert. Suddenly a rattling Ford car confronted us in the narrow street. With that lack of feeling for animals which could be shown only by city dwellers, the driver began to blow his horn as loudly as he could under the very noses of our camels. My camel shied and knocked over a tray of tomatoes projecting from a greengrocer's shop. The shopman shouted, the driver blew his horn still louder, and a policeman arrived and added his voice to the pandemonium. The policeman also had a stick, with which he proceeded to rain blows on to our camels, roaring: "God curse the father of all bedouins!" Another policeman arrived blowing a whistle, the shop people joined in the hue and cry, and we were soon all four racing out of Amman, cloaks flying, rifles bumping painfully on our backs and followed by the mingled imprecations of the police force and the civil population. Such was my first introduction to the Arab Legion police.

By a coincidence, I arrived in Trans-Jordan when His Majesty King Husain, formerly the Sherif Husain, leader of the Arab revolt, was paying a visit to his son, the Amir Abdulla. The court was under canvas in the Jordan valley to avoid the cold of Amman, which is 2,600 feet above sea-level. I arrived at the royal

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

in front of my tent, everything is ready to give me welcome. Salim 000 834 stands alone in front of the tent, and answers my *salâm 'alaikum*, 576 for it would not do for his womenfolk to appear in the presence of my hired driver and the shaikh's *fidâwi*, Sa'ud. They can, however, be seen discreetly peeping from their tent.

My goods and chattels are next unpacked, and I proceed to get 000 things shipshape. Whilst Jawad is putting together my camp bed, and opening up my bedding, coffee is brought and served.

As soon as the coast is clear, and the menfolk are safely ensconced 576 in their tent, in creeps the gentle-eyed and sweet-voiced Amsha to 521 bid me welcome in the reception portion of my black goat-hair tent. She walks in gracefully, and in her low contralto voice bids me, "Al guwa ya Abu Sa'ud" (Strength to you, O father of Sa'ud), the usual salutation among the womenfolk. "'Allah i gauichi ya Um Hussa" (God give you strength, O mother of Hussa) I reply, and then follows a host of welcoming sentences, such as, "How are you? How is Um Sa'ud? What news of the Khatuna (the wife)? and Sa'ud and Zahra (my children) how are they? Well, well, I hope. What is doing in Kuwait, and what news of rain?" etc. Amsha is followed by Maneira, the Mutairiyah, helper in the house, and Hussa, Amsha's daughter of fifteen (recently veiled to show she is now a woman and [582] of marriageable age). Then the daughters of Dhuwaihi the herdsman, and of Maziad, the Dhafiri, and last of all comes coal-black little Mubarak, the negro slave's little boy—Barruk they call him in terms of endearment. The other little curly-headed boy, Marzuk or Mzairik, his brother, is still with the lambs a quarter of a mile away, and so is Hamud, Maneira's small son.

The women, led by Amsha, sit round me in a circle, all asking after me and all wanting to know something. Little Hussa, whom I have known since she was seven years old, encouraged by her mother, comes and sits by my side after holding up her *burga* a moment for me to kiss her dimpled mouth. She has mother's permission to do this, even though she is now fifteen and a grown woman, for have I not known her since she was a little child? After this preliminary, she retires again and sits by her mother's side, keeping that silence which all well-behaved Badawin children maintain when their elders are present. Only shy little Barruk comes up 000

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854 Only shy little Barruk comes up
576 to Amsha's side and cuddles up in her arms. She loves him almost more than her own daughter. She kisses him and fondles him, and allows him to put his head on her shoulder and gaze up at me with wide eyes. Amsha is pathetically fond of her two slave children. They are only five and three respectively. Such love and such tenderness would make the brains of those busybodies whirl, who talk so glibly of the cruelty and horrors of the slave problem. How is it done? The answer is simple. These babes, the sons of her stalwart slave, 'Abdullah* (bought originally from Rannia and married to a freed 'Ajman slave woman), call out every womanly instinct in Amsha. They are the offspring of her own property. They are hers to prize and cherish. She even opens up her gown† and offers her breast to little Barruk who is fidgeting somewhat. "There, keep quiet, *ya halaila* (little sweet one), will you," she says, "and let us hear news from Abu Sa'ud."

272 Presently Salim comes back again with the coffee-pot, and the
415 special cups which he has brought back from Riyadh, little white and yellow-ochre ones, unknown among the people of Kuwait. With pride he once again offers me coffee. "The cups? Oh yes, they are from Riyadh. I brought them back for Um Sa'ud (my wife), when she returns from England." "The year has been a good one, *Al*
231 *hamdu 'l Illah*," he proceeds. "The camels are fat and their humps are so round you wouldn't recognise them." "Nay, Abu Sa'ud", chimes in Amsha, "you would not know Farha except for her nose ring. She has such a big hump now that a saddle cannot be put on her. And congratulate us, thirty-six lambs have been born in the last ten days, and Zahra's (my daughter's) brown ewe which was a baby two years ago has had her first lamb also, her first-born, so sweet and soft. Run and fetch it, ya Hussa." The lamb is produced and much admired. Its wee tail is duly weighed in my hand to see if it has got any fat on it. "And now you must come and see our baby camel", and away I am taken by the womenfolk to the back of the tent where a dozen she-camels are standing. They have just come in from water, and are waiting to be milked and bedded down for the night. The baby-camel is next caught and brought to me. It is wonderfully tame, and holds

* He died the following year (1935) after returning sick from Mecca.

† If an Arab woman suckles her little slave child, that child can never be sold as a slave. It is henceforth free and her own.

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231 plural: *salag*), on the other hand, are regarded as clean, especially by
325 those Badawin following the Maliki tenets of Islam (who are in the majority in Hasa and Kuwait), and they are allowed to enter tents and sleep in the women's portion at will. They are valued for hunting purposes, and are taught to kill hare and gazelle for the pot. Great care is taken that there shall be no interbreeding between the tent watch-dogs and the *salúqi*, and when the female *salúqi* of the household is on heat one of her hind legs is attached by a leather thong to her collar, thus forcing her to sit down, which effectually prevents a heavy dog covering her.

A STRANGER ARRIVING AT A TENT

516 A stranger arriving must approach a Badawin tent from the front only. It is the worst of bad form to come up from the back. He must then approach the guest side of the tent and halt and make his camel kneel while some way off. This shows that he wants a night's rest or some food. He must never approach or halt his camel near the women's end of the tent (*muharram*). The purpose of this custom is to give the women time to adjust their *burqas* or veils whilst the visitor is some distance off. Were the visitor to come up from behind, he might come upon an unveiled woman attending to nature or washing her hair, or cleaning kitchen utensils.

FAVOURITE SPOTS FOR PITCHING TENTS

342 In choosing a tent site the proximity of water is, of course, the first essential. Next, the nature of the grazing decides where a man will wish to pitch his tent. If he is migrating with the tribe or part of the tribe, the tent owner leaves the selection of the area to be camped on to the shaikh, but tries for the convenience of himself and his family to get as close as possible to a sandy nullah or dry water course with
342 high banks. This is very important, for it allows the whole household,
515 and especially the women, to attend to their toilet and other sanitary
514 duties out of sight and in sandy surroundings which are ideally healthful. In this connection a Badawin (male or female) never unnecessarily soils the ground, but makes a point of digging a small hole in the sand, which he afterwards fills in. If water is scarce, as more often than not

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Ma'adan

582 It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman,
591 even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharíf Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

619 In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Badawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharíf tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashira) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or ÁL)

[619] (*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al*.

Ál is like the term "Bani", e.g. Bani Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Wain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Naẓlin fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 A man says *Ya 'Aiyál* when addressing his sons or his family
601 as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Aiyál?* when enquiring after
551 the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'aiyál* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal
[576] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

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[576] A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing
592 his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi warákum?* (How is the
601 person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.
551 Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indi-
613 cate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

613 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some
582 of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

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backbone, the muscles of the shoulders and the muscles of the leg 264
near the knuckle: the tongue, the kidneys, the cheek bits and the eyes, are also well-known delicacies. The fat of the tail is always looked upon as the guest's particular right. The Arabian sheep is of the fat-tailed variety unknown in England. Round the central dish of rice and meat, the shaikh places two or three bowls of *leben*, with lumps of rather dirty butter floating in it—also a plate or two of dates. The guest, after finishing his meal, drinks *leben*, and then turns to the dates, which he eats with the butter floating in the *leben*. These dates and butter, especially if the dates are fresh (*ratab*), are delicious.

Prior to the meal, and after the meal, coffee is handed round. 264
Among the Badawin coffee is rather a poor and watery stuff, and 272
following the Najd fashion is made with lots of *hail* (cardamum) in it. After lunch, it is polite to thank your host with a *Allah i kathir* 576
khair ak or a *'An'am Allah 'alaik* (God increase your good works! or God reward you!).

It is also quite correct to make pleasant remarks about the good cooking of the housewife, and if you catch a glimpse of her, as you often may behind the *qáta* or curtain dividing the women's from the men's quarters, you may say *Allah i kathir khair ich ya ma'aqiba* (God give you plenty, hostess of mine!). The lady will always reply with a *hanni wa 'a'afiah* or *'alaikum al 'a'afiah* (may you be satisfied!).

Having enjoyed the shaikh's hospitality, you leave after taking 264
coffee, and the relatives, young men, big children, etc., eat up what is left of the meal: it is always amusing to see these hang back in pretended shyness, as if to say, "You know I never came here to get a meal", when the host invites them to come forward and partake with a *Yalla ya flan, gúm*, or *Yalla ya raba'a gúmu*, or *Thafadhalu ya awlád*. He usually has to do this several times and in a rather injured voice.

The host of course does not eat with his guests, but later with the 574
members of the family. It is always seemly for the guest, if he be a 431
prominent person like a shaikh or Political Agent, to bring a present of rice, coffee or sugar with him for the tent. This gift he presents in casual manner before he leaves: if he wants to win more praise, he will also have brought with him materials for half a dozen frocks for the

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI 1
Bedouins MI 4
Arabs MI 0

bread, common to the whole East. Very modern hosts now add various coloured jellies. B 261 K 264

COMMON EXPRESSIONS USED AT MEALS

Tafadhalu or *Sammu*—Used by a host to his guests when inviting them to start eating. The first word is also used when a person welcomes a guest to his tent or into his house in town. B 264 576

B'ismi'llah—"In the name of God", spoken just before starting to eat.

Hanniyan—Said to a person who has just taken and enjoyed a long drink. The correct reply is *Allah i hannik* or *Hannakum Allah.*

Awafi—Host says to guest who has obviously enjoyed his dinner.

Allah i kathir khair ak or *ana'am Allah 'alaik*—The equivalent of "thank you". A guest formally offers thanks after a meal to his host.

Hanni wa 'a'afia or *mal Allah wa malak*—The host's formal reply to his guest's thanks.

THE RITUAL OF COFFEE MAKING

All over Arabia the elaborate ceremony of coffee making is the sign the guest is welcome and honoured above all men by his host. A 272 574

From the highest to the lowest this making and offering of coffee is the first duty of a householder, whether he be a town- or tent-dweller, when entertaining a stranger or an acquaintance.

In Egypt and the north of Arabia, and especially in the towns of Syria and around Mosul, Western civilisation and Turkish influence have long ago had their effect and coffee is normally offered in small Western-made cups, full to the brim and standing in neat little saucers which are brought round on a tray, the guest helping himself. Such coffee, following the Turkish fashion, is sweetened, is purposely mixed with grounds and has a regular scum on the top. It is quite properly known as "Turkish coffee", and we see it often in London and Paris restaurants. The making of this coffee needs but a short description. A 272

An ordinary, small-sized, brass coffee-pot is filled with cold water, about half a pint, and to it are added two tablespoonfuls of ground coffee and one and a half tablespoonfuls of castor sugar. It is then put on the fire. When the mixture comes to the boil the contents of the coffee-pot froth up and would overflow, but the coffee-maker takes the coffee-pot off the fire and, holding it by the handle, taps it three or four times sharply on the side hearth, so causing the froth to

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752 splints on he packs the broken limb with a concoction of barley flower, salt and eggs. After the expiration of some twenty-five days the bandage is loosened and the splints removed. Whilst the bone is setting the patient feeds on *leben* (sour milk) or camel's milk only. He must not eat dates or sweet things. He must also plug up both nostrils.

Wounds.—A small wound is known as a *suwáb.*
A bad or large one is known as a *jarah.*
A wounded man is known as a *sawib.*

As related above, certain scents (*riha*) or smells harm the wound, and open it up again. A man, therefore, who is suffering from a wound or broken bone is always placed on the windward side of the tent, and he must keep his nostrils plugged up. As with fractures, sweet dishes and food must be avoided, otherwise the wound will fester. Particularly harmful is the close approach of a man who has had [841] sexual intercourse and has not as yet had time to wash himself. [838] Similarly, a menstruous woman is a danger. Both are unclean, *najis*, and so are harmful.

Certain smells are not considered harmful, such are:

(*a*) Smoke from burning camel manure (*jalla*), used universally when making coffee.
(*b*) Tobacco smoke.
(*c*) Smell of the tar concoction they put on camels for mange (*jarab*).
(*d*) The smell of roasting coffee and food generally.

In peaceful times the urine of small children is sometimes applied to wounds, as a sort of antiseptic wash. On a *ghazzu* or raid, the companions of a wounded man will wash his wounds with their own urine for the same reason. But to gain the best results it must be urine of young braves, not of elderly men.

[576] The wounded man is greeted with such expressions as, *Allah i sa'adak—Allah yiba'ad a sharr an ak—Allah yatik al a'afiah*, etc.

Snake Bites.—When a person is bitten by a snake which is known to be poisonous the following precautions must be immediately taken:

(1) The spot bitten must be deeply cut with a knife and blood made to flow.
(2) Two tourniquets must be applied to the limb (arm or leg) above where the snake has bitten the person.

151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival. But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious
609 and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give
574 away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and
264 then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how
[271] quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet
576 no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when
[486] everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he
577 would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

which I was glad not to understand, but one of the 834
Bedouin youngsters who were with us flared back at the townsman with remarks that reduced him immediately to unconditional surrender. Every noon and every night the boy took her some of our rice and bread, and she accompanied this men's caravan, entirely alone, till we arrived in the city. I remember that same boy's earnest and simple cordiality as he congratulated one of his warm friends on her recent marriage. "May God increase your prosperity, your camels and your children."

It is interesting to observe the fundamental economic 577
conceptions in a community as primitive as that of the 675
desert. Contracts are sacred in Arabia, as in the West. The guest and his host are bound by a contract the terms of which are perfectly understood by both parties and are practically never violated. Many of these Bedouins enter into contracts to dive at the opening of the diving season in Bahrein, and one never hears of such a contract being broken. There is little occasion for the making of contracts in the desert, but even at the price of personal loss, a contract entered into in good faith must be carried out.

The Bedouin's conception of property, however, differs 421
from ours considerably. To say that it is communistic is to exaggerate, but there is certainly a stronge tinge of communism about it. Property, that is to say what the [556]
earth affords in the way of food, shelter and clothes, is of value because it sustains human life. The food, the clothes and the houses that the Bedouin's world can produce, are never enough to go around. He considers them valuable simply as they minister to human need. In the oases property comes to be regarded as sacred, much as it is in the West. Beautiful houses are admired and

,21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

Strict discipline, necessary both in everyday routine and because of liability to attack, has left its mark on Badawin ways of thought. In religion, there is little room for compromise or doubt—a strong, vivid, and intolerant faith is held. Similarly, there is a strict code of behaviour. Hospitality, in an environment without fixed routes or settlements, is a highly regarded virtue, and ordinary social intercourse has been developed into an elaborate code of manners and conduct. In view of the vagaries of human existence amongst the Badawin, it is hardly surprising that superstition and fatalism are also strongly marked. The operation of the 'evil eye' and malevolent spirits is seen in everyday life—nothing is praised directly without attributing its excellence as due to God—and men and animals wear charms.[1]

Possibly as a result of reduced physical strength, and their enforced preoccupation with household tasks, the status of women is low. Although not veiled, like the women of the settled areas, Badawin women are regarded as in all things the inferiors of men. It may be significant that among pastoral communities, religious deities are regarded as masculine in attribute. Only in the religious systems of non-pastoral peoples do we find female deities—mother-goddesses of wide influence—with a corresponding rise in importance of women above the level of mere drudges and bearers of children.

Though Badawin life is hard and unrewarding, those who follow it value it highly. A true Bedu looks down with disdain on other ways of life, particularly that of cultivators in better watered districts, for whom he often has a profound contempt as effete and subservient. Despite their own strict social organisation, the Badawin can contrast the dull routine of agricultural practice, and the looseness and self-indulgence of city life with their own courage, independence of thought, abstemiousness, and mobility.

Nomadism is a special response to environment, by which the frontier of human occupation is pushed farther within a region of increasing difficulty. In the past, nomadism has often been regarded as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture; it was believed that primitive man passed from a life of hunting and collecting first into a stage of pastoralism, and later, in places where conditions were favourable, to the fullest development of a life based on cultivation. In the opinion of H. J. Fleure and others this view must be modified—pastoralism may, in some instances, represent a special, later development *from* agriculture—a dynamic response to environmental

[1] Even Arab taxis in the cities carry a charm on the radiator.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD
Bedouins M34

the position of the heavenly bodies be of better augury for thee! God is omnipotent!" 609 578

Ali, sunk in meditation, seemed disturbed by a thousand conflicting thoughts. At length, however, he dutifully kissed the face and back of this typical example of Bedouin diplomacy. Secretly, I had to admire the respect [577] accorded in Arabia even to one's deadly enemy.

Ali grasped my hand. Anger still lingered in his eyes, but his voice sounded pleasant enough as he said to me: "This letter, my friend, is just about as good as a recommendation from Iblis" (the devil), and with a grimace of contempt he tossed it on the fire. I was only just in time to snatch the already singed sheet of paper from the flames; but, as a matter of fact, neither Ali nor I ever had the courage to present the letter to either of the Fid'an chiefs.

To my great delight, Ali offered himself as my *rafiq* for the journey to the Jesirah (Mesopotamia). Within two days he had ferreted out a second-hand Ford car to carry us to the Euphrates.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJH

721 hefty blow nearly broke my arm. The same blow caught me a glancing stroke on the head, hard enough to knock me out. I must have remained unconscious for hours. When I came to, the evening was already fading into twilight, and I found myself lying stark naked on the sand. Happily, it had not been a hot day, for the sky was clouded. Nevertheless, I felt wretched enough, and my head and arm ached. The blow had merely grazed the muscles of my arm, but I had a nasty wound over my temple.

Not far from me Ali was lying on his back. To my horror, he looked quite dead.

Still numb, I tottered over to him. Thank heaven, he was very much alive and able to talk. The Fid'an had handled him worse than me, but his unfailing good humour was already returning. "They have taken everything from me," he said, "except their cursed lice"; and he commenced to scratch himself all over his naked body, protesting the while that he had left Aleppo quite clean.

"The sunburns are itching," I said, with a laugh; "it cannot be the vermin of our friends."

In the deepening dark, I noticed that a fire was burning behind a rise in the ground several hundred yards away, and I concluded that the Fid'an were camping there.

•577 Ali was still feeling too weak to walk with me, and I made my way alone to the fire. As I came near, I recognized the Fid'an sitting round the coffee-hearth.

"Dakhil! Protection!" I cried out.

One of the Bedouins sprang up, rifle in hand. He made

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 54

ready to fire, throwing the clip of cartridges into the breach and slamming the lever down. Involuntarily I shut my eyes and staggered, when I heard the voice of the *Akid* (leader) call out to the man not to shoot. The shock had been so great, however, that my knees gave way, and I toppled over. The *Akid*, who had saved my life, came to me. He had a small goat-skin bag filled with liquid butter in his hand, and made me take a few sips, and immediately I felt better.

He then led me to the fire and offered me coffee; and I knew by that token that my life was now under his protection.

I asked him for our clothing. He wanted to return it to me, but the other men grumbled and protested, and I had to be content with two old ragged herders' cloaks. I threw one over my shoulders and with the other and a skin of butter, went back to Ali, and after he had gulped down some of the butter, I supported him to the camp fire.

The Fid'an permitted us to seat ourselves among them, and Ali, too, was given coffee. It now turned out that our assailants were quite good fellows. Had we not started arguing when they fell upon us, we should have come off better. Now we were as safe among them as in Abraham's bosom.

In the course of our conversation that evening, I remembered the letter from Amir Fuaz to Hajem Pasha, the missive that had created such a lively disturbance in Aleppo.

"Dost thou read Arabic?" I asked the *Akid*; and when, as I expected, he replied, "No," I continued:

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

keeps for breeding. Similarly, young male camels are sold for food 231
and only a selected few retained to carry the household tents and [492]
baggage.

Mares are never sold, and the male foals, if not killed at birth, are a source of income when sold in the towns bordering on Arabia. (See Chapter XXX.)

The Badawin of the desert has a charm of his own, and if you 572
once make friends with him or do him a kindness, he does not forget. 577
He is above all things a child of nature, and is ruled by a strange pride which he calls his *sharaf* and which he values almost above life itself. Scold a desert man or call him ugly names, and he is ready to knife you; at the very least he will sulk, dig his toes into the ground and do nothing that you wish. On the other hand, if you treat him kindly, invite him to sit down in your tent and take a cup of coffee with you, you have gone half-way to win his friendship and confidence. If you treat him as an equal, and not as a servant, even if he is merely your guide or escort, he will react wonderfully and will rarely take liberties.

He is full of humour too, and will understand a joke and a good 622
story, but you must not make fun of him before his fellow Arabs.

Next to his *sharaf*, the Badawin, and for that matter every true 577
Arab, values his family honour or *'ardh*. This word implies the good name of his womenfolk and more especially of his wife and sister. If his *'ardh* is besmirched nothing short of killing the errant woman will restore it. Respect the Badawin's *sharaf*, speak well always of his *'ardh* and help him to guard both, and all will be well with you in your relations with him.

However poor he is and however lowly his dwelling-place, the 574
Badawin excels as a host, and will slay his last camel or sheep to do honour to his guest. Nor are his womenfolk behindhand in this respect. If an important personage passes by her tent in the absence of her husband, the wife will run out of her tent holding out a frothing bowl of camel's milk or *leben*, as a sign of welcome.

THE BADAWIN'S FAULTS

The desert man has his faults, of course, and by Western standards 000
they are grave.

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516 Dirty he and his wife always are, but theirs is the dirt of the field, a thing totally different from the dirt of the town. He never washes his clothes till they are about to drop off, and then he replaces them. He and his good wife are covered with body lice, and reek of camel manure and other choice odours, but the important parts of the body are kept clean, and the wife bathes her hair once a week in she-camel's urine, and thus rids her head of vermin for a few days.

167 Both the Badawin and his women are envious to a degree, and cupidity is the breath of life to them. Both are as full of *hasad* and *tama'* (envy and cupidity) as anyone in this world could be, and they never tire of saying that others around them suffer from these vices but never they themselves. *Hasad* takes the form of backbiting at every opportunity, and disparaging the efforts and good name of anyone who happens to be better off. His *tama'* is proverbial and has caused him to be dubbed by certain Westerners "the arch parasite of world society". True it is that you can make a Badawin man or woman do pretty well anything in this world except (and here I speak for the desert only) sacrifice his or her honour, by the offer of money.

Yet with all these faults I have found the Badawin and his wife to be the most lovable and delightful of all people, just primitive Adams and Eves, like their ancestors.

771 The true Badawin is a deeply religious man, and his hard life in the desert with its perpetual dangers to man and beast increases his sense of nearness to and dependence on his Maker. The grim scenery which surrounds him, the wide sandy deserts, the blood-colour of blazing sunsets, the deep yellow-black of the dust storms, a very incarnation of monstrous evil, and last but not least the devilish flicker of the witch's oven, as it trembles above the ground, with its cruel sister the ever-deceiving mirage, all tend to convince him that the One and Indivisible God is near him always and if only he be a true Musulmán will help him when peril is about. The thought of God is always with him, and the name of Allah is perpetually on his [788] lips. He prays ceremonially five times a day. He can and will do 577 nothing without invoking God's aid. After his duty towards God, comes duty towards his neighbour, and to a lesser extent towards himself. His whole code can be summed up in the following few sentences:

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The Badawin's Code

Chap. III

577

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his tent neighbour (*qasir*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*dhiáfa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafiq*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wejh* and *dakhála.*)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*chessib*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, [721] and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyah*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all 157 charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of [855] teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yargud wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male 562 society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate 834 families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most 521 dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked 558

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him to make his escape to safety, if necessary calling in all his own 628
family for the purpose. Or if the *qasir* says he will pay blood money 721
in settlement, then the protector must protect him until the negotiations are put through.

If a *qasir's* tribe declares war on his protector's tribe, and later the *qasir's* camels are captured by raiders belonging to the protector's tribe, then the latter is absolved from returning the camels and vice versa, unless both protector and his *qasir* make public declaration before their respective shaikhs that they are tent-neighbours (*qusara*) and each will make good any damage suffered by the other party. If, then, the tribe of either party accidentally or purposely captures camels or mares from either of the men, they must return the loot when asked to do so.

The protector must make this public declaration to his own shaikh in person, and if the *qasir* cannot get through himself he must send neutral messengers to his own shaikh and people and do likewise.

Should the protector have in his employ a strange Badawin to herd his camels or sheep, and raiders of the herdsman's tribe suddenly appear and carry off the herd, then because the man in charge is their own fellow-tribesman the raiders must restore three she-camels to the herdsman, one for riding on and two for milking.

Certain desert tribes, notably the Dhafir, are particularly proud 554
of the name they have won for protecting their tent-neighbours. 619
They have become famous in this respect, as the following stories 622
will show. (The chief actors in both cases were well known to me, 628
though Hamud al Suwait has now been dead some years.) 577

The uncle of Hamud al Suwait, the Shaikh of all the Dhafir tribe, once threatened in public *majlis*, to impale himself on his sword which he had drawn for the purpose, unless *his own son* were brought before him and slain in his presence, because the son had killed his tent-neighbour in the heat of a foolish quarrel. The various members of the family tried hard to shield the youth, but realising that the old shaikh was in deadly earnest, Hamud al Suwait (he became shaikh after his uncle's death two years later) himself seized the boy and with his own hand cut him down before the eyes of his father. Thus was tribal honour satisfied. This incident happened in 1912, and was told

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554 me by Shaikh Hamud himself, and later vouched for by the Shaikh
619 of Kuwait on 9th September, 1932.

622 Shaikh Jada'an al Suwait, who succeeded to the Shaikhship of the
628 Dhafir after the death of Hamud, was camped near Athaiba and
577 Ruhail on the Kuwait–Iraq border in 1931. Hearing that one of his own tribesmen had fired at and wounded a Mutairi tribesman who was his *qasir* at the time, even though the Mutair tribe and the Dhafir tribe were open enemies, Shaikh Jada'an had the offending tribesman brought before him, and with his own hand slashed him over the head with his sword.

The deed flashed through the Badawin world like lightning at the time, and Jada'an's name, as the upholder of Badawin honour,
[682] became almost as famous as that of his forbear. Unfortunately the Iraq authorities, with that folly which has frequently characterised them in dealing with the high-spirited tribesmen of the desert, imprisoned Shaikh Jada'an for several weeks, before they saw that they were making a martyr of a desert hero. This act cost them his allegiance. Shortly after, Shaikh Jada'an went over to Bin Sa'ud, taking half the tribe with him.

Shaikh Jada'an told me the story himself, saying that he only acted as he did in order to keep the vital Badawin law clean and untarnished.

So greatly have the Dhafir tribe preserved and guarded their good name in the above respect, that it is said of Mana, another famous Shaikh of the Dhafir, that the immediate cause of his death was the news (which was brought to him as he was riding home from a raid), that a certain well-known guest of the tribe had, in his absence, been attacked and slain. Certain it is that on being told what had happened, his heart seemed to stop beating and he fell forward on to his camel's neck and rolled to the ground a dead man. His daughter, whom I met in 1935, told me that the old man had literally died of a broken heart, and her words were vouched for by her husband, Shaikh Hautush al Suwait, cousin of Jada'an.

621 I myself have only once been appealed to by a person who was
671 my *qasir*. I am glad to say that the results were eminently satisfactory.
577 It happened on this wise. I was in Kuwait, and it was in the hot month of July 1932, when everyone was sleeping on the roof at night. I was sleeping outside the old Agency dining-room, over the cook's quarters.

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Chap. VII

A Midnight Appeal

Next door and behind the Agency premises resided the divorced tribal wife of a well-known pearl merchant. She was a pure-bred tribal lady of the Wasil sept of the Mutair, and had been put away by her husband because he wanted to marry again. With the lady lived her daughter, a girl of about fifteen. The daughter was all the mother had in the world and was the pride and apple of her eye.

The roof on which I slept at night abutted on to the house of the lady in question, her roof was only some eight feet higher than mine and owing to its proximity to mine she herself never utilised her roof for sleeping.

Apparently, although I did not know it at the time, my neighbour's daughter had a male cousin who aspired to her hand. He had custom and the *Shari'a* law on his side, and asked to marry the girl. The mother had steadfastly refused, on the plea that she had only her daughter to work for her, and without her she would starve. After much pressure the mother had apparently agreed to let her daughter marry if sufficient money compensation was paid her for the years of trouble and expense which she had incurred in bringing her daughter up.

Actually she wanted sufficient money to enable her to live. The young man and his people refused her demands and complained to the shaikh. The latter decided that the young man was within his rights, and ordered the girl to be removed to some distant relative's house, whence after due ceremony and regard for convention she would be married. Four times the shaikh's *fidawiyah*, or guards, came round to the mother's house, and each time she refused them entry. The law did not permit them to enter forcibly, but they vowed that law or no law her position as a woman would not prevent them next time breaking open her door and forcibly abducting the girl.

It was then that the incident happened. I was asleep on my roof and the night was hot without moon. It was about twelve midnight when I awoke to hear my name called, "Ya Abu Sa'ud—Ya Abu Sa'ud," came the voice out of the darkness, "Wake up and listen". Wide-awake now, I realised that someone was addressing me in a low whisper from my neighbour's roof, only a few yards away. "What is it?" I said. "Who are you that startles me like this at dead of night?" "I am your *gasir*," replied the voice with a moan, "I am daughter of

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621 So-and-So, and I appeal to you to listen to me." Realising then who
671 was speaking to me over the wall, I learned her whole tale. At the
577 end she said, "Ya Abu Sa'ud, I am in the deepest distress, I entreat you to help, I, your *qasir*, your neighbour, your tent *jár*" (another word for neighbour). "What wouldst thou that I do for thee, my sister?" I replied. "Go to-morrow morning," she said, "and tell Shaikh Ahmad of my plight, and fight for me and my daughter, for verily if they take her away I shall die." To all my pleading that she was not under my jurisdiction, she merely replied, "I know nothing about that. All I know is that you are my neighbour and the law makes it incumbent on you to come to my assistance."

The end of it was that I promised to do as she asked, and on the next day I went and saw the Ruler, apologised for butting in where I was not concerned, but pointed out that my *qasir* had appealed in such and such manner to me, and that as I understood the importance of such an appeal, I in turn begged his intervention on her behalf. The shaikh was so struck with my tale, and so delighted that I pleaded with him for one of his Muslim subjects against his own decision, that he turned round and said very charmingly, "Colonel Dickson, this law of the *qasir* is a very sacred one for us Arabs; that you know and understand the depth of its meaning is patent to me, else you would never have acted as you have done. The girl is yours, give her back to her mother and say I, Ahmad, revoke my orders previously given. Even as you listened to the woman who appealed to you as *qasir*, so likewise I will listen to you and grant your request, to prove to you how deeply I feel you have been honoured by one of my country-women, and how deeply I also honour the law of *qusara*." I was much impressed by the shaikh's words, and it will be long before I forget his remarkable reply. His orders were duly passed on to my neighbour, and to this day the poor woman shows her gratitude in little kindnesses to my servants. I never again saw her to speak to.

SHÍMA

577 The Arab's idea of *shíma* is much the same as our conception of honour, and I shall illustrate it only by the story given below.

Othman al Rashid of Buraida (an ex-horse-dealer of Kuwait) on

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12th August, 1933, told the following story of Arab *shima*. He vouched for its truth. 577

Many years ago, in the time of Muhammad al Rashid, there lived in Buraida a prominent member of the family of Al Ribádi. This man had seen great days and prosperous, but through bad trade had fallen on evil days. Of all his herds of camels, and he had had many, he possessed only one *nágá* (she-camel). This camel he one day decided to sell, as being old and worn she was no longer of use to him. He therefore asked a passing Shammari Badawin who had come in from the Jabal if he would take the animal away with him and would sell her when in due time he visited Hail. The money he could hand over at his leisure when next he visited Qasim. The Shammari agreed and took the camel off with him. As luck would have it the journey to Hail was too much for her, she sickened and died on the way. The worthy Shammari decided that as the skin was of some value he would realise something on it for the owner, so he took the camel's skin, salted it, and departed to his own country. Then came the great wars between the Rashid and Sa'ud dynasties and for years the Buraida merchant heard nothing of his camel. He had forgotten all about it, and became an old man, for it was thirty years since the incident took place. One day forty-two beautiful new and strong camels were driven up. One old and two young men were asking the way to his home. It turned out to be the Shammari of thirty years back. He came to give the Buraida merchant his *haq* (right). "Your she-camel died, but her skin enabled me to get a few rials, with these I traded, still I got enough to buy you a new *nágá*. The new *nágá* bore a daughter, and these camels you see are all her descendants. They are all yours. I had no opportunity before to bring you what I owed you."

THE LAW OF DAKHÁLA AND WEJH

Dakhála, from the root *'udkhul*—to enter—means the law of entering into a person's protection as a suppliant. 609

This most honoured and sacred of Arab customs exists all over Arabia and in Iraq, and finds strongest support perhaps among the Badawin, as opposed to the settled tribes and townsmen. An Arab claims *dakhála* by saying, *ana dakhilak* or *ana dakhil 'a l'Allah wa*

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stantly find themselves thwarted by it. This is a pity, for if properly 609
understood there is nothing shameful or anti-social in the system. 178
It would be wiser for the law to recognise its existence and make use of it and of other time-honoured Arab customs.

In 1933 my friend, Shaikh Lafi ibn Ma'allath of the Mutair (Braih) 641
tribe, a faithful warrior and servant of Bin Sa'ud, was forced to flee to Iraq, because a man pursued by Bin Sa'ud's blockade-police took refuge in his tent, and invoked the law of *dakhdla*. When the police threatened to search for the fugitive the stout-hearted shaikh signalled to his followers and fellow tent-dwellers to close around, and said he would resist the man's arrest by force of arms if necessary. Baulked of their prey the police (all townsmen) went away angry and sullen, and reported the incident to Ibn Jiluwi, their master. Lafi, feeling that he had got a breathing-space, and knowing that he would never be forgiven, fled across the border with his cousins, relatives, women, children, thirty tents in all, never to come back. Had the police bided their time, three days, they could probably have followed and made an arrest. Instead, they drove a faithful and loyal servant of the King into exile.

Cases of a similar nature are legion, and do almost more than anything else to promote bad feeling between the tribal elements of Arabia and the local governments.

The root trouble is, of course, the desire of upstart kings and princes, eager to ape the West, to break down all tribal systems, because they think these mark a backward state of society.

Akin to *dakhdla* is the conception of *wejh* or *tisyar*. This literally 577
means "face". *Be wejh fulan* (lit. "In So-and-So's face") means under the protection or safe conduct of So-and-So, and is a phrase very commonly heard in the desert. The penalties for outraging a person's *dakhdla*, *wejh* or *tisyar* (as the Iraq tribesmen call *wejh*) are very severe indeed; a heavy fine is exacted from any person purposely defying the custom. This fine is called *hashm* or "honour money" [628]
in Iraq. A man surrendering to the police another who has claimed *dakhdla* will be relentlessly pursued by the suppliant's relations and will be slain unless he compounds the case by paying *hashm* to the tribe.

The following anecdote of how a British officer was saved by

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577 seeking sanctuary with Hasan Agha and his womenfolk near Samawa on the Euphrates, provides a good illustration of the working of *dakhdla*.

609 In 1919 Hasan Agha, a married man with family, was a small farmer living a little way above the iron railway bridge at Samawa. He dealt with the tribes of Rumaitha, bought their grain and knew everyone in that region. He was a popular figure and the English esteemed him highly as a good farmer and one interested in his lands. Then came the Arab revolt of 1920–21. It broke out like a lightning flash first in Rumaitha, and the tribes of that place opened the ball by rushing the Political Officer's Headquarters and releasing prisoners from gaol. It so happened that a young British officer in civil employ was away from Rumaitha the day the storm broke. He had been riding out towards the south-west in the direction of the Euphrates and knew nothing of what had taken place, but as he neared Rumaitha again he heard shots, and saw some horsemen detach themselves from the town and come rapidly towards him. At first he thought them friends, but as they came galloping towards him shouting and firing as they rode, he realised that something serious was amiss. He turned south again to make for Samawa. The horsemen, seeing his intention, gave tongue, and the young Englishman set spurs to his horse. He gained on his pursuers, but owing to floods near the railway bridge upstream of Samawa, was forced to turn in a south-westerly direction. He bethought him of Hasan Agha's farm near the river and reached it a bare couple of miles ahead of his pursuers. Arriving at the large semicircular *muthif* built of mats and reeds that was Hasan Agha's house, he called out his name several times. For a while there was no reply, then out came a woman who said her husband, Hasan, was away, and enquired what the caller wanted. The young Englishman, exhausted with his hard ride, pointed to the oncoming horsemen, and begged shelter and protection. The woman called out her two daughters and told them quickly to join her in her women's quarters and bring out their *'abbas*. The women took the Englishman into their innermost room and covered him with his hostess's own cloak. She herself and her two daughters sat in front of him sewing. Suddenly the horsemen rode up, and in loud voices asked for Hasan Agha. Getting no response the leader dismounted, and putting his head in the women's room

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609 machine for Hasan. He did not possess it long, for when full independence was granted to Iraq, the leaders of the new Arab Government deprived Hasan Agha of his pump.

(NOTE.—The above story was told me in this form by Hasan Agha himself. It differs very considerably from the account published in *Blackwood's Magazine* of August 1921 by the chief actor in the drama.)

Before closing this chapter I must quote one more example of Arab chivalry. It was told me on 10th March, 1937, by Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah and next day confirmed by the hero of it, ibn Khazar himself, who later became a great friend of mine.

622 About thirty years before, when 'Abdul Muhsin ibn Khazar,
628 Shaikh of the Bani Khalid, was a young man, he was famed far and
577 wide as a raider. Many and great were his deeds of endurance and bravery. One day he carried out a distant foray against the U'taiba, in course of which he killed a well-known shaikh, galloping after him and single-handed shooting him in the back with his carbine. On his return from the raid he was sitting round his camp-fire regaling his friends with the story when there entered the son of the Shaikh of the Za'ab tribe (*bani 'ám* to the 'Adwan). He must be told the story over again, and coming to the part of how he dropped the 'Utaiba leader from his horse with one flying shot, 'Abdul Muhsin pointed his weapon at the Za'ab lad and fired. He never dreamed that his carbine was loaded as it unfortunately was. The son of the Za'ab Shaikh was killed.

In horror, he was for a time at a loss what to do. His Bani Khalid people tried to persuade him to report that the youth had been killed in a nearby raid, but ibn Khazar held that this would be contrary to Arab honour. He rode off to the boy's father and told him exactly what had happened. At the end of his recital he loaded his carbine handed it to the Shaikh of the Za'ab and begged him to avenge his son's blood. The shaikh generously refused. Not to be outdone, 'Abdul Muhsin declared that he would be a second son to the bereaved father till he died. He kept his word, giving his adopted father half of his sheep and camels, half of any loot (*chessib*) which he ever gained in a raid, and half of any presents that he ever received from ibn Sa'ud or the Shaikhs of Bahrain. He continued to do this until the old man died.

151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival.
609 But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious
574 and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and
264 then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how
[271] quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet
576 no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when
[486] everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he
577 would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do, they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel, gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word 156
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their 771
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away. Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the wind-blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as thoroughbreds.

13: Theiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Sand: Arabia
Bedouin Mj4

181 thoroughbreds. No race prizes lineage higher, yet they are the most
554 democratic people in the world and the most individualistic. Among
them there is real equality. To certain families, by virtue of their descent,
177 they accord certain privileges, but as a courtesy, not as a right, and Badu
577 sheikhs command respect only as long as they merit it. The traditional Arab way of life, fast vanishing to-day in contact with the West, owed much to Badu concepts, for the villagers and townsmen of Arabia, who form by far the greater part of her population, live close to the desert and were profoundly affected by it until motor-cars and aeroplanes removed for ever the need for camel journeys. Most of them are, indeed, of Badu origin, for the desert tides have always stranded the weak and broken upon the fringes of the Sown. Everywhere the Arabs have, at all times, judged honour and chivalry and hospitality by the standards of the tribesmen. Their love of liberty, their freedom from prejudice of class and caste, and their enthusiasm for poetry have come to them from the desert.

159 It is impossible to assess the character of the Badu, for among no other
577 race have so many contradictory qualities been fused together. I myself
81 have witnessed their courage and self-reliance, their endurance and pride of race, and I remember their patience, generosity, and unselfishness. But often I have been exasperated by their avarice and wearied by their endless
[735] importunities. No Badu thinks it shame to beg, and usually he will look disparagingly at the gift which he has received and grumble, "Is this all
[437] that you are going to give me?" Grasping and avaricious, they will talk unceasingly of money and argue heatedly for days about a dollar, then they will slaughter a camel worth 150 dollars to feed a stranger. Loyal to each other, they are yet without regard for human life and will knife an unarmed herdsboy with a jest. Cheerful and easily amused, they are generally good-tempered, though passionate when roused and quick to resent an injury.

166 I have often wondered as I rode across the desert what the future, and even the immediate future, holds for my companions and their kinsmen. The discovery of oil on the Persian Gulf is going to affect them profoundly and make it impossible for them to continue in their old ways, even if they would. I think myself that the oilfields will empty the desert. This movement of tribes from the Yaman and the Hadhramaut towards the north and the north-east is a movement which has been going on for thousands of years. It probably started even before the great migration of the Qahtan tribes, when, overwhelmed by calamity in their homes round Marib, some of them pushed across the deserts and occupied Oman. In recent years tribes such as the Awamir, Ruashid, and Manahil have left their homelands in the steppes to the north-east of the Hadhramaut and moved out into the sands to escape from the incursions of more powerful
166 tribes pressing on them from the west. Having accustomed themselves to
177 life in the sands, they have penetrated ever further and further into the Empty Quarter. In the past twenty or thirty years as conditions have become more settled in the north, due to the extension of Ibn Saud's influence over the powerful Murra tribe, they have grazed their herds round the Liwa oasis and in the sands near the Trucial Coast. Now the money to be earned on the oilfields along the Gulf is drawing the Badu

in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. 166
They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money
to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps 177
marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year
an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round
the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their 438
herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but 433
they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves.
They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional 511
load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or
a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and
sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert
ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential
commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in ex-
change for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to
afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is
bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is
now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several 489
important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but 231
now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant
demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were
hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds.
Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years
ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the
motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the
Muslamin." A Badui often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, 434
but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and 511
join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered
areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers,
and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes
by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with
little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who
regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are
anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, 181
and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they
must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar 577 ●
stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in 461
unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my com- 315
panions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure.
There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there,
under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So
naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia,
and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade
and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than
watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer.
There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for 511
sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being 166

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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156 609 conditions, singly or in combination, cause the attitude of individuals or groups to differ in degree. As a general rule nomads who range habitually on the fringes of alien civilized areas are more dangerous to encounter than those habitually withdrawn in the wilds. Thus, the northern and western constituents of the great Anazah group are less safe to visit than the Shammar. Other contingent circumstances may make particular groups yet more hostile—if, for example, they range near the political frontier of two alien powers, as do the eastern Sinaitic groups; or in a difficult mountainous country, like the Huweitāt and Huteim east and north of Akaba; or where shelter and water can be obtained in hidden rocky recesses, as among the Beni Sakhr in the southern trans-Jordan region; or in insalubrious low-lying tracts such as the Yemen Tihāmah, or the southern part of Hasa, or the eastern part of the south coast, which account for the evil repute of the Zaranik (*Dharāniq*), the Ahl Murrah, and the Qara tribes respectively.

Certain of the inland tribes, however, have reputations as bad or worse, and in their case one must look for peculiar causes. The ill fame of some groups of the Harb, for example—of one group especially, the 'Auf sub-tribe of the Masrūh section—is probably due to temptation long put in their way by the pilgrim routes, where these pass through a lean region debated between two powers. The repute, again, of the Qahtān, reckoned by the popular voice the most savage of Bedouin groups, may be accounted for by their seclusion and isolation along the northern fringe of the impenetrable Southern Desert. It is possible, however, that in both these instances report is worse than fact—in the one, because it is the well-known pilgrim route that has so often suffered, in the other because the northern Bedouins, who chiefly inform European minds, [266] know very little about the group in question. It is common talk, for example, that some of the Qahtān tribes are cannibal. On investigation, this imputation is always passed southward to the next group, till it finally fades away into *terra incognita*.

One word of caution, however, must be uttered about such cut-and-dried tribal reputations. They have not, in some cases, been always the same. The Huteim, for instance, who have a bad name for robbery now, used to be esteemed among the most inoffensive of nomads—almost on a par with the despised but universally tolerated Sulubba. Some one familiar with the desert talk of the moment should always be consulted before the desert itself is entered.

609 The least suspicious and most trustworthy Bedouins are, naturally, •577 those of the largest and best-knit tribes, especially such as form 621 part of a federation under the central authority of one of the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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greater Emirs [illegible] the Grand Sherif. These tribes are not only controlled to so[illegible] extent and directed to a common policy, but also have a tradition of self-respect, which ensures the observance of the Bedouin code of hospitality. As Doughty has well said, what stands to a Bedouin for religion is that which men will think of him. Fortunately the fame of a lavish entertainer and a protector of the guest is a condition of nobility among Bedouins; and an appeal against any action inconsistent with this will seldom be disregarded. A properly authorized stranger, whatever his creed, should have little to fear under ordinary circumstances among such tribes as the Shammar, the Ateibah, the Wuld 'Ali, or the Ruweilah. 609 577 621

What, however, does proper authority mean to the ordinary Bedouin? Not the exhibition of any passport or other written document. Letters from the chief Emirs, the Grand Sherif, or other great sheikhs are very valuable if the traveller is passing from one of them to another; but in ninety out of a hundred desert camps he will find no one who can read or will respect paper. The one thing needful is a *rafīq*, i. e. a companion derived from the tribe through whose range one must pass, or from some tribe allied with it or authorized to share its range. If possible, he should be a man of importance whose face will be recognized instantly by the desert men—a race which, like other unlettered races, keeps a long memory for faces and a very wide knowledge of personalities. Still better if he has been attached to the traveller by some well-known chief. The *rafīq* must be kept well in evidence and to the fore in case of such a sudden attack as Shakespear experienced at the hands of the Ateibah in Woshm, when a good deal of harm was done before his *rafīq* could make himself known in the night to the raiders. In territories controlled by a central authority, e. g. a sovereign Emir, a well-known man from the centre may suffice throughout; but even then it is better to take a *rafīq* from tribe to tribe. There are one or two denominations of Arabs who are franked by all tribes and can themselves conduct a traveller anywhere in more or less security; but it is rather less than more. Such are the *'Uqeil* (Ageyl)—recognized carriers—and the *Sulubba* (Solubba)—tinkers, medical magicians, hunters—whom no one molests. But travelling with such folk entails the disadvantage that one must go where they wish to go and at their pace; and in disturbed districts near frontiers their aegis is not to be relied upon. 609 577 486 [212] [101 463]

The efficacy of the *rafīq* system is based on the recognition that a particular range or dīra (*dīrah*) appertains to each tribe, and even to each main section of a tribe. Tribes sometimes hold their dīras in common, as the 'Ajmān and Beni Khālid are said to do at present in 486 609

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609 northern Hasa; and there are certain districts, containing but few
486 wells, where several tribes, each having a right of watering, cross and recross each other's dīras, without committing thereby acts of trespass, though not without engendering frequent friction. Such, for example, are the steppe west of Jebel Shammar and that north-east of the same district towards the lower Euphrates valley. For the right of crossing a dīra the traveller is expected to pay in money or kind to the chief, who often drives a very hard bargain, but should not be regarded as levying blackmail. After all, in return for the payment, he and his tribe concede protection and allow the traveller to consume some of their very scanty supply of fodder and
621 water. All Arab society is patriarchal. Some one man can answer for each unit, and among the best Arabs for very large units. The traveller's chief danger arises where tribes are small or so broken up that not more than one or two families recognize a chief.

486 There is, however, one recognized exception to this sanctity of
721 dīras, namely, the right of every tribe, or even section of a tribe, to raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, unless
● 577 barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship. To go
621 out on raid (*ghazwah*) is the young man's chance of proving himself, and to provide him with that opportunity is virtually obligatory on all tribes, except the meanest. The greater chiefs, like their ancient cousins, the Assyrian kings, make an annual practice of the Raid. The farther afield it goes, the greater the glory in a society punctiliously sensitive to public opinion. Raiding parties may, therefore, be met very far from the ranges of their own people, and no district is quite safe from them. They may generally be recognized by their travelling light, without women, and on high-bred camels. The *rafiq* is powerless against them in his own dīra, except possibly through some lucky friendship on his part or the repute of his tribe. But raiding parties are not very particular. They will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attack, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognized part of the game, and entails no slur on the courage of any members of the party.

486 The more the traveller can learn and retain in his mind of the
181 genealogy of individuals and tribes, in a land where pedigrees are very widely known back to a hoar antiquity and inordinately valued,
574 the better for his safety and the impression he will make and leave on his hosts. He should know also, as far as possible, the political grouping of tribes and recent desert history. If, like Doughty, he

S: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

422 "Well," I persisted, "the matter does not seem to
425 trouble you a great deal."

"No indeed," with an even broader grin if that were possible. "It does not trouble me at all. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will go and steal somebody else's. Who knows? Perhaps I may have more than I had before."

425 The tribal fights that keep the country in a continual
518 state of turmoil are little more than glorified raids for the sake of plunder. They intensify the poverty of the community, for legitimate trade is handicapped, and this irregular exchange of goods cannot in the nature of the case benefit the whole society, however much it may temporarily enrich individuals. But life without the excitement of these raids seems to the desert nomad a tame and a stale thing, hardly worth living. On the other
422 hand, personal property, such as is kept in tents, is as sacredly individual as it is with us, and its theft is keenly
685 resented. The conception that every man's home is his
609 castle is one of the most fundamental ideas of the Arab, and when the crew of a gunboat many years ago attempted to search the inner quarters of a house in Dibai for firearms, the resulting indignation was so intense that foreigners found themselves unable to enter that district for
422 nearly ten years. The household belongings that the Bedouin keeps in his tent may be poor things but they are very much his own.

181 This life of the desert, with its poverty and hardships and its primitive economic conditions, has nevertheless so worked its charm on the Bedouin nomad that he longs for nothing else. The Bedouin with his intense individualism seems particularly adapted to the desert. He
000 loves its vast distances and its solitude. Anything less

423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1951 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on State Domains by the rich landowning families, and it was alleged that in the Jezirah tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing away land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights.[1]

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holding tends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged as long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Mandatory Palestine

162 361 Since World War 1 there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 961 out of the 66 551 nomads of Palestine[2] were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Terahin, Tayaha, Azazma,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1951
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4

land reform on which successful tribal settlement will ultimately depend, but as the land-owning families exercise control over the indigenous administrations, the prospects for sweeping changes do not seem bright. 421

Transformation of the Sheikh

With the process of sedentarization the tribal sheikh undergoes a profound political and social transformation. 166x

In the traditional tribal society inter-tribal political activities were confined to disputes over water and grazing rights. Since the 19th century sheikhs have become involved in big power politics. Bedouin history since the First World War abounds with cases of tribal chiefs being pre-occupied with the political issues of the country. At present the tribal leaders constitute a very active element in the parliamentary life of Syria and Iraq. While the sheikhs of the Transjordanian tribes have in the past not taken a prominent part in the political activities of their country, they have taken sides in the main controversial issue of anglophile government circles versus pan-Arab, anti-foreign Nationalists. Mithal Pasha, the sheikh of the Beni-Sakhr, was the avowed friend of the Mufti while Hamad el Jazi, the sheikh of the Howeitat was an active supporter of Abdullah.[1] 578 622 664

The social changes which the sheikh undergoes are considerable. His household becomes substantially enlarged by addition of a great number of slaves, specialists in various tasks. The wives of the sheikh have chamber maids at their disposal. 622 178

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1. Oppenheim, 1943, pp. 182-183

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1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

Meheyd, above all men." He cleared his throat and spat, as if all mankind were dirt. Then he continued: "And thou art in need of a *rafiq?*" 609

"That is so," I replied; "and this letter, which thou holdest in thy hands, thou wilt transmit immediately to thy *sheykh*, for it contains a personal message from Amir Fuaz."

Before I could prevent it, Ali tore open the letter and began to read aloud:

"Al-illah, by the Adored One! Peace be with thee, dispenser of protection! By the Dispensation of Allah, let this stranger live under thy countenance like a son of thy father. Befriend him as if he were my own eyes. Guard and preserve my brother when he lodges with thee or when thou settest him on his way. I would trust him to none but thee alone, who walkest with a clear conscience in the sight of Allah. May the Lord lengthen thy days, O thou rich in life, and let us evermore dwell side by side in friendship."

At this point, Ali interrupted his reading with copious supplications for heaven's blessings and rewards on Amir Fuaz. He had never suspected that the young Rueyli chief could be capable of such gentle virtues and tender emotions. He was visibly overwhelmed. He raised his voice and resumed: 578 609

"Praise thou the Lord! For He is so magnanimous and bountiful that He has bestowed upon me, His humble slave, so rich a gift. He, the Gracious and Merciful, granted me the wonderful opportunity of relieving thy ally and our brother, Barjas ibn Hedeyb, of seventy mares."

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

609 Ali jumped as if stung by a tarantula. In place of the
578 previous outpouring of blessings there now issued from his lips a flood of wild imprecations and sulphurous curses on the head of the Amir. Again he raged like a madman. His outbreak was ably seconded by the other Bedouins, and once more bedlam broke loose in the courtyard, men and animals creating pandemonium. In their insensate fury, the men began to belabour the excited and frightened sheep, asses, and goats with their flexible camel-sticks, as if they had the hated Rueyli chief himself under their hands. Even I, the innocent cause of this outburst of frenzy, became the target of Ali's choicest vituperation. How could I associate myself with such a notorious cutthroat and common bandit? It took a considerable space of time for Ali to calm down again—and with him the whole audience—and, in a voice still agitated, he read out the remainder of the letter:

"May the Lord take pity on thy saddened thoughts and may cheerful reflection on the Inevitable console thee and tranquilize thy soul." (I couldn't help laughing out loud at this; whereupon Ali scowled at me most ungraciously. "All is fleeting, but all is also preordained by Allah. May the corpse of him who casts doubt on the bravery of my horsemen be flung aside without burial. God's infallible acts are manifest, and in the light of these events, which were inevitable, thou shouldst acknowledge the truth of my words." ("Aha!" I said to myself. "What a brilliant idea! To hold Allah responsible for the theft of seventy mares!") "Allah bless my beautiful and virtuous kinswoman who is in the keeping of thy brother." (Tarfa, a sister of Amir Fuaz.) "May

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD.
Bedouins M34

the position of the heavenly bodies be of better augury for thee! God is omnipotent!" 609 578

Ali, sunk in meditation, seemed disturbed by a thousand conflicting thoughts. At length, however, he dutifully kissed the face and back of this typical example of Bedouin diplomacy. Secretly, I had to admire the respect [577] accorded in Arabia even to one's deadly enemy.

Ali grasped my hand. Anger still lingered in his eyes, but his voice sounded pleasant enough as he said to me: "This letter, my friend, is just about as good as a recommendation from Iblis" (the devil), and with a grimace of contempt he tossed it on the fire. I was only just in time to snatch the already singed sheet of paper from the flames; but, as a matter of fact, neither Ali nor I ever had the courage to present the letter to either of the Fid'an chiefs.

To my great delight, Ali offered himself as my *rafiq* for the journey to the Jesirah (Mesopotamia). Within two days he had ferreted out a second-hand Ford car to carry us to the Euphrates.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

RIGHTS OF IBN 'ÁM

If a girl refuses to be wedded to her *ibn 'ám*, he may slay her without becoming liable to pay blood money in compensation. 684 582

If the *ibn 'ám* knows that his cousin does not want him, being already in love with someone else, he can forbid (*haiyyir 'alaiha*) the marriage, and the girl may die a spinster.

If a girl loves another and her father dies, she has a chance of getting her freedom from her *ibn 'ám* who is *haiyyiring* her ("hajjir" is the correct technical term for keeping her to himself), if she goes and begs her freedom immediately after her father's death: "My father has died, I want thee to release me in return for my father who has passed away", she says. In such case the *hajjir* is expected to be generous and release her—but he is not bound to do so. If he refuses her only remedy is to elope. She then flees with her lover to a distant land or tribe, and there marries him after putting herself and her husband under the protection of a shaikh. She remains in constant danger from her cousin, however. Her husband is considered as guilty as a murderer and can only secure his life by the payment of blood money. [627]

Should a Badawin elope with and marry a "white slave girl" (e.g. Circassian, Georgian or Armenian) or a girl of inferior tribe (he can on no account marry a slave and defile the tribe's blood), he can never return again to his kin; they will kill him. [588]

It is the duty of every Badawin to marry and procreate. The more children he possesses, the more powerful his kinsmen. He would be expelled the tribe were he to refuse to do his duty in this respect. Without his kin a Badawin would be the most miserable of outcasts. Musil brings this out clearly in his book, *Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*. 581

There are, of course, cases where a man sees a girl, not his cousin, and falls madly in love with her. If she herself is not bound to her *ibn 'ám* a regular courtship follows, the man finding opportunity of meeting when she is looking after the camels or the sheep, much as our own youths and maidens do. I have known very violent love affairs of this type, and the Badawin loses his head over his lass quite as much as the ordinary English youth, if not more.

l. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

one wife. He simply cannot afford such luxury. The majority marry, 831
of course, two or three times in their lives, either because the wife 595
has a temper, is lazy, is unreasonable, cannot have children, or gets sick and dies; but I have known a large number who have been faithful to one woman all their lives and regard the woman of their choice with affection and trust, even when she is old and decrepit. This proves constancy at any rate, which is not far removed from love.

In spite of their religion permitting men to take more than one wife, and in spite of easy and sensible divorce laws, the standard of morality among the dwellers in hair tents is one of the highest in the world: this naturally tends towards a high standard in family life, and [593]
results in mutual admiration, companionship and trust between man and wife.

A Badawin marries primarily because he wants a helpmeet: some- 581
one to cook for him, to look after, mend and renew his tent. He must have someone to prepare his *leben*, to collect his firewood and to draw water for him and his camels. Above all, he must have children, and is only half a man until he has. Nevertheless, though he looks to the woman to be useful before everything else, there is always room for love and affection. Many cases of youths and maidens falling in love, and almost going crazed about each other, have come under my notice. It would take too long to relate them all. I shall confine myself to two. Both are stories of love gone wrong, of everything eventually coming right, and the parties living happily ever afterwards. From these examples my readers must form their own conclusions, and decide whether the desert man differs greatly from his Western brother. In both cases I knew the young actors intimately.

(*a*) *The love-story of Mutlug ibn Majid al A'sga of the Al Shuqair section of the Mutair.*

Young Mutlug was a shaikh's son of eighteen, well bred, good-looking, debonair, wiry and with a pair of long plaits (*gurun*) hanging down along both cheeks, that might have been the envy of any woman. He was an extraordinarily bright and happy lad, and on the last occasion when he came up to Kuwait, he had asked to be shown all over my house. His remark when he saw my wife's and my bedroom was characteristic, "*Wallah*" (by God) he said, "this sleeping

I; Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

581 chamber is better than that of 'Abdul 'Aziz himself (meaning the King), and Nura his sister has got nothing so nice, *wallah* I speak truth for I have seen them both".

Well, young Mutlug spent a week in Kuwait, while his father was being medically treated in the American Mission hospital. He left with my blessing and some useful gifts from my wife: little did we know what was in store for him. Six months later his father and uncle, one Turki ibn Shuqair, came up to Kuwait and visited me. "Where is Mutlug and why have you not brought him with you?" were my first words. "Alas," they said, "he has gone mad" (*mukhabal*). "How! mad?" said I, "a strong healthy lad like that doesn't go mad— it surely cannot be." "Yes, he has gone stark, staring mad," was the reply, "and all for the love of a young Mutairi maiden whom he met among the camels." "Then why not let him marry her if he is in such a bad case?" said I. "Alas, it cannot be," chorused both father and uncle, "she is the young wife of the terrible 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi, Amir of Hasa, he married her a year ago and now allows her to live with her parents in the tribe: were he even now to hear that our Mutlug had fallen in love with his wife, his rage would know no bounds."

In reply to my many questions as to the degree of madness that had overcome the boy, I was told that he would not eat, nor talk, nor recognise anyone. It was said by some in the tribe that it was not the love of the woman that had caused his madness, but that he had walked over a grave during the night by accident, and that a *jinn* from the grave had seized upon him and possessed him. They had therefore tried branding him on the head, neck and back, but all without success, and at that moment he was in charge of a wise old woman who had promised to get rid of the spell from him for a sum of money, by reading over him certain passages from the Qur'an by day and night. I ventured the opinion that the matter was one of wild and frantic love pure and simple, and that they must get the boy properly married, or he might really go mad. "*Yimkin*" (perhaps) they said, and refused to pursue the subject further. My advice was indeed taken later, but in a somewhat strange way. They married the love-sick and now lightheaded boy to the sister of his lady love. Turki later told me that she was very like her younger sister in tem-

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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perament, and almost her double in looks, so the boy surely ought 58|
to be entirely satisfied. After all, being mad, he would not know the difference. The boy meekly obeyed his parents, and did show some improvement, but he was not really satisfied—far from it. Turki came and told me the details with undisguised pleasure two months later —but I knew that the boy Mutlug still pined grievously for his maiden of the camels.

I heard this from the women. Later I heard that, seized by a strange determination, he in a sane moment gave out that he was going to Hufuf to tell Ibn Jiluwi of his love. In vain they tried to prevent him, and only fate stepped in and saved him. In the autumn of 1935, just as Mutlug was setting out, the Amir of Hasa died very suddenly. I have not seen young Mutlug again, but they tell me he went wild with delight at the news, repaired to Riyadh and at once begged a boon from the King. "Give me, O King, the hand of 'Abdullah ibn Jiluwi's young Mutairi wife," he cried. "I have loved and wanted her for three years, and I shall die, O 'Abdul 'Aziz, if thou give her not to me." The King with his usual acumen realised how matters stood, and acted both generously and promptly. He told the boy he could have the young widow to wife, after the prescribed number of mourning days, and the marriage was consummated in due course.

Mutlug to-day is a happy man once more. May he keep his wife for many a long year.*

(b) *The Wooing of Shaikh Mutlug al Sur*

Mutlug al Sur was a poor but famous 'Ikhwan leader of the Mutair. A young, fiery man and entirely absorbed in his religion, he never thought to be so foolish as to be carried away by a pretty face or a pair of dark eyes. These he hoped to get in the next world and in plenty. The present life was to be devoted to converting the heathen and the infidel and bringing them into the right way. His zeal had brought him to the notice of the great Faisal al Duwish and of the King himself. He was given many independent commands, and entrusted with such tasks as the attack on Bussaiya post. He carried out his work so well, that at the time this story begins, he had become

* Later, Mutlug came to Kuwait in 1936, and now is attached to H.H. the Shaikh's staff. Note made on 8.5.37.

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581 the right-hand man of Al Duwish, and his confidential friend and adviser.

One day about 1920, he met his fate: a happy and merry-eyed lass of his section of the Mutair, the Bura'asa. He too found her among the camels and loved her at first sight. She had no father but a very business-like and obstructive mother. Mutlug had of course heard many times of the beauty of the girl, but had paid no heed. He was a warrior of warriors and love-foolishness was not for him.

Cupid's dart had struck home, however, and he was not slow to act. He applied to the girl's mother for her hand—but she refused. He tried every subterfuge without success. The mother was full of avarice. She insisted on five she-camels and five hundred rials as her daughter's price. This he couldn't produce. He next tried sending other women direct to the girl herself, hoping to win her with gifts of nose-rings, bangles, necklaces, etc., such as Badawin girls love. All to no purpose, the miserable mother persuaded her daughter to think as she did. It was the money and five she-camels or nothing. In vain he sent her pretty frocks, veils, *'abbas*, etc., all to no purpose.

The maid's laughing eyes haunted him, he could not sleep, his warrior instincts were being undermined, he was becoming soft. At length, with a "To hell with all women and their bewitching ways", he took himself away, and went off to do battle with al Rashid near Hail. "Let me die," he said, "at least a warrior, rather than become the slave of a silly maiden."

Fight and war as he would, however, he could not forget Merry-eyes. Two years went by and he visited his home again. To his undoing he met the girl early one morning in the desert with the camels. He drew near with a welcome cry. She cast her eyes down, and to his enquiry if she had no words for him, she said in a half whisper—"Hast thou come with the money and the five she-camels?—if thou hast I am thine for the asking".

"Thou cruel tantaliser, no," he replied. "Nor shalt thou ever have thy accursed camels." Again he went away, this time for four long years, determined to forget his little Merry-eyes. Alas, he could not. At last, thin, weary and broken with hardships he decided to go to 'Abdul 'Aziz the King and tell him of his heartache. "Give me, O 'Abdul 'Aziz, the wherewithal to buy me this temptress for, *wallah*,

she is hurting me sore, and I grow old before my time. Was not 581 ●
woman made for man? Give me what thou wilt, but help me to attain my desire." The understanding Bin Sa'ud, than whom no man knows woman better, gave Mutlug a very valuable *'umaniyah dhalúl* (thoroughbred riding camel from Oman), one of his very best. The camel even had a silver ring in her nose to prove her worth. He gave him also a present of Rs.200 and several extra-gaudy woman's garments. "Go now, my son, and win the lady," said the King, "and tell her 'Abdul 'Aziz himself begs this favour of her, and has sent her of his best." Mutlug duly repaired to the tents of his lady love in the Summán, and behold as he drew near her tent she saw him coming from far, and her heart went out to him. Did he not deserve to win her after all these years! Yet where were the five she-camels? Nearer he approached and nearer, and then the understanding girl saw and recognised the beautifully caparisoned *dhalúl* he was riding. There was the King's own brand on her, and the silver ring in her nose. She rushed forth crying "Mutlug has come for me, Mutlug has come". Oblivious of everything she fell softly into his arms. No one was looking, and they were hidden behind the *qdta*. Her mother no longer counted. Mutlug told me afterwards that their long embrace lasted a whole half-hour, and during that time he never once removed his lips from hers! It was his final homecoming. He had won the fairest rose in Arabia. They married shortly afterwards and she bore him a child, but to his unspeakable sorrow she died a year later. He will never love again, says Mutlug bitterly.

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The Welcome

in front of my tent, everything is ready to give me welcome. Salim 000 834 stands alone in front of the tent, and answers my *salâm 'alaikum*, 576 for it would not do for his womenfolk to appear in the presence of my hired driver and the shaikh's *fidâwi*, Sa'ud. They can, however, be seen discreetly peeping from their tent.

My goods and chattels are next unpacked, and I proceed to get 000 things shipshape. Whilst Jawad is putting together my camp bed, and opening up my bedding, coffee is brought and served.

As soon as the coast is clear, and the menfolk are safely ensconced 576 in their tent, in creeps the gentle-eyed and sweet-voiced Amsha to 521 bid me welcome in the reception portion of my black goat-hair tent. She walks in gracefully, and in her low contralto voice bids me, "Al guwa ya Abu Sa'ud" (Strength to you, O father of Sa'ud), the usual salutation among the womenfolk. "'Allah i gauichi ya Um Hussa" (God give you strength, O mother of Hussa) I reply, and then follows a host of welcoming sentences, such as, "How are you? How is Um Sa'ud? What news of the Khatuna (the wife)? and Sa'ud and Zahra (my children) how are they? Well, well, I hope. What is doing in Kuwait, and what news of rain?" etc. Amsha is followed by Maneira, the Mutairiyah, helper in the house, and Hussa, Amsha's daughter of fifteen (recently veiled to show she is now a woman and [582] of marriageable age). Then the daughters of Dhuwaihi the herdsman, and of Maziad, the Dhafiri, and last of all comes coal-black little Mubarak, the negro slave's little boy—Barruk they call him in terms of endearment. The other little curly-headed boy, Marzuk or Mzairik, his brother, is still with the lambs a quarter of a mile away, and so is Hamud, Maneira's small son.

The women, led by Amsha, sit round me in a circle, all asking after me and all wanting to know something. Little Hussa, whom I have known since she was seven years old, encouraged by her mother, comes and sits by my side after holding up her *burga* a moment for me to kiss her dimpled mouth. She has mother's permission to do this, even though she is now fifteen and a grown woman, for have I not known her since she was a little child? After this preliminary, she retires again and sits by her mother's side, keeping that silence which all well-behaved Badawin children maintain when their elders are present. Only shy little Barruk comes up 000

The Half-Badawin

to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin 369
in the transition stage to a more settled existence. 361

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of 361
sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents 233
as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock
such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their [582]
members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and
regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the 565
pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter un- 369
doubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has
grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots
of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi,
are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-
bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs.
The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions 369
involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as 574
host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging 556
in the city.

Akaluna al Badu, is a common cry heard among the 'Arab-
dawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their
neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially [721]
their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful,
for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather
than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and
lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin
raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is
an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or
defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with 233
either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the 463
tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either 619
of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As
sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which
they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined
than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds
has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

Inferior Tribes

619 (1) *In Hasa and Kuwait* (East Arabia).

565 The 'Awazim tribe, probably of Hutaim origin, and originally a serf-community of the 'Ajman.

The Rashaida Tribe—certainly of Hutaim origin; originally serfs of the Mutair, and retainers of the Shaikhs of Kuwait from earliest times.

(2) *In North-West Arabia.*

The Hutaim—A large and very powerful group of tribes, who generally acknowledge the overlordship of Shaikhs Ibn Barak and Ibn Naumas. (The Shararat tribe, for instance, forms part of the great Hutaim group.)

(3) *All over North and North Central Arabia.*

The Sulubba—The lowest, most despised of desert men, and said to be descendants of the Christian Crusaders. Great guides and hunters. (See Chapter XLI.)

(4) *Central and North Arabia.*

The Aqail or Agail*—residents of Qasim and Baghdad. From time immemorial camel-dealers of the desert.

The great house of Al Bassam are Aqailis.

[326] (5) Not to be confused with the above, are the Al Sana,† a community of ironmongers, farriers and arms-repairers, sections of whom each Sharif tribe protects and possesses as part of itself. *Sanna* is the plural of *Sana*, e.g. Sanna al Mutair, Sanna al Rashid, etc.

[582] No Sharif Arab can take a daughter from (or give a daughter to) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) above. His own tribe would not tolerate it, and his relations would kill the offender. The excuse would be that he [628] was spoiling the tribe's blood. Everyone will remember the shooting of the capable 'Abdullah Beg al Sana, Governor of Baghdad in 1932, by His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha al Sa'adun, because of the former's foolish attempt to marry the Europeanised daughter of His Excellency 'Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Prime Minister of Iraq. The true Arab of the desert, from Bin Sa'ud downward, not only condoned the murder, but highly approved it.

361 * The Aqail or Agail are, of course, not a Badawin tribe in any sense of the word, for they live in the towns. They more correctly should be termed a *hadhar* community.

† Members of this class have often risen to the highest positions of trust under various Arab Rulers as well as under the Turks.

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Ma'adan

582 It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman,
591 even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharíf Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

619 In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Badawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharíf tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashira) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or ÁL)

[619] (*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al*.

Ál is like the term "Bani", e.g. Bani Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Wain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Nazlin fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 A man says *Ya 'Aiyál* when addressing his sons or his family
601 as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Aiyál?* when enquiring after
551 the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'aiyál* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal
[576] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

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576 A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing
592 his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi wardkum?* (How is the
601 person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.
551 Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indi-
613 cate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

613 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some
● 582 of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

Male Line of Descent

Chap. VI

(1) *Bani 'Ám.* According to Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the 613
'Ajman, who discussed this with me on 11th August, 1935, the mem- 582
bers of every tribe or section of a tribe which have a common male ancestry are known as Bani 'Ám, *lit.* the children of one uncle. The Mutair and 'Ajman are more strict than others about the interpretation of the above, he said, and carry it to the seventh generation of ascendants. Beyond that, he added, genealogies were rather vague. Only blood relationship on the father's side (*'Amam*) gives the right of Bani 'Ám or Ibn 'Ám, and not the relationship on the mother's side, which is known under the name of *Khawál.*

A man in trouble can always rely on his *'Amam* to come to his 613
assistance. They must do this regardless of consequences—and so 614
must a tribe which has such relationship with another, the 'Ajman-Murra tribes for instance.

The 'Ajman and Murra were continually at each other's throats in the past, and raided and counter-raided in merry fashion, but when an outside enemy attacked the one, all private feuds were put aside, and the two united in resisting the attack. The reason was that they were descended from the common ancestor Yam and so were *Bani 'Ám.*

The families of Ibn Sa'ud, Ibn Subah, Ibn Khalifa and Abal Khail of Qassim are all *Bani 'Ám*, and so can always be counted on, in any serious difficulty, to come to one another's help. They are all 'Anizah, descended from the same distant ancestor.

A man's *Khawál*, his maternal relations, are of course useful, especially in offering sanctuary, but they are not under the same obligations as a man's *Bani 'Ám.*

'Amam al rajál, akram min khawálu is a well-known saying. 613
This explains happenings which sometimes mystify the European. 627
A man marries a woman from another tribe; she proves unfaithful 604
(the instance I am describing has to my knowledge happened among 573
'Arabdar and Hadhar persons of Kuwait), the husband does not seem to mind much, but hints to the wife's *'Amam* that she is not all that she should be. They, being her *Bani 'Ám*, kill her, but do not enlist the outraged husband. She is slain to clear the family's good name, and to enable them to hold up their heads in the *majlis arjal*, or counsels of men. Should a couple have children, a son and a daughter, and the daughter happens to disgrace the family, then either the

613 father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the
627 dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her
604 *walad 'ám*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and
593 do the deed.

613 Between *bani 'ám* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man
604 must never seize and bind one of his *'ameen* even though he be a
721 thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'ameen* by a *dawn*
628 attack or raid him after *midnight*. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *bani 'ám* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiyu*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'ud, Al Dushan, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. (See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'ÁM

601 (2) *Walad 'Ám*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'ÁM

613 (3) *Bint 'Ám*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—
582 on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.

[601] A man always has the right to marry his *bint 'ám*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'ám*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

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CHAPTER VIII

Marriage and Divorce

MARRIAGE

582 A Badawin is not allowed to marry:

The divorced wife of his son.
His son's widow.
His wife's mother.
His brother's daughter.
His sister's daughter.
His foster sister.
A girl of a tribe that is considered inferior to his own, such as 'Awazim, Sana, Sulubba. (See Chapter VI and Appendix XIII.)

Inferior Badawin, of course, intermarry at will with other inferior tribes.

[162] The marriage laws among the Badawin tribes of Arabia are simple in the extreme and effectually settle the problem, so acute in the West, of what to do with the excess female population. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that in Arabia, owing to the interminable wars and intertribal hatreds that exist, women are and have always been greatly in excess of the men.

In the first place, marriage and divorce are extremely easy. Every youth on first reaching the age of manhood expects his parents to find a mate for him. Similarly a husband must be found for a girl the moment she reaches puberty.

684 First-cousin marriage is the invariable rule. A girl belongs of right
682 to the son of her father's brother (*ibn 'am*) unless he expressly renounces his right to marry her. Even in this case she may not marry without his permission. If the girl breaks this rule or her parents prevail on her to marry someone else, her rightful lord will murder her if he can. This is the cause of most of the tribal killings of women, especially in Iraq.

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RIGHTS OF IBN 'ÁM

If a girl refuses to be wedded to her *ibn 'ám*, he may slay her without becoming liable to pay blood money in compensation. 634 582

If the *ibn 'ám* knows that his cousin does not want him, being already in love with someone else, he can forbid (*haiyyir 'alaiha*) the marriage, and the girl may die a spinster.

If a girl loves another and her father dies, she has a chance of getting her freedom from her *ibn 'ám* who is *haiyyiring* her ("hajjir" is the correct technical term for keeping her to himself), if she goes and begs her freedom immediately after her father's death: "My father has died, I want thee to release me in return for my father who has passed away", she says. In such case the *hajjir* is expected to be generous and release her—but he is not bound to do so. If he refuses her only remedy is to elope. She then flees with her lover to a distant land or tribe, and there marries him after putting herself and her husband under the protection of a shaikh. She remains in constant danger from her cousin, however. Her husband is considered as [627] guilty as a murderer and can only secure his life by the payment of blood money.

Should a Badawin elope with and marry a "white slave girl" (e.g. [588] Circassian, Georgian or Armenian) or a girl of inferior tribe (he can on no account marry a slave and defile the tribe's blood), he can never return again to his kin; they will kill him.

It is the duty of every Badawin to marry and procreate. The more 581 children he possesses, the more powerful his kinsmen. He would be expelled the tribe were he to refuse to do his duty in this respect. Without his kin a Badawin would be the most miserable of outcasts. Musil brings this out clearly in his book, *Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*.

There are, of course, cases where a man sees a girl, not his cousin, and falls madly in love with her. If she herself is not bound to her *ibn 'ám* a regular courtship follows, the man finding opportunity of meeting when she is looking after the camels or the sheep, much as our own youths and maidens do. I have known very violent love affairs of this type, and the Badawin loses his head over his lass quite as much as the ordinary English youth, if not more.

Origin of the Sulubba

566 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-
619 Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.
[142] In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a
[361] large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

582 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his
595 people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are
565 in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs,
619 some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shennut is the Shaikh of the Mutair Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aithif is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

584 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

585 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of
619 the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba
174 are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

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Appendix XIII

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6. Hijáz	Tussun Pasha, 1811	of Egypt.
7. Hijáz	Mohomed 'Ali Pasha, 1815	
8. Qasím and Najd	Ibrahim Pasha, 1817	
9. Asír	Ahmad Pasha of Turkey, 1835.	
10. Hasa	Turkish expedition under Mizʿaid Pasha as Sa'adun from Iraq, 1871–2.	
11. Qasím	Turkish expedition from Iraq, 1903–5.	
12. Madain Salih and Wadi Sirhan	Lawrence's operations during Great War, 1916–18.	

APPENDIX XIII

MARRIAGE BETWEEN SHARÍF AND NON-SHARÍF ARABS

B 582 554

On 17th January, 1938, Shaikh Mirshid ibn Twála of the Shammar, in discussing whom a pure Arab could marry, told me that an Arab like himself could not possibly marry a Sulubbi girl, or an 'Awazim, Rashaida or Hutaim lass. His people, the Shammar, would kill him if he did.

He added that it was true that the Amir 'Abdul 'Aziz al Rashid, ruler in Hail, had once lost his head and enjoyed for a few hours only a beautiful Sulubbi maiden, as he supposed, *without the knowledge of anyone*. He did not even marry her, but took her sinfully, added Mirshid. What was the result? The news got about, and Ibn Shurraim and all his tribe left him —Ibn Twála and all his followers did likewise and moved north into Iraq. Agáb ibn 'Ijil and his Abda sections did the same, never to come back. In fact all the Saiyah group of Shammar in protest deserted their hereditary lord in a body.

B 554

Apart from marriage with a low-born Arab woman, certain trades considered dishonourable for a pure-bred Arab to take up were forbidden him. These included, said Shaikh Mirshid, ironmongering (Sána trade), carrying and making salt, burning *jass* (lime), skinning animals and curing the skins, and burning charcoal.

To quote an example: Shaikh Mubarak found a very poor man of 'Anizah extraction burning *jass* one day. He sent for him and upbraided him, saying that he should not do a low-born Arab's work. The man, a very poor man, replied that he had to make his living, for he had a family to support,

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do, they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel, gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word 156
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their 771
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away. Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the wind-blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as thoroughbreds.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525
Bedouin M84
Arabs M10

B 601 the father's or the mother's family. Should a man's father have married into his own patrilineage the mother's patrilineal family, however, is generally referred to by the terms given to paternal relatives.

B 602 Kinship behaviour is characterized by a respect-relationship towards older generations. There is also a kind of avoidance between certain in-laws known as *asib* (male) or *asiba* (female). The avoided relatives in-law are the following:— father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, younger brother's wife, younger sister's husband, older brother of spouse, older sister of spouse. Other in-laws known as *hamu* (male) or *hamua* (female) are not avoided; these are:— older sister's husband, younger brother of spouse, older brother's wife, younger sister of a spouse (cf. Miner 1953, p. 146). When B ● 582 the levirate is practised a wife can marry a younger brother of her deceased husband, but not his elder brother, just as in the case of the sororate a man can marry a younger sister of his deceased wife but not her elder sister. Thus marriage between persons of the same generation is not permitted should there already be an established avoidance relationship between them. People involved in an avoidance relationship cannot marry.

B 582 584 An interesting and much discussed trait of Arab social organization is preferential marriage with a father's brother's daughter. Most Arabs I have questioned claimed her to be the most suitable spouse, but they also said that for various reasons other types of marriage frequently took place. It might happen, for example, that marriage of this preferential type was not contracted because of conflict between the two families in question. But the factor which frequently leads to marriages of types other than that with a father's brother's daughter seems to be the following:— In an Arab family, the father has the decisive, final word in choosing spouses for his children. The children when contracting a first marriage are forced to marry the persons chosen by their father. Even so, however, the choice is frequently the result of the mother's initiative for she knows the young girls far better than does her husband. She is able to visit them, can talk freely to them, and she knows their characters and their abilities. A husband will therefore often give way to his wife's wishes even if she chooses a maternal cousin or some girl other than the father's brother's daughter.

B 582 I have already mentioned certain relatives with whom marriage is forbidden when the levirate and the sororate are practised. There are many other kinswomen whom a man is not allowed to marry, namely:— all kinswomen of the parents' and the grandparents' generations, brother's daughter, brother's daughter's daughter, brother's son's daughter, sister, sister's daughter, sister's daughter's daughter, sister's son's daughter.

A T 177 The Arabs I know best are those who live in Tuareg country, and some of them have been much influenced by Tuareg social customs. Many of these Arabs are bi-lingual, speaking of their kinsmen both in Arabic and in Tuareg. Sometimes they seem to be in doubt whether it is better to marry a father's brother's daughter than a cross-cousin. The *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, who lead a pastoral life in Ahaggar and are much mixed with the Tuareg, pay bride-wealth like the vassal Tuareg tribes, but this is not so with *Ahl Azzi* Arabs who are sedentary and live at Tamanrasset. These sedentary Arabs never give camels for bride-wealth, but instead certain articles of dress and ornaments, the price of which is about 25,000 French francs, equivalent in value to a camel. A less comprehensive dowry is given by the bride's father. The food expenses connected with a marriage are paid in part by the groom or his father, and in part by the bride's father. The sedentary agriculturists, the *Harratin* (Ikaggaren),

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

over the four feet, etc. Only at dawn do these women "spoil-sports" withdraw to the outer room, after locking the bride and bridegroom up in one stifling room together. Later, when the bridegroom craves to come out, they open the door and go in and wash the bride all over, change her clothes, and redress her for a fresh visit of the bridegroom. This takes place a couple of hours after (see Hamda's sister's marriage in Kuwait on 4th July, 1935). K 585

Amsha, the pretty married daughter of Ibrahim al Muzaiyin of Riyadh, told me on 12th July, 1935, that the Arabs had a saying that: "A woman was like a *jirba* (leather bag) of dates; when full, she was useful in more ways than one, when empty she was of no further use and could be thrown away", referring to the uselessness of a woman who could no longer bear children. In throwing her away the husband casually said, *hafathti wa nafathti*, i.e. "You can go, but I keep any children you have had".* B 586 842

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG IRAQ TRIBES

A bride's trousseau consists entirely of household effects: cooking utensils, pillows, cushions, blankets, *iqars*, *lahâf*, bridal-bed and, of course, new clothing for herself. The bride never brings such things as a horse or mare to her husband, though I have heard Europeans say she does. Her purchase money is usually sent to her father by the prospective bridegroom a fortnight or month before the marriage. Among the Iraq tribes this money is almost invariably handed over to the daughter, with an additional sum from the father himself. Aided, of course, by her mother and female relatives, the daughter then converts the money into jewellery. The cost of an Iraq tribal girl is usually in the vicinity of Rs.200; the price of a shaikh's daughter varies, but does not as a rule run to more than Rs.1,000. As in the desert, a man if he possibly can always marries his cousin. She is supposed to be his from the day she is born. The Sa'adun Shaikhs of the Muntafiq (Euphrates) often keep their female cousins single till the day of their death, in order to keep property in the family. It is an unpleasant habit, and is widely condemned by other Arabs. B 583

* A woman who has been divorced may not re-marry till after three lunar months —or, as the Badawin put it, *Min ba'ad shalath hawrat wa shalath gawrat*. This is to insure that she is not with child by the man who divorces her. B 587

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584 When a man wants to marry, he pays the girl so much money down. Her price runs from about Rs.70* to Rs.500, according as the man is a commoner or a shaikh. (I am not of course here referring to alliances and customs ruling among the great princely houses of Arabia, such as the Al Sa'ud, Al Khalifah or Al Subah.)†

The man also has to provide the bride with a frock or two (*kiswah*) and a "bed" to lie on (*frásh*), usually consisting of a red cotton quilt (*laháf*) for spreading on the ground. This provision of the marriage-bed by the prospective husband is essential.

585 584 The gift to the bride of money, clothes and marriage-bed is called the *jehází*, and is a universal custom. The *jehází*‡ having been presented, the marriage ceremony is carried out by the local *muta'awah*, or man learned in religion. Among shaikhs, etc., this person is usually an *alim* or priest, but among the poorer Badawin the *muta'awah* may be any person who can lead the prayers and has what they call *'ilm* or learning.

In every community, however small, there will always be found some person qualified to solemnise marriage, if only the local blind man.

The marriage ceremony is very simple indeed: the priest merely asks the man if he will take the girl and the bridegroom replies "yes" in front of witnesses. He then asks the girl's representative (her father or brother) if she agrees to have this man for husband, and when the reply "yes" is given, the ceremony is over. Occasionally the bride is seated behind the tent partition, and hears everything that goes on, but this is rare.

The bride has, of course, snatched glimpses of her prospective husband and at least knows what he looks like. Unless the girl is his cousin and has been brought up with him, the bridegroom on the other hand has not as a rule seen his prospective wife. Of course, if he is clever he has ways and means of getting a peep beforehand, and the girl willingly helps him to satisfy his curiosity.

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After marriage the Badawin takes his bride to the tent he has pre- 585
viously pitched for her, close to that of her father, and consummation takes place. Many are the curious eyes and ears which are concentrated on the bridal tent.

As with us, those chiefly interested in the marriage ceremony are the other women of the camp.

Slaves marrying go through the same ceremonies as the freeborn, [567]
the master and mistress of the slave acting the part of the parents of the bridegroom: and as much interest is evinced in the marriage of one of their slaves as in that of one of the family.

The Badawin's love for cohabitation is well known, and as I have 831
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the wife finds herself with child, she lets the other women know about it, and it becomes the occasion for much rejoicing. She continues cohabiting with her husband as a matter of course till just before the baby's birth.

DIVORCE

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If the man divorces the woman, she keeps the *jehdz* he has given her, which is sufficient provision for her for a considerable time, or till she gets a second husband. It must not be forgotten that she has nearly always invested her *jehdz* in buying a camel or some sheep and has thus become an owner of livestock.

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Up to this time the girl quite possibly, in fact usually, knows nothing of what is going on or being arranged for her. The first news she gets is from her mother, who tells her to prepare for the marriage-bed that night. Great excitement ensues and often much reluctance. When the girl is ready and everything properly arranged, usually by the same evening, the bridegroom is escorted to the bride's tent, or more usually to a small tent set apart near that of the parents. He is made to sit down and receive his men friends for about an hour. When they have all gone, his own women relatives and those of the bride bring the girl to the tent, clustering round her to prevent her escaping, as she must pretend to want to do. Having put her into the tent, whose sides (*rsag*) are all closed, they shout out to "A" to seize and take possession of the girl of his choice, and then discreetly retire. The girl usually attempts to bolt after the women, or get out by

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K 585 B 585 creeping under the flap of the tent. The man literally has to seize her and hold her fast unless he wants to lose her. Slowly but surely he then woos her, and makes her take off her *'abba* and show her face and hair, etc. (*kasshâfa wa yajbarha*).

The next morning when he gets up to go from her, he has to leave a present of money equal to one-tenth the value of the *jehâz*, under his bride's mattress. Thus if he has paid Rs.300 for his wife, he leaves Rs.30 under her mattress. The custom is universal, and the gift so made is known as *al subâha* (or the "morning gift").

When a shaikh or big man wants to marry a lowly maiden, it is not customary for her father to name his daughter's price. This is left to the chivalry of the shaikh, who is supposed to know what to give, and to add a little more. He gives not only money but must send the *kiswah* as well, i.e. marriage bed, rugs, mattress, new frocks and undergarments, etc., according to his means.

The husband's entering the wife's presence preparatory to consummation of marriage is known as *al midkhal*, or the "entering in".

B 585 Among non-Kuwait tribes the bride is always brought to the bridegroom's tent. This is the same in the towns of inner Najd. Some tribes, notably the Dhafir, go in for a great deal of horseplay, and try by means of coarse pranks and tricks to embarrass the bride and bridegroom. They surround the bridal tent and peep inside in a most embarrassing [illegible] and as often as not try and throw water over them through the [illegible] curtains. Among the 'Awazim, the girl is not brought to [illegible] nor the man to the tent of the girl's parents; all he is told is that he must go and find and capture his bride, who is hiding among the women. The search and chase then begins, and woe betide the man who cannot catch his lady.

K 585 In Kuwait town a curious custom exists among the common people. If a female child passes a little blood after birth, the event is carefully remembered by her mother, and when the day arrives that her daughter (now grown up) is to be married, the mother informs the relatives and the ceremony called *natâra* or "watching" is gone through. The bride's female relatives surround the bride and bridegroom in the bride chamber from *sundown till dawn*, and by music, dancing, laughter, etc., prevent consummation of marriage. At about midnight they place the bridegroom's bare foot against the bride's, and then pour water

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837 684 Again, as in the desert, immorality is practically unknown among unmarried girls. Married women on the contrary often indulge in clandestine intrigue. The penalty for immorality is death to the woman if she is found out. The woman's brothers and cousins always appear more concerned about their sister's honour than the father is, and if vengeance is to be carried out it is usually the brothers and cousins who track the woman down. As excuse they plead that they could not hold their heads up in tribal *majlis* if they had a sister living in dishonour. Marriage with the man who has led her astray is the only method that will save the girl's life. Even then the seducer must pay *hashm* or honour-money to satisfy the girl's relatives. A strange man sometimes takes the place of the seducer and can get the girl off punishment by marrying her, but this is not common. *Fasl* or *'idiyah* is the term given to blood money. Among the Iraq *Ma'addn* (marsh) tribes a girl-relative of a murderer is nearly always given to the brother or son of the murdered person, the idea being that a child from the union of two enemy houses allays any hatred that might remain.

585 Among the Arab tribes of Iraq, as opposed to the *Ma'addn* (marsh-men), a man sets up a special tent or mat shelter called a *haufa* for his wife to be taken to immediately after marriage. This is close to his house or tent as the case may be, and corresponds to a honeymoon tent. After the bride is taken to this *haufa* by her women, the husband, arrayed in his best garments, is conveyed there by his men friends and consummates the marriage. The woman remains a prisoner in the *haufa* for seven days. The man, on the contrary, may come out and receive visitors in his *mudhif* or nearby guest-tent. On the eighth day the woman comes out of her *haufa*, goes into her new home and takes charge of the household duties. The custom of setting up the *haufa* tent applies only if the girl has never been married before. If she be a widow she goes straight to her husband's tent.

LOVE

831 595 I have often been asked if love, as we know it, exists among the Badawin. I have unhesitatingly replied that it does. The fact that a man is permitted to take more than a single wife has nothing to do with the matter. Indeed, it is rare to see a Badawin with more than

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The Virgin Bride

Seven days before her marriage the unmarried girl is taken in hand by a special woman who is told off to wash her, clean her, attend to her hair, garments, anointing and the like. This friend's principal duty is to remove all superfluous hair from the prospective bride before the wedding night.

When the husband "goes in into his wife" (*yudkhul 'alaiha*) it is considered good form among the Badawin for the young girl to struggle with her husband and try and save her virginity. She screams and cries out and fights him, sometimes for several hours. It is also considered quite the thing and not indelicate, for the female relations to listen to such struggles and screams from outside the tent (or door, in the case of townsfolk). In Basra and other big towns this custom has gone out of fashion, but it is practically universal elsewhere.

Among the middle and poor classes in Kuwait so great is the pride felt by a young wife in having preserved her virginity till the day of her marriage, that it is the custom for the husband after cohabitation to take out the bedsheet to the bride's male and female relations, and display it to them, calling out in pride and pleasure *hayuh Allah wijhkum, kafashu bintkum tawwam* or "God whiten your faces, you have indeed kept your daughter pure".

If a young wife should have already lost her virginity, whether innocently and naturally, or by artificial means, there is great trouble for her at marriage. It means that she can show no bloodstained sheet. Her husband is filled with deep suspicion and jealousy and may hand her back to her parents, saying "I do not want your daughter, she is no virgin. Look at the white sheet". This rather gruesome test of a girl's innocence leads, of course, to many subterfuges, such as her cutting herself, or smearing a little chicken's blood on the sheet to satisfy the husband. The danger of such a trick is obvious, however, as husbands are on the look out. An unfortunate girl who fails to pass the test is often taken away and killed by her male relatives to vindicate the honour of the family. Sometimes a young husband who has decent feelings and a good heart will himself save his bride even though he has been deceived, and will devise some stratagem. This is especially the case when the girl pleads the law of *dakhila*: *Dakhilak kafashai ya falan*. I have known personally of one such case, the man

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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574 628 Faleh bin 'Asmir, a Mutairi of the Mu'aha branch of the 'Ilwa, whom I have known for several years and with whom I have spent many a pleasant evening in the desert, has from time to time told me many stories relating to Arab hospitality. Among other things, he detailed the duty of guests towards their host which I recorded in my notes on 7th January, 1935.

Not only, said he, is there a binding duty of the host towards his guest, but such guest, so long as his host's salt (*milah*) is in his stomach (*fi bazzisu*)—which is always assumed to be three days and three nights—is responsible that no harm comes to the host from the guest's tribe. For example, A was the host of B, who quite casually and as an ordinary traveller, had stopped at A's tent and spent the night (*sawwakh andha*). Next day B left A's tent (second day) and went his way. On the third day A's tent was attacked by raiders from B's tribe, and five camels and one mare were carried off. A then had a rightful claim against B and was able through B's intervention to recover his lost camels and mare.

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Not only would B be in honour bound to make complete restitution, but he would have the whole of his tribe behind him if it were necessary to coerce the raiders who had harmed A's camp and stolen the camels. On top of the restitution to A, "honour" money or "honour" camels, would have to be paid to B. That is, the raiders would have to give an extra camel or two to B as compensation for having, so to speak, broken the salt bond between the two men.

SANCTITY OF WOMEN

562 517 586 In the desert the position of women is a far freer and happier one (if we except the hard life and privation that is their lot), than that of their Arab sisters of the town. It is true that they are frequently divorced. Such divorces, however, are not over-serious. Perhaps there is incompatibility of temper, or perhaps the wife has failed to serve up a tasty dinner for her husband and lord. It matters little.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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If she is pretty, attractive and the daughter of So-and-So, she will easily find a dozen other men ready to marry her. 562 587

As for her children: she retains the small ones till they reach the age of eight, and then hands them over to their father's care, but they are never far from her, and are allowed to come and see her as often as they like. Nay, if she is a clever girl she will keep on quite friendly terms with her former husband, and call and see his new wife regularly. That is quite common practice. 586

Where the Badawin housewife has distinctive rights, is in the management of the tent; she is *um al 'aiyal* (mother of the family) as well as *raiyat al bait*. She holds the honour and good name of her husband in the hollow of her hand. Upon her falls the duty of providing for the guest, of cooking choice and tasty dishes, of turning out good *laben*, and generally bringing the good name of her husband into prominence among his fellow Arabs. 562 462

The mistress of the house never sees or mixes with stranger guests, but she knows all that is going on, for only a curtain partition separates the women's from the guest's quarters. 562 674

The personal name of the lady of the house is never mentioned by the guest, or even by the host's men friends, she is *Um al 'Aiyal* or *Raiyat al Bait* only. Should a friend wish to ask after a man's wife, he will merely say to the husband, *Kaif hal illi warrak?* or *Shlaun um al 'aiyal?* ("How is she who is behind you?" or "How is the mother of the children?"). Unpleasant badinage is taboo.

Even more carefully guarded and shielded are a man's marriageable daughters. They are never seen at all, except by those on very intimate terms.

Jokes about a man's getting married, and so forth, are quite common, and the young Lothario about to get spliced is always the butt of his companions, but never is the woman's name brought into this form of rough chaff. That would be *'aib* (a shameful thing). 562 522

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She it is who encourages her menfolk to go forth and fight bravely for her and come back triumphant. She it is, if the tribe has to be rallied, who uncovers her face, lets down her hair, and mounts the *mirkab* of the tribe wildly to encourage the young and old men to

Proposal and Divorce

not done. He must approach her through her father. He can and 584
does, however, propose in person to a widow or a divorced [587]
woman.

After marriage the Badawin takes his bride to the tent he has pre- 585
viously pitched for her, close to that of her father, and consummation takes place. Many are the curious eyes and ears which are concentrated on the bridal tent.

As with us, those chiefly interested in the marriage ceremony are the other women of the camp.

Slaves marrying go through the same ceremonies as the freeborn [561]
the master and mistress of the slave acting the part of the parents of the bridegroom: and as much interest is evinced in the marriage of one of their slaves as in that of one of the family.

The Badawin's love for cohabitation is well known, and as I have 831
said elsewhere, sex is to him the supreme joy of life. Both bride and bridegroom indulge riotously in this honeymoon period. So wildly passionate is their love-making that I have known of a man breaking two of his wife's ribs on the first night of their marriage. As soon as 842
the wife finds herself with child, she lets the other women know about it, and it becomes the occasion for much rejoicing. She continues cohabiting with her husband as a matter of course till just before the baby's birth.

DIVORCE

Divorce procedure is simplicity itself. The man need only say to 586
his wife before witnesses that he does not want her any more. He has to make the statement *three times* for it to be valid: *Ma arid ich, ma arid ich, ma arid ich.* No disgrace attaches to the woman, who takes the matter quite philosophically, and proceeds to look for another husband.

If the man divorces the woman, she keeps the *jahaz* he has given her, which is sufficient provision for her for a considerable time, or till she gets a second husband. It must not be forgotten that she has nearly always invested her *jahaz* in buying a camel or some sheep and has thus become an owner of livestock.

The point to emphasise is that no disgrace whatsoever clings to [587]
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587 keen competition among the other young men to marry her. This especially is the case if the girl has character and is famed among men.

Al Jazi, sister of Khalid al Hithlain (Zib Salman), paramount Shaikh of the 'Ajman in 1935, is a case in point. She was good-looking, young and very desirable, but she above all had a will of her own, and was a veritable "Shaikhah". She thought nothing of giving away a camel to one of her poorer 'Ajman brethren who needed one, and kept open *mudhif* when her brother was away. She married the following well-known personages in the order mentioned, and be it noted she was three times the wife of His Majesty 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, who on each occasion got her then husband to divorce her in return for a handsome camel present, on the excuse that *Khatri ma zal min her* (I have not got over my love for her):

(1) 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (King).
(2) Sa'ud al Azada al Sa'ud (King's brother-in-law).
(3) 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (King).
(4) Rakan al Hithlain, son of Dhaidan al Hithlain ('Ajman).
(5) 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (King).
(6) Bandar al Dowish, paramount Shaikh of Mutair 1930.
(7) Mathug al Jabr'a, a Shaikh of Mutair.

She had a child by each husband except al Hithlain.

The system means that pretty nearly every woman, by the time she is thirty years old, has had two or three husbands, some as many as seven or eight. Hence there is no spinsterhood among Badawin, and every woman at one time or another experiences the joys of married life. Thus there is no unmarried woman problem, and no prostitution. Adultery or running away with a lover is extremely rare, and ends usually in the death of the woman at the hands of relatives.

588 Should a wife get angry (*sazir ('aldna*) with her husband, she goes back to her parents and refuses to return to him. He perforce has then to divorce* her; in this case the woman returns her *jehdy*. This is the woman's method of getting rid of a husband who is not wanted; the West could profitably learn a lesson from the Badawin method of marriage and divorce.

If a wife finds she loves another man and no longer desires her

* Unless he can persuade her to return by giving her a *hiawa* or nice present of clothing, a camel, sheep or the like.

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B 586 husband, she usually tells him so and asks for a divorce. If the husband has any decency (*ahâwa*), he will grant her request, provided the other man repays him his *jahâz*, i.e. money he has spent on his wife. This rule does not apply to a first-cousin wife, *bint 'âm*.

K 586 B 585 In Kuwait town they have the pretty custom, that a bridegroom must, when he gets married, spend seven days with his wife in her parents' house. This applies also to the Kuwait tribes proper. The idea is to make things easy for the wife, who usually is filled with shame and nervousness. Among the Kuwait 'Arabelar or local tribesmen, a marriage is arranged and settled as follows:

K 584 B 584 "A" wants to marry. He expresses his desire to his womenfolk, who look round and suggest a likely bride in such and such a tent. "A" then sends them over to see the girl's mother, and to discuss the matter. If the mother is willing, she sends the women off to the girl's father, and to him they propound the idea also. The father then says what he is willing to accept as his daughter's *jahâz* and the money is paid over. Haggling does not take place in such matters, for if "A"'s deputies do not agree to the amount of the *jahâz* they simply say "nothing doing", and go back to their tent.

K 585 B 515 Things having been settled and the prospective bridegroom informed, "A" sends for a *mutawwa* (priest) and also summons the girl's father. The marriage is then solemnised, the father of the girl being her proxy. The priest gets Rs.2 as his fee.

Up to this time the girl quite possibly, in fact usually, knows nothing of what is going on or being arranged for her. The first news she gets is from her mother, who tells her to prepare for the marriage-bed that night. Great excitement ensues and often much reluctance. When the girl is ready and everything properly arranged, usually by the same evening, the bridegroom is escorted to the bride's tent, or more usually to a small tent set apart near that of the parents. He is made to sit down and receive his men friends for about an hour. When they have all gone, his own women relatives and those of the bride bring the girl to the tent, clustering round her to prevent her escaping, as she must pretend to want to do. Having put her into the tent, whose sides (*rwag*) are all closed, they shout out to "A" to arise and take possession of the girl of his choice, and then discreetly retire. The girl usually attempts to bolt after the women, or get out by

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over the four feet, etc. Only at dawn do these women "spoil-sports" withdraw to the outer room, after locking the bride and bridegroom up in one stifling room together. Later, when the bridegroom craves to come out, they open the door and go in and wash the bride all over, change her clothes, and redress her for a fresh visit of the bridegroom. This takes place a couple of hours after (see Hamda's sister's marriage in Kuwait on 4th July, 1935).

Amsha, the pretty married daughter of Ibrahim al Muziyin of Riyadh, told me on 12th July, 1935, that the Arabs had a saying that: "A woman was like a *jirba* (leather bag) of dates; when full, the was useful in more ways than one, when empty she was of no further use and could be thrown away", referring to the uselessness of a woman who could no longer bear children. In throwing her away the husband casually said, *kafukki we nafukki*, i.e. "You can go, but I keep any children you have had".*

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG IRAQ TRIBES

A bride's trousseau consists entirely of household effects: cooking utensils, pillows, cushions, blankets, *ajwa*, *lahaf*, bridal-bed and, of course, new clothing for herself. The bride never brings such things as a horse or mare to her husband, though I have heard Europeans say she does. Her purchase money is usually sent to her father by the prospective bridegroom a fortnight or month before the marriage. Among the Iraq tribes this money is almost invariably handed over to the daughter, with an additional sum from the father himself. Aided, of course, by her mother and female relatives, the daughter then converts the money into jewellery. The cost of an Iraq tribal girl is usually in the vicinity of Rs.200; the price of a shaikh's daughter varies, but does not as a rule run to more than Rs.1,500. As in the desert, a man if he possibly can always marries his cousin. She is supposed to be his from the day she is born. The Sa'adun Shaikhs of the Muntafiq (Euphrates) often keep their female cousins single till the day of their death, in order to keep property in the family. It is an unpleasant habit, and is widely condemned by other Arabs.

* A woman who has been divorced may not re-marry till after three lunar months—or, as the Badawin put it, *Min ba'ad shahrak hamrat wa shahrak gamrat*. This is to ensure that she is not with child by the man who divorces her.

Sex Indulgence

834 removes the *burqe* or mask from his bride's face on the first night.
291 She invariably tries to keep it on for about ten days or so out of modesty. His Majesty Bin Sa'ud, however, told the writer that he had had, he supposed, some four hundred wives during his life, but had never seen the face of any one of them. He presumably referred to his many Badawin brides, whom he married usually for a night or two, and then divorced them. This is a custom common among important shaikhs, and involves no disgrace at all to the girl or to the
586 man. Should a child result from these one-or-two-night marriages, the shaikh or big man gives the mother a salary till the child is four or five years old, and then the child is taken away from the mother and placed in the father's house. During this nursing period the mother must not marry. If she does, the child is at once taken away and given to a wet nurse. The Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, Al Khalifah princes regularly go in for such alliances among their Badawin subjects, but usually take away at an early age any children that may be born.

515 Both man and woman must have a complete bath after sexual
833 intercourse. This is a precept of religion, and the wildest Badawin must conform to this rule. Even though only a small bowl of water may be available, the whole body must be washed all over.*

841 During her monthly periods a woman is forbidden to have inter-
515 course with her husband for full seven days. When the menstrual period is over, a woman is unclean until she washes all over; this is called "washing her hair" (*ghussal al ras*).†

833 During Ramadhan (the annual thirty-day fast) sexual intercourse is forbidden by day, but not by night.

It is no exaggeration to say that sexual intercourse is loved by the ordinary Arab above all pleasures in the world. It is the one pleasure common to rich and poor alike, and the one moment of forgetfulness in his daily round of troubles and hardships that Badawin or townsman can enjoy. Men and women equally love the act, which is said to keep man young, "just like riding a mare".

The Arab seems to possess strength above the average for sexual

* Prayer of a woman after sexual intercourse when performing ablutions: *A sali ala Mohammad wa ali Mohammad mawlid aghil an il jenabi fi hadha al ma al jari barkin 'Ilah ta'ali.*

† When a girl reaches womanhood, she is said to be "Now washing her head".

A Father's Rights

for the purpose. The mother lived, and her father personally thanked me for lending the mare and saving his daughter. In the absence of my mare a similar request for the loan of my horse was made (25th August, 1937). Unfortunately in this case the patient died.

The rights of a Badawin father over his children are absolute; the mother has practically no rights. Should a man divorce his wife, the sons usually go with the father and the girls with the mother. Should the children be infants, the mother keeps them until they can fend for themselves, and then the father comes and takes them away. (The age in the case of boys is eight.) This removal of a son by his father is the cause of much heartrending grief at times, but is universally practised.

The children thus taken away from their mother live with their father and are brought up by their stepmother. They have the right of visiting their own mother's tent at stated intervals, usually once a week. In a tribe camped together the hardship is not great, but when a man has married a woman from another tribe, the rule causes much unhappiness, as the woman usually goes back to her people, who may be several hundreds of miles away; and she rarely sees her children again.

Among the Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, etc., it is a common custom to have as wives two or three Badawin lasses at a time, who always remain camped with their own people. When a child is born to one of these desert-dwelling wives it is usually taken right away and brought up in the shaikh's household in Kuwait or Riyadh. It is not considered fitting that the offspring of one of the ruling family, even if the mother is of noble tribal birth, should be left to grow up in tribal surroundings. This feeling is particularly strong if the child is a boy.* As a matter of fact, in such alliances the wife is early divorced and pensioned off with a handsome present. This marrying of tribal girls in addition to the "Queen", who is always a lady of the ruling family, is a normal and accepted practice among the ruling classes in Arabia. It is a method of showing honour to a tribe, and brings useful alliances in its train. Tribal shaikhs, on the other hand, usually content themselves with one wife.

* This does not run counter to the age-long custom among the nobility of Arabia of sending their sons into the desert to be brought up by the Badawin in order that they may acquire hardihood.

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(7) Mutlug al Jabr'a, a Shaikh of Muzair.

She had a child by each husband except al Hithlain.

The system means that pretty nearly every woman, by the time she is thirty years old, has had two or three husbands, some as many as seven or eight. Hence there is no spinsterhood among Badawins, and every woman at one time or another experiences the joys of married life. Thus there is no unmarried woman problem, and no prostitution. Adultery or running away with a lover is extremely rare, and ends usually in the death of the woman at the hands of relatives.

586 Should a wife get angry (*taslr ('alaiha)* with her husband, she goes back to her parents and refuses to return to him. He perforce has then to divorce* her; in this case the woman returns her *jahaz*. This is the woman's method of getting rid of a husband who is not wanted; the West could profitably learn a lesson from the Badawin method of marriage and divorce.

If a wife finds she loves another man and no longer desires her

* Unless he can persuade her to remain by giving her a *hiwa* or other present of clothes, a camel, sheep or the like.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI4
Muntafiq

over the four feet, etc. Only at dawn do these women "spoil-sports" withdraw to the outer room, after locking the bride and bridegroom up in one stifling room together. Later, when the bridegroom craves to come out, they open the door and go in and wash the bride all over, change her clothes, and redress her for a fresh visit of the bridegroom. This takes place a couple of hours after (see Hamda's sister's marriage in Kuwait on 4th July, 1935).

Amsha, the pretty married daughter of Ibrahim al Muzaiyin of Riyadh, told me on 12th July, 1935, that the Arabs had a saying that: "A woman was like a *jirba* (leather bag) of dates; when full, she was useful in more ways than one; when empty she was of no further use and could be thrown away", referring to the uselessness of a woman who could no longer bear children. In throwing her away the husband casually said, *hafatki we nafatki*, i.e. "You can go, but I keep any children you have had".*

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG IRAQ TRIBES

A bride's trousseau consists entirely of household effects: cooking utensils, pillows, cushions, blankets, *iqwa*, *lakef*, bridal-bed and, of course, new clothing for herself. The bride never brings such things as a horse or mare to her husband, though I have heard Europeans say she does. Her purchase money is usually sent to her father by the prospective bridegroom a fortnight or month before the marriage. Among the Iraq tribes this money is almost invariably handed over to the daughter, with an additional sum from the father himself. Aided, of course, by her mother and female relatives, the daughter then converts the money into jewellery. The cost of an Iraq tribal girl is usually in the vicinity of Rs.200; the price of a shaikh's daughter varies, but does not as a rule run to more than Rs.1,000. As in the desert, a man if he possibly can always marries his cousin. She is supposed to be his from the day she is born. The Sa'adun Shaikhs of the Muntafiq (Euphrates) often keep their female cousins single till the day of their death, in order to keep property in the family. It is an unpleasant habit, and is widely condemned by other Arabs.

* A woman who has been divorced may not re-marry till after three lunar months—or, as the Bedawin put it, *Min ba'ad shahrak hamrar wa shahrak gamrar*. This is to ensure that she is not with child by the man who divorces her.

A Father's Rights

for the purpose. The mother lived, and her father personally thanked me for lending the mare and saving his daughter. In the absence of my mare a similar request for the loan of my horse was made (25th August, 1937). Unfortunately in this case the patient died.

The rights of a Badawin father over his children are absolute; the mother has practically no rights. Should a man divorce his wife, the sons usually go with the father and the girls with the mother. Should the children be infants, the mother keeps them until they can fend for themselves, and then the father comes and takes them away. (The age in the case of boys is eight.) This removal of a son by his father is the cause of much heartrending grief at times, but is universally practised.

The children thus taken away from their mother live with their father and are brought up by their stepmother. They have the right of visiting their own mother's tent at stated intervals, usually once a week. In a tribe camped together the hardship is not great, but when a man has married a woman from another tribe, the rule causes much unhappiness, as the woman usually goes back to her people, who may be several hundreds of miles away; and she rarely sees her children again.

Among the Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, etc., it is a common custom to have as wives two or three Badawin lasses at a time, who always remain camped with their own people. When a child is born to one of these desert-dwelling wives it is usually taken right away and brought up in the shaikh's household in Kuwait or Riyadh. It is not considered fitting that the offspring of one of the ruling family, even if the mother is of noble tribal birth, should be left to grow up in tribal surroundings. This feeling is particularly strong if the child is a boy.* As a matter of fact, in such alliances the wife is early divorced and pensioned off with a handsome present. This marrying of tribal girls in addition to the "Queen", who is always a lady of the ruling family, is a normal and accepted practice among the ruling classes in Arabia. It is a method of showing honour to a tribe, and brings useful alliances in its train. Tribal shaikhs, on the other hand, usually content themselves with one wife.

* This does not run counter to the age-long custom among the nobility of Arabia of sending their sons into the desert to be brought up by the Badawin in order that they may acquire hardihood.

CHAPTER XIII

Morality

517 There is no immorality, as we know it, among the desert tribes. There is, of course, plenty of marrying and giving in marriage, and as I have said, divorce is so easy that a woman often has six or seven husbands in her lifetime, and a man always as many wives as he can 548 afford, provided he confines himself to four at a time. Prostitutes are 137 unknown among the Badawin, and adultery is punishable with death.

512 Friendships between men and women, on the other hand, exist, and are recognised, especially if the parties are of the same tribe and are related, for example my friend Shaikh Thuwainan Abu Sifra of the Mu'aha section of the Mutair, was a friend of Mutbi, wife of Falah bin 369 'A'amir, also of the Mu'aha. Every Badawin, of course, is aware that 548 immorality exists in the big towns, and this is one of the main reasons why he despises the townsman.

Unfortunately a Badawin man up from the distant desert sometimes finds his way to the prostitute quarters when he visits towns [64] such as Mecca and Madina, Jiddah, and Kuwait. This has resulted in the spread of syphilis and venereal disease among the tribes.

In Wahhabi-land proper (i.e. Sa'udi Arabia, excluding the Hijaz), no prostitute is tolerated even in the towns, let alone among the tribes, but I am told that there is nevertheless a good deal of clandestine immorality.

731 It is curious but true that if you discuss the question of morals with 672 well-informed Najd Badawin, they will always tell you that certain great shaikhly families of the desert, especially in the north, have always had rather loose morals, while certain others stand out for their good morals and generally high tone. For instance, the well-known shaikhly house of Al Sha'alan (Rowala) as well as that of the Hawaitat, Bani Sakhr (both Trans-Jordan), and Shammar Jarba (Iraq), are all said to be pretty lax where women are concerned, and conversely Al Hadhal (Amarat), the Dushan (Mutair) and the Hawaidda ('Utaiba)

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
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Badawin Love Affairs

RIGHTS OF IBN 'ÁM

If a girl refuses to be wedded to her *ibn 'ám*, he may slay her without becoming liable to pay blood money in compensation. 584 582

If the *ibn 'ám* knows that his cousin does not want him, being already in love with someone else, he can forbid (*kaiyyir 'alaika*) the marriage, and the girl may die a spinster.

If a girl loves another and her father dies, she has a chance of getting her freedom from her *ibn 'ám* who is *kaiyyiring* her ("hajjir" is the correct technical term for keeping her to himself), if she goes and begs her freedom immediately after her father's death: "My father has died, I want thee to release me in return for my father who has passed away", she says. In such case the *hajjir* is expected to be generous and release her—but he is not bound to do so. If he refuses her only remedy is to elope. She then flees with her lover to a distant land or tribe, and there marries him after putting herself and her husband under the protection of a shaikh. She remains in constant danger from her cousin, however. Her husband is considered as [627] guilty as a murderer and can only secure his life by the payment of blood money.

Should a Badawin elope with and marry a "white slave girl" (e.g. [529] Circassian, Georgian or Armenian) or a girl of inferior tribe (he can on no account marry a slave and defile the tribe's blood), he can never return again to his kin; they will kill him.

It is the duty of every Badawin to marry and procreate. The more 581 children he possesses, the more powerful his kinsmen. He would be expelled the tribe were he to refuse to do his duty in this respect. Without his kin a Badawin would be the most miserable of outcasts. Musil brings this out clearly in his book, *Manners and Customs of the Rwwala Bedouins*.

There are, of course, cases where a man sees a girl, not his cousin, and falls madly in love with her. If she herself is not bound to her *ibn 'ám* a regular courtship follows, the man finding opportunity of meeting when she is looking after the camels or the sheep, much as our own youths and maidens do. I have known very violent love affairs of this type, and the Badawin loses his head over his lass quite as much as the ordinary English youth, if not more.

b Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Mi I Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Ma'adan

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592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or Āl)

[619] (*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Āl put before them, when they are referred to, example Āl Murra, Āl Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al*.

Āl is like the term "Banī", e.g. Banī Khālid, Āl Khālid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Fī'ain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Naqlin fī falan falan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 A man says *Ya 'Iyāl* when addressing his sons or his family
601 as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hāl al 'Iyāl?* when enquiring after
551 the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'iyāl* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal
[572] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

The Tent Neighbour

The word *gaair* means a tent-neighbour, and the laws relating to the treatment of the *gaair* are held perhaps in even greater reverence than any other custom connected with an Arab's honour, not excepting even the laws of *dakhala* and *wajh* and the treatment of a guest (*daif*). 621

The *gaair* is under Allah's protection, and many poems and stories have been written from earliest times dealing with the sacred rights of the *gaair*, and of the way in which an honourable Arab should treat a neighbour.

Strictly speaking, a tent-dweller is your *gaair* if he pitches his tent within the distance which you can cover when throwing your cane (*'asa*) or your camel-stick (*mishf'ah*). This was very carefully explained to me by Rashidi falconers at Arafjan in 1932 (Salim ibn Mahayas, Sa'ud bin Nimrus, and Ashlan, the latter's cousin), who demonstrated the distance such sticks could be thrown by a strong man.

It follows, then, that anyone who pitches his tent close to a fellow Badawin's tent, becomes, *ipso facto*, his tent-neighbour, and enjoys the privileges of a *gaair*.

This is done every day where men are of the same tribe, and it means that groups so camped together can rely on each other for mutual support, and are bound to help each other, whether an enemy threatens all or one of them, or whether there is shortage of food, water or the like.

In everyday existence in the desert, a man's tent-neighbours will normally consist of his male relations (*bani 'am*) or relations on his mother's side (*khawal*), who camp together for mutual convenience and protection. Although all are strictly speaking tent-neighbours, and come under the protection of the senior member of that particular family, the term *gaair* is not usually applied to such collection of tents, seeing that the owners are all related, and are bound, by the ties of relationship, to stand by each other in any case. [371]

Where the laws of *gaair* specially apply is when a member of a strange tribe, or even of a hostile tribe, comes and asks if he may camp close to such and such person's tent, become his neighbour and join his tribe in their migrations. If his request is granted, and it is practically never refused, then the following code at once comes into

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114 sickness amongst camels, sheep and so forth, and answer questions
128 on a hundred subjects. Were strangers to drop in, the women and children would discreetly disappear, but the real valuable and pleasant evenings were those when we were *en famille*, so to speak, and outsiders were neither present nor expected.

115 The following made up our family at Abu Sa'ud's camp, as it was
592 called, in the *barr* (desert):

Salim al Muzaiyin—the head of our Badawin family (Mutairi).
Maziad—a Dhafir tribesman (assistant to Salim), and a fine example of a desert fighting man.
Dhuwaihi—'Azmi* (Muta'awwah), a blind old man and leader of the family prayers.
Hamud—a lad of sixteen, Salim's nephew.
Falâh—'Azmi camel herdsman and brother of Dhuwaihi.
Nasir—'Azmi shepherd.
Swailim—'Azmi camel-herd.
Amaha—wife of Salim, our hostess (a Shammariyah).
Maneira—Salim's sister.
Hussa—Salim's daughter (fifteen years old).
Wadha—Dhuwaihi's daughter (fourteen years old).
Dghaima—Maziad's daughter (mother was dead).
Adhaiya—Dhuwaihi's daughter.
Marzûk—negro slave boy (died 1933).
Mabrûk—negro slave boy (aged three in 1934).
Hawaiya—Dhuwaihi's wife (seldom seen).
Dhuwaihi's three infants, Falâh, Kharmit and Bibi.

Of the above the following deserve more detailed mention:

Salim al Muzaiyin.—A fine, thick-set, good type of Badawin—of the Muzaina family, a semi-nomad Mutairi. Head of the clan is his brother Ibrahim al Muzaiyin, at one time intimate companion, friend and standard-bearer of the great Shaikh Mubârak of Kuwait and hero of a dozen tribal battles and a hundred raids. Ibrahim left the service of the present shaikh three years ago, as times were bad in Kuwait, and removed to Riyadh, where he now enjoys a comfortable stipend from Bin Sa'ud. Salim, who is now the head of the house in Kuwait, is widely respected for his honesty, stability and knowledge of country from Kuwait to Riyadh and Hufuf. He visits Bin Sa'ud's capital regularly twice a year, to see his elder brother, and generally is *persona grata* with the King as with Ibn

* Singular of 'Awazim.

Subah. A most useful man to have, and a good man in a tight place. He is a relative of Ibrahim ibn Juma'a, Ibn Sa'ud's major domo in charge of the entertainment of Badawin guests in Riyadh. Being a Mutairi tribesman, Salim is a particularly useful man to have for work in the desert, where Mutair tribesmen commonly room.

Maqiad.—A Dhafir Badawin of Juwasim origin. Very useful, hardy and honest; a widower till 1934, when he married a Mutairi woman. He bought her for two she-camels and 100 rials, and is still paying off his debt. He is exceptionally valuable when Dhafir tribesmen are met with, as he insures the camp against raids and robbery by his fellow-tribesmen.

Dhuwaihi, the blind Mutawwah or priest, has much influence with his tribe and, like Maqiad, insures that the 'Awazim tribe is friendly disposed. He leads the prayers, and marries those desiring matrimony. A rather dear old man.

Swailim.—A fine upstanding 'Azmi warrior, full of camel lore, and as hard as nails, assists Maqiad with the camels: a remarkable youth whose tracking, finding of lost camels, birds' nests and *faqaa* (truffles) for the camp are concerned.

Amongst the women, pride of place must go to Amsha (or Atsha, to give her her Shammari name), the gentle-eyed, sweet-natured and contralto-voiced Shammari wife of Salim. Always tidy, clean and attractive, and a mine of information in matters of desert folklore, names of herbs, flowers and the manners and customs of her people, the Tumán section of the Sinjára Shammar. She was brought up in Hail or its vicinity, and came to Kuwait as a girl of fifteen in 1921 (*sanat al Jakrak*). She is a splendid cook and a real companion to her husband. She has had seven children, all of whom died in infancy except Hussa, her daughter. The latter is now fifteen years old and of marriageable age. A strong, thick-set and particularly attractive Badawin lass, Hussa does most of the tent work for her mother, weaves tent strips and *qatas* (dividing curtains for the tent) in her spare time, and daily goes out to cut firewood with her inseparable friend and companion, little Wadha, the particularly pretty daughter of old Dhuwaihi. Neither girl ever seems to tire, though occupied all day with some job or other. The whole charm of the family and my camp would disappear were Amsha, Hussa and Wadha to come to any harm.

At 'Id and in the strictest privacy of the closed tent, little Wadha

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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and Hussa, decked out in their best frocks, have many times given my wife and myself rare pleasure, by loosing their hair and dancing before us with graceful movement of head, hair and body.

One can only think of *Maneira*, as the maker of the *lahes*, with the early morning (5 a.m.) *rag-rag-rag* sound of her gourkin, hanging on the tripod, as she swung it backward and forward to the tune of her *lahes*-making songs. She was also the camp's expert fortune-teller. A description of her methods and skill will be given elsewhere (see Chapter XLI).

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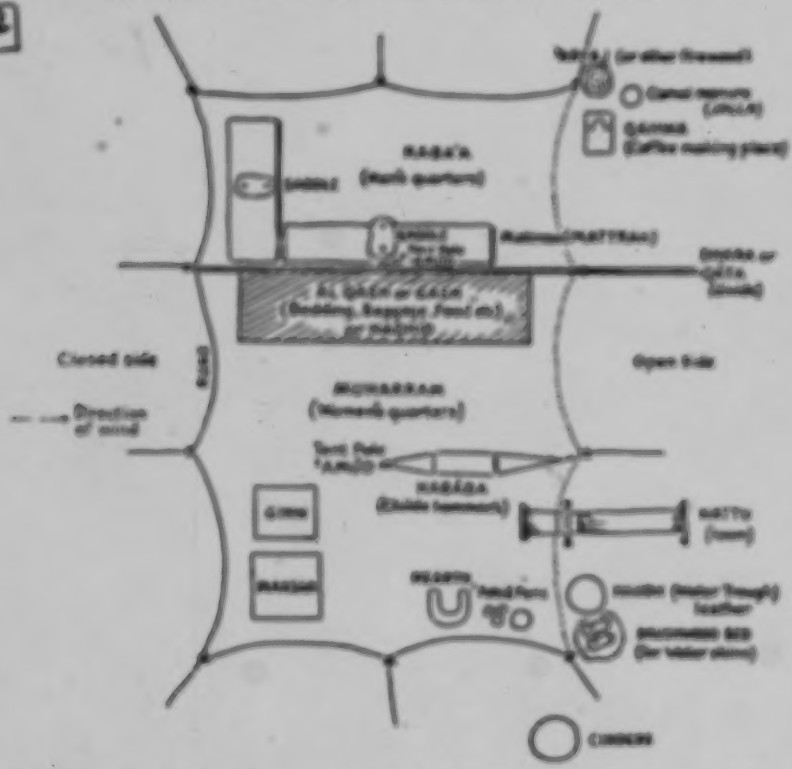
172 The number of tent ropes which support a tent in front and rear depend on the number of poles the tent has. Opposite each pole there will be two ropes, one in front and one behind, so that a tent of three poles will have six ropes (three on either side). Apart from these front

WELL-TO-DO, TWO-POLED BADAWIN TENT

(PLAN)

NOTE.—In Eastern Arabia the *Raka'a* (the men's portion of the tent) is always at the eastern end.

In a stone or mud house the men's portion is known as Al Diwaniyah.



and rear ropes, the two ends of the tents are kept stretched out taut by six other ropes, three at each end.

On the reverse side of each tent and stretching well round so as to shut in the two open ends, and with enough material to spare to close them at night from the front, are two long stretches of cloth known as

b. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Sal I Kowait
Bedouins Sept
Ma'adan

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i Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

576 A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing
592 his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hâl illi wurâkum?* (How is the
601 person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.
551 Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, ie, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait auldd fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indi-
613 cate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a *ṯaid*, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

615 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some
582 of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

411 hand and all wore the distinctive carnelian-
[15] studded dagger, and one and all impressed
me as virile, reckless and uncontrolled, but
701 humorous and friendly. While we sat among
621 them talking there was a sudden stir, for they
had noticed a dozen mounted Arabs approach-
ing rapidly across the dunes. Then someone
recognized one of the camels and they re-
laxed. These camels were stretched out and
travelling very fast, yet were urged to even
greater efforts by the wild yells of their riders.
They were the scouts, sons of sheikhs and the
very pick of the tribe, who set out each dawn
to scour the surrounding desert, keen-eyed for
the tracks of strangers. Lithe, hard-bodied
and alert, these lads rode their splendid beasts
with effortless mastery. They had heard the
firing and, thinking the camp attacked, had
ridden back to help.

621 Scattered upon the dunes around us were
592 small black tents, round which naked infants
romped, while dark-clad women moved about
gathering sticks and tending herds of goats.
Sometimes a family changed its site, for,
though fear of raiders had imposed upon
them the need to keep together, their restless
nomad instincts drove them to constant move-
ment within the wide confines of the camp.
Such short migrations provided an interesting
sight as they moved slowly past. The children
drove the camels, laden with tents, cooking-
pots, watering-troughs and ropes, the simple
requirements of their life; while the Bedu
mothers and the virgin beauties of the tribe
rode in the slow swaying camel-litters.

574 That evening they feasted us on meat and,
after the camel herds had drifted in at dusk,
brought us great frothing bowls of milk, the
nectar of the Arabs. The night was filled with
the haunting sounds of an Arab camp—the
ceaseless restless moaning of camels, the bark-
ing of dogs, the rise and fall of Arab voices
from their gathering-places round the fires,
and sometimes the distant harmony of song.

312 Next morning when the sun was warm we
drove our camels across the sandy plain to
water at the well, which is situated close
under high limestone cliffs on the northern
401 edge of the valley. A few Arabs had already
312 arrived and were fastening their pulleys to the
scaffolding around the well. It is over 200 feet
in depth and stone-lined, a monument to
some forgotten people in the dim past. At the
deep wells in the Najd the Arabs use their

p. 398(B) [TEXT CONTINUES ON P 400(A) -- ANALYST

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father," I said, "I have no medicine that will do the boy any good."

It was easy to see that the reply was not entirely unexpected, but already I talked to a different man. "Is there perhaps some operation you can perform for him?" asked the old man slowly and gravely. "We have heard that you do many marvelous things by means of the knife."

"My father, it is quite true that we operate here on many people and use the knife a great deal, but there is no operation that will do him any good either."

"Then," said the father, "will he die?"

"Yes, he will die. He has only a few days or months at the outside. No doctor can do him any good. He is in the hands of God."

"Yes," said the old man quietly. "Praise the Lord anyway," and he turned to leave, a bent and pitiful old man. The light had died out of his eyes, and the spring had gone from his steps; he was the picture of broken grief, but there was not a tear nor a complaint, nor did his steady eyes waver as he looked straight into my own. We tried to get him to stay for a few days and rest before starting on the return journey, but his reply was simple and final. "No," he said, "we appreciate your hospitality, but the boy would rather die in his own country with his mother."

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[676]

By far the most beautiful family life in Arabia is found among the Bedouins. Poverty enforces a monogamy which their religion does not require, and as might be expected, divorce is less common and the whole atmosphere of society infinitely cleaner than in other Arab communities. Often a family life is found that is very beautiful. The loyalty of the various members of such

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a family to each other, the way that old and feeble members of a previous generation are cared for without question or complaint, the unquenchable cheerfulness that no misfortune or discomfort can dampen, are a pleasure to recall. The same poverty that makes polygamy impossible forces the women to be partners in all the activities of the household. There are no secluded women in this community, and the result is a comradeship and mutual helpfulness and unashamed love between a man and his wife that are beautiful to see. They share the same poverty and the same hardships. Together they watch probably two-thirds of the children that come into the home sicken and die. Bedouin families are not large, but that is not because the number of children born is small. Bedouin women also follow their husbands in war and manage the commissary department. In times of necessity they take up weapons themselves and fight.

As might be expected, the standards of morals are far higher than in other parts of Arabia. An unaccompanied girl caring for her sheep out in the desert is safe in that country of poverty and equality, of freedom and simplicity. We came from Abu Jifan once, a whole caravan of us, to Hasa, a distance of three days' journey, and from among the Bedouins that were congregated in the neighborhood of the wells of Abu Jifan a girl came along to Hasa for treatment. She rode at a distance of half a mile from our caravan all the distance to Hasa and encamped by herself each of the three nights that we were out. Not all of the men of our caravan were Bedouins. Some were townsmen, and camel-men at that, with talk as foul as might be expected from birds of passage of that variety. The first night there was some remark about the girl off there by herself, the exact import of

The Master's Return

512 An hour or so before sunset, the tent housewife takes a stroll. She has had a hard day. She enjoys herself with her children for half an hour or so. Before going out she has ordered the household to prepare
[206] and fill the *hauds*. This is a large leather drinking trough fixed in basin fashion on a stand of three bent hoops of wood. This is for the sheep when they come home and for the master's mare. There is a good supply of water ready, but the sheep will not need much, for they have been having green grazing. The camels will not yet drink: it is autumn and they will not want water for five days now. It is impossible to water them in camp, so every fifth day the herdsman will take them back, either to the wells they summered on, or to others that may be handy and let them drink their fill (*i-wariduu-hum*).

On such journeys the herd will take the spare shepherd with him and he will go equipped with *al hauds* (see above), the *dalla* (small leather bucket), to draw water with, and the *habl* or rope to attach to the bucket. He will also take all spare *gurab* (water-skins) to bring
512 back water to the camp. It is now nearly sunset and all eyes are on
199 the look-out for the return of the master of the house. At last he is seen on the horizon entering leisurely home. As he nears the tents the dogs begin to bark, the children rush out to meet father and the wife orders coffee to be prepared. His welcome is like that given to a guest, for he will be tired and hungry. As he dismounts, his wife or daughter takes his mare and at once throws over her a *jilldl* (blanket) before taking her to water. That duty done, they shackle her with clumsy iron shackles and allow her to go free. If the family is fairly well off, the mare will be given a feed of barley, but the poor man's mare gets nothing.

512 Salutations over and several cups of coffee handed round, the
213 master of the house is asked about the result of his journey. He produces out of the voluminous folds of his *dishdasha* samples of different kinds of grass which he has seen growing at the spot he visited, and which he has brought home to show his wife and herdsmen; he praises his new find, he says grazing is good out there, and there is lots of it, and no other Badawin have as yet found it. He has brought good news (*bishara*), he wants his womenfolk and all the others to rejoice with him for he is a *bashir* (a bringer of good news):

"By God it is excellent, very very excellent. and there are no Arabs

I. Dirkens G-5 (1929-47) 1951 M1 I. Kuwait
Bedouins M14

(1) *Bani 'Ám.* According to Shaikh Nahar al Mutalqim of the 613
'Ajman, who discussed this with me on 11th August, 1935, the mem- 582
bers of every tribe or section of a tribe which have a common male ancestry are known as Bani 'Ám, *lit.* the children of one uncle. The Mutair and 'Ajman are more strict than others about the interpretation of the above, he said, and carry it to the seventh generation of ascendants. Beyond that, he added, genealogies were rather vague. Only blood relationship on the father's side (*'Amam*) gives the right of Bani 'Ám or Ibn 'Ám, and not the relationship on the mother's side, which is known under the name of *Khawál.*

A man in trouble can always rely on his *'Amam* to come to his 613
assistance. They must do this regardless of consequences—and so 614
must a tribe which has such relationship with another, the 'Ajman-Murra tribes for instance.

The 'Ajman and Murra were continually at each other's throats in the past, and raided and counter-raided in merry fashion, but when an outside enemy attacked the one, all private feuds were put aside, and the two united in resisting the attack. The reason was that they were descended from the common ancestor Yam and so were *Bani 'Ám.*

The families of Ibn Sa'ud, Ibn Subah, Ibn Khalifa and Abul Khail of Qassim are all *Bani 'Ám*, and so can always be counted on, in any serious difficulty, to come to one another's help. They are all 'Anizah, descended from the same distant ancestor.

A man's *Khawál*, his maternal relations, are of course useful, especially in offering sanctuary, but they are not under the same obligations as a man's *Bani 'Ám.*

'Aniam al rajál, akram min khawáli is a well-known saying. 613
This explains happenings which sometimes mystify the European. 627
A man marries a woman from another tribe; she proves unfaithful 604
(the instance I am describing has to my knowledge happened among 573
'Arabdar and Hadhar persons of Kuwait), the husband does not seem to mind much, but hints to the wife's *'Amam* that she is not all that she should be. They, being her *Bani 'Ám*, kill her, but do not enlist the outraged husband. She is slain to clear the family's good name, and to enable them to hold up their heads in the *mijlis arjal*, or counsels of men. Should a couple have children, a son and a daughter, and the daughter happens to disgrace the family, then either the

613 father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the
627 dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her
604 *walad 'am*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and
573 do the deed.

613 Between *hami 'am* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man
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721 thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'amam* by a *dawn*
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WALAD 'AM

601 (2) *Walad 'Am*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

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[601] A man always has the right to marry his *bint 'am*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'am*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

one wife. He simply cannot afford such luxury. The majority marry, of course, two or three times in their lives, either because the wife has a temper, is lazy, is unreasonable, cannot have children, or gets sick and dies; but I have known a large number who have been faithful to one woman all their lives and regard the woman of their choice with affection and trust, even when she is old and decrepit. This proves constancy at any rate, which is not far removed from love.

In spite of their religion permitting men to take more than one wife, and in spite of easy and sensible divorce laws, the standard of morality among the dwellers in hair tents is one of the highest in the world: this naturally tends towards a high standard in family life, and results in mutual admiration, companionship and trust between man and wife.

A Badawin marries primarily because he wants a helpmeet: someone to cook for him, to look after, mend and renew his tent. He must have someone to prepare his *laben*, to collect his firewood and to draw water for him and his camels. Above all, he must have children, and is only half a man until he has. Nevertheless, though he looks to the woman to be useful before everything else, there is always room for love and affection. Many cases of youths and maidens falling in love, and almost going crazed about each other, have come under my notice. It would take too long to relate them all. I shall confine myself to two. Both are stories of love gone wrong, of everything eventually coming right, and the parties living happily ever afterwards. From these examples my readers must form their own conclusions, and decide whether the desert man differs greatly from his Western brother. In both cases I knew the young actors intimately.

(a) *The love-story of Mutlug ibn Majid al A'sga of the Al Shuqair section of the Mutair.*

Young Mutlug was a shaikh's son of eighteen, well bred, good-looking, debonair, wiry and with a pair of long plaits (*gurun*) hanging down along both cheeks, that might have been the envy of any woman. He was an extraordinarily bright and happy lad, and on the last occasion when he came up to Kuwait, he had asked to be shown all over my house. His remark when he saw my wife's and my bedroom was characteristic, "*Wallah*" (by God) he said, "this sleeping

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father," I said, "I have no medicine that will do the boy any good."

It was easy to see that the reply was not entirely unexpected, but already I talked to a different man. "Is there perhaps some operation you can perform for him?" asked the old man slowly and gravely. "We have heard that you do many marvelous things by means of the knife."

"My father, it is quite true that we operate here on many people and use the knife a great deal, but there is no operation that will do him any good either."

"Then," said the father, "will he die?"

"Yes, he will die. He has only a few days or months at the outside. No doctor can do him any good. He is in the hands of God."

"Yes," said the old man quietly. "Praise the Lord anyway," and he turned to leave, a bent and pitiful old man. The light had died out of his eyes, and the spring had gone from his steps; he was the picture of broken grief, but there was not a tear nor a complaint, nor did his steady eyes waver as he looked straight into my own. We tried to get him to stay for a few days and rest before starting on the return journey, but his reply was simple and final. "No," he said, "we appreciate your hospitality, but the boy would rather die in his own country with his mother."

573
[576]

By far the most beautiful family life in Arabia is found among the Bedouins. Poverty enforces a monogamy which their religion does not require, and as might be expected, divorce is less common and the whole atmosphere of society infinitely cleaner than in other Arab communities. Often a family life is found that is very beautiful. The loyalty of the various members of such

A. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Mt. I Kuwait
Bin Jaweesir 1434

837 Again, as in the desert, immorality is practically unknown among
684 unmarried girls. Married women on the contrary often indulge in clandestine intrigue. The penalty for immorality is death to the woman if she is found out. The woman's brothers and cousins always appear more concerned about their sister's honour than the father is, and if vengeance is to be carried out it is usually the brothers and cousins who track the woman down. As excuse they plead that they could not hold their heads up in tribal *majlis* if they had a sister living in dishonour. Marriage with the man who has led her astray is the only method that will save the girl's life. Even then the seducer must pay *hasba* or honour-money to satisfy the girl's relatives. A strange man sometimes takes the place of the seducer and can get the girl off punishment by marrying her, but this is not common. *Faid* or *'idyah* is the term given to blood money. Among the Iraq *Ma'adan* (marsh) tribes a girl-relative of a murderer is nearly always given to the brother or son of the murdered person, the idea being that a child from the union of two enemy houses allays any hatred that might remain.

595 Among the Arab tribes of Iraq, as opposed to the *Ma'adan* (marsh-men), a man sets up a special tent or mat shelter called a *hausfa* for his wife to be taken to immediately after marriage. This is close to his house or tent as the case may be, and corresponds to a honeymoon tent. After the bride is taken to this *hausfa* by her women, the husband, arrayed in his best garments, is conveyed there by his men friends and consummates the marriage. The woman remains a prisoner in the *hausfa* for seven days. The man, on the contrary, may come out and receive visitors in his *mudhif* or nearby guest-tent. On the eighth day the woman comes out of her *hausfa*, goes into her new home and takes charge of the household duties. The custom of setting up the *hausfa* tent applies only if the girl has never been married before. If she be a widow she goes straight to her husband's tent.

LOVE

831 I have often been asked if love, as we know it, exists among the
595 Badawin. I have unhesitatingly replied that it does. The fact that a man is permitted to take more than a single wife has nothing to do with the matter. Indeed, it is rare to see a Badawin with more than

one wife. He simply cannot afford such luxury. The majority marry, of course, two or three times in their lives, either because the wife has a temper, is lazy, is unreasonable, cannot have children, or gets sick and dies; but I have known a large number who have been faithful to one woman all their lives and regard the women of their choice with affection and trust, even when she is old and decrepit. This proves constancy at any rate, which is not far removed from love.

In spite of their religion permitting men to take more than one wife, and in spite of easy and sensible divorce laws, the standard of morality among the dwellers in hair tents is one of the highest in the world: this naturally tends towards a high standard in family life, and results in mutual admiration, companionship and trust between man and wife.

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Origin of the Sulubba

565 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-
619 Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.
[142] In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a
[141] large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

512 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his
595 people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Rawala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are
565 in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs,
619 some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shamsan is the Shaikh of the Mamir Sulubba.
Shaikh Muraiij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shamsar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amawat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aibid is the Shaikh of the Rawala Sulubba.

291 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

595 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of
619 the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba
174 are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Ma'adan

582 It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman,
591 even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharíf Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

619 In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Badawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharíf tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashira) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or ÁL)

[619] (*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al*.

Ál is like the term "Bani", e.g. Bani Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Wain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Naẓlin fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 A man says *Ya 'Áiyál* when addressing his sons or his family
● 601 as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Áiyál?* when enquiring after
551 the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'aiyál* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal
[576] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

Blood Vengeance

[576] A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing
592 his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi wardkum?* (How is the
601 person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.
551 Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indi-
613 cate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suḍa", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suḍa, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

613 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some
582 of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

L: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

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21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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THE 'ANAZAH TRIBES*

TOUVIA ASHKENAZI

619 101 TO THE RABI'A GROUP[1] belong the 'Anazah and the closely related 'Asad who live near each other to the north of the Wâdi Rumma.[2] The Pilgrim Road from Baṣra[3] to Medina[4] crosses their territory. The 'Anazah, who are scattered throughout the peninsula of Arabia, Syria and 'Irak, are divided [601] into a Southern and Northern branch. All the tribes, and all the clans of the 'Anazah tribes, in the opinion of the ar-Rwala, have a common father and therefore are they beni al-'amm, their paternal cousins.[5] They are called by many travellers the 'Anazah nation.[6] The 'Anazah of the Syrian desert are the most

128 * Because of limitations of special type available native words are given in the text without diacritical marks. A list showing the proper orthography is given at the end of this article—Editor.

113 1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1938, pp. 176-178; see tribal descent of Arabian Bedouins, Carl Rasmussen, *The Black Tents of Arabia* (Boston, 1935), p. 232; cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1933), p. xix, "The Descendants of Rabia"; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (3rd ed., revised, 1946), pp. 93, 280, 502 n. l; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman* (3rd ed., 1929), pp. 95, 101, 106, 131, 177, 439; Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1946), vol. 2, p. 477.

2 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 374; cf. *First List of Names in Arabia (N. W. and S. W.)* (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, Royal Geographical Society, December, 1931, p. 8 (Rima, Wâdi ar: wadi, 160 km south of Hail; Arabic *A* [for Arabic forms see list at end of this article]). See also David George Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: a Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (New York, 1904), Rumma, W. ar –, pp. 164, 184, 190, 208, 233, 239, 273, 277, 285, 288 ff., 296 ff., 306, 316, 326, 340, 341.

3 Basra: pr. Basra (sharp s); Arabic *B*.

4 Medina: 350 km north of Mecca; conv. for Arabic *C* – Al Medina; formerly Arabic *D* – Yathrib.

[604] 5 The word duriyye, "descendants," is replaced among the ar-Rwala by the word dana which designates very distant descendants irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or whether the relationship is due to adoption. This term is employed particularly by the 'Anazah. Dana, "descendanes": John Lewis Burckhardt employs this term in 1810 *(Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* [2 vols., London, 1830], vol. 2, pp. 4-6); cf. Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 47-50; Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins* (Paris, 1930), p. 113; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des etats du Levant placés sous mandat français* (Beyrouth, July, 1930), p. 7.

6 Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), p. 1; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 176; Carl Rasmussen, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins* (Geographical Review, vol. 20, no. 3, 1930), p. 494; *idem*, *Vocabulary of Bedouin Words Concerning Horses* (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 4, no. 2, 1945), p. 97.

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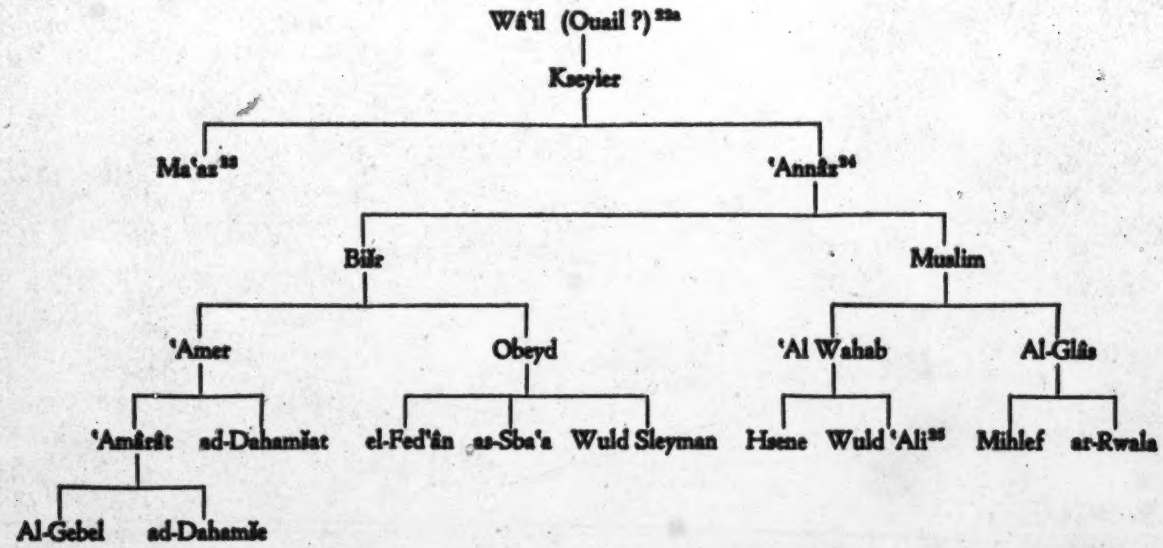
TABLE 3

Genealogy of the 'Anazah[22]



22 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122.

22a Cf. "Wallyin (sons of wâil, that is the Annezy)" (Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 2, p. 477). Cf. Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122: "Tableau de parenté des Anézés" (Ouaïel or Ourseil); *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15; "Généalogie des Anézés."

23 Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 94.

24 Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, p. 232.

25 Were called before Al-'Ali (Rîed Eben-Smeyr) (*Arabia Deserta*, p. 84).

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

104 622 Eben Me'gel are encamped here"; "the ḳowm of Eben Gandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as "That is the ḳowm of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the ḳowm of the Frege," will never be heard. When the late Prince Eben Sa'lûn spoke of gemâ'ati, he was thinking of the various tribes who obeyed his orders and who would hasten to his assistance. Gemâ'a is almost the same as ḳowm.[26] The rank of chief[27] is hereditary in a definite house, âl.[28] It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities; nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses may persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted, either of their own free will or under compulsion, and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes, is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as Seyh al-bâb, while affairs of war are left to a man from a different kin. Such a leader is known as Seyh aš-šdâd or Seyh al-harb. If he succeeds in subduing the enemy and concluding a favorable peace, several clans may become attached to him. They obey him in peace. There ensue wars in which the hereditary head chief generally succumbs and his house acknowledges the supremacy of the previous military commander, who then becomes Seyh al-bâb as well.[29]

619 622 173 According to tradition the head chief of all the Rwala was originally descended

26 Musil, *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 50-51.

27 The ar-Rwala give the name of Šeyh and also Šeyuh to their head chief. The head chief declares war and concludes peace. Cf. *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, etc., pp. 7-9; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 202-208; Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, *The New Iraq: its Problem of Bedouin Education* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), pp. 27-29; Leo Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Beerseba: ihre Rechtsverhältnisse Sitten und Gebräuch, aus dem Arabischen Übersetzt* (Luzern, 1938), pp. 29-31: "Eine Buch des Gouverneurs 'Aref el-'Aref in Beerseba"; Tonvin Ashkenazi, *Tribus semi-nomades de le Palestine du nord* (Paris, 1938), pp. 51-53.

601 28 Generally the word âl denotes the same as beni or eben, its meaning being wider than that of ahl. Ferîk is the name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor. A Ferîk is also wider than an ahl. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word âl, which is often interchanged with the article al, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rweyli, a member of the ar-Rwala tribe. Cf. Musil, *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 47-50; Ign. Goldzihar, in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft, vol. 50, pp. 11-117; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 248; Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung*, etc., part 1, pp. 68-111; part 2, pp. 182-229.

29 Musil, *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 50-51.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4

Diffusion and Function in Social Organization

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121

The problems connected with diffusion of so-called social traits have been only superficially studied by anthropologists, who hold very different views about this matter. Thus Murdock stresses that "the forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion" and that "traits of social structure appear to be borrowed, in general, only under conditions in which the same traits would be independently elaborated even in the absence of culture contacts" (Murdock 1949, p. 196). This extreme view is that adopted by some anthropologists, while other scholars agree with Lowie that diffusion has played a large part in the distribution of traits of social organization (Lowie 1950, p. 261; 1953, p. 421 f.).

It is often stated in anthropological literature that there is not necessarily any functional connection between a particular type of social organization and a particular type of economic culture. This was shown very clearly by Wissler for the American Indians (cf. Wissler 1922). In regard to Northern Africa we have a type of patrilineal social organization which is shared by all Arabs, whether settled agriculturists or true nomads, and we have another type of social organization among Tuareg-speaking pastoralists and agriculturists. Arab and Tuareg pastoralists have largely the same type of economy, but differ much in social organization. The same holds for Arab and Tuareg agriculturists.

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[114]

I have never studied Arab social organization in great detail. The patrilineages of North African Arab pastoralists have been brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard in regard to the bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949), and the Arab bedouins I have visited (e.g., *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, *Chamba*, *Larba*, *Ulad Naïl*) apparently have lineage-systems of much the same type. The *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe falls into four maximal patrilineages which again divide into lesser patrilineal units. An Arab is named after an ancestor of a minor patrilineage of his tribe and by an individual name. When he writes his name the ancestral name comes first. A *Chamba* Arab I knew well was named *Ben Hadid Sayah*. *Sayah* was his personal name while *Ben Hadid* ("son of *Hadid*") referred to the ancestor of his patrilineage with a depth of five generations.

B
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It seems as if Arab kinship terminology is of very much the same type throughout North Africa. I have taken down the systems used among the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*, and they appear to be identical apart from dialectical distinctions. The systems are characterized by a preference for descriptive terms. Those for "father" and "mother" are not used for kinsmen other than the true parents, though a father's brother may be called "father" if the true father has died. There is a term for "grandfather" and "grandmother" which can be used for all grandparents, while kinsmen of lower generations are known by descriptive terms so that it is always clear whether a kinsman belongs to

[p. 447]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4
Arabs M10

B 601

the father's or the mother's family. Should a man's father have married into his own patrilineage the mother's patrilineal family, however, is generally referred to by the terms given to paternal relatives.

B 602

Kinship behaviour is characterized by a respect-relationship towards older generations. There is also a kind of avoidance between certain in-laws known as *nsib* (male) or *nsiba* (female). The avoided relatives in-law are the following:— father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, younger brother's wife, younger sister's husband, older brother of spouse, older sister of spouse. Other in-laws known as *ḥamm* (male) or *ḥamma* (female) are not avoided; these are:— older sister's husband, younger brother of spouse, older brother's wife, younger sister of a spouse (cf. Miner 1953, p. 146). When the levirate is practised a wife can marry a younger brother of her deceased husband, but not his elder brother, just as in the case of the sororate a man can marry a younger sister of his deceased wife but not her elder sister. Thus marriage between persons of the same generation is not permitted should there already be an established avoidance relationship between them. People involved in an avoidance relationship cannot marry.

B 582

B 582 584

An interesting and much discussed trait of Arab social organization is preferential marriage with a father's brother's daughter. Most Arabs I have questioned claimed her to be the most suitable spouse, but they also said that for various reasons other types of marriage frequently took place. It might happen, for example, that marriage of this preferential type was not contracted because of conflict between the two families in question. But the factor which frequently leads to marriages of types other than that with a father's brother's daughter seems to be the following:— In an Arab family, the father has the decisive, final word in choosing spouses for his children. The children when contracting a first marriage are forced to marry the persons chosen by their father. Even so, however, the choice is frequently the result of the mother's initiative for she knows the young girls far better than does her husband. She is able to visit them, can talk freely to them, and she knows their characters and their abilities. A husband will therefore often give way to his wife's wishes even if she chooses a maternal cousin or some girl other than the father's brother's daughter.

B 582

I have already mentioned certain relatives with whom marriage is forbidden when the levirate and the sororate are practised. There are many other kinswomen whom a man is not allowed to marry, namely:— all kinswomen of the parents' and the grandparents' generations, brother's daughter, brother's daughter's daughter, brother's son's daughter, sister, sister's daughter, sister's daughter's daughter, sister's son's daughter.

A T 177

The Arabs I know best are those who live in Tuareg country, and some of them have been much influenced by Tuareg social customs. Many of these Arabs are bi-lingual, speaking of their kinsmen both in Arabic and in Tuareg. Sometimes they seem to be in doubt whether it is better to marry a father's brother's daughter than a cross-cousin. The *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, who lead a pastoral life in Ahaggar and are much mixed with the Tuareg, pay bride-wealth like the vassal Tuareg tribes, but this is not so with *Ahl Azzi* Arabs who are sedentary and live at Tamanrasset. These sedentary Arabs never give camels for bride-wealth, but instead certain articles of dress and ornaments, the price of which is about 25,000 French francs, equivalent in value to a camel. A less comprehensive dowry is given by the bride's father. The food expenses connected with a marriage are paid in part by the groom or his father, and in part by the bride's father. The sedentary agriculturists, the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*),

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4
Arabs M10

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l; Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Male Line of Descent

(1) *Bani 'Ám.* According to Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the 'Ajman, who discussed this with me on 11th August, 1935, the members of every tribe or section of a tribe which have a common male ancestry are known as Bani 'Ám, *lit.* the children of one uncle. The Mutair and 'Ajman are more strict than others about the interpretation of the above, he said, and carry it to the seventh generation of ascendants. Beyond that, he added, genealogies were rather vague. Only blood relationship on the father's side (*'Amam*) gives the right of Bani 'Ám or Ibn 'Ám, and not the relationship on the mother's side, which is known under the name of *Khawál.* 613 582

A man in trouble can always rely on his *'Amam* to come to his assistance. They must do this regardless of consequences—and so must a tribe which has such relationship with another, the 'Ajman-Murra tribes for instance. 613 614

The 'Ajman and Murra were continually at each other's throats in the past, and raided and counter-raided in merry fashion, but when an outside enemy attacked the one, all private feuds were put aside, and the two united in resisting the attack. The reason was that they were descended from the common ancestor Yam and so were *Bani 'Ám.*

The families of Ibn Sa'ud, Ibn Subah, Ibn Khalifa and Abal Khail of Qassim are all *Bani 'Ám*, and so can always be counted on, in any serious difficulty, to come to one another's help. They are all 'Anizah, descended from the same distant ancestor.

A man's *Khawál*, his maternal relations, are of course useful, especially in offering sanctuary, but they are not under the same obligations as a man's *Bani 'Ám.*

'Amam al rajál, alzam min khawálu is a well-known saying. This explains happenings which sometimes mystify the European. A man marries a woman from another tribe; she proves unfaithful (the instance I am describing has to my knowledge happened among 'Arabdar and Hadhar persons of Kuwait), the husband does not seem to mind much, but hints to the wife's *'Amam* that she is not all that she should be. They, being her *Bani 'Ám*, kill her, but do not enlist the outraged husband. She is slain to clear the family's good name, and to enable them to hold up their heads in the *mijlis arjal*, or counsels of men. Should a couple have children, a son and a daughter, and the daughter happens to disgrace the family, then either the 613 627 604 593

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

613 father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the
627 dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her
604 *walad 'ám*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and
593 do the deed.

613 Between *bani 'ám* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man
604 must never seize and bind one of his *'amam* even though he be a
721 thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'amam* by a *dawn*
628 attack or raid him after *midnight*. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *bani 'ám* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiya*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'ud, Al Dushan, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. (See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'ÁM

601 (2) *Walad 'Ám*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'ÁM

613 (3) *Bint 'Ám*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—
582 on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.

[601] A man always has the right to marry his *bint 'ám*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'ám*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

FOREWORD

114 A brief autobiographical note will explain how I came to write this
608 book. I was born in Beyrout, Syria, in 1881, and as a small child was taken to Damascus, where my mother's milk failed early. It so happened that Shaikh Mijwal of the Mazrab section of the Sba'a, the well-known sub-tribe of the great 'Anizah group, was in Damascus at the time, and gallantly stepping into the breach, he volunteered to secure for me a wet nurse or foster mother from among his tribeswomen. A Badawiyah girl was duly produced and according to my mother's testimony I drank her milk for several weeks. This in the eyes of the Badawin entitles me to a certain "blood affinity" with the 'Anizah; for to drink a woman's milk in the desert is to become a child of the foster mother. This fact has been of assistance to me in my dealings with the Badawin of the high desert and around Kuwait.

114 Shaikh Mijwal al Mazrab, as my readers will doubtless remember, was the desert Chieftain who married Lady Digby (at one time also Lady Ellenborough) in the late sixties, and provided her with a suitable residence in Damascus where she always spent the summer months. After the death of Lady Digby in 1881, this house was rented by my father, and I spent my childhood days rambling about the lovely garden that had once been the pride and happiness of Lady Digby. At an early age I was given my first camel ride, by Shaikh Mijwal's grown-up son Shaikh Ja'afat, or Ya'afat as he was called, who still clearly remembers the incident.

My father was at this time H.B.M.'s Consul at Damascus.

KUWAIT
September 26, 1936

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1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

purposes, as can be seen from the large number of men of eighty years 833
and over who still continue to marry and produce children. Haji Hillal bin Faja'an al Mutairi, the famous Kuwait pearl merchant, married the last of his thirty-two wives at eighty-five, and got two boys and three girls by her. His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud told Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim al Subah (according to the latter's statement to me), that the most wonderful experience of his life and that above all things worth living for had always been "To put his lips to the woman's lips, his body on her body and his feet on her feet".

A Badawin bride will show great modesty on "the first night", 834
and will make no effort to uncover her face, head or body. The husband must not ask her to do this, for such an act would be most immodest, and might lay her open to the suspicion in her husband's eyes of previous immoral leanings.

The man's role is to plead with her first, and when she refuses, gives a negative shake of her head, or hangs her head in silence, he is entitled to use force, and himself to remove her *burqa* and various parts of her clothes. She does not resent her husband's doing this but she must show proper modesty by pretending to resist with all her might.

A woman who suckles two children of opposite sexes, one her 608
own and the other the child of another, makes those children blood 853
brother and sister. They can never marry each other, and the boy throughout his life can look upon the face of the girl so nursed with him. They have become foster brother and sister. For example, 'Abdullah al Mubarak al Subah is foster brother of the daughter of a Rashaida woman, the wife of one of the shaikh's *fiddwis*, by name Abu Hadida. I know both personally, and though 'Abdullah is the son of the late Ruler of Kuwait, he treats the Rashaida girl in true foster-brother fashion, quite charming to see, and often goes in spring to camp with her father and mother, and is on the friendliest of terms with his foster sister.

A woman's breast is known as *daid* (plu. *diid*, dual *daidain*).

A maiden's breast is *nuhaid* (two breasts are *nuhaidain*).

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin 1934

main away from regions where guests are likely to be 574
numerous. The road between Hofuf, the capital of [311]
Hasa, and Oqair, its nearest port, affords excellent pasturage for goats and camels, and water is easily available for watering the stock. The traveler, however, will probably not see so much as one tent in that whole region. Caravans are coming and going continually, and the poor Bedouin cannot possibly entertain so many. Stern necessity compels him to go where the demands on his very slender resources will be smaller.

But the finest hospitality that I have ever enjoyed has been at the hands of the Bedouins. Ten years ago in the vicinity of Kuwait we saw a good deal of them, for there is always a fringe of Bedouin tents surrounding that city. The American missionaries were far from welcome in [609] the town. A rival Turkish doctor had been imported by a local Mohammedan society and stocked with medicines and instruments so the poor might be treated free and every excuse for visiting the missionary's establishment removed. But there was no trace of hostility among the Bedouins and it was a great pleasure to visit their tents. We had a number of patients there and had to visit them often. When the dressings and treatments were finished, we stayed and visited together. There were questions about America, and the way to come from there to Arabia, and I in my turn learned a great deal about them and their utterly poverty-stricken lives. The way in which the medical missionary was admitted to the circle as one of the family is perhaps the most prized memory that twelve years' experience affords.

In the calendar of the desert the real red letter days 527
are those when a wedding in the sheikh's family or some 574
other event is the occasion for a great feast. Every

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

422 "Well," I persisted, "the matter does not seem to
425 trouble you a great deal."

"No indeed," with an even broader grin if that were possible. "It does not trouble me at all. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will go and steal somebody else's. Who knows? Perhaps I may have more than I had before."

425 The tribal fights that keep the country in a continual
58 state of turmoil are little more than glorified raids for the sake of plunder. They intensify the poverty of the community, for legitimate trade is handicapped, and this irregular exchange of goods cannot in the nature of the case benefit the whole society, however much it may temporarily enrich individuals. But life without the excitement of these raids seems to the desert nomad a tame and a stale thing, hardly worth living. On the other
422 hand, personal property, such as is kept in tents, is as sacredly individual as it is with us, and its theft is keenly
685 resented. The conception that every man's home is his
609 castle is one of the most fundamental ideas of the Arab, and when the crew of a gunboat many years ago attempted to search the inner quarters of a house in Dibai for firearms, the resulting indignation was so intense that foreigners found themselves unable to enter that district for
422 nearly ten years. The household belongings that the Bedouin keeps in his tent may be poor things but they are very much his own.

181 This life of the desert, with its poverty and hardships and its primitive economic conditions, has nevertheless so worked its charm on the Bedouin nomad that he longs for nothing else. The Bedouin with his intense individualism seems particularly adapted to the desert. He
000 loves its vast distances and its solitude. Anything less

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia M51
Bedouin M54

of a spiritual guide or pastor, much less for the functions of a priest.

There is a small group of land-owners and merchants (the same individual is frequently both), who constitute a wealthy upper class which has great power in the community. They form a sort of unofficial cabinet to advise the ruler, and not a great deal happens without their knowledge and approval. However, they are not sheikhs, and sometimes when a powerful governor presides over a community, this rich men's cabinet exercises surprisingly little influence over him. The ruler and his family form what might be termed a class by themselves. Frequently they are strangers more or less directly derived from some Bedouin tribe and far less traveled and sophisticated than many of their rich subjects. They are, however, none the less effective rulers for that. But the whole subject of the workings of Arab government is one that we must reserve for a later chapter.

Desert and oasis in Arabia represent two conflicting modes of life and there is little sympathy between them. To the Bedouin the town is a community of masters and slaves with the vast majority slaves. The date gardener works long and hard; moreover he works under another man's direction, and this director of his efforts receives the major part of the proceeds. The artisan, to be sure, is not the slave of any one individual, but he too is cooped up in narrow quarters, and the necessities of his family keep him busy from morning till night working with his hands. Land-owners and merchants the Bedouin envies, but he still pities them their cramped life and close confinement in the town. Why any one who is rich enough to afford a home in the desert should prefer to live in the oasis, is to him an insoluble mystery.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia M3
Bedouin M34

But if the Bedouin has a great contempt for the townsman, the townsman on his part reciprocates most cordially. He regards the unwashed and unkempt nomad of the desert as little better than a wild beast. Incidentally he fears the wild religious fanaticism of the despised tribesmen exceedingly, and not without reason. "Infidel," said one of the Bedouins to a small shopkeeper in Hasa who sat comfortably smoking his big waterpipe in the door of his shop. "Infidel, shall I break it over your head, or smash it here on the ground?" and the shopkeeper having indicated a preference for the ground, the fanatical Wahabi, to whom tobacco is the very essence of sin and uncleanness, smashed the waterpipe to pieces on the floor. A waterpipe is a quite expensive affair, being an ornamented glass jar of about a quart capacity. Those accustomed to their use insist that in no other way can tobacco be properly smoked. The time was when the inhabitants of the oasis towns were more religious than the Bedouins, but that time is past, and now the Bedouin in his religious zeal looks on them as next to infidels. "Those are the men," the city dweller will explain with great scorn, "who think they are competent to instruct us in matters of religion. They do not know the simplest prayers. Their heads are so full of lice that room could scarcely be found for more. Their clothes never get washed. Their women go about unveiled. They are nothing but wild animals."

The underlying changes that have brought about this transformation from desert conditions to those of the oasis are two. There is a divison of labor, and a certain differentiation into sections and cliques is inevitable on account of that, but a far more significant thing is the fact that agricultural land in the oasis is held as private property, whereas in the desert land is free as the air.

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4

The Bedouin Problem

The Bedouin cannot live in the desert without maintaining regular contact with the domain of settled society where he trades the surplus products of his economy for essential provisions. 361 609 621

In the past, the Bedouin have entered the cultivated zone either as conquerors, reducing the peasants to a state of semi-slavery and transforming fertile land into pastures for their herds, or as peaceful guests.[1)]

The conduct of the Bedouin on the outskirts of the settled region is determined by the ability of the government to defend the country and impose restrictive measures on the nomads. Once they accept the idea of compliance with certain conditions, they will soon become semi-nomadic and evolve towards sedentarization.

The substance of Bedouin policy in all the countries of the MIDDLE East is the attempt by the political authorities to subject the nomads to a restrictive code of behavior calculated to protect the settled population, and to organize, facilitate, direct and coordinate their sedentarization. 361 166x

The Crisis in the Bedouin World

In modern times the settlement of the nomads has been regarded as one of the outstanding domestic problems in Arabia and the countries of the Fertile Crescent. The issue has been forced to a head by the crisis which the Bedouin world is undergo- 361 166x 178

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1. Miller, 1938, pp 18-29

BEDOUINSMJ4

In our days sedentarization is the product of the nomad's contact with settled society during the regular periods of his encampment on the outskirts of the cultivated land. 166x 177

At present, the tribal population of Syria, Iraq, Palestine (Israel) and Transjordan (Jordan) is in all stages of transition to a sedentary existence. A. S. Kirkbridge has outlined[1] the various stages that the Transjordan nomad passes on his journey to the settled life of an agriculturalist. With insignificant changes the description of the steps can be made applicable to the process of sedentarization as a whole. 166x 178

Stages of Sedentarization

1. The true desert Bedouin, raising mainly camels,[2] lives in a world where nature makes cultivation impossible. He migrates in accordance with the existence of water and grazing and supplements his meager income by raiding if conditions permit. He despises the villagers. 166x 221 434 361
2. In spite of the contempt that the Bedouin have for the settled peasants they come to realise that the fellah lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a better diet, compared to the standards of the nomad. 609 434
3. The next step is the occupation of cultivable land by the nomadic tribe. Agriculture is practiced only as a 166x 361 241

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1. Kirkbridge, 1945, March-April
2. Kirkbridge does not discuss the Bedouin that came from Arabia subsisting exclusively on camel-breeding. Since practically all Transjordanian nomads have crossed the first stage, the conversion of exclusive camel economy to mixed pastoral economy of sheep and camel-breeding.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

000 At that time I had vainly tried to find the sons of a *sheykh* called Achmed Hafiz, whose name will be known to readers of Homer Davenport's book, "My Quest of the Arab Horse" (New York, 1908). It was from this Achmed Hafiz that Davenport (with whose sister I became well acquainted in California) bought twenty-seven Arab horses in 1906.

344 On my arrival in Aleppo, my first task was to find the *wukil*. The directions led me to a mediæval building near the citadel. The entrance was barred by an enormous iron-studded timber gate. From the courtyard behind it I could hear the well-known guttural accents of Bedouins. I knocked repeatedly without response. Suddenly, however, with creaking hinges, the huge gate flew wide open, and out galloped four horsemen, almost running me down. Squeezed flat against a stone pillar, I looked in amazement after the small cavalcade that disappeared in a cloud of dust round the beetling ramparts of the old Crusader's castle.

●609 When I turned my eyes to the entrance again, I saw standing before me in the doorway a Bedouin unusually big for his race, a good six feet high, who scrutinized me critically without "batting an eyelid" and without responding to my greeting. At length he coolly laid an arm round my shoulders and, in no very amiable manner, pulled me within, while with his other arm he gave a tug at a long rusty chain, which effectively closed the gate.

351 My eyes fell on a caravanserai that made me fancy
231 myself back in the days of the Caliphs. The yard was not exactly tidy, but it looked better than many a khan

P. Rasuan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

I had seen in Istambul and Baghdad. Scattered about 351
higgeldy-piggeldy, in peaceful contentment, was a min- 231
gled assortment of camels, horses, asses, goats, and sheep. Lazily the lean, shaggy beasts munched the chaff spread for them on worn-out bast mats and hides. Camel-drovers, muffled in their frayed cloaks, were squatting about. Dirty children tumbled boisterously over the humps of the camels and darted in and out between their legs, while the animals, with blinking eyes and drooping ears, patiently put up with the sport. Pigeons continually fluttered between the court and the old bastions and turrets, and, sailing low over the battlemented walls, small vultures circled on motionless wings, croaking hungrily, with baleful eyes ever on the watch for a meal.

"Whence cometh thou?" the big fellow questioned 609
without any form of introduction and with scant courtesy. I reached into my breast pocket and drew from it the letter of recommendation, much crumpled and stained, and with it, inadvertently, a photographic reproduction of Homer Davenport's well-known drawing, "Haleb's Farewell to the Desert." The picture shows Sheykh Achmed Hafiz and his Bedouin friends witnessing the departure of that celebrated Arab stallion, Haleb, which the Turkish governor of Syria had given Davenport as a present. My tall friend grabbed both letter and picture from my hand and fingered them clumsily. Suddenly he discovered on the photograph familiar faces and figures. A thunderbolt could not have produced greater consternation in the tranquil courtyard than did the giant's frantic exclamations at this sudden recognition. His surprise was comical. Stuttering

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

609

with emotion, he tried to communicate not only to me, but to all and sundry, the startling fact that he had discovered his father in the picture. He behaved like a lunatic. He flung his arms about and danced round like a howling dervish. He laughed and cried in one breath and the echoes of his bellowing voice reverberated through the walls till everything seemed to shake; he *could not* calm down. His excitement communicated itself to the animals, and the whole company joined in the uproar. When peace was at last restored, I found myself in the arms of my new friend. Like the protecting wings of the Cherubim, the loose sleeves of his herder's cloak flapped round me, as he hugged me to his chest and kissed me on both cheeks.

"Thou art Davenport's son?" he cried, but it was more a statement than a question. I tried to explain, but in vain! He insisted that I must be Davenport's son, and would hear nothing to the contrary.

Gradually the man grew calmer and mutual understanding became possible. Ali was his name—Ali ibn Achmed Hafiz! And he was the eldest son of the *sheykh* in search of whose family I had come to Aleppo in 1916. What a stroke of luck, that fate should now present to me in the person of the *wukil* of Hajem Pasha the very man I had tried to track down from the time of the World War!

Reminded of my letter, he produced it from the capacious pocket, into which he had crammed it in his excitement, together with a lot of other papers, stuffed these back, assumed an air of importance, and said: "I am Ali, the *wukil* of Hajem Pasha, and Mijhem ibn

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala Bedouins MJ4

Meheyd, above all men." He cleared his throat and spat, as if all mankind were dirt. Then he continued: "And thou art in need of a *rafiq?*" 609

"That is so," I replied; "and this letter, which thou holdest in thy hands, thou wilt transmit immediately to thy *sheykh*, for it contains a personal message from Amir Fuaz."

Before I could prevent it, Ali tore open the letter and began to read aloud:

"Al-illah, by the Adored One! Peace be with thee, dispenser of protection! By the Dispensation of Allah, let this stranger live under thy countenance like a son of thy father. Befriend him as if he were my own eyes. Guard and preserve my brother when he lodges with thee or when thou settest him on his way. I would trust him to none but thee alone, who walkest with a clear conscience in the sight of Allah. May the Lord lengthen thy days, O thou rich in life, and let us evermore dwell side by side in friendship."

At this point, Ali interrupted his reading with copious supplications for heaven's blessings and rewards on Amir Fuaz. He had never suspected that the young Rueyli chief could be capable of such gentle virtues and tender emotions. He was visibly overwhelmed. He raised his voice and resumed: 578 609

"Praise thou the Lord! For He is so magnanimous and bountiful that He has bestowed upon me, His humble slave, so rich a gift. He, the Gracious and Merciful, granted me the wonderful opportunity of relieving thy ally and our brother, Barjas ibn Hedeyb, of seventy mares."

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

•609 578 Ali jumped as if stung by a tarantula. In place of the previous outpouring of blessings there now issued from his lips a flood of wild imprecations and sulphurous curses on the head of the Amir. Again he raged like a madman. His outbreak was ably seconded by the other Bedouins, and once more bedlam broke loose in the courtyard, men and animals creating pandemonium. In their insensate fury, the men began to belabour the excited and frightened sheep, asses, and goats with their flexible camel-sticks, as if they had the hated Rueyli chief himself under their hands. Even I, the innocent cause of this outburst of frenzy, became the target of Ali's choicest vituperation. How could I associate myself with such a notorious cutthroat and common bandit? It took a considerable space of time for Ali to calm down again—and with him the whole audience—and, in a voice still agitated, he read out the remainder of the letter:

"May the Lord take pity on thy saddened thoughts and may cheerful reflection on the Inevitable console thee and tranquilize thy soul." (I couldn't help laughing out loud at this; whereupon Ali scowled at me most ungraciously. "All is fleeting, but all is also preordained by Allah. May the corpse of him who casts doubt on the bravery of my horsemen be flung aside without burial. God's infallible acts are manifest, and in the light of these events, which were inevitable, thou shouldst acknowledge the truth of my words." ("Aha!" I said to myself. "What a brilliant idea! To hold Allah responsible for the theft of seventy mares!") "Allah bless my beautiful and virtuous kinswoman who is in the keeping of thy brother." (Tarfa, a sister of Amir Fuaz.) "May

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

the position of the heavenly bodies be of better augury for thee! God is omnipotent!" 609 578

Ali, sunk in meditation, seemed disturbed by a thousand conflicting thoughts. At length, however, he dutifully kissed the face and back of this typical example of Bedouin diplomacy. Secretly, I had to admire the respect [577] accorded in Arabia even to one's deadly enemy.

Ali grasped my hand. Anger still lingered in his eyes, but his voice sounded pleasant enough as he said to me: "This letter, my friend, is just about as good as a recommendation from Iblis" (the devil), and with a grimace of contempt he tossed it on the fire. I was only just in time to snatch the already singed sheet of paper from the flames; but, as a matter of fact, neither Ali nor I ever had the courage to present the letter to either of the Fid'an chiefs.

To my great delight, Ali offered himself as my *rafiq* for the journey to the Jesirah (Mesopotamia). Within two days he had ferreted out a second-hand Ford car to carry us to the Euphrates.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

XXIV

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

101 361 233 LUCK FAVOURED US in eluding the vigilance of the French on our second attempt to reach the grazing grounds of the Tai' Bedouins under their *sheykh,* Muhamed Abd-er-Rachman at-Tai'.

His great camp spread out in a verdant valley, threaded by a long chain of rain pools. The snow-covered mountain ranges of Kurdistan, stretching beyond the Turkish frontier, formed a picturesque background. Camels and great flocks of sheep grazed over the desert, which recent rains had turned into rich pasture. Dotted about in groups were the black tents of the Bedouins. A horseman came to meet us. A foal, so it seemed in the distance, pranced round its mother, but as the rider drew nearer, we saw that the playful creature was a tame gazelle. The Bedouin rode a magnificent mare, that pranced on her feet like a dancer.

574 609 "Where is the abode of our host who will receive us?" I enquired. He pointed to the black outline of the largest tent, which showed from behind a ridge some distance away.

"Ha-wallah—by God—there dwells the Generous One!" He looked us over for a moment, then greeting us curtly, turned his horse and galloped away, the gazelle after him.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

As we neared the large tent, the merry "ringing" of the coffee mortar bade us welcome. Malla Sulumeh, scribe to Sheykh Tai', conducted us within. 574 609 [212]

A considerable number of tribesmen were gathered in the roomy tent. As usual, the favourite falcon of the *sheykh* stood perched on a camel-saddle. [223]

A slave removed the bird and placed cushions on the saddle for us. The coffee-cook poked apart the pieces of glowing desert roots on the hearth and poured between them dried camel dung from a fold of his cloak. He blew energetically on the hard nuggets, the size of walnuts, until small bright flames commenced to dance all over them. Then a large, beaked can was placed on the glow and it was not long before the coffee-water boiled and bubbled over. "Revive thy spirit!" said the every-ready cup-bearer as he offered me the aromatic cup. 574 272 [372]

Previously he had, in accordance with Bedouin practice, conscientiously wiped out every cup with the sleeve of his old shirt. Adroitly he held in his other hand four small china cups without handles, like so many eggs in a nest, and jingled them lightly one against the other.

The coffee made the round. The favoured guests, whom the Negro served first (unhappily I belonged to them) were the victims of especial politeness; before pouring the coffee, he spat first into the cup and wiped it dry with his shirt sleeve. Three times had I to endure this rite at the hands of the punctilious coffee-priest, who waited on us with the utmost solemnity on each occasion. Only then might I waggle the cup between my finger-tips in token of thanks and satisfaction and hand it back to him.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

000 man back to Aleppo, with his "wild ostrich", happy and contented.

Here, too, rain had fallen and transfigured the arid, 157 yellow wastes into lush green meadows. From the small band of Shammar, our guide borrowed riding-camels for our further journey, and we reached the camp of Mishal ibn Faris on the following day. Of Mishal the Arabs say that "no cloud can be compared with him for generosity." I, too, must say that I have seldom met so unselfish and kind-hearted a man.

Outside his large tent we drew up and dismounted. How many guest fires must have been lighted under this smoke-blackened roof, which had sheltered three generations!

574 The elderly *sheykh* stood on the threshold and bade ●609 me welcome with the sacred formula of the wilderness, [576] the assurance of peace, "Salam Alayk."

I responded in the manner of the desert: "God keep thee well." Then, Mishal ibn Faris took with his own hand the headstall from my mare and hung it on the main post of his tent. He had wanted to know me, he said, as soon as he had heard that a stranger, who loved Arab horses, was visiting the Tai'.

I thanked him for his pleasant and friendly invitation. In his way of addressing me there was more than ordinary politeness. From now on, whether with them in person, or far away, I had the freedom of his tribe.

157 Mishal ibn Faris, the great Shammar *sheykh*, esteemed 554 from one end of the desert to the other for his staunch righteousness, had a peaceful and moderating influence on Bedouin politics, both in Mesopotamia and Syria. "A

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
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migrated from Central Arabia. Before Ibn Hadhdhal, the greatest 622
shaikh in the Syrian desert had been Ibn Jesham, who now lives in poverty on the Lower Euphrates.

It was, indeed, related that an Arab petitioner had once 181
accosted His Majesty King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud by the title of Chief of the Arabs, but that the latter had protested: "I take refuge with God, my son! The Chief of the Arabs is Ibn Hadhdhal." With less than 200 years of rule to their credit, the Sauds were a new family to the Arabs.

When this story was repeated to Ibn Hadhdhal, he interrupted the narrator to object: "I take refuge with God, my son!" said the old chieftain. "The chief of the Arabs is Ibn Jesham." Such was the modest chivalry of these old chiefs, although all of them were at war with one another.

From Ibn Hadhdhal I obtained a letter to Al Nuri ibn Shaalan, 122
chief of the Ruwallah. A retainer of Fahad's, Burjas al Dhafiri, was 628
detailed to accompany us on our journey, to save us from molesta- 485
tion by the Amarat. He could not, of course, protect us from raiders from other tribes. Burjas came from the Dhafir tribe, not the Amarat. He had been obliged to flee from his relatives owing to a blood feud, and had taken refuge with Ibn Hadhdhal, whose trusted retainer he had become. Burjas was so short-sighted that he was almost blind, but he knew the desert perfectly for hundreds of miles. As we rode along, he would cross-question us as to what we could see. "To the north-west, there should soon appear two low round hills each surmounted by a heap of stones, like a woman's breasts." "Can you see on the south a tall grey peak? It is Feridat al Wa'ar."

Burjas, half-blind, carried 200,000 square miles of desert in his 485
mind's eye, and could estimate when every distant landmark would come into view.

We made for the water-holes at Al Molussi, in the hope of 485
hearing news of Ibn Shaalan. The water-holes were in a narrow 609
valley at the foot of a rocky cliff. There was nobody camped on the water. We stopped to drink, when suddenly we were startled by a voice calling: "What are you, O camel riders?"

High above us on the rocky cliff face sat three men, each holding a rifle. Burjas argued with them without revealing our identity,

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
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485 for we were at their mercy had they proved to be hostile. They
609 eventually identified themselves as Sba'a, a tribe friendly to the Amarat. They told us that they were picketing the well to watch for a raiding party led by Sultan al Tayyar—Sultan the Flier—of which they had received warning. They advised us to be on the look-out.

609 It was about ten o'clock one morning when we topped a low desert ridge and came in sight of a wide grassy hollow thickly covered with black bedouin tents, in the middle of which the huge tent of the shaikh was plainly visible. It was not without trepidation that we tapped our camels into their briskest walk, and closed in on one another, flank touching flank and neck to neck, so as to make a dignified entry. Perhaps because every man in the desert went with his life in his hands, and anyone he met might be an enemy, the bedouins were always careful to make a
609 dignified and reserved arrival at a strange camp. We dismounted,
576 hobbled our camels and, wrapping our cloaks asound us, advanced at a stately walk side by side. A negro slave who was making coffee unrolled a rug for us to sit on. A few men sitting in the tent returned our salutation, and we sat down in silence.

609 Perhaps ten minutes elapsed before Al Nuri himself entered, a fierce, glowering face, with a hawk-like nose and bright, piercing eyes. He sat down without a word of welcome and another long silence ensued. At a scarcely perceptible gesture from the old man, his clerk rolled a cigarette and placed it between his fingers. A slave stepped forward quickly with a glowing ember in a tongs to light it. The shaikh puffed in silence and glowered round. Burjas rose and crossed the tent, and laid our letter of introduction before him. "Fahad sends you his greetings," he said. But the chief only grunted, and the letter remained lying in front of him on the ground. Another ten minutes of silence ensued. Then the shaikh beckoned his clerk to read the letter to him, for he could neither read nor write. Now at last, I thought, his churlish manners will change, for I knew what was in the letter.

The secretary read in a low voice in the shaikh's ear. When it was finished, the latter gave a grunt and relapsed once more into silence and cigarette smoke. The tension was increasing and I began to grow angry. The remainder of our journey was across

desert country, full of tribes which recognized the authority of no 609 government. Without the assistance of this old man, it might be impossible to proceed. Even so, I felt that I could with dignity wait no longer, and I signalled to my two companions. We rose, walked out of the tent to our camels, and began to adjust the saddles and prepare to mount. But a slave ran out to us and, pulling Ibn Hadhdhal's man by the sleeve, he led him back to the tent. Apparently he persuaded the shaikh that we were harmless, for we were invited back, and Al Nuri himself so far unbent as to say, "You are welcome! We are always glad to see the English!" This appeared to use up his available conversation, and he soon afterwards disappeared. We spent the rest of the day strolling about, talking to the slaves and tribesmen, or sitting amongst bales of cloth and tobacco in the tiny tent of an itinerant merchant from the Iraq desert oasis of Kubaisa.

Al Nuri was a tremendous personality who maintained despotic 622 control over his tribe. His authority was notorious, and the 538 Ruwallah were frequently laughed at by other tribes for their 181 tame submission to such autocracy. One such story related how a man of the tribe, summoned in the tomb by the recording angels to give an account of his actions on earth, replied, "I am only a dead Ruweili, and all claims are settled by Ibn Shaalan." But although a redoubtable champion in action (he had murdered his elder brother in order to make himself shaikh of the tribe), he did not, like most Arabs, possess the gift of conversation.

The authority which Ibn Shaalan wielded over the Ruwallah 622 was probably unique amongst bedouins, and was due to personal 554 fear of this formidable old man. The Arab tribesman will accord 181 theoretical and verbal respect to the old families of chiefs, but he will rarely accord them obedience in practice. He constantly opposes and argues against his shaikh. Not infrequently he loses his temper, creates a violent scene and hastens to strike his tent and move away to join the following of some other chief who will treat him with more consideration. Amongst bedouins freedom always tended to degenerate into anarchy—but free they were—freer perhaps than any other race in the world.

In happy England we have come, for centuries past, to identify 181 our personal liberties with the political independence of our

181 country. Few people in Britain have realized to what an extent personal and national freedom may be divorced, a point so clearly brought out by Gibbon at the head of this chapter. In Turkish days, the Arabs had no political existence, but as individuals they were as free as any men in the world. Their freedom admittedly owed nothing to Turkish generosity. It was due solely to the inability of the Government to control them.

485 609 We slept but one night in the camp of Ibn Shaalan. Next morning we set out once more, having bidden farewell to Burjas, and accompanied by one Qasim ash Shemam, a swarthy villain, detailed to accompany us by Al Nuri. We had scarcely ridden for an hour when we were stopped by two camel riders who overtook us, waving their cloaks to show that they were not hostile, an advisable precaution in those days when the custom of the desert was often to shoot first and ask questions afterwards. They proved to be the nephews of the shaikh, Khalid and Trad ibn Shaalan. In contrast to Al Nuri, they greeted us only with smiles and expressions of welcome, and begged us to spend the rest of the day with them. We protested in vain that we had ridden for only an hour. Half laughing and persuading, half compelling, they turned the heads of our camels, and we soon came upon the big black tent concealed in a small valley in the bare, rocky hills.

There could be no doubt of the warmth of our welcome here. Not only were we obliged to eat and drink almost continuously all day, but Trad pronounced himself dissatisfied with our outfit. It is true that the weather was cold, and the Syrian desert can be bitter when a north wind howls over these barren steppes. First I was obliged to accept some warm gloves, then a magnificent pair of black French boots with pointed toes and buttoning halfway up the calf. I was doubtful for which sex they were originally intended. Sugar, tea, meat, bread and other additions were made to our provisions. It was with difficulty that I resisted the offer of a smart suit of clothes and a better riding camel.

An officer or administrator can rarely obtain a true impression of the people in the district in which he works. To do so, few methods can be better than to travel through the country unknown and poorly dressed, with one or two companions. I was quite unknown to Khalid and Trad, and they were themselves powerful

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
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and wealthy shaikhs, who had nothing to seek from me. Many years later, I was able to acknowledge their kindness and do a very little to help them.

Next morning we left the tent of Khalid and Trad, and set out across the desert for the west. Before noon we came across a tribe on the move, the vast flocks of camels walking and grazing slowly, the caravan of loaded camels, the shaikhs' women in gaily decorated litters ornamented with red tassels and rows of white shells, the men and boys walking or riding, and the flocks of sheep. Half a mile ahead rode the chief with the advanced guard —three camelmen and two horsemen, one with a hawk on his wrist and a greyhound trotting beside his mare. Our guide, Qasim ash Shemam, must needs trot over to them to gossip. I rode parallel to the group twenty or thirty yards away. Suddenly they all looked my way, and a stentorian voice called out, "God damn the English and Ibn Shaalan who shelters them!" The infidel and the stranger were not always welcome, it seemed. It was Fayyadh ibn Jendal, a tribesman of the old school. Ten years later I was to be a close friend of his son and nephew. But the fortune of the day brought us in the evening to Melih al Ga'ga, of a family who had been themselves chiefs of the Ruwallah before the rise of the Shaalan. Here we once more met with the same cordial welcome as from Khalid and Trad. An argument arose between our host and his young son in front of the tent. We could hear an exchange of angry words between them. Qasim later informed us that the boy demanded that his father slaughter a camel for our dinner, whereas the old man said that a whole sheep would suffice. Such are the extravagancies of Arab hospitality, amongst people who themselves live perilously near to the starvation level.

The ensuing days were less eventful. A bitter north-west wind howled in our faces. Sand and dust filled the air so thickly that we could see only a few hundred yards. At night we failed to find any tribal camps, and shivered cheerless in the open, beneath the gusts of stinging sand. It was not safe to light a fire for fear of raiding parties.

The camel is capable of covering great distances in twenty-four hours, but the idea that the "swift dromedary" skims across the

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
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492 desert like a bird is a European illusion. The bedouin, it is true, will make his camel gallop in a battle. Good riding camels will travel at a jog-trot for considerable distances. But a journey of several hundred miles is chiefly performed at a walk. The camel covers long distances owing to its powers of endurance and the [141] hardihood of its rider. Twenty hours' riding a day at five miles an hour makes a hundred miles, and four hours' rest will often suffice the bedouins.

These long hours of slow movement are sometimes an intense weariness. The country traversed is often featureless or only slightly undulating plains. The saddle, a wooden framework with a goat-skin and saddle-bag thrown over it, soon rubs sores on the thighs of the beginner.

492 The worst enemy of the inexperienced camel rider is the heat 132 and glare, especially near Iraq or on the shores of the Red Sea, for the uplands of the hinterland are cooler. On our crossing of the Syrian desert, however, we suffered not from the heat but from the cold. Not a tree or a cliff was to be found to break the violence of that cutting north wind, which seemed to howl around us day and night. It blew round our legs as we sat shivering on our camels, it bore away our voices so that we could not hear one another speak. It filled our stale bread and sticky dates with sand when we dismounted to eat.

609 Occasionally this dumb and hopeless misery was forgotten in a wild alarm, a glimpse of raiders, a swift flight down little valleys. Once topping a small ridge, we came in sight of a group of camelmen riding towards us at a range of only a few hundred yards. Qasim, who had the raider's eye for country, raced down into a little hollow on our right. Keeping in low ground, we hit our camels sharply and dashed on at top speed. Suddenly our leader pulled up, jumped off, hobbled his camel and ran forward up a low ridge. We followed his example as best we could, and flung ourselves on the ground a few yards from him, loading as we did so. The other party had not seen us, and by raising my head slightly I could see them riding along, unconcernedly talking together. They were within close range now. The gear on their saddles and the fact that they were driving a camel laden with 000 sacks proved that they were not raiders. Qasim suddenly stood up

Qasim suddenly stood up
and shouted, though with his rifle still at the ready, "Wesh 609
entum? (What are you?)" The strangers were thrown into some 721
confusion, but one of them slipped from his camel and advanced on Qasim, also with his rifle ready. Both men had their kerchiefs tied over their faces, so that only their eyes were visible. They advanced towards one another intently and cautiously, like fighting cocks waiting for an opening. "Wa ent wesh ent?" replied the other. ("And you, who are you?") The rest of the other party had couched their camels out of sight in another hollow. They did not look like raiders, but I could not but hold my breath as the two advanced towards one another. Then suddenly the tension relaxed. "Dhana Muslim, sons of Muslim," said the other man—it was the name of the division of Aneizah of which the Ruwallah formed part. Qasim lowered his rifle.

"Are you Ubaid?" 609
"You're Qasim." 576
"Keif ent? (How are you?)"
"God bless you."
"May you be well!"
"How are the boys?"

The two ragged, bearded ruffians slowly kissed one another, first on one cheek and then on the other.

"How are you?"
"God keep you."
"May God bless that face."

We stood up. The members of the other party advanced, reassured, dragging their camels by their head-ropes. Such were the daily incidents of desert life. Ten years later the Iraq Petroleum Company's pipeline passed this way, a pumping station had been built in this waste, and English ladies were taking their tea out for a picnic in these stony valleys. That ten years was to see the passing of an era.

Meanwhile Qasim ash Shemam was becoming increasingly 609
domineering and threatening. He regarded us with ill-concealed contempt, as might an old deep-sea fisherman a couple of landlubbers who had never been to sea before. He repeatedly informed us that he was courting a girl, whom he shortly hoped to

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS M54

609 marry, but that he required two camels as a present for her father to win his consent. The two camels which I and my servant were riding would be perfectly suitable, he hinted. When we halted for food at midday or in the evening, he would sit down, leaning his elbow on his saddle-bags beside him on the ground, and give his orders. "Hobble that camel, unload that gear." For with all their frank and open manners and their honourable customs, bedouins can be haughty and overbearing when they feel they have the whip-hand. Qasim was a man of limited intelligence, and a venal blackguard.

All the same, he had a sense of humour. Twenty years later, when I was commanding the Arab Legion, Qasim was arrested by the police, doubtless for some heinous crime. "You don't know who I am!" he said when the police came to take him away. "I'm the man who employed Glubb Pasha as a herdsman for my camel!"

361 609 712 Altogether it was with satisfaction that one morning we emerged from a narrow valley in the sandy and rocky hills and saw before us the dark green of the palm gardens, the little stone fort and the cluster of houses of the oasis of Kaf. The little fort was owned by Ibn Shaalan and garrisoned by his retainers, under the command of Salih ibn Uthman, a native of the oasis of Jauf. He greeted us with a kindness and consideration which was a pleasant contrast to the company of Qasim ash Shemam. The latter wished to return next day to his tribe, so I paid him off in the evening. But he shouted that the money was not enough and that he would seize our camels. Salih ibn Uthman intervened, and Qasim was persuaded to leave the room. Outside I could hear a loud altercation and a scuffle. Qasim disappeared during the night, taking with him a selection from our gear—my saddle and water-skin and Trad ibn Shaalan's warm gloves.

712 There was an Arab Legion post at Kaf, outside the village in a fortified camp on top of a steep hill. I paid them a visit and had tea with the officers. The evening was spent with Ibn Shaalan's retainers, sitting on the floor round the open hearth in the castle hall. On the glowing embers were ranged a row of coffee-pots. Outside howled that wind which had seemed to us so dreary as it whistled the stinging sand into our faces in the open desert.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1
BEDOUINS MJ4

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The old men intervened and said that it was true. They were 538
witnesses that her request had been granted whatever it might be. Ibn Humaid was received as an honoured guest, and the men of Qahtan who had sworn to sacrifice their camels if Ibn Humaid fell into their hands slaughtered them for the marriage feast.

The narrator's voice was silent. The hall was in darkness except for the glow of the embers on the hearth. It was past midnight. We rolled ourselves in our sheepskin cloaks, the shaikh's retainers produced pillows and quilts, and in a few minutes we were asleep.

Only when we were saddling up next morning did we discover B
that Qasim ash Shemam had made off in the night with my 609
saddle. Our hosts professed themselves deeply ashamed and indignant at this treachery, and the invaluable Salih ibn Uthman produced another saddle, on which I rode in some discomfort for the rest of the journey. There remained only 120 miles to J
Amman. We left the Ruwallah country at Kaf, and, saying fare- [619]
well to our kind friends, set out for the country of the Beni Sakhr 609
B
tribe of Trans-Jordan. 609

The wind had dropped, the sky was cloudless, the air soft and warm, and range upon range of blue desert hills stretched before and behind us. Three hours' riding brought us to the tent of a shaikh of the Beni Sakhr. Our reception was non-committal, the J
shaikh, it appeared, being away. We had not been seated long [493]
before an old car rattled up, and two Arabs descended from it and entered the tent. Everybody rose, and hastily spread carpets and cushions and welcomed the visitors, who were obviously people of importance. By way of making conversation, I enquired what news there was. One of the visitors replied that as an Englishman I obviously knew more of world events than they. I answered that this was not so in my case at least, for I had spent a month on a camel in the desert, whereas he had just arrived by car from Amman. "Oh, in that case," replied the shaikh, "I will tell you. We hear that the English have broken their promises again, as usual."

Such was my first reception by the tribes of Trans-Jordan, with whom I was later on to become so intimate.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1
BEDOUINS MJ4

B 609 576 J 609

I decided, in spite of my reception, to stay for the night in the Beni Sakhr tents, both in the hope that more intimate acquaintance would overcome this inauspicious beginning and also to learn more about the Beni Sakhr, a tribe which I had never met before. The shaikh in the car drove off after lunch, and by the time we had had dinner and were sitting in a circle round the fire, the atmosphere had become more cordial.

B 142 J 142

Sitting over the coffee-pots, I noticed a long, slim, dark-complexioned youth, with those fine features which distinguish a certain type of Nejdi nomad, and which were in contrast to the fairer complexions and thicker build of the Beni Sakhr. When an opportunity offered, I enquired about his origin, and was told that he came of the tribe of Mutair. My work in southern Iraq had brought me into contact with this tribe, though usually as enemy raiders, and I knew the names of their leaders and the geography of their country. The boy's face glowed with pleasure when he heard once more the names of his tribesmen and the news of their latest raiding exploits. He then told me his story.

B 721 J 721

He had joined a large raiding party which had attacked Trans-Jordan the year before, and which included several war banners of Mutair. A Beni Sakhr camp had been surprised and overwhelmed at dawn, and many killed. During the battle, he was hit by a bullet and fell unconscious from the back of his camel. When he recovered consciousness, he felt very cold. He looked around him. It appeared to be shortly after dawn, but the sun had not risen yet. He was stark naked and lying on the ground, with corpses and dead animals strewn around. A short way from where he lay were some black bedouin tents, from which a few wisps of smoke showed that the occupants were already awake. Shivering with cold, dazed and weak, he staggered towards the nearest tent. A man was kneeling in the tent with his back to him, blowing up the embers of a fire.

B 576

When the wounded boy was some ten paces from the tent, the man looked round. With a savage cry he sprang to his feet, snatched a rifle and ran towards him. But in his excitement he fumbled with the bolt and safety-catch. The naked Mutairi staggered past him and embraced the tent pole. "I am under the protection of this house," he cried. The Sakhri threw his rifle

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12th August, 1933, told the following story of Arab *shima*. He vouched for its truth. 517

Many years ago, in the time of Muhammad al Rashid, there lived in Buraida a prominent member of the family of Al Ribádi. This man had seen great days and prosperous, but through bad trade had fallen on evil days. Of all his herds of camels, and he had had many, he possessed only one *nágá* (she-camel). This camel he one day decided to sell, as being old and worn she was no longer of use to him. He therefore asked a passing Shammari Badawin who had come in from the Jabal if he would take the animal away with him and would sell her when in due time he visited Hail. The money he could hand over at his leisure when next he visited Qasim. The Shammari agreed and took the camel off with him. As luck would have it the journey to Hail was too much for her, she sickened and died on the way. The worthy Shammari decided that as the skin was of some value he would realise something on it for the owner, so he took the camel's skin, salted it, and departed to his own country. Then came the great wars between the Rashid and Sa'ud dynasties and for years the Buraida merchant heard nothing of his camel. He had forgotten all about it, and became an old man, for it was thirty years since the incident took place. One day forty-two beautiful new and strong camels were driven up. One old and two young men were asking the way to his home. It turned out to be the Shammari of thirty years back. He came to give the Buraida merchant his *haq* (right). "Your she-camel died, but her skin enabled me to get a few rials, with these I traded, still I got enough to buy you a new *nágá*. The new *nágá* bore a daughter, and these camels you see are all her descendants. They are all yours. I had no opportunity before to bring you what I owed you."

THE LAW OF DAKHÁLA AND WEJH

Dakhála, from the root *'udkhul*—to enter—means the law of entering into a person's protection as a suppliant. 609

This most honoured and sacred of Arab customs exists all over Arabia and in Iraq, and finds strongest support perhaps among the Badawin, as opposed to the settled tribes and townsmen. An Arab claims *dakhála* by saying, *ana dakhllak* or *ana dakhll 'a l'Allah wa*

i: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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609 *alaik* (I am your suppliant, I enter upon God's pardon and yours). The person so addressed is bound to protect the suppliant, with his own life if necessary, and is bound always to fight for him, or get him to a place of safety if he is being pursued or is in immediate danger.

HOW DAKHÁLA IS CLAIMED

A man being followed by enemies meets a Badawin girl cutting firewood in the desert, or her mother spinning outside her tent alone, and begs *dakhála*. The girl or her mother is bound to offer protection, and if the danger is near, she will call out for help (*tasih*). Immediaately the whole community will rush (*faẓa'a*) to her aid. The man will be sent to a place of safety. He will not be surrendered.*

[628] A man may enter the house of the brother of a man he has just killed. If he demands *dakhála* he is safe for three days, after that time he must say where he wants to go, and he will be seen safely to his destination. This done, the brother of the man he has killed is free to resume his just blood feud.

HOW DAKHÁLA WORKS

A man is chased for a crime, he rushes into a tent (or house) and begs *dakhála*. The owner of the tent is bound not only to grant sanctuary, but, after feeding the visitor and clothing him, must see him safely to the house, tent or tribe where the suppliant thinks he will be safe. After that the protector's responsibility ends.

So strict is the law of *dakhála* among the Badawin that a man carrying the "cane" (marked with his *wasm*) of a shaikh with whom he has taken sanctuary, may safely travel through the length and breadth of a tribe's territory, even though there may be persons there who have a blood feud with him.

609 178 In countries like modern Sa'udi Arabia, and in the new Iraq where the authorities, following the Persian example, are unfortunately, and I think mistakenly, trying to break down tribal customs, the practice of *dakhála* is unpopular with those who rule, and the police con-

* Jaal the Kenite of Bible fame broke the law of *dakhála* when she slew the sleeping Sisera, who clearly believed himself safe in her tent. She also broke all laws of hospitality, as Sisera had come to her tent and partaken of her food.

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stantly find themselves thwarted by it. This is a pity, for if properly 609
understood there is nothing shameful or anti-social in the system. 178
It would be wiser for the law to recognise its existence and make use of it and of other time-honoured Arab customs.

In 1933 my friend, Shaikh Lafi ibn Ma'allath of the Mutair (Braih) 641
tribe, a faithful warrior and servant of Bin Sa'ud, was forced to flee to Iraq, because a man pursued by Bin Sa'ud's blockade-police took refuge in his tent, and invoked the law of *dakhála*. When the police threatened to search for the fugitive the stout-hearted shaikh signalled to his followers and fellow tent-dwellers to close around, and said he would resist the man's arrest by force of arms if necessary. Baulked of their prey the police (all townsmen) went away angry and sullen, and reported the incident to Ibn Jiluwi, their master. Lafi, feeling that he had got a breathing-space, and knowing that he would never be forgiven, fled across the border with his cousins, relatives, women, children, thirty tents in all, never to come back. Had the police bided their time, three days, they could probably have followed and made an arrest. Instead, they drove a faithful and loyal servant of the King into exile.

Cases of a similar nature are legion, and do almost more than anything else to promote bad feeling between the tribal elements of Arabia and the local governments.

The root trouble is, of course, the desire of upstart kings and princes, eager to ape the West, to break down all tribal systems, because they think these mark a backward state of society.

Akin to *dakhála* is the conception of *wejh* or *tisyar*. This literally 577
means "face". *Be wejh fulan* (lit. "In So-and-So's face") means under the protection or safe conduct of So-and-So, and is a phrase very commonly heard in the desert. The penalties for outraging a person's *dakhála*, *wejh* or *tisyar* (as the Iraq tribesmen call *wejh*) are very severe indeed; a heavy fine is exacted from any person purposely defying the custom. This fine is called *hashm* or "honour money" [628]
in Iraq. A man surrendering to the police another who has claimed *dakhála* will be relentlessly pursued by the suppliant's relations and will be slain unless he compounds the case by paying *hashm* to the tribe.

The following anecdote of how a British officer was saved by

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577 seeking sanctuary with Hasan Agha and his womenfolk near Samawa on the Euphrates, provides a good illustration of the working of *dakhála*.

609 In 1919 Hasan Agha, a married man with family, was a small farmer living a little way above the iron railway bridge at Samawa. He dealt with the tribes of Rumaitha, bought their grain and knew everyone in that region. He was a popular figure and the English esteemed him highly as a good farmer and one interested in his lands. Then came the Arab revolt of 1920–21. It broke out like a lightning flash first in Rumaitha, and the tribes of that place opened the ball by rushing the Political Officer's Headquarters and releasing prisoners from gaol. It so happened that a young British officer in civil employ was away from Rumaitha the day the storm broke. He had been riding out towards the south-west in the direction of the Euphrates and knew nothing of what had taken place, but as he neared Rumaitha again he heard shots, and saw some horsemen detach themselves from the town and come rapidly towards him. At first he thought them friends, but as they came galloping towards him shouting and firing as they rode, he realised that something serious was amiss. He turned south again to make for Samawa. The horsemen, seeing his intention, gave tongue, and the young Englishman set spurs to his horse. He gained on his pursuers, but owing to floods near the railway bridge upstream of Samawa, was forced to turn in a south-westerly direction. He bethought him of Hasan Agha's farm near the river and reached it a bare couple of miles ahead of his pursuers. Arriving at the large semicircular *mudhif* built of mats and reeds that was Hasan Agha's house, he called out his name several times. For a while there was no reply, then out came a woman who said her husband, Hasan, was away, and enquired what the caller wanted. The young Englishman, exhausted with his hard ride, pointed to the oncoming horsemen, and begged shelter and protection. The woman called out her two daughters and told them quickly to join her in her women's quarters and bring out their *'abbas*. The women took the Englishman into their innermost room and covered him with his hostess's own cloak. She herself and her two daughters sat in front of him sewing. Suddenly the horsemen rode up, and in loud voices asked for Hasan Agha. Getting no response the leader dismounted, and putting his head in the women's room

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demanded that the Englishman, whom they had seen entering, should be surrendered. They had caught his horse, they said, as it galloped away, so it was clear he was hiding here. The lady pretended to be indignant at her privacy being invaded, and set up screams and cries, calling upon God to bear witness that So-and-So had violated lonely women's private quarters with evil intent. She added that her husband, Hasan Agha, would have something to say when he returned. The two daughters joined their mother's outcry, and so bitter were the women's words, and so fierce their demeanour, that the horsemen finally abandoned the search. They drew off, baffled, but kept guard at some distance. Seeing the danger temporarily over, the women gave the exhausted Englishman tea and hot milk. While one stood on guard by the entrance of the hut, the others produced women's garments and made him put them on.

At last the sun set, and the master of the house returned. He had been up to Najaf in his small *balam*, and brought back great and serious news. The whole countryside of the Euphrates was up, and the tribes were fighting the *hukúmah* (government). Rumaitha, he said, had been captured, Samawa was invested and the fall of Hilla, Kufa and Diwaniyah would soon follow. He then learned, with astonishment, of the young Englishman's presence, and praised the conduct of the brave women. To the young man he promised safety, but said he could arrange his escape only under cover of darkness. Hiding him once more in a better place than before, he went out to the horsemen and rated them soundly for having frightened and ill-treated his women. In vain they explained, in vain they argued. Hasán played the outraged husband and father whom nothing would appease. That night he filled his boat with lucerne grass and placing the disguised Englishman in the bow he seated himself at the stern, and slipped down stream. Three hours later, just below the great Samawa bridge, they were challenged in English, and narrowly escaped being shot. Drawing in to the bank, Hasan made himself and his companion known to the British picket, and after handing over his charge left again silently. The Englishman was saved. For this gallant act I was later privileged, as Political Officer to the Middle Euphrates, to secure from Government a substantial reward for Hasan Agha and his wives, which included frocks for the women and a water-pumping

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609 machine for Hasan. He did not possess it long, for when full independence was granted to Iraq, the leaders of the new Arab Government deprived Hasan Agha of his pump.

(NOTE.—The above story was told me in this form by Hasan Agha himself. It differs very considerably from the account published in *Blackwood's Magazine* of August 1921 by the chief actor in the drama.)

Before closing this chapter I must quote one more example of Arab chivalry. It was told me on 10th March, 1937, by Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah and next day confirmed by the hero of it, ibn Khazar himself, who later became a great friend of mine.

622 About thirty years before, when 'Abdul Muhsin ibn Khazar,
628 Shaikh of the Bani Khalid, was a young man, he was famed far and
577 wide as a raider. Many and great were his deeds of endurance and bravery. One day he carried out a distant foray against the U'taiba, in course of which he killed a well-known shaikh, galloping after him and single-handed shooting him in the back with his carbine. On his return from the raid he was sitting round his camp-fire regaling his friends with the story when there entered the son of the Shaikh of the Za'ab tribe (*bani 'ám* to the 'Adwan). He must be told the story over again, and coming to the part of how he dropped the 'Utaiba leader from his horse with one flying shot, 'Abdul Muhsin pointed his weapon at the Za'ab lad and fired. He never dreamed that his carbine was loaded as it unfortunately was. The son of the Za'ab Shaikh was killed.

In horror, he was for a time at a loss what to do. His Bani Khalid people tried to persuade him to report that the youth had been killed in a nearby raid, but ibn Khazar held that this would be contrary to Arab honour. He rode off to the boy's father and told him exactly what had happened. At the end of his recital he loaded his carbine handed it to the Shaikh of the Za'ab and begged him to avenge his son's blood. The shaikh generously refused. Not to be outdone, 'Abdul Muhsin declared that he would be a second son to the bereaved father till he died. He kept his word, giving his adopted father half of his sheep and camels, half of any loot (*chessib*) which he ever gained in a raid, and half of any presents that he ever received from ibn Sa'ud or the Shaikhs of Bahrain. He continued to do this until the old man died.

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NOTE ON DAKHÁLA

In discussing the law of *dakhála* with Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra, head of the Rukhman section of the Mutair on 6.2.39, the latter told me that in the matter of *dakhála*, the Mutair, Qahtan and 'Utaiba granted *dakhála* to any member of their own tribe who asked for it, for a set period of twelve months, and the *dakhil* could wander about with entire safety in his particular tribe for this period and could go anywhere without danger of molestation provided he did not go beyond the confines of the tribal *dírah*. 609 171

The 'Ajman, he said, had the same rule, but the *dakhil* must not leave the vicinity of the tents or tent of the person affording him *dakhála* and should camp alongside him as his *qasír* or tent neighbour, thus getting double protection.

The Shammar, Dhafir, Harb and 'Awazim tribes on the other hand granted *dakhála* only for three days and three nights, and then were obliged to help the *dakhil* make good his escape to a safe place or person indicated by himself. This rule, he said, was also followed by nearly all the riverain tribes in Iraq.

He asserted that a woman had no *wejh*, and so could not grant *dakhála* to any person unless her husband was absent from his tents. In such circumstances she could give refuge to a man making his *dakhála* to her. [562]

Lastly he told me that a Mutairi breaking another Mutairi's *dakhála* (i.e. harming his *dakhil* in any way) entitled the man giving the *dakhála* to raid the aggressor's tents seven times, kill as many men as he could of the aggressor's family, and kill as many camels as he could with full impunity and with no ill consequences to himself. (*Illu il haq i sabbahu saba marrat.*) 628 609

A point to note here is that he may not carry off camels, but must kill them, lest he be accused of cupidity when just vengeance is what he seeks.

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further east and south, very strict. The whole desert world will B 831 certainly agree that the shaikhs of the tribes of Najd proper are far 622 superior in moral behaviour to their brothers of Iraq and Syria, and for that matter of the north generally, and they never cease to deplore B and at the same time boast of the fact. This is of course all good [609] propaganda for the Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia and for Wahhabi-ism, and justifies up to the hilt His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz's policy of keeping strangers as far as possible out of his country, and in particular out of Central Arabia.

Undoubtedly the proximity to Damascus and Baghdad of the B 831 Northern 'Anizah and Shammar is slowly but surely demoralising 369 the leaders, though not yet the rank and file. The coming of the motor car is also hastening the process. To their great credit Al Hadhal (Amarat) and notably their great chief Shaikh Mahruth have and are still keeping themselves free from the poison of the towns, but how long they will keep themselves and their people uncontaminated by the great cities is a question.

MORALITY IN THE TOWNS

Mecca is recognised as one of the most immoral towns in Arabia. B 369 If one can believe the Badawin, every form of foul vice prevails there. K

In Kuwait for a woman to lapse and be found out, usually means 684 death. Her brothers or cousins are her executioners. The husband is more tolerant.

If an unmarried girl goes astray, her lapse is punishable with stoning or "walling up" in a small room, where only one coffee-cup of water and a few dates are given her through a hole in the ceiling per day. If she survives this starvation treatment for forty days, God is supposed to have intervened and she is set free.

A man may without much disgrace indulge in strange women, K provided they are public ones, and work for hire. The condition is 548 that he behave so discreetly as not to let the world know. This is most important.

Nice Arab women have on occasion suggested to me that in the absence of my family in England it would be permissible if I occasionally patronised a gay lady's establishment of good standing,

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CHAPTER XXII

'Ajman Talks and Tales

(from my original Diaries)

PHILBY'S "EMPTY QUARTER"

While camped alongside of a large 'Ajman camp, consisting of details 114
of the Musrah, Mahfudh and Sulaiman sections, on 7th November, 1933, some 30 miles south of Kuwait, I took the opportunity of discussing with Muhammad bin Hajjaj and Junaifir bin Hawaila, both of the Mahfudh, Philby's journey across the Rub' al Kháli. The world was still talking of his remarkable experiences, and I was curious to know how much the ordinary Badawin knew about it, and especially those northern sections of the 'Ajman who reside in and on the borders of Kuwait.

I found that they knew all about Philby's adventures and to a less extent about Bertram Thomas's journey too.

Both Junaifir and Muhammad al Hajjaj, as well as other greybeards 609
present, declared that they knew Falah abu Ja'sha well, and most of 114
the Murra and 'Ajman companions of Philby mentioned on page 10 of his *Empty Quarter* (I had the book with me, and read out the names). They went further and quite voluntarily recounted some of the more amusing incidents that had befallen Philby. They had got these, they said, from Abu Ja'sha and others. My hearers spoke of Philby as a *rayál*, meaning that he was a "man indeed", and said that he had not stinted his money, when it came to rewarding his party. They said, however, that he was *hamaqi*, hot-tempered, but that as he was a "good Muslim" this would be forgiven him. Junaifir said that he knew the country covered by Philby as far as Bir Fáthil and Maqainama wells, but had never been further south of these places, which as he said was *Dirat al Murra*. He had also been down the Wadi al Dawasir to Sulaiyil and to the more western wells of Ranya, Bisha, Jash and Tathlith.

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609 Muhammad al Hajjaj on the other hand said that he had been as
114 far as Najran *via* Sulaiyil and had married a girl there and resided with her for some time. The Yam tribe of that region were, he said, blood brothers of the 'Ajman and Murra, who both had originally come from Najran. As regards the Rúb' al Kháli, he said he had once visited the wells of Um al Hadid (near 'Ubar) with the Murra, and had heard much about the ancient city which was supposed to lie buried there under the sands. His furthest southern point had been a spot a little north of Shenna (Philby's furthest south), where the water was everywhere undrinkable.

Both Muhammad bin Hajjaj and Junaifir called the phantom city 'Ubár; I tried to make them say it was "Wabár", but they said theirs was the correct way of pronouncing its name. They did admit, however, that "Wabár" was the way the tribes to the north and round Hasa pronounced the name, while the Murra, Manasír and Awámir, etc., call it "'Ubár". This is of interest in view of the arguments which both Philby and Bertram Thomas put forward as to the right way of spelling the now famous spot.

PHILBY AND THE MILK

000 On 27th April, 1935, I spent a whole day with some of the Mahfudh section of the 'Ajman camped 30 miles south of Kuwait and west of the Dhahar ridge. I went over to their widely extended camp which was situate some 5 miles south of mine and found Mahfudh, 'Arja, and other details camped together.

Old Junaifir bin Hawaila, Marait his cousin, and Fahad father of Maneira, wife of Hamad bin Mishwat, were there besides many others. 'Abdullah bin Junaifir gave me lunch (my wife and Zahra were with me and also Salim al Muzaiyin). It consisted of two sheep and a grand dish of rice, cooked 'Ajman fashion (i.e. with lots of yellow-looking melted butter poured over the rice as a gravy). The meat was deliciously tender, and we enjoyed our meal. The owners of some dozen tents lunched on the remains after we had finished, and while they were feeding we repaired to Husain abu Juma's tent and his brother Suwaiyan's, both doughty warriors it was said, who had accompanied Sa'ud the King's son to Najran, during the recent Yaman expedition (1934).

Appendix I

713 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:
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(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of 291 rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, 562 like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929–30 'Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the 'Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival. But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious
609 and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give
574 away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and
264 then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how
[271] quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once
576 we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when
[486] everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he
577 would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
571 leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
415 either end of the rope which runs over the
461 pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full the other descends empty. Men and women draw together on the well-ropes, four or five to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel herds arrived and the serious work of watering began. Great leather troughs supported on crossed wooden hoops were set up by each family around the well. Soon there was no room for more watering parties, and late-comers had to wait their turn. The buckets rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs about which the thirsty camels pushed and thrust while their calves frolicked around. Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran in and out among them, driving away camels which did not belong to them, and restraining the more impatient of their own. Others scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite beasts, while they sang them their watering songs to induce them to drink deep. When they had drunk they were couched nearby, to be watered again later in the day, before being driven back to pasturage. Round the well-mouth women filled their water-skins, which then lay swollen and quivering upon the ground, guarded from the trampling feet of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined freely in the constant jests and laughter. Among them was a tall girl of startling beauty. She had come down to the well early in the day, carrying a water-skin and accompanied by her young sister. The centre of a happy laughing group of lads, she dallied here till the evening.

574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink
49 coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet differed from them in their dress and way of life. They wore indigo-dyed loincloths and wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin Ma'aruf wore clad like the Northern Arabs in long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell nearly to the ground. They were returning to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days' journey to the south. Floodcrops of sorghum
[341 and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
312] guarded by numerous stone-built forts and
609 watch-towers, which look out across the desolate rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for treachery.

P. 100 (A)

609 treachery. This is probably a slander, inspired by the constant enmity which characterizes their relations with their neighbours; but they certainly deserve their reputation for godlessness, for they never fast nor pray, declaring that the Prophet gave their forefathers exemption from both.

231 We now sat looking down on the busy
521 scene around the well, and those Arabs who had finished watering strolled over and joined us. They asked us what we thought of their herds, and were soon deep in technicalities with my companions. They spoke of individual camels owned by Arabs four or five hundred miles away, of the different breeds, their milk yields and powers of endurance, of prices in Dhofar, Najran and on the Trucial Coast, of pasturage, and of camels taken in
721 raids on other tribes. We heard details of the recent raid upon the Yam and of how Mabkhaut, nicknamed the Cat, had remained behind to hold up the pursuit and had been killed when his rifle jammed. He had been the greatest raider in the southern desert and his exploits and daring were legendary among the tribes. I had known him well, for he had guided us the year before from Salala to Dhofar. They spoke of raids across the waterless eastern steppes, and among the giant dunes to the north. They told of pursuits and battles in the dark, of ruthless killings, of blood-feuds and murder. They mentioned famous guides, and waterholes and routes across the sands, where the oryx herds still
574 roamed. Meanwhile, a young lad had blown up the embers of the fire and set the long-necked coffee pot to boil. His uncovered hair fell to his naked shoulders and framed an impish laughing face. Our elderly host had roasted the coffee beans and passed them round for us to sniff, before pounding them up in a wooden mortar and putting them in the pot. He flavoured his coffee with crushed ginger as is the custom in the Hadhramaut. He also gave us parched grain and beans to eat; all that he had with him, for on such simple fare do the Bedu travel.

680 We lingered with them till the sun was nearly set and then descended past the well, deserted now, except for a bent old woman and two small children, who were loading the last of their water-skins on a young and restive camel. Tomorrow there would be the endless bargaining for camels and arguments with prospective guides, and ahead of us lay all the hardships and difficulties of the desert crossing. But my companions were content, and being happy in the present broke into song as they approached the camp-fires through the dusk.

p 400 (B)

797 of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. The
563 Beduin manifested his enthusiasm by declaring
721 that all Moslems were equal before God, and hence that the Sulubba were equal to "free men," i.e. Beduins. Ibn Saud, anxious to increase his fighting men, backed this idea (in fact he may have originated it), and raised fighting forces from the Sulubba and gave them war banners. The Sulubba took part in a number of war-like operations, and it was said that, in the massacres which usually followed a Wahhabi victory at this time, the Sulubba were the most cruel and bloodthirsty.

The outbreak of fanaticism, however, died down from 1925 to 1929, and it is believed that these Nejd Sulubba have again fallen back to their original condition.

342 In order to escape unwelcome Beduin guests,
574 the Sulubba live in tiny tents, many of them
563 scarcely larger than a blanket. They show great
969 skill in pitching these tents in the beds of ravines or behind rocks so as to be invisible to passers-by. The more important Beduin sheikhs take pride in pitching a large tent in a prominent place, which conveys not only defiance of enemies but a distant welcome to guests. According to Beduin interpretation the Sulubba reveals his baseness by concealing his camp from both strangers and guests.

Sulailat

101 These consist of a tribal section, who
563 usually camp with the Amarat branch of the Anaiza in the Iraqi desert west of the Euphrates. These people are said to be descended from a man of the Anaiza tribe, who married a Sulubba

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anaanite invasion of Syria, the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, and 167
he Hebrew invasion of Palestine are also to be explained by 175
imilar antecedent events in Arabia.

The distribution, grouping, character, and resources of the several 000
ribes are the subject of a subsequent chapter (III); and their
elation to particular localities will be stated in the special chapters
n the different provinces.

It would be beyond the scope of this Handbook to give a detailed
escription of Bedouin society; and mere generalities about it are
f little service. It is perhaps, however, worth while to say some-
hing about those features and customs of Bedouin life which most
irectly affect the reception and entertainment of strangers, and
hould, therefore, be known before contact. Dictated by similar
ecessities, these are more or less common to all tribesmen. For
ll the rest, study of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* cannot be too strongly
ecommended. Pretty well everything that needs to be known
bout Bedouin life can be found there by a patient reader.

Arabia is 'a land of ancient violence'. For this state of things 181
eographical conditions are largely responsible. Only in very few, 511
are, and narrow districts is it possible to derive from the soil, not
superfluity, entailing wealth, leisure, and consequent civilization,
ut anything better than hand-to-mouth existence in full sight
f starvation. Agriculture is impossible in three-quarters of the
otal area, and man must live on peripatetic food pastured on such
hin and evanescent vegetation that a single family has to keep on
he move in order to live. Water again, the prime condition of
xistence, is to be found for the most part only very occasionally in
eep wells, or rain-pools, and this under a subtropical sun. Scanty
ources have to be guarded with the most jealous exclusiveness.
he regions over which these conditions prevail usually offer few
r none of those natural features which serve elsewhere to protect
r conceal; and in their vast extent and distribution they impinge
o generally on the few fertile districts, or so often encircle these,
hat hardly any part of Arabia is altogether unaffected by the
nevitable social features of life on steppe and desert.

The most obvious of these features is suspicion. Every man 157
s treated as a potential enemy, till he shows evidence to the 609
ontrary. He is kept at a distance until his person or his
uthority can be recognized. Therefore, in approaching Bedouins,
t is as prudent to go slow and give them time as in approaching
sentry in a war-area. Disregard of this advice will result in
ight or flight, according to circumstances. While all Bedouins are
nstinctively suspicious of, and hostile to, the unknown, various

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156 609 conditions, singly or in combination, cause the attitude of individuals or groups to differ in degree. As a general rule nomads who range habitually on the fringes of alien civilized areas are more dangerous to encounter than those habitually withdrawn in the wilds. Thus, the northern and western constituents of the great Anazah group are less safe to visit than the Shammar. Other contingent circumstances may make particular groups yet more hostile—if, for example, they range near the political frontier of two alien powers, as do the eastern Sinaitic groups; or in a difficult mountainous country, like the Huweitāt and Huteim east and north of Akaba; or where shelter and water can be obtained in hidden rocky recesses, as among the Beni Sakhr in the southern trâns-Jordan region; or in insalubrious low-lying tracts such as the Yemen Tihāmah, or the southern part of Hasa, or the eastern part of the south coast, which account for the evil repute of the Zaranik (*Dharāniq*), the Ahl Murrah, and the Qara tribes respectively.

Certain of the inland tribes, however, have reputations as bad or worse, and in their case one must look for peculiar causes. The ill fame of some groups of the Harb, for example—of one group especially, the 'Auf sub-tribe of the Masrūh section—is probably due to temptation long put in their way by the pilgrim routes, where these pass through a lean region debated between two powers. The repute, again, of the Qahtān, reckoned by the popular voice the most savage of Bedouin groups, may be accounted for by their seclusion and isolation along the northern fringe of the impenetrable Southern Desert. It is possible, however, that in both these instances report is worse than fact—in the one, because it is the well-known pilgrim route that has so often suffered, in the other because the northern Bedouins, who chiefly inform European minds, [266] know very little about the group in question. It is common talk, for example, that some of the Qahtān tribes are cannibal. On investigation, this imputation is always passed southward to the next group, till it finally fades away into *terra incognita*.

One word of caution, however, must be uttered about such cut-and-dried tribal reputations. They have not, in some cases, been always the same. The Huteim, for instance, who have a bad name for robbery now, used to be esteemed among the most inoffensive of nomads—almost on a par with the despised but universally tolerated Sulubba. Some one familiar with the desert talk of the moment should always be consulted before the desert itself is entered.

609 577 621 The least suspicious and most trustworthy Bedouins are, naturally, those of the largest and best-knit tribes, especially such as form part of a federation under the central authority of one of the

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greater Emirs or the Grand Sherif. These tribes are not only controlled to some extent and directed to a common policy, but also have a tradition of self-respect, which ensures the observance of the Bedouin code of hospitality. As Doughty has well said, what stands to a Bedouin for religion is that which men will think of him. Fortunately the fame of a lavish entertainer and a protector of the guest is a condition of nobility among Bedouins; and an appeal against any action inconsistent with this will seldom be disregarded. A properly authorized stranger, whatever his creed, should have little to fear under ordinary circumstances among such tribes as the Shammar, the Ateibah, the Wuld 'Ali, or the Ruweilah. 609 577 621

What, however, does proper authority mean to the ordinary Bedouin? Not the exhibition of any passport or other written document. Letters from the chief Emirs, the Grand Sherif, or other great sheikhs are very valuable if the traveller is passing from one of them to another; but in ninety out of a hundred desert camps he will find no one who can read or will respect paper. The one thing needful is a *rafiq*, i. e. a companion derived from the tribe through whose range one must pass, or from some tribe allied with it or authorized to share its range. If possible, he should be a man of importance whose face will be recognized instantly by the desert men—a race which, like other unlettered races, keeps a long memory for faces and a very wide knowledge of personalities. Still better if he has been attached to the traveller by some well-known chief. The *rafiq* must be kept well in evidence and to the fore in case of such a sudden attack as Shakespear experienced at the hands of the Ateibah in Woshm, when a good deal of harm was done before his *rafiq* could make himself known in the night to the raiders. In territories controlled by a central authority, e. g. a sovereign Emir, a well-known man from the centre may suffice throughout; but even then it is better to take a *rafiq* from tribe to tribe. There are one or two denominations of Arabs who are franked by all tribes and can themselves conduct a traveller anywhere in more or less security; but it is rather less than more. Such are the *'Uqeil* (Ageyl)—recognized carriers—and the *Sulubba* (Solubba)—tinkers, medical magicians, hunters—whom no one molests. But travelling with such folk entails the disadvantage that one must go where they wish to go and at their pace; and in disturbed districts near frontiers their aegis is not to be relied upon. 609 577 486 [212] [101 463]

The efficacy of the *rafiq* system is based on the recognition that a particular range or dīra (*dīrah*) appertains to each tribe, and even to each main section of a tribe. Tribes sometimes hold their dīras in common, as the 'Ajmān and Beni Khālid are said to do at present in 486 609

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609 northern Hasa; and there are certain districts, containing but few
486 wells, where several tribes, each having a right of watering, cross and recross each other's dīras, without committing thereby acts of trespass, though not without engendering frequent friction. Such, for example, are the steppe west of Jebel Shammar and that north-east of the same district towards the lower Euphrates valley. For the right of crossing a dīra the traveller is expected to pay in money or kind to the chief, who often drives a very hard bargain, but should not be regarded as levying blackmail. After all, in return for the payment, he and his tribe concede protection and allow the traveller to consume some of their very scanty supply of fodder and
621 water. All Arab society is patriarchal. Some one man can answer for each unit, and among the best Arabs for very large units. The traveller's chief danger arises where tribes are small or so broken up that not more than one or two families recognize a chief.

486 There is, however, one recognized exception to this sanctity of
721 dīras, namely, the right of every tribe, or even section of a tribe, to raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, unless
577 barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship. To go
621 out on raid (*ghazwah*) is the young man's chance of proving himself, and to provide him with that opportunity is virtually obligatory on all tribes, except the meanest. The greater chiefs, like their ancient cousins, the Assyrian kings, make an annual practice of the Raid. The farther afield it goes, the greater the glory in a society punctiliously sensitive to public opinion. Raiding parties may, therefore, be met very far from the ranges of their own people, and no district is quite safe from them. They may generally be recognized by their travelling light, without women, and on high-bred camels. The *rafīq* is powerless against them in his own dīra, except possibly through some lucky friendship on his part or the repute of his tribe. But raiding parties are not very particular. They will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attack, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognized part of the game, and entails no slur on the courage of any members of the party.

486 The more the traveller can learn and retain in his mind of the
181 genealogy of individuals and tribes, in a land where pedigrees are very widely known back to a hoar antiquity and inordinately valued,
574 the better for his safety and the impression he will make and leave on his hosts. He should know also, as far as possible, the political grouping of tribes and recent desert history. If, like Doughty, he

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576 A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing
592 his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi wardkum?* (How is the
601 person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.

551 Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indi-
613 cate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

613 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some
582 of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

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(1) *Bani 'Ám.* According to Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the 'Ajman, who discussed this with me on 11th August, 1935, the members of every tribe or section of a tribe which have a common male ancestry are known as Bani 'Ám, *lit.* the children of one uncle. The Mutair and 'Ajman are more strict than others about the interpretation of the above, he said, and carry it to the seventh generation of ascendants. Beyond that, he added, genealogies were rather vague. Only blood relationship on the father's side (*'Amam*) gives the right of Bani 'Ám or Ibn 'Ám, and not the relationship on the mother's side, which is known under the name of *Khawál.* 613 582

A man in trouble can always rely on his *'Amam* to come to his assistance. They must do this regardless of consequences—and so must a tribe which has such relationship with another, the 'Ajman-Murra tribes for instance. 613 614

The 'Ajman and Murra were continually at each other's throats in the past, and raided and counter-raided in merry fashion, but when an outside enemy attacked the one, all private feuds were put aside, and the two united in resisting the attack. The reason was that they were descended from the common ancestor Yam and so were *Bani 'Ám.*

The families of Ibn Sa'ud, Ibn Subah, Ibn Khalifa and Abal Khail of Qassim are all *Bani 'Ám*, and so can always be counted on, in any serious difficulty, to come to one another's help. They are all 'Anizah, descended from the same distant ancestor.

A man's *Khawál*, his maternal relations, are of course useful, especially in offering sanctuary, but they are not under the same obligations as a man's *Bani 'Ám.*

'Amam al rajál, alzam min khawálu is a well-known saying. This explains happenings which sometimes mystify the European. A man marries a woman from another tribe; she proves unfaithful (the instance I am describing has to my knowledge happened among 'Arabdar and Hadhar persons of Kuwait), the husband does not seem to mind much, but hints to the wife's *'Amam* that she is not all that she should be. They, being her *Bani 'Ám*, kill her, but do not enlist the outraged husband. She is slain to clear the family's good name, and to enable them to hold up their heads in the *mijlis arjal*, or counsels of men. Should a couple have children, a son and a daughter, and the daughter happens to disgrace the family, then either the 613 627 604 593

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613 father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the
627 dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her
604 *walad 'ám*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and
613 do the deed.

613 Between *bani 'ám* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man
604 must never seize and bind one of his *'amam* even though he be a
721 thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'amam* by a *dawn*
628 attack or raid him after *midnight*. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *bani 'ám* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiya*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'ud, Al Dushan, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. (See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'ÁM

601 (2) *Walad 'Ám*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'ÁM

613 (3) *Bint 'Ám*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—
582 on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.

[601] A man always has the right to marry his *bint 'ám*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'ám*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

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Appendix XXVI

APPENDIX XXVI

Ref. Chapter XXXVII, p. 483

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON SAILING BOATS

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(a) The Kuwait signal of distress at sea and understood by all Kuwaiti mariners, is a black cloth or cloak (bhishe) tied round the mast. It is known as "Al Naufa". In extreme peril three black cloaks are tied round the mast.

(b) On the high seas a Kuwaiti sailing craft wanting food or water from an ocean-going steamship will hoist his national flag. Captains know what this means and do the needful. British captains in particular have a great name among Arab sailors for stopping and assisting boats in distress.

APPENDIX XXVII

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Connection of the Al Sa'ud, Al Sabah and the Al Khalifa with the 'Anizah.

As mentioned in another place, the Al Sa'ud, the Al Sabah and the Al Khalifa, rulers of Sa'udi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain are of 'Anizah stock.

(a) The Al Sa'ud are descended from the Masalikh section of the Ruwalla.
(b) Al Sabah are descended from the Bajaida section of the Al Jibal. (Though some say they are of Dahamsha stock).
(c) Al Khalifa are descended from the Al Riba' (Al Rabba') section of the Al Jibal (i.e. ibn Hadhal).

When we talk of the Amarat group of the 'Anizah it is understood that both Al Jibal and Dahamsha are jointly referred to.

Shaikh Mijwal al Masrab (husband of Lady Digby), was a powerful chief of the Al Shaa sixty years ago. To-day the section has come down in the world.

The Bani Atiyah of Hejaz like to claim that they are 'Anizah descended from Wail. Their claim is not accepted by the pure 'Anizah of the north.

Mushari ibn Mussiyis, paramount Shaikh of Al Wasil branch of the Mutair (Ibn Sa'ud's nominee), is of Dahamsha tribe of 'Anizah.

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Diffusion and Function in Social Organization

T 121

The problems connected with diffusion of so-called social traits have been only superficially studied by anthropologists, who hold very different views about this matter. Thus Murdock stresses that "the forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion" and that "traits of social structure appear to be borrowed, in general, only under conditions in which the same traits would be independently elaborated even in the absence of culture contacts" (Murdock 1949, p. 196). This extreme view is that adopted by some anthropologists, while other scholars agree with Lowie that diffusion has played a large part in the distribution of traits of social organization (Lowie 1950, p. 261; 1953, p. 421 f.).

It is often stated in anthropological literature that there is not necessarily any functional connection between a particular type of social organization and a particular type of economic culture. This was shown very clearly by Wissler for the American Indians (cf. Wissler 1922). In regard to Northern Africa we have a type of patrilineal social organization which is shared by all Arabs, whether settled agriculturists or true nomads, and we have another type of social organization among Tuareg-speaking pastoralists and agriculturists. Arab and Tuareg pastoralists have largely the same type of economy, but differ much in social organization. The same holds for Arab and Tuareg agriculturists.

B 613 [114]

I have never studied Arab social organization in great detail. The patrilineages of North African Arab pastoralists have been brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard in regard to the bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949), and the Arab bedouins I have visited (e.g., *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, *Chamba*, *Larba*, *Ulad Nail*) apparently have lineage-systems of much the same type. The *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe falls into four maximal patrilineages which again divide into lesser patrilineal units. An Arab is named after an ancestor of a minor patrilineage of his tribe and by an individual name. When he writes his name the ancestral name comes first. A *Chamba* Arab I knew well was named *Ben Hadid Sayah*. *Sayah* was his personal name while *Ben Hadid* ("son of *Hadid*") referred to the ancestor of his patrilineage with a depth of five generations.

B 601

It seems as if Arab kinship terminology is of very much the same type throughout North Africa. I have taken down the systems used among the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*, and they appear to be identical apart from dialectical distinctions. The systems are characterized by a preference for descriptive terms. Those for "father" and "mother" are not used for kinsmen other than the true parents, though a father's brother may be called "father" if the true father has died. There is a term for "grandfather" and "grandmother" which can be used for all grandparents, while kinsmen of lower generations are known by descriptive terms so that it is always clear whether a kinsman belongs to

[p. 447]

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Male Line of Descent

(1) *Bani 'Ám.* According to Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the 'Ajman, who discussed this with me on 11th August, 1935, the members of every tribe or section of a tribe which have a common male ancestry are known as Bani 'Ám, *lit.* the children of one uncle. The Mutair and 'Ajman are more strict than others about the interpretation of the above, he said, and carry it to the seventh generation of ascendants. Beyond that, he added, genealogies were rather vague. Only blood relationship on the father's side (*'Amam*) gives the right of Bani 'Ám or Ibn 'Ám, and not the relationship on the mother's side, which is known under the name of *Khawál.* 613 582

A man in trouble can always rely on his *'Amam* to come to his assistance. They must do this regardless of consequences—and so must a tribe which has such relationship with another, the 'Ajman-Murra tribes for instance. 613 614

The 'Ajman and Murra were continually at each other's throats in the past, and raided and counter-raided in merry fashion, but when an outside enemy attacked the one, all private feuds were put aside, and the two united in resisting the attack. The reason was that they were descended from the common ancestor Yam and so were *Bani 'Ám.*

The families of Ibn Sa'ud, Ibn Subah, Ibn Khalifa and Abal Khail of Qassim are all *Bani 'Ám,* and so can always be counted on, in any serious difficulty, to come to one another's help. They are all 'Anizah, descended from the same distant ancestor.

A man's *Khawál,* his maternal relations, are of course useful, especially in offering sanctuary, but they are not under the same obligations as a man's *Bani 'Ám.*

'Amam al rajál, alam min khawálu is a well-known saying. This explains happenings which sometimes mystify the European. A man marries a woman from another tribe; she proves unfaithful (the instance I am describing has to my knowledge happened among 'Arabdar and Hadhar persons of Kuwait), the husband does not seem to mind much, but hints to the wife's *'Amam* that she is not all that she should be. They, being her *Bani 'Ám,* kill her, but do not enlist the outraged husband. She is slain to clear the family's good name, and to enable them to hold up their heads in the *mijlis arjal,* or counsels of men. Should a couple have children, a son and a daughter, and the daughter happens to disgrace the family, then either the 613 627 604 593

● 619, 511, 182 Bedouins MJ4

/For a brief account of Bedouin Tribes in the Middle East, their way of life, tribal structure, etc. see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 369-379./

113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721 Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 197-204.]

Bedouins MJ4

162, 166, 101, 619, 643, 622, 361, 438

/For information on the settled tribes of the Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut in 1920, the territory occupied, the paramount rulers and tribal chiefs, brief history, their settlements, means of livelihood, etc., see 30: Great Britain, MJ1 Saudi Arabia, category 116, pp. 509-546./

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

369 It is not such a life as would be popular in
181 America, but men live, and women live, and children live there, and love their desert with an unparalleled devotion. Transplanted to a real garden spot of the earth, they weep for a glimpse of their beloved desert.

The love of the desert is a very deep and a very beautiful thing. For political purposes one of these desert chiefs was urged to give up his residence in the open and arid desert and come to live in the town. The greater comfort and luxury to be found in the town were pointed out to him as contrasted with the hardships and loneliness of the desert; but the old chief did not see it that way. "In the town," said he, "I have no doubt that I shall find all the things which you describe, but out here in the desert I have my family and my goats, great distances, and God."

182 In such a country only one type of life is possible, and that is the Bedouin type. Some knowledge of the Bedouin, his environment and its effect upon him is fundamental in any effort to understand the Arab. The nomad tribe is probably the basis from which the other types of Arab life have been developed historically, and these other types can be most easily understood today if studied in connection with the simpler organization of the desert. The most conspicuous difference from our own society lies perhaps in the fact that all members of the community do the same thing. Some are more energetic than others, and on that account own larger herds of camels and larger flocks of goats or sheep, but the occupation of all is the same, and the standards of life differ very little.

619 The Bedouins are divided into tribes, and the larger
622 tribes into sub-tribes. These tribes of Arabia are "communities of will," to use H. G. Wells' phrase, and the in-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 MJ Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

622 is highly characteristic of nomadic pastoralists. The chief (sheikh) of the community has considerable personal power, which is tempered only by precedent (the collective experience of the group as a whole) and by the opinion of older members of the tribe. There is little place 181 for individuality, or for innovation, and patriarchal communities have kept their ways of life largely unaltered through many centuries. It has been said that if Abraham were to return, he would find little change in the habits of the present inhabitants of the Syrian and

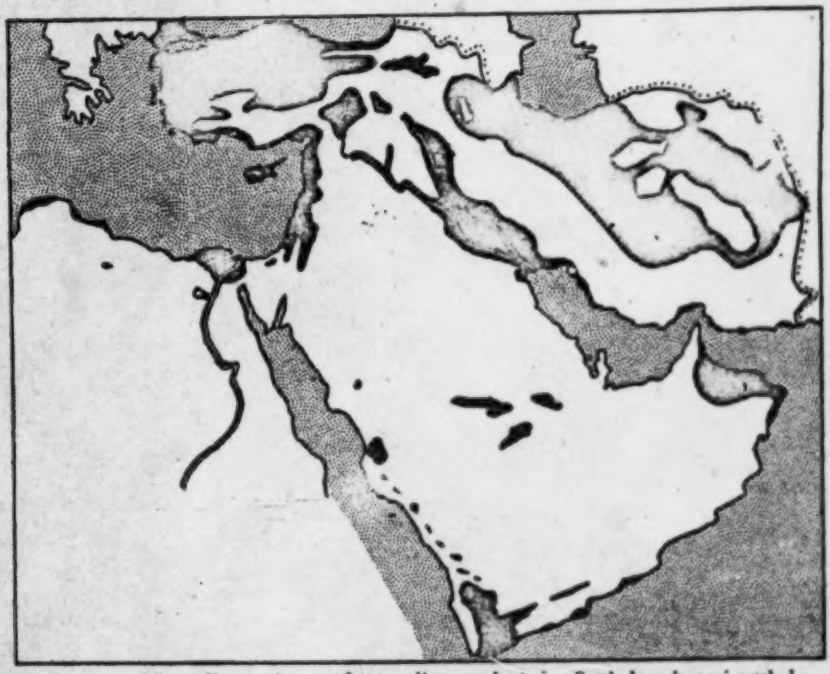

FIG. 20. Nomadism. Areas of nomadism unshaded. Settled and semi-settled occupation shown in black.

Arabian deserts; and, apart from effects following the introduction first of iron in the second millennium B.C., and later of firearms, life among the Kurds seems scarcely to have varied since their present homeland was first occupied in *c.* 2400 B.C.

619 A sharp limit to the size of social groupings amongst nomads is set by natural resources, which in a given district can support only a relatively small number of people. Thus the unit amongst Badawin is the tribe—a group large enough to profit by advantage of numbers, yet small enough to exist under desert conditions. Family relationship is strong, and perpetuated by emphasis on intermarriage within

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
Bedouin MJ4 115

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

BEDOUINS MJ4

174 Shammar and Aneseh groups from the Arabian desert into the more fertile steppes of Mesopotamia and Syria.

CHAPTER IV

Tribal Society and the Modern Arab State

619 621 Nomadic society, characterised by specific social, political and economic concepts, is incompatible, and hence often in conflict with the state and its institutions.

Social

Bedouin society is tribal, based on blood relationships, not recognizing any other ties. Its social customs are the result of adaptation to tent life and desert wandering. The concepts of "people" and "nation" are foreign to the nomad whose social outlook is limited to his tribe.

Political

"The characteristic socio-political trait of the nomadic tribe is the lack of political organization or political institutions."[1] The political body is the tribe, control is loosely exercised by the sheikh and the Council of Elders. Unwritten desert law and custom are its judicial authority. The authority of the State is not recognized.

Economic

The pastoral economy sets the nomads apart from the majority of the population engaged in agriculture.

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1. Patai, 1952

BEDOUINS MJ4
000

of the population engaged in agriculture.[1]

The nomads are only concerned with their social, political and economic orders; settled society interests them only negatively, as objects of raid and plunder. The nomads of the Syrian desert have a deeper understanding for the happenings in the far-off Arabian desert than for the life in Damascus in the vicinity of which they may be encamped. Hence the general indifference of the Bedouin to all ideas and movements that originate in the Arab Cities.

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The modern Arab states of the Middle East, sensitive about their sovereignty, thus had to come into conflict with the tribal elements within their political boundaries. They felt that the stability of the administration was undermined as long as the tribes could not be reached by tax-collectors, census takers, and could not be subjected to military conscription and state jurisdiction.

Since the political partitioning of the Syrian desert after the First World War it has become increasingly difficult to exercise effective control over the tribes. For four centuries the Syrian desert was continuously in the hands of a single power, the Ottoman Empire. Inefficient as the Turkish administration may have been, its ubiquity placed it in a position to impose its authority on a recalcitrant tribe, which at present can easily escape the jurisdiction of one state simply by slipping across the nearest frontier.

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1. In the Middle East livestock-breeding and agriculture are two distinct economies, the former practiced by the nomads, the latter by the fellahin.

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4

619 The tribesmen pay no attention to political boundary lines. When convenient, however, the Bedouin will take advantage of the frontier. An ambitious government collector of sheep and camel taxes, for example, may make it advisable for the tribes to assume a different nationality merely by shifting their tents into a region where the government authorities may be less exacting.[1]

619 x166 656 The nomads thus represent a national problem, and tribal settlement on land has become an important domestic issue in the Bedouin inhabited areas. On the one hand, the governments have checked and tried to eliminate the abuses perpetrated by the nomads, and on the other they have encouraged the process of transition to agriculture. Raiding was stopped, collection of khuwa outlawed, encroachment on areas of cultivation prohibited.

The positive measures for solving the Bedouin problem were on the whole inadequate, but settlement was given an appreciable impetus by the distribution of land, extension of financial aid, education and technical advice.

CHAPTER V

361 x166 <u>The conflicting attitudes towards the Bedouin problem</u>

There are two, basically opposing attitudes towards the Bedouin problem:

a. that of the realists who propose settlement of the nomads

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1. Report, 1923-24, p. 23

178 [493] It is not a rarity to see an automobile under the tent of the
622 sheikh, even when he still wanders and camps with his tribe. Gradually the chiefs establish luxurious residences, equipped with all the comforts of modern living. At this stage the sheikh will spend most of the time away from the tribe, favoring the social, economic and political activities of the sedentary population.

177 An instructive example of the changes in the social status
622 of the powerful sheikh is the case of the Rwala. The Rwala
178 tribesmen still belong to the few remaining true Bedouin. Their former Sheikh, Nuri Nuri al-Sha'lan, however, showed already before World War 1 his preference for a house to a tent. His grandson Fawaz, the present Emir of the tribe, was in his youth a genuine Bedouin, but later his mode of living became thoroughly westernized.[1)]

619 The tribesmen will not remain unaffected by this development.
178 For a while they try tenaciously to preserve the nomadic mode of
566 existence, but sooner or later they will become the exploited tenants and share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

566 During the Mandatory regime the absentee landlords lost
622 much of their grip on the cultivators, but the tenants of the tribal sheikhs are still in a virtual state of serfdom. In some cases the tribal chief still has complete authority over the

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1. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 108

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1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4
Bedouins MJ4

XXII

Ali, the "Protector"

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AND NOW THOSE wonderful days with the Ruala had come to an end. I had to say good-bye for a time, because I meant to visit the Fid'an and other Bedouin tribes then roaming the deserts of Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. Several of their chiefs were inveterate enemies of Amir Fuaz, and at odd moments they also fought among themselves. But I knew some of them from earlier days and for the rest I pinned my faith on the inviolable rules of Bedouin hospitality. On the Euphrates I also hoped to find a suitable *rafiq* (courier) who would be qualified by his knowledge of the country and his friendliness with the tribes to act as both guide and guard to me. To assist me, Amir Fuaz gave me a personal letter to Hajem Pasha, who was then in command of the major part of the Fid'an in the Jesirah between the Tigris and Euphrates, while Ibn Meheyd contented himself with the lordship of the minority west of the Euphrates in Syria. Fuaz was closely related to Hajem Pasha, though these ties did not prevent the two chiefs from indulging in mutual pillage and warfare as opportunity offered.

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Amir Fuaz advised me to go first to Aleppo and there get in touch with Hajem Pasha's *wakil* (representative), who would see to the transmission of his letter and secure a trustworthy travelling companion for me; and I acted on his advice. I had not been in Aleppo since 1916.

224 ily narrowed as it drew near. They started hundreds of gazelles that fled past us, but Sheykh Tai' and his men shot only a few of the fat bucks in their midst.

During the day's hunting, our party gave chase to fifteen wolves, of which nine were killed. One of them had made a kill of two gazelle kids, whose remains were still lying about. The mother, who perhaps at first had fled, returned and stood near by, bleating, as gazelles will. I could not bear the pitiful cries of the poor animal and gave her the *coup de grâce* with a bullet. It was the only gazelle I have ever shot, for I could never bring myself to kill these beautiful, graceful creatures.

It was evening before our body of huntsmen, laden with booty, arrived back in camp.

574 Three days after the wolf-hunt a slave of Mishal ibn Faris, Chief of the Shammar Bedouins, arrived, with an invitation to me from his master to visit him and his tribe, which was then camping south of the Jabal Sinjar. [431] He also sent me as a present a golden-brown *aba*, such [486] as is worn by the Shammar in Hayil. It was to serve as a symbol which would ensure a safe journey for me, and his slave would be my guide.

• 619 The Shammar and the Tai' Bedouins are hereditary 628 enemies and their pasture lands are always, and were especially now, very dangerous regions in which to wander. Therefore, this was an act of particular courtesy and attention on the part of the old *sheykh* to give me safe conduct to his camp.

574 The following day I bade farewell to the Tai' Bed- 431 ouins. Unfortunately, I could not accept the mare

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

000 of Arabia lead makes for religion, and instils into the heart of man the greater virtues that make life worth living.

THE TRIBAL DÍRAH

619 Every Badawin tribe in Arabia has its *dírah* or tribal country,
[221] through which it roams with its camels in the autumn, winter and
312 spring, and in which lie its permanent wells, the jealously treasured
361 possessions of various sections of the tribe, on which these sections camp in summer.*

Let us take, for example, the great Mutair tribe ('Ilwa and Wasil) of North-East Arabia. Its *dírah* is roughly enclosed by the following boundaries:

On the north—By the Iraq Neutral Zone (Tawál al Dhafir) and the Kuwait frontier as far east as the Shaqq.
On the east—By the Shaqq depression and a line running south of same to Jariya al Sifla, Taraibi and al Khafaisat.
On the south—A rough line from the town of 'Anaiza, Zilfi, Majma'a to al Khafaisat including the town of Artawiyah.
On the west—A rough line from the Tawál al Dhafir (Iraq Neutral Zone) through Thamani (south end of Bátin) to Buraida and 'Anaiza.

Its chief group of wells which need be mentioned are:

(*a*) Hafar al Bátin, the property of ibn Ashwan (Braih group of the Wasil Mutair).
(*b*) Sáfá, the property of ibn Lami (Jiblan).
(*c*) Jariya Ilya, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*d*) Jariya Sifla, the property of Al Fugum (Al Sahabba).
(*e*) Hábá, the property of Al Májid (Dushan).
(*f*) Qara'a, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(*g*) Wabra, the property of the Dushan.
(*h*) Qaiyah, the property of Al Faisal (Dushan).
(*i*) Dijani, the property of Al Bara'asa (Muaha).

[622] The Dushan being the ruling clan, with its Shaikh Al Duwish,
361 controls also the tribal capital, or head village of Artawiyah.
619 This latter is an 'Ikhwan centre, and the creation of the present Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, who for political reasons placed in each tribal

* A reference to the tribal map at the end of this book will be found convenient.

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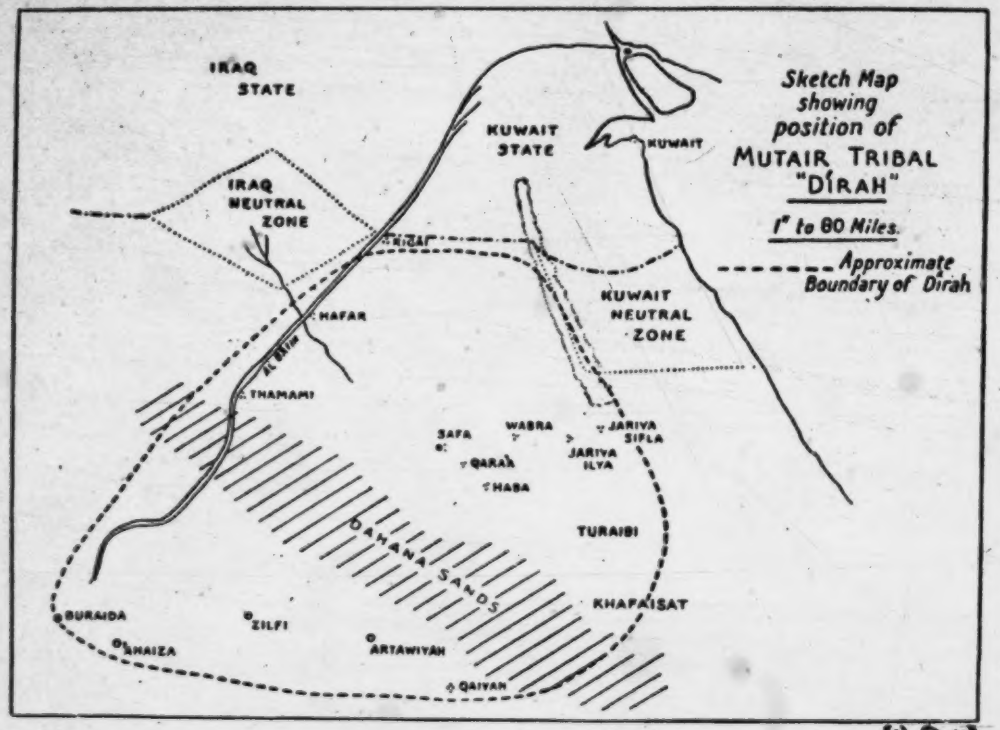
Bedouins MJ4



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k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

619 361 *dirah* a small township as a sign that the whole tribe had embraced Wahhabi-ism, and abandoned its old ignorant and roaming existence.

133 312 288 The terrain included in the Mutair tribal *dirah* consists of part of the sandy *Dahana* region in the south, the rocky and broken *Summân* and *Wiriya* regions in the centre, and the steppe-like tablelands of the *Mujdair—Qara'a-* and *Mu'annat* regions in the north.

The whole *dirah* is a choice and good one, and *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh*, the mainstay of camels and most perfect of all grazing for these animals, are to be found in plenty when the rainfall is good.

This Mutair *dirah* is approximately 120 miles broad by 180 miles long, and may be taken as a typical example of an average tribe's homeland. There are, of course, other tribes who own larger and more extensive areas, but then scarcity of water and poorer grazing has compelled them from earliest times to seize and hold these bigger blocks of land. For in actual fact a tribe does not want a larger tract than is sufficient for its needs. So if a tribe's country is rich in water and all forms of grazing, all it requires is an area as big as that of the Mutair.

361 619 The tribes surrounding the Mutair, who own *dirahs* similar to theirs, are as follows:

The 'Awazim and 'Ajman on the east and south-east.

The Sbei and Sahul on the south.

The Harb, Shammar and Dhafir on the west, and Kuwait territory on the north, which in olden times, and before boundaries of western conception were introduced, all belonged to the Mutair, except for the narrow coastal strip which was included in the 'Awazim *dirah*.*

619 221 A tribe does not, of course, remain always isolated in its own *dirah*. If rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it naturally stops at home, but if rains fail it must migrate to places where grazing exists, and so overflows into the territories of its neighbours. It cannot, of course,

* It should be realised that there are two other great groups of the Mutair tribe, stretching from the Qasim in the centre of Arabia to near Madina in the Hijaz. They are known as the Bani 'Abdillah Mutair, and Maymun, and in numbers and strength are perhaps superior to their cousins the 'Ilwa and Braih described above. The whole tribe, of course, is one, and though the Bani 'Abdilla have their own powerful Shaikhs, they will all follow the standard of Al Duwish the hereditary Shaikh who resides at Artawiyah.†

† For the names of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Shammar Shaikhs see Appendix II. A map of the Mutair Tribal *dirah* will be found at the end of the book.

Tribal Alliances

619 wander into the lands of a hostile tribe, so it has to keep up alliances
221 with tribes who are on good terms and will allow it to graze over their *dirahs* when forced to do so. Hence it follows that groups or confederations of tribes are formed, friendly to each other and hostile to other similar groups. These groups, with their corresponding alliances, are often of century-old standing and serve a most useful purpose. They have, moreover, stood the test of war, drought and trouble. Examples of such groups are given below, and all Arabia may be said to be parcelled up into similar protective alliances.

(*a*) Harb—Mutair (Ilwa)—'Ajman tribes.
(*b*) Bani 'Abdilla (Mutair)—'Utaiba.
(*c*) Dhafir—Shammar and 'Awazim.
(*d*) 'Ajman—Murra—Najran tribes (a blood federation).*
(*e*) The various 'Anizah groups of the north, such as Dahamsha, Fida'an Amarat, Ruwala, Sba'a and Zana Muslim.

619 When the Central Government is strong, like the present Sa'udi regime, then tribes are made to keep the peace and behave themselves,

701 * The 'Ajman claim to be able to turn out over 10,000 fighting men is obviously exaggerated. Their full fighting strength is probably about 8,000. They once claimed to be able to muster 2,000 mounted men, but that is not so to-day.

726 The 'Ajman have several *nakhwas* or war cries, of which the three commonest are—"Garks al hadid wa ana ibn al 'Ajám", "Sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh" and "Sufar sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh"—meaning "Cutter of iron, and I am the son of the 'Ajman", "Death cleared all and I still survive" and "Death is whistling and I am still surviving".

The 'Ajman tribe when about to join battle have a custom of tying up their side locks (*gurun*) over their heads in a tall knot, which they bind round with a *red* cloth. They call the head-effect thus caused "Al Ganaza".

619 The 'Ajman, whom some authorities would connect, and I think rightly, with the
[173] Qahtan, state that they are descended from the Shurafa of Najran, and claim with the Murra to have one ancestor, Yám. They certainly look upon the Murra as their blood brothers and each will help the other always. Should either the Murra or 'Ajman desire the help of the other against a common enemy, it is customary to send a messenger to the other tribe on a camel with *a red scarf or scarlet rope* bound round its neck. The messenger cries aloud to those he wants to rouse the words '*Aiyál Marzuk!*, the sacred call of the descendants of Yám, and all know what the signal means—even if 'Ajman and Murra were themselves fighting against each other, a not uncommon occurrence, they would at once fraternise and combine against the common foe.—(Authority Shaikh Fuhaid al Fahad al Hithlain 30.6.38). Their tribal strength and undoubted war prowess makes their alliance valuable and their enmity a serious danger; but in politics they are a shifting and inconsistent factor, being as they themselves have been known openly to profess, "the friends of those who treat them best".

175 During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatif, the 'Ajman were constantly recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their shaikhs, and they inflicted several serious defeats on the army of occupation.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

619 but when the strong hand is weakened or withdrawn, then merry hell is let loose, and every tribe is at its neighbour's throat. Such a period is what every tribe and every individual Badawin long to see. It means raiding and fun for everyone and wealth for him who is bold and strong. Not much killing or loss of life follows from this state of anarchy, but camels change hands frequently, and there is loot for all and exchange of worldly possessions. Since women are always safe under such conditions (see Chapter VII) the Badawin considers this state of affairs as nearly ideal as possible, and is for ever talking about the good times when anarchy prevailed. This is his idea of heaven on earth, this is what he perpetually longs for. Is it not his birthright that "every man's hand shall be against him, and his hand be against every man"?

443 If tribes and confederations are at peace with each other, the
438 individuals and families move about at will in each other's territories,
369 as they go and come to and from the various towns that supply their wants. This movement to market towns is known as *musábilah* and exists all over Arabia. Each tribe has its special or favourite towns which it goes up to for its necessities, and it looks forward with joy to such visits. For instance, from time immemorial the Mutair, Harb, Shammar, 'Awazim and Northern 'Ajman have done their *musábilah* to Kuwait, while the Dhafir have visited Zubair, Nasriyah and Samawa on the Euphrates.

The system enables the town authorities to exercise a beneficial control over the Badawin who market with them, as any misbehaviour at once results in the tribe's being forbidden to enter the town—a
[643] very great hardship to the desert shopper. Despotic rulers like Bin Sa'ud naturally do not like the *musábilah* system at all, especially when it affects their border tribes, for these would like to spend their moneys outside the state, and are always liable to be got at by the powers that be, in neighbouring countries. One of the chief reasons for Bin Sa'ud's ten-year blockade of Kuwait was his determination to try and prevent his subjects doing *musábilah* with that town. The Ruler of the latter place naturally tried to encourage such *musábilah*, for if it were forcibly stopped, his people must have recourse to smuggling to get their goods out to the tribes.

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to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin 369
in the transition stage to a more settled existence. 361

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of 361
sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents 233
as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock
such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their [582]
members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and
regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the 565
pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter un- 369
doubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has
grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots
of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi,
are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-
bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs.
The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions 369
involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as 574
host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging 556
in the city.

Akalma al Badu, is a common cry heard among the 'Arab-
dawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their
neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially [721]
their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful,
for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather
than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and
lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin
raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is
an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or
defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with 233
either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the 463
tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either 619
of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As
sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which
they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined
than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds
has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

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233 or form part of the nomad camel tribes, or have stock of their own
463 and roam the outer desert in various formed tribal bodies. These
619 shepherd tribes are known under the general term of *Shawáwi* (singular: *Sháwi*) by town dwellers, or *Hukra* in the desert.

233 For example, in North-East Arabia we have the following:
619 (*a*) The great *Shawáwi* or *Hukra* shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq confederation on the Euphrates, who for seven months in the year move south into the great desert and only return with the advent of the hot weather. These in origin were the shepherds who looked after the flocks and herds of the Al Sa'adun hereditary Shaikhs of the Muntafiq in bygone days, but who to-day for the most part own their own stock. (See Chapter XLV.)

(*b*) The *Hirshán* or *Shawáwi* tribes of the Mutair, a more or less serf-community owing allegiance to that great tribe of nomads.

(*c*) The *'Awazim Ahl al Ghanam*, or people of the sheep, who care for the flocks of the camel sections of that tribe and are in closest touch with them. These 'Awazim shepherd tribes by no means confine their attention to caring for their own, or their camel brethren's sheep. They are such good shepherds and so well trusted that many of them come up to Kuwait to hire themselves out to those townsfolk who own sheep, and even take those sheep many miles south and graze them with their own in the Suda region and 100 miles south of Kuwait town, where water is plentiful when summer sets in. Being honest in the extreme, they hold it a matter of tribal pride to account faithfully for every animal so entrusted to them.

The true Badawin nomads (*Bádia*) breed only camels, and for nine months in the year dwell in the interior of the far desert places, far away from civilisation and towns, where the best grazing after the winter rains is to be found. Their object is to find the best grazing grounds, irrespective of water; this means the ground which has been rained upon. With the first signs of autumn, therefore, they anxiously look out for signs of rainstorms in the distant skies, indicated by lightning flashes at night, low down on the horizon, and they make for those areas, as if life depended on it. The bustard, the gazelle and other wild animals obey the same instinct.

619 These Badawin proper are entirely exclusive, and look upon them-
565 selves as the very salt of the earth, marrying only with exclusive

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tribes like their own and despising the rest of the world. They are the *'Arab al 'ariba* and with their co-equals the *'Arab al Musta'driba.** 619 565

These 'Arab or pure desert Badawin divide themselves into:

(*a*) Superior or Sharíf tribes.

(*b*) Inferior or non-Sharíf tribes; everyone knowing and accepting the origin of his neighbour without question.

Of these the former are *'Asílin*, i.e. pure in origin and blood, and claim descent from the Patriarchs Qahtan and Ishmael. The latter are not *Asíl*, i.e. are not of pure descent.

The following are the best known of the Sharíf Arab tribes of Arabia proper:

'Anizah, Shammar, Harb, Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafír, Bani Khálid Bani Hájir, Al Murra, Qahtan, 'Utaiba, Duwasir, Manasir, Bani Yas, Sbei, Qawasim, Hawaitat and Bani Tanim (not found as a whole tribe to-day).

The 'Anizah especially consider themselves to be the aristocrats of the desert, though the others do not always admit their superiority.

The following well-known present-day Arab Rulers claim descent as follows: [643]

His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud—'Anizah (Masalikh section).
His Highness Ibn Subah of Kuwait—'Anizah (Amarat section).
His Highness Ibn Khalifah of Bahrain—'Anizah (Amarat section).
His Excellency Ibn Thani of Qatar—Bani Tamim.

Also the noble family of the Al Sa'adun, former Rulers of the Muntafiq (present head His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha) claim direct descent from the Quraish tribe, as well as being descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.†

The following are some of the Inferior or Non-Sharíf tribes of Arabia proper:

* Arab historians have it that YARAB, the son of QAHTAN, who lived some centuries before Abraham, was the father of the ancient Arab peoples, and gave his name to Arabia. Hence the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, are known as "*Arab al Musta'driba*" (those who became Arabs) in contradistinction to the Arab who calls himself "*Arab al 'ariba* (Arab of the Arabs), to distinguish himself from the later comers. 174

† The Sa'adun indeed claim that they are the purest of all descendants of the Prophet, in that they have never throughout their history given their daughters outside their clan, nor married with non-Sa'adun women.

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619 (1) *In Hasa and Kuwait* (East Arabia).

565 The 'Awazim tribe, probably of Hutaim origin, and originally a serf-community of the 'Ajmân.

The Rashaida Tribe—certainly of Hutaim origin; originally serfs of the Mutair, and retainers of the Shaikhs of Kuwait from earliest times.

(2) *In North-West Arabia.*

The Hutaim—A large and very powerful group of tribes, who generally acknowledge the overlordship of Shaikhs Ibn Barak and Ibn Naumas. (The Shararat tribe, for instance, forms part of the great Hutaim group.)

(3) *All over North and North Central Arabia.*

The Sulubba—The lowest, most despised of desert men, and said to be descendants of the Christian Crusaders. Great guides and hunters. (See Chapter XLI.)

(4) *Central and North Arabia.*

The Aqail or Agail*—residents of Qasim and Baghdad. From time immemorial camel-dealers of the desert.

The great house of Al Bassam are Aqailis.

[326] (5) Not to be confused with the above, are the Al Sana,† a community of ironmongers, farriers and arms-repairers, sections of whom each Sharif tribe protects and possesses as part of itself. *Sanna* is the plural of *Sana*, e.g. Sanna al Mutair, Sanna al Rashid, etc.

[582] No Sharif Arab can take a daughter from (or give a daughter to) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) above. His own tribe would not tolerate it, and his relations would kill the offender. The excuse would be that he [628] was spoiling the tribe's blood. Everyone will remember the shooting of the capable 'Abdullah Beg al Sana, Governor of Baghdad in 1932, by His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha al Sa'adun, because of the former's foolish attempt to marry the Europeanised daughter of His Excellency 'Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Prime Minister of Iraq. The true Arab of the desert, from Bin Sa'ud downward, not only condoned the murder, but highly approved it.

361 * The Aqail or Agail are, of course, not a Badawin tribe in any sense of the word, for they live in the towns. They more correctly should be termed a *hadhar* community.

† Members of this class have often risen to the highest positions of trust under various Arab Rulers as well as under the Turks.

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Ma'adan

582 It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman,
591 even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharíf Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

619 In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Badawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharíf tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashira) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or ÁL)

[619] (*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al*.

Ál is like the term "Bani", e.g. Bani Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Wain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Nazlin fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 A man says *Ya 'Aiydl* when addressing his sons or his family
601 as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Aiydl?* when enquiring after
551 the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'aiydl* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal
[576] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

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Leadership of Shaikh

SHAIKHS

A vital element in the stability of Badawin society is the tribal leadership exercised by the shaikh. 622

The position of a shaikh of a ruling house or tribe is hereditary, to the extent that he must be a member of a definite family or house. It is, however, by no means essential that the shaikh's eldest son should succeed his father. When a shaikh dies, the question arises: who is the best and most suitable man of that particular house to lead the tribe? It is usual to recognise as chief that member who possesses marked experience or outstanding physical and mental qualities.

Hadh, or good fortune as a leader, most often secures the Shaikhship. If he has led the tribe on one or more raids, and has shown that he possesses qualities of "luck" as well as "leadership", the Shaikhship is his of right. It is most important to realise this point, especially in principalities like Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait which are under British protection It would be wrong and useless, were Government to try during the lifetime of a Ruler, to get him to nominate his son as the next heir. It simply is not done, and an attempt to impose our principles of primogeniture would cause offence and lead to misunderstandings. 622 643

Bin Sa'ud in 1930 nominated his heir apparent, and each year since has tried to get his tribal leaders and brethren to swear fealty to his nominee. Some do so with their tongue in their cheek, others, notably Muhammad al Sa'ud, the King's brother, steadfastly refuse to obey. All know it to be a grave error on the part of the King. The King himself knows he has been mistaken, but the move was doubtless made to impress the European Ministers and Consuls residing at Jiddah. It pleases the Chancelleries of Europe. In private the King has said over and over again to the members of his family, "After my death, let the best man win". And this is what will no doubt happen in the end.

A shaikh's fighting force or tribe as a whole is known as *Gaum*, e.g. Gaum al Duwish, Gaum Bin Sa'ud, Gaum Al Sha'alan (in literary Arabic the word is *Qaum*). 619

A shaikh will say *Ya Jama'a* or *Ya Rab'a* when addressing his followers.

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him to make his escape to safety, if necessary calling in all his own 628
family for the purpose. Or if the *qasir* says he will pay blood money 721
in settlement, then the protector must protect him until the negotiations are put through.

If a *qasir's* tribe declares war on his protector's tribe, and later the *qasir's* camels are captured by raiders belonging to the protector's tribe, then the latter is absolved from returning the camels and vice versa, unless both protector and his *qasir* make public declaration before their respective shaikhs that they are tent-neighbours (*gusara*) and each will make good any damage suffered by the other party. If, then, the tribe of either party accidentally or purposely captures camels or mares from either of the men, they must return the loot when asked to do so.

The protector must make this public declaration to his own shaikh in person, and if the *qasir* cannot get through himself he must send neutral messengers to his own shaikh and people and do likewise.

Should the protector have in his employ a strange Badawin to herd his camels or sheep, and raiders of the herdsman's tribe suddenly appear and carry off the herd, then because the man in charge is their own fellow-tribesman the raiders must restore three she-camels to the herdsman, one for riding on and two for milking.

Certain desert tribes, notably the Dhafir, are particularly proud 554
of the name they have won for protecting their tent-neighbours. 619
They have become famous in this respect, as the following stories 622
will show. (The chief actors in both cases were well known to me, 628
though Hamud al Suwait has now been dead some years.) 577

The uncle of Hamud al Suwait, the Shaikh of all the Dhafir tribe, once threatened in public *majlis*, to impale himself on his sword which he had drawn for the purpose, unless *his own son* were brought before him and slain in his presence, because the son had killed his tent-neighbour in the heat of a foolish quarrel. The various members of the family tried hard to shield the youth, but realising that the old shaikh was in deadly earnest, Hamud al Suwait (he became shaikh after his uncle's death two years later) himself seized the boy and with his own hand cut him down before the eyes of his father. Thus was tribal honour satisfied. This incident happened in 1912, and was told

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554 me by Shaikh Hamud himself, and later vo ned for by the Shaikh
619 of Kuwait on 9th September, 1932.

622 Shaikh Jada'an al Suwait, who succeeded to the Shaikhship of the
628 Dhafir after the death of Hamud, was camped near Athaiba and
577 Ruhail on the Kuwait–Iraq border in 1931. Hearing that one of his own tribesmen had fired at and wounded a Mutairi tribesman who was his *qasir* at the time, even though the Mutair tribe and the Dhafir tribe were open enemies, Shaikh Jada'an had the offending tribesman brought before him, and with his own hand slashed him over the head with his sword.

The deed flashed through the Badawin world like lightning at the time, and Jada'an's name, as the upholder of Badawin hon ur,
[682] became almost as famous as that of his forbear. Unfortunately the Iraq authorities, with that folly which has frequently characterised them in dealing with the high-spirited tribesmen of the desert, imprisoned Shaikh Jada'an for several weeks, before they saw that they were making a martyr of a desert hero. This act cost them his allegiance. Shortly after, Shaikh Jada'an went over to Bin Sa'ud, taking half the tribe with him.

Shaikh Jada'an told me the story himself, saying that he only acted as he did in order to keep the vital Badawin law clean and untarnished.

So greatly have the Dhafir tribe preserved and guarded their good name in the above respect, that it is said of Mana, another famous Shaikh of the Dhafir, that the immediate cause of his death was the news (which was brought to him as he was riding home from a raid), that a certain well-known guest of the tribe had, in his absence, been attacked and slain. Certain it is that on being told what had happened, his heart seemed to stop beating and he fell forward on to his camel's neck and rolled to the ground a dead man. His daughter, whom I met in 1935, told me that the old man had literally died of a broken heart, and her words were vouched for by her husband, Shaikh Hautush al Suwait, cousin of Jada'an.

621 I myself have only once been appealed to by a person who was
671 my *qasir*. I am glad to say that the results were eminently satisfactory.
577 It happened on this wise. I was in Kuwait, and it was in the hot month of July 1932, when everyone was sleeping on the roof at night. I was sleeping outside the old Agency dining-room, over the cook's quarters.

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CHAPTER XXVII

Desert Guides and Trackers

622 On 27th November, 1935, I visited and had a long talk with Shaikh
619 Mutluq al Musailim, the paramount chief of the Rashaida, in his camp. Among other things he admitted that his tribe was related to the great Hutaim group lying east of Madina. This is the powerful group whose paramount shaikhs are Ibn Barák and Ibn Naumas, and which as a whole is an "inferior" tribe.

485 He maintained that his people, the Rashaida, possessed without exception the finest guides throughout Arabia. He had men, he said, who could guide a stranger without any preparation from Kuwait to

(*a*) Damascus	(*f*) Ebha
(*b*) Amman	(*g*) Najran
(*c*) Wejh	(*h*) Wadi Dawasir
(*d*) Madina	(*i*) Riyadh and its environs
(*e*) Mecca	(*j*) Hasa and Qatar

485 The best guide in all Arabia was, in his opinion, Ibn Hadhabba of
128 his tribe, now employed by Bin Sa'ud on his permanent staff. Ibn
151 Hadhabba was one of a family of that name, all of whom, even the women, seemed to be endowed with the same skill. The gift was born in these men, he said, not acquired in any way, and was akin to the sort of fifth sense an animal possessed. It mattered not if the sun shone or not by day, or if the sky was overcast at night, the Rashaidi could find his way anywhere. He never forgot a desert feature once seen, however small and insignificant.

On the other hand, Shaikh Mutluq admitted freely that his own tribe were not trackers. The palm in this science went easily to the Al Murra tribe of South Hasa and Jabrin. Tracking, or *ma'arifat al jarra* as it was called, was entirely different from the science of guiding or *ma'arifat al dalila*. The latter implied perfect knowledge of ground with a perfect eye for country, stars, etc., the former was more un-

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Branding of Camels

Chap. XXXII

A curious custom exists among certain tribes, revealing their firm 232
belief in *'ainad*, or sympathetic magic.

If a man has a white and a black camel, and one goes lame, say the white one, in the leg, he brands the black camel on the same leg that is lame in the white camel, and the white camel's lameness is believed to disappear. (Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 25th November, 1933.)

MILCH CAMELS

Male camels, as already mentioned, are kept away from females in 233
winter, the breeding season. In summer the sexes are allowed to graze together.

Milch camels are not allowed to feed their young when grazing. The milk is wanted for the tent, and only after tent requirements are taken is the mother allowed to suckle the baby camel. The young camel is allowed to feed in the evening, and before going out in early morning.

To prevent a baby camel's illicit drinking, the mother's udders are tied to a piece of stick called a *sardr*. (*Saru al ndgd*, means "tie the she-camel's teats up".)

The female has four teats and the stick is tied to two at a time. (See sketch, page 100.)

On 9th May, 1935, when drinking some camel's milk among the 'Ajman, I saw the tying-up process. To enable us to milk the camel the strings were loosed, and when the 'Ajman herdsman tied them up again he placed a piece of camel's wool between string and teats before fastening them to the *sardr*. In one case, having no wool handy, he used an old camel dropping (*jalle*). The piece of wool is to prevent damage or hurt to the nipples.

TRIBAL "WASMS"

Every tribe has its *wasms* or tribal brand marks, correspond'g 419 233
somewhat to our own family crests. The *wasm* is never placed on 422
banners or war flags, and is primarily meant to show the Bedawin world to whom such and such camels or wells belong.

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Horses and mares are never branded, though sheep usually have a small slit or private brand placed on the ear to indicate the owner.

Camels on the other hand are all branded with some tribal *wasm* or other, wherever they are, or to whomsoever they belong.

Private property also, such as a camel load, which has had to be temporarily abandoned in the desert owing to the death of the camel carrying it, can be protected by marking on the ground near it the tribal *wasm* of the owner. As a rule, no one finding such property will touch it.

The tribal *wasms* which exist, and could be collected by anyone interested in the study, are legion, for the 'Awazim tribe of Hasa, as far as I can ascertain, is alone among all the tribes of Arabia in possessing one *wasm* mark only for the whole tribe. All other tribes have dozens and dozens of different brands in accordance with the number of sections and subsections into which they are divided, or the number of their shaikhs who think they ought to have their own special distinguishing mark for their camels.

Like the tattoo marks of the Iraq Marsh women, Badawin's camel marks are of extraordinary interest and it would be well worth while for some student to collect and classify them. I have myself collected a fair number of tribal *wasms* from various sections of the more important tribes I have come across, but space forbids to reproduce them here.

I therefore confine myself to giving a few of the more important *wasms* only, including those of the paramount shaikhs of certain tribes, just to show what they look like and on what part of the camel they are branded.

(1) His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (Bin Sa'ud):
Placed on the right thigh.

After the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 was put down, those camels confiscated by Bin Sa'ud from the rebellious tribes were marked with a special new brand to indicate that they were the King's property, but had been taken from rebels. This *wasm* was on right thigh.

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Muntafiq

Tribal *Wasms*

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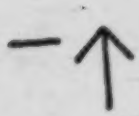
(2) Muhammad al Sa'ud (the King's brother):
Placed on right thigh.

(3) 'Abdullah* bin Jiluwi (Amir of Hasa):
Placed on right thigh.

* To-day Sa'ud his son.

(4) His Excellency The Shaikh of Kuwait (Bin Subah):
Placed on either thigh.



(5) Al Sa'adun (Shaikhs of the Muntafiq):
Placed on left cheek.
(The circle is known as *halqa*.)

(6) 'Utaiba Tribe

(*a*) Ibn Humaid (Shaikh of Barqa group):
On off fore shoulder.

(*b*) Ibn Rubaiyan (Shaikh of Ruqa group):
On left side of neck.
(Rest of family same mark on right side of neck).

(*c*) Ibn Chamil (Shaikh of Muqata group):
On left cheek.

(*d*) Ibn Hijna (Shaikh of Aufa group):
On right thigh.

(*e*) Ibn Ja'ama (Shaikh of Rusan group):
Halqa on right cheek.

(7) Dhafir Tribe (Ibn Suwait only):
On right thigh.

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619 (8) 'Awazim Tribe
233 (a) Ibn Jama (Al Amir): On left thigh
422 Also (Hadalin): On left neck

(b) Ibn Drai: On right thigh
Also
(Suwabir): On left cheek
or *killal* on left thigh

(9) Mutair Tribe
(a) Al Dushan (all members): On left thigh
(b) Al Fuqum (Sahaba—Thawiaun):
On left neck
Also on left cheek
(c) Ibn Lami (Qa'aimat—Jiblan):
On right neck
(d) Ibn Shiblan (Al Yahya—Jiblan):
On right thigh
(e) Ibn Ghanaiman (Mala'aba—Thawiaun):
Over right eye
(f) Ibn Rashidan (Burzan—Jiblan):
On right thigh
(g) Al Ma'argab (Arraqiba—Jiblan):
On left neck
Also On left cheek
(h) Al Sur (Bara'isa—Muwaha):
On left thigh
Also
On left cheek
(i) Ibn Jarban
Abu Sifra (Rukhman—Muwaha):
On right cheek
or *killal*

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(*j*) Ibn Shurwaiyat (Khawatirah—Muwaha):
On left thigh

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(*k*) Abu Ras (Al Jubara—Muwaha):
On right thigh

(*l*) Ibn Mira'ib (Sa'anim—Muwaha):
On left neck

Also on left cheek

(*m*) Ibn Ashwan (Abaiyat—Wasil):
On right thigh

(*n*) Ibn Shurwairibat (Birzan—Wasil):
On left neck

(*o*) Ibn Jarbuh (Diyahin—Wasil):
They cut a piece out of the left cheek and off the left ear.

(*p*) Ibn Muhailib (Wisama—Wasil):
On left thigh

(*q*) Ibn Musaiyis (Sa'aran—Awlad Ali):
On right cheek

Also
On right thigh

(*r*) Ibn Jirnas (Al Maimum—Bani 'Abdillah):
On left cheek

(*s*) ~~Ibn Thamma~~
Ibn Darwish
(Al Sa'aba—Bani 'Abdillah):
On right cheek

(9a) Rashaida Tribe

(*a*) Ibn Musallim:
A long plain line round neck under chin from side to side

(*b*) Ibn Awaiyid ('Awana):
On left thigh

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(c) Al Shahir (Shahara): On right thigh

(d) Ibn Nimaan (Muhaizimat): On right thigh

(e) Ibn Sa'ami: On right thigh

(10) The following 'Ajman *wasms* were given me by Mubarak Ibn Haif al Hajraf, Shaikh of the Sulaiman, on April 10, 1934:

Al Hithlain: On left cheek

Al Hadi: On right cheek

Al Hajraf: On left neck

Al Sulaiman: On left neck, low

Ibn 'Asidan (Shaikh Sulaiman): On left neck

Al Mahfudh: On left thigh

Al Suffran : On right neck

Al Hajjan: On right thigh

Al Saleh: On right neck

Al Rima: On left neck high up

Al Hitlan: Right round gullet on under side

Al Thain: On left neck

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(11) Bani Khalid Tribe

(a) Ibn Agál:

On right side of neck

(b) Ibn Ajran:

On left thigh (like Awazim)

(12) Bani hajir Tribe (Ibn Mubarak only):

On left side of neck

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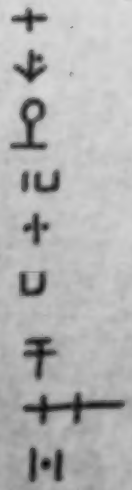
CAMEL STICKS (*Mishd'ab*)

These very often bear the *wasm* of the owner's tribe burnt on the crook end of the stick. I have three such myself, given me by members of the Dushan clan of the Mutair, which I keep as mementoes.

"WASMS" OR TRIBAL MARKS CARVED ON THE ROCKS ON NORTH-WEST FACE OF JABAL WARA (KUWAIT)

Names of tribes or sections of a tribe claiming some of those *wasms* are given below. 619



'Awazim

Subah (Kuwait)

Sufran ('Ajman)

Al Huwaila ('Ajman)

Hithlain ('Ajman)

Salim al Hamud (one of Al Subah Shaikhs)

Qahtan, also 'Utaiba

'Utaiba

'Ajman

Rock Markings

● 619 'Ajman (known as Al Zézé)

Sa'aran (Mutair)

Al Saleh ('Ajman)

Al Dha'in ('Ajman)

Ibn 'Asidan—Sulaiman-'Ajman

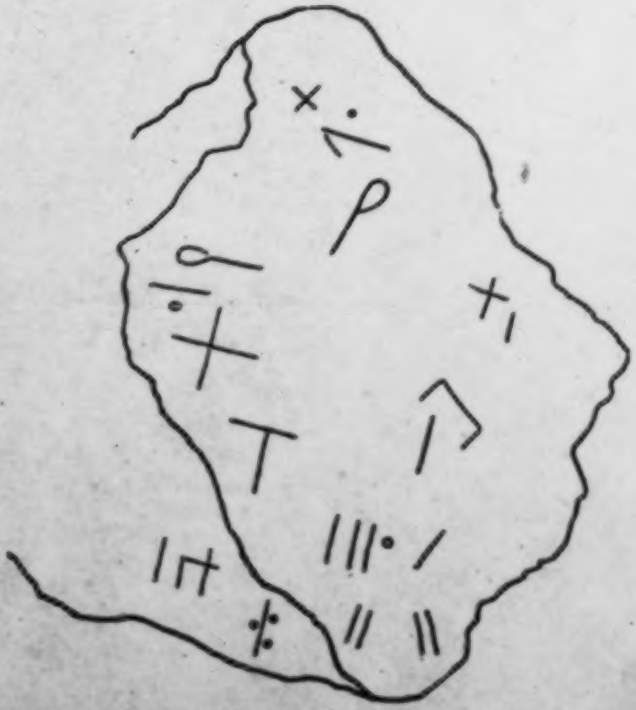
Ibn Rashidan (Mutair)

As Sur (Mutair)

Ibn Shuwairibat-Braih (Mutair)

Ibn Jáma ('Awazim)

Ibn Drai' ('Awazim)



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Wasms on Rock

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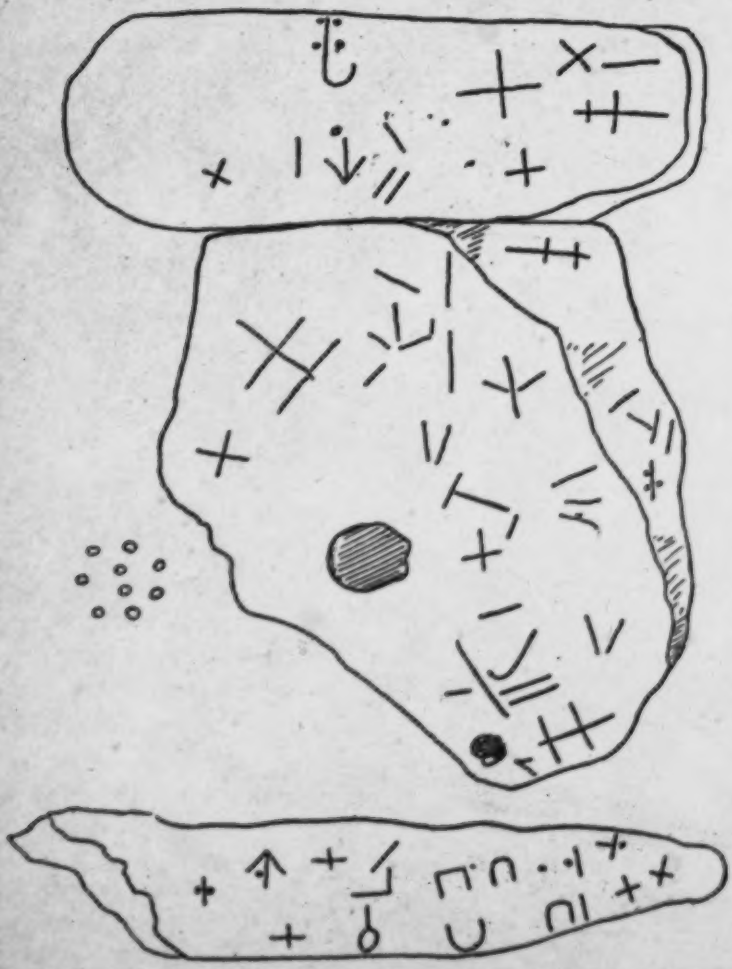

"WASMS" ON THE NORTH-WEST SIDE OF WÁRA UNDER LARGE OVERHANGING ROCK

On an adjoining flat rock are cut out nine small holes for the game of Umm al Judairah

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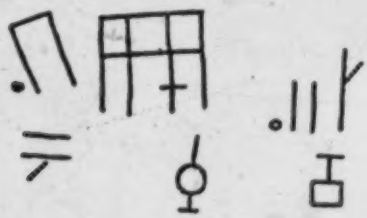
Wasms in Wells

619 Below are some odd *wasms* found on north side of Wára.



WELLS

619 Almost all the great permanent wells of Arabia belong to some
312 tribe or other, and have been in their possession since earliest times.
423 Hence, if they are examined carefully, the *wasm* of the tribe to which they belong will usually be found, cut in the rocky sides some way down on the inside, or engraved on one of the large stones built round the well mouth.

It is important to know this, as the ownership of disputed wells and their surrounding grazing grounds can nearly always be determined by such marks if it is known where to look for them.

This right to own wells is not confined only to tribes, but is also the prerogative of individual Badawin, and has in the past been the cause of many a fierce fight. For instance, supposing a man camping alone in summer selects a suitable site for his family's tents, near where he thinks he will find water, and does dig a well, and does find water, then that well becomes his *mulk*, or personal property, and no other person may draw water from it, or use it for the future except with the owner's express permission. In the Kuwait hinterland, where there is sub-surface water nearly everywhere, such wells are frequent, and many are the disputes that arise from strangers attempting to use them.

NATURAL WELLS

312 The Natural Wells (*dáhal*, plu. *duhál*) of the Summán region occupied by the Mutair 'Ilwa (150–200 miles south-west of Kuwait).

There are some one hundred *duhál* scattered along the northern

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"Recognition" of Camels

Chap. XXXIII

THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA
OR
"RECOGNITION" OF ANIMALS BY THE OWNER

421 628 619 425

I. *The case of camels captured in a raid.*

Should two tribes *asta'araf* to one another (have made the special *'arafa* agreement between them), then one party may take from the other, camels once belonging to the former and now recovered from an enemy in raid, etc., by the latter.

Thus if a number of camels have been captured from the 'Ajman by the 'Awazim, and on some later occasion are recovered by the Mutair, the 'Ajman would have the right to take back their camels on application to the Mutair, without compensation, *provided the custom of* 'Arafa *existed between the 'Ajman and the Mutair.*

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II. *The case of camels bought from one person by another and later recognised by a former owner as having been stolen from him.*

The case is settled in this wise. If the purchaser and the original owner are of the same tribe, or belong to two tribes with a "special agreement" by which their relations are those of *Bani 'Ám*, then the purchaser and the original owner, together with the animal in dispute, have to approach the seller and from him recover the purchase money. They give this to the man who has bought the camel, and the orignal owner takes back his property. For example, a man of Shammar recognises a stolen camel of his with a man of the Dhafir, and the latter states he purchased it from the Mutair. Should the Dhafir and Shammar have a *Bani 'Ám* arrangement between them, the men will both go and see the Mutairi. If the Mutairi had himself raided or stolen the camel from the Shammari, and the Mutair and the Shammar were at peace, he will return the purchase price to the Dhafiri, and the Shammari may then take the camel he claims. If the Mutairi has himself bought the camel from another, say an 'Ajmi, he will still pay back the price to the Dhafiri and will then go and claim his money from the 'Ajmi, and so on till they get back to the original thief. In other words, all intervening sales and purchases are step by step undone.

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This method of friendly recovery of a man's camel is known as the *Sauq wa Qaud* system, a sort of family arrangement for the recovery of animals by mutual consent and without quarrelling over the matter. This system has the advantage of keeping Government officials out of the business, which from the Badawin point of view is always desirable. It is commonly practised in areas where Government writ does not run, and where one tribe is paramount under a strong shaikh who can enforce his will (example, the southern desert area of Iraq in Turkish times). 421 619 671 425

The system is open to variation according to circumstances, also to special arrangements between tribes, etc. So-called desert law is rarely a hard-and-fast thing. Many are the arbitrators who vary it slightly, or try to arrange a compromise in difficult or protracted cases. In most cases, however, precedent has a great deal to do with settling difficult problems, and so we have the *Ahl al khibrah* or experts, versed in legal precedent and able to state how difficult cases were formerly settled. These wiseacres have much to do with the interpretation of desert law. Nevertheless the two main principles of *'arafa* remain fixed: 671 693 619 425

(*a*) A camel taken in war or retaken in war by a friend of the original owner is surrendered without compensation, if the custom of *'arafa* exists. There is no selling. [431]

(*b*) No camel bought for money can possibly be taken back by the original owner without compensation, even if the original owner be of the same tribe as the purchaser. There is only one exception, namely, if the original owner can prove that the buyer when he purchased the animal *was aware that it had been stolen* from a man of a friendly tribe. Thus if the 'Awazim bought Diyahin raided camels from Ibn Shuqair the day after his raid on the Diyahin near Kuwait in 1928, the latter could recover their camels from the 'Awazim without compensation. In no other case can anyone retake a purchased animal and leave the purchaser a loser. All sales must be undone, back to the original theft.

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THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA ON THE BORDERLAND BETWEEN TWO STATES

425 The application of the *'arafa* law becomes somewhat less easy when
648 two tribes which are perhaps hostile to each other, or belong to differ-
619 ent states adjoining one another, are involved, or where strong Governments are functioning, as to-day in the case in Kuwait, Sa'udi Arabia and Iraq, and where border officials are interested in seeing that shaikhs and individual members of tribes in their areas do not raid, steal or take the law into their own hands, especially across the border.

In such cases, while the custom of *'arafa* is quite well understood, it is essential that a controlling authority enforce the rules of the game, otherwise nothing is done. The Shaikh of Kuwait put it in a nutshell, when he told me that the law of *'arafa* was a most excellent law for settling Badawin disputes, and it dated back to very ancient times, but unless Rulers or Governments were strong enough to enforce it within or across their borders it became quite useless, for then as always the strongest won the day. A Badawin, for instance, in the case mentioned below, would never hand over the camel he had purchased unless he was made to do so by his Government acting through its officials on the spot.

425 "A", a subject of some state, finds a camel which has been stolen
[694] from him in the past, grazing in the desert with "B's" camels (a sub-
695 ject of another state). "A's" and "B's" tribes are not on friendly terms.
696 "A" does not waste his time in going and demanding it from "B", who quite naturally will refuse to give it up until made to do so. He goes instead to the nearest *Hákim* or Government representative in the particular area "B" is in, armed with a letter from his own frontier officer. (To-day in North-East Arabia it is Hamud al Baga'awi for Sa'udi Arabia, 'Abdullah bin Jabir for Kuwait, and the Iraqi Officer in Charge Southern Desert Police for Iraq), and will say that "B" has in his possession a certain camel which has been stolen from him, "A". The officer in charge of the area in question will send for "B" and in his presence will ask "A" to prove his claim. Here is where the Shari'a law comes in as practised in the desert. "A" can

Restitution of Stolen Camels

(4) If any case connected with stolen, hidden or wandering camels
425 arises between two tribes, and the two sides are unable to agree
619 on terms of settlement, then the matter will normally be referred to the Ruler of the country or local Governor, as the case may be. When the matter is finally settled, *khidmah* (or "service fee") will be recovered from the party judged to be at fault. This *khidmah* fee, which may run into a number of Rials, is paid over to the Ruler's *fidáwis* or retainers, who have had the labour of collecting evidence and finding witnesses.

BADAWIN CUSTOM OF WASÁQAH (OR WASÁGA) BETWEEN BANI 'ÁM

Among Badawin who are in *Bani 'Ám* relationship with one another, if camels are stolen from one party by another the same number of camels only as those stolen in the first place must be returned, never more. And war may never arise between them from such exchange of property. Restitution is normally arranged through the mediation of relatives or the heads of clans.

The arrangement of restitution is known as *wasáqah* (*waságna-hum*—"we arranged restitution").

It would be quite a different matter if members of a strange tribe or people, who were not *Bani 'Ám*, stole the camels. Then the robbed person (or persons) can rightfully take as many camels as he can lay hands on from those who stole from him, and if no redress is obtained, the case may result in war between the tribes.

[695] Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah of Kuwait told me on 8th October, 1938, that among *Bani 'Ám* if a person for the sake of gain told tales against his tribe, or reported that a member of his tribe had stolen camels from another tribe, the penalty was that "he should be killed by lance thrust"; this was a very ancient Badawin law.

ZAKÁT TAX

651 The tax known as *Zakát* has religious sanction, and payment is one of the five duties incumbent on every true Muslim. The word means "purification" and is applied to the legal alms that an individual has to give to the religious tax-gatherers of the state each year;

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entering Harb country in Sa'udi Arabia would pay *khâwah* to the Shaikh of the Harb. The tax would consist of a few sheep, possibly some *dehen* (clarified butter) also, and usually is a fee agreed upon. With the rise of Bin Sa'ud, the taking of *khâwah* has been officially banned, but it continues nevertheless *sub rosa*. The Iraq Government are said to be also trying to abolish the tax and follow in Bin Sa'ud's footsteps. Whether they will succeed or not is as yet uncertain (1936).

A caravan passing through a great tribe's territory would also before the rise of Bin Sa'ud have paid *khâwah*. On one occasion the 'Ajman and Bani Hajir tribes blockaded Kuwait because Qasim merchants refused to pay them this *khâwah*. This was in Mubarak's time, and he retaliated by forbidding 'Ajman *musâbilah*, that is, he prevented them from coming up and buying supplies in Kuwait town, and arranged with Zubair and Jubail to do the same. The payment of *khâwah* entitles the payer to protection.

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DHABÎHAH AND MANÎHAH ("SHEEP AND SERVICE")

(only paid by inferior tribes to superior tribes)

A curious custom has its origin in the days of Shabib al Sa'adun, the ancestor of the present family of that name and shaikhs of the Muntafiq. When Shabib first entered Iraq and settled in 'Ajwad country (Gharaf), his son happened to get killed by some shepherd tribes. Being anxious to strengthen his position he refused to take a life for a life, or to accept blood money, but made a condition that (1) he should never be required to rise if any 'Ajwad shaikh entered his presence; (2) that every shaikh should kiss his cheek or shoulder and their sons his knee or his feet, according to seniority; (3) that when he went among the 'Ajwad tribes they should always provide free his requirements of sheep's milk, wool, or young male lambs, for food.

The 'Ajwad tribes of the Gharaf gladly agreed, and the term *Dhabîhah wa Manîhah* was applied to the conditions imposed by Shabib al Sa'adun, which interpreted means *sheep and service*.

To-day *dhabîhah wa manîhah* is well understood in North-East Arabia and has become a recognised custom among shepherd tribes. For example, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe enters Kuwait in search of

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'Anizah Taboo

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It is found over the whole of North-Eastern Arabia, and prefers hard gravelly ground to loose sand. It lives in a hole, anything up to 4 feet in depth, which it excavates in spiral fashion. It is a common sight to see this animal basking in the summer sun close to its hole, and silently diving into its recess on the approach of danger. It disappears entirely during the winter months and reappears during the late spring and summer months, so it would seem to hibernate. It grows to a length of approximately 3 feet, and is very fierce.

Its greatest enemy is the wurral, or snake-headed monitor. The dhub has an ordinary-shaped tongue, and is armed with a row of vicious-looking sharp teeth, but its principal weapon of defence is its tail.

It has long, sharp claws and a white stomach, and hisses loudly when angry. When it first appears in spring, after hibernation, it is brilliant yellow-ochre in colour, and as summer arrives it develops a grey-green tint with pale yellow bands across its back. Rings of the same pale yellow go round its tail between rows of spikes.

Its name is not to be confused with *dáb*, the Badawin name for snake, or with *dhabi*, a gazelle.

The dhub lays between fifty and sixty eggs at a time in the sand, and covers them up. When the young are about to hatch, the mother is said to come back again and eat them all up except three, which she places on her back—one on her head, one on the middle of her back and one on her tail. This curious story is vouched for by the Badawin, but I have so far failed to find a dhub lizard with young, and cannot verify the statement.

The dhub will eat a certain amount of grass, but its natural food is obviously grasshoppers and other insects. It certainly devours voraciously any locusts that it comes across. All Badawin consider it fit for food.

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Throughout Arabia there is a saying that the dhub is held in special sanctity by the 'Anizah tribe. Certain it is that no member of that tribe will kill, much less eat, this lizard.

Hence when wanting to annoy or anger an 'Anizah tribesman, rival Badawin will say that the dhub is his ancestor (*Al dhub jidd al 'Aniq*). This jibe refers to the story that an 'Anizah ancestor was

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turned into a dhub by the Prophet. The true reason for the sanctity of the dhub is obscure.

AL KHASWI

Al Khaswi is a small lizard delicately built; when full grown does not exceed 7 inches in length. It is commonly met everywhere in the desert of North-East Arabia, and is very fast. It may be seen rushing about at lightning speed from one *'arfaj* bush to another, switching its long thin tail from side to side. It has a fine skin, spotted on the back, and is greyish white in colour.

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Another variety of this lizard has lines along its back, and is pale salmon pink in colour under the tail. Among the Shammar Badawin the same lizard is known under the name of *Al Sulaimanfyah*.

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ROLLER BEETLE

The desert is full of roller beetles, especially where Badawin camps exist. This beetle is locally known as *Abu Jalla* (Father of camel manure) or Abu Ja'al.*

It usually appears in spring, and is to be seen everywhere, rolling fresh bits of manure (camel, horse, donkey or even goat) into a perfect ball, and carting it off backwards at an amazing and feverish pace. When the beetle comes to a nice soft spot, it starts digging a sloping hole in mad fashion, sufficiently large to take its manure ball. When the hole is ready it rolls the ball down the slope of the hole, where it comes to rest 8 to 10 inches from the entrance. The digging is done with the beetle's strong fore-feet, and to get earth out it turns round and shovels out earth with head and snout. It is extremely fussy, and works as if life depended on getting the hole dug in a minimum of time. When rolling the ball along, the beetle's hind quarters and legs are cocked up against the ball and guide the latter in the proper direction, the beetle's strong head and claws which are on the ground do the pushing. The roller beetle always moves backwards at an amazing pace if ground is smooth.

It usually has several small fly-parasites on its back, which appear to have their abode in the join between head and body.

* Roller beetle appeared in 1937 on February 19th and just after good rain. Clearly they come out of the ground where they hibernate for six months.

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CHAPTER XLI

The Sulubba

The word *Sulubba* is a generic term. The singular of the name is *Sulubbi*, and the plural *Sulaib*. 565 619

Much has been written about this low-class tribe, or more properly community.

They are found all over the northern half of the Arabian Desert roughly from a line drawn east and west through Madina and Riyadh in the south, to another line drawn from Aleppo to Mosul.

In the south they are more despised and looked down on than in the north, and their worldly possessions are less.

Practically every tribe within the area described has a community of Sulubba living with it, as they are found useful as menders of pots and pans, hunters and trackers. [463]

Chief among the Sulubba's characteristics is their uncanny knowledge of the secret water-holes of the country they live in. They are valued for this knowledge by the tribe which protects them, as it is a great asset in war, and most useful on long raids. Some Sulaib, for this reason, are nearly always taken with a raiding party. [721]

Similarly a Sulubbi hunter is nearly always to be found in the entourage of a shaikh, as he usually knows better than others where gazelle and ostrich are to be found. [224]

The Sulubba are said to be Muslims, but few pray properly, and it would probably be true to say that they possess no religion, except when it is diplomatic to appear to have one as in Najd and Kuwait. [795]

The Sulubba men are in general a miserable fawning lot; they affect endearing and diminutive Arab terms of address, and are cringing in their manner.

Both men and women are good-looking above the average, especially the women, among whom there are often very pretty girls indeed. Their usually half-starved appearance is repellent, and gives colour to the Arab story that they eat offal and "animals they find dead".

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565 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-
619 Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.
[142] In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a
[261] large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

5x2 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his
515 people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are
565 in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs,
619 some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shennut is the Shaikh of the Mamir Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aithif is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

291 The Sulubba [illegible] never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part [illegible] Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

585 They are [illegible] dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Sabah, cousin of
619 the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba
174 are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

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in which the Crusaders were worsted, and were carried off into slavery by the desert Arab, and that the present-day Sulubba are their descendants. Shaikh 'Abdullah will quote to prove his point,

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(*a*) The fact that the "cross" is the symbol of the Sulubba.
(*b*) That the plural of their name "Sulaib" is clearly the same as the Arab name for the Christian cross which is known as *Salib*, the word *sulaib* being merely a diminutive form of *Salib*.

There is perhaps something to say for the theory, but it would be dangerous to form conclusions pending the collection of more data about these interesting people. In particular would it be interesting to collect extensive anthropometric measurements.

The Sulubba women are accused of having (i) the power of casting the Evil Eye (*'ain*), (ii) special knowledge in preparing poisons and love potions for those who want them (*saywa*), and (iii) above all of being versed in the devilish lore of witchcraft (*sahar*).

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(i) The first accusation is probably due to the fact that many young Badawin men have lost their heads over pretty Sulubba girls and have had to flee their tribes. (ii) and (iii) are probably fairly true accusations, for they certainly claim to have the power of making one person love another, as well as of divination. On the other hand they are a useful target for the public, if something evil happens to a prominent person. "It must be a Sulubba woman who has cast a spell on so-and-so", they say.

B [186]

The Sulubba must not be confused with the Kauliyah or Gipsies. These latter are to be found all over Iraq and its borders, and are, I think, without doubt one and the same as the Romany Gipsies of Europe and England. They dress like Badawin and live in small

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CHAPTER XLV

The Muntafiq Shepherd Tribes

This book would not be complete without a short reference to the great southerly annual migration of the shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq Confederation situate between Samawa and the Hamar Lake.

These shepherd tribes, which are known under the generic term of Shawiyah or Shawéwi in Iraq, and that of Hukra in Kuwait and Najd, consist of the sheep-rearing sections of the three great groups of the Muntafiq, namely the Albu Salah, the 'Ajwad and the Bani Malik, as well as the Bani Hachaim tribe which have their habitat south-east of Samawa, adjoining the Muntafiq.

The names of most of these Euphrates shepherd tribes are given below, and each has a definite shaikh or leader, though some of them come under the protection of one or other of the more powerful riverain tribes of the lower Euphrates.

(1) Bani Malik Group:

Al Wada'al. Al Majid.
Al Tangiyah. Al Diwán.
Al Mustafida.
(all known under name Al Jumail'an)

(2) Albu Salah Group:

Al Shamla. Al 'Arairifah.
Al Safifa's Al 'Ajada.

(3) 'Ajwad Group:

Al Jasrin. Al Sharafat.
*Al Budur. Al Ghazzi.

(4) Bani Hachaim Group:

Al Zalyad. Al Ghazalat.
Bani Salamah.

(5) Shamamar (shamamra claiming descent from main Shamamar of Najd):

†Ab 'Aazam. Al Rufal'at.
Al Zaalba.

* Budur allied sections who visit Kuwait are the Al Hamad and the Al Farawa (Shaikh Mana). These are at enmity with the rest of the Budur (paramount Shaikh Shindah al Sabah). Shamamar shepherd tribes who in summer reside at Zubair or at Hawiza (10 miles north of Basra) and annually visit Kuwait are Al Rufal'at and Al Zaalba.

† Al 'Azamat are of Shamamar extraction. They reside near Iraq al Sharqiyah.

619 101 283 Add to the above the Zubaiziyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawiyah lying east of Samawa.

492 101 283 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Suhubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

795 459 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *samen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawil al Dhaifir and Tawil al Mizair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq-Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba-Beni Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarin, Beni Malik, Allwi Salah and 'Azmen pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 73 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarin and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Hussin al Gubaih of Great War days) and Mazhad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah or the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

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necks to passers-by. Their moral code, however, is high, and quite different in this respect from some of their Iraq riverain neighbours, the settled Ma'adan or marsh tribes.

HISTORY OF THE MUNTAFIQ*

174 The tribal league, which may be said roughly to occupy the Euphrates
619 from Chabaish to Darraji and the Shatt al Gharraf as far north as
[622] Kut al Hai, is known as the Muntafiq. The link between the units of which it is composed is of the loosest kind, being no more than a common recognition of the paramount authority of the Sa'adun. This family, which claims descent from the Prophet and is therefore related to the Sharif of Mecca, emigrated from the Hijaz to Mesopotamia in the early part of the sixteenth century. According to local tradition, the southern borders of the 'Iraq were held towards the close of the 'Abbasid period by two large tribal groups, the Bani Malik (in the dialect pronunciation Bani Malich) in the Shamiyah, under Ibn Khusaibah and the 'Ajwad further north on the Gharraf, under the Al Washal. The name of the first ancestor of the Sa'adun who approached their territories is generally given as Shabib. It is said that his son, Mani, took to wife a daughter of the ruling house of the Bani Malik and was presently involved in a feud between that tribe and the 'Ajwad. The scale turned in favour of the latter. The Bani Malik were defeated with considerable loss in a battle in which Mani was himself killed, and forced to make their escape into Najd, taking with them Mani's son, Shabib, who was the grandson of their own shaikh. After three years of exile, they were reinforced by some sections of the 'Utaiba, one of the most powerful tribes of Central Arabia, and felt themselves strong enough to take revenge upon their rivals. Legend relates that Shabib ibn Mani came up to spy upon the camping grounds of the 'Ajwad, whom he found at the wells of Safwan, a well-known watering-place on the borders of what is now Kuwait territory. On his way back he took note of the stages of his journey and returned to Najd with a careful report of every halting-place, Wird, 'Anib, Fallahah, Qirb al Ma (water; waterless, sown land, near

* The word is correctly written with a *qaf*, Muntafiq [not Muntafik], from *'intifaq*, agreement. Pronounced *Mintafiqh*.

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Muntafiq

174 water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road.
619 Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shurafat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khazaubah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Janirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

69 The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal
101 groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the
221 most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the
241 desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some
184 cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

619 The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf,
101 and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore
233 much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawiyah type (Shawáwi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of
[342] flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the
[241] desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed villages by the rivers to till the fields.

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villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use 619
donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of 101
donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as 233
is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. [492]
By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of con- 619
federacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to 622
define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a similar position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are 619
more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, 101
Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, [241]
by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as 326
Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al 831
Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are 635
not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a 622
strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

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dismemberment, accompanied by regrouping, is the process which governs all Arab tribal evolution. Within the Bani Malik are two ancient and powerful federations which have from time immemorial been at strife, the Bani Khaiqan and the Mujarrah. There is some doubt as to whether either is of Bani Malik stock, which may account for the secular feud which exists between them.* The Bani Khaiqan are at present gathered under the hold of the Al Mughaighash, a clan of one of their largest sub-tribes, but the Mujarrah are split into a number of inferior groups and have no common head.

The history of the Muntafiq league is inseparably linked with that of the Sa'adun. The very name of Muntafiq, as used in 'Iraq, refers only to the ruling family and to its slaves and dependants who are reckoned to be an integral part of it. No tribesman in 'Iraq would call himself Muntafiq though he might use the word if he were in Mecca or Damascus where his own small tribe would be unknown, while the fame of the Muntafiq would be familiar to every Arabic-speaking community. The position of the Sa'adun, a matter of considerable importance in Southern Mesopotamian politics, has been determined partly by their origins and partly by Turkish official ignorance or intentional misunderstanding of their relation to the tribes. It must be borne in mind that the Sa'adun belong to the social order of the desert and have not succumbed to the local influences which have affected the tribal population of 'Iraq, who are, like themselves, immigrants from Arabia, but usually immigrants of an earlier period, and as settlers on the soil have been brought into more intimate contact with Mesopotamian traditions. The Sa'adun have preserved the characteristics of Badawin Arabia. They are Sunnis and Ahl al Baiyir, people of the camel; their *diwaks* are in the Hammad west of the Hai or south of the Euphrates, where they have dug or re-opened wells in their accustomed camping grounds. Here they repair after the early rains, and here they assume their natural part as independent chieftains of the desert. The 'Iraq tribes, who have acknowledged them as overlords, differ from them in every particular. They are Shi'ahs, settled or half-settled cultivators and marshmen, whose link with the desert people has long been broken; socially inferior,

* The Bani Khaiqan are said to be originally 'Ajwad and the Mujarrah to be Bani Sa'ad.

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but strong numerically, and stronger still in their hereditary hold upon the land they occupy.

The Muntafiq league under the Sa'adun remained until the time of Mid-hat Pasha, in 1871, almost independent of Turkish rule. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, however, they seem to have paid tribute to the Turks. The first mention of this tribute is in 1747, when the Resident at Basra reported that the Muntafiq were in rebellion against the Turks because of the tribute imposed on them. In 1769 they again rebelled under their shaikh 'Abdullah on account of arrears of the tribute which the Turks had attempted to exact. In 1776 the Muntafiq helped the Turks to defend Basra against the Persians under Karim Khan, but were defeated and presumably submitted to the Persians during the three years of the Persian occupation, which ended in 1779. In May 1787 the Sa'adun Shaikh Thuwaini entered Basra with a large force, took possession of the town and the Turkish fleet and imprisoned the Musallim, but was expelled from Basra by the Pasha of Baghdad in October 1787.

Between 1797 and 1802 the Muntafiq formed the chief bulwark of Basra against the Wahhabis. In 1798 they marched with the Turks into Hasa against the Wahhabis, and in 1801 the Shaikh Thuwaini, already mentioned, led an expedition against the Wahhabi capital, but was murdered not far from Kuwait.

Between 1810 and 1817 the Muntafiq seem to have been in open rebellion against the Pasha of Baghdad. In 1813 'Abdullah Pasha of Baghdad marched against the Muntafiq chief, Hamud al Thamir, but was defeated near Basra, captured and put to death. Upon this the Sa'adun greatly extended their power and ruled up to Samawah. Da'ud Pasha of Baghdad attempted about 1827 to break up the tribe by nominating a rival chief in opposition to Hamud, but the intrigue failed, and after the deposition of Da'ud Pasha in 1831 Hamud's son, Majid, regained the old independence and ascendancy of the Sa'adun. In 1850 the Muntafiq districts were torn by feuds in which the Turks feebly interfered, Faris ibn 'Ajil being finally recognised as the principal chief.

From this time onward the Turks began getting a firmer hold over the Muntafiq by constantly changing the shaikhs and setting them one against the other, increasing on the occasion of each change the tribute

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payable by the tribe. Thus between 1851 and 1853 the nominal tribute was increased from 200,000 to 310,000 *Shamis*, and the regular system of farming out the country by auction to the shaikhs seems to have begun. In 1863 the Wali of Baghdad, Namiq Pasha, attempted to break the tribal power by taking away altogether the Muntafiq lands south of Qurnah, together with the Hai lands, and turning the Sa'adun chief into a regular Qaimmaqam whose powers were to be much diminished and restricted to Suq al Shuyukh. A Turkish Muhasilji was put in to rule the country with him. The chief, Shaikh Mansur, rebelled against these restrictions and tried to engineer a general Arab rising against the Turks, on the express ground that the Turks were attempting to interfere in the internal administration of the tribes. The Wali was forced to withdraw from his new policy, but it was noted by the Resident at Baghdad that, if the Turks had had the strength and perseverance to carry it out, it would have been approved by the Muntafiq tribes, who had suffered much oppression at the hands of their chiefs.

In 1864 and 1865 the two principal chiefs, Shaikh Fahad and Shaikh Mansur, were still in a state of veiled rebellion against the Turks, owing to the attempts of the latter to break up the tribal system. Shaikh Mansur finally took refuge with the Dhafir, while his brother, Nasir, was in 1866 granted the lease of the Shaikhship, having outbid Shaikh Fahad. Shaikh Nasir was received into special favour by the Turks and he seems to have fallen under the influence of the Great Wali of Baghdad, Mid-hat Pasha, who about 1871 induced him to abandon the position taken up by Shaikh Fahad and Shaikh Mansur, and to welcome Ottomanising influences among the Muntafiq. This was the first downward step, and Nasir Pasha, great as his name is (he founded Nasiriyah), seems really to have been the betrayer of the Muntafiq to the Turks. An attempt at a regular Turkish land settlement was made. The Sa'adun were bribed into accepting the change, by being converted into regular landowners from their position as tribute-receiving chiefs. The tribes lost their status as landowners and became tenants, and the whole of the arable land of Nasiriyah and Suq al Shuyukh was parcelled out, by Tapu registration, then for the first time introduced, between the Sa'adun and the Turkish Government.

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Muntafiq Rebellion

In 1872 Shaikh Nasir was employed by the Turks in settling the newly conquered districts of Hasa and Qatif, and as a reward for these services he was appointed Wali of the newly constituted Wilayat of Basra in 1875. He proved too powerful, however, owing to the conjunction of the Waliship with the Chiefship of the Muntafiq, and was exiled to Constantinople about 1877. 175 619

In 1881, while Nasir was a prisoner in Constantinople, the whole of the Muntafiq tribes rose in rebellion, partly it seems owing to collisions between them and the Turkish troops stationed at the newly built cantonment of Nasiriyah, and partly because attempts were being made by the Turks to enforce the new land settlement and to make the tribesmen pay landlord's dues to the Turkish Crown and to the Sa'adun. This rebellion was never properly put down, but the Turks seem to have given up collecting the new land taxes and to have given considerable power to Falih Pasha, eldest son of the deported Nasir, who thereupon resumed to some extent the Ottomanising policy of his father.

In the meantime the Muntafiq became divided in allegiance between Sa'adun Pasha, son of Shaikh Mansur (who was thus nephew of Nasir and first cousin of Falih), and Falih himself. Apparently at the time Falih was regarded as the Ottomaniser and Sa'adun as the exponent of the old tribal principles. Sa'adun Pasha, in consequence of his hostility to Turkish influence, was at this time a friend of the Shaikh of Kuwait. He maintained himself against Falih mainly by plunder and robbery. He first came into prominence in 1900 when he raided Ibn Rashid in order to please the Shaikh of Kuwait. Ibn Rashid threatened reprisals on Kuwait, and marched to attack Kuwait territory. He was confronted by the forces of Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait and of Sa'adun Pasha, with some Turkish troops, and was finally persuaded to withdraw, on the promise that Sa'adun Pasha would be hunted down.

Sa'adun Pasha thought that he had been deserted by Mubarak in the course of these negotiations and he and Mubarak seem never to have been on good terms again. In 1903 he caused a great disturbance among the Muntafiq by practising extortion on the Jazirah tribes, presumably those which owed allegiance to Shaikh Falih. A small Turkish force was sent against him and was massacred by him with

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175 619 its Colonel at Shatrah, but in 1904 he was taken back into favour of the Turks.

Between 1904 and 1908 the Muntafiq continued to divide their allegiance between the two cousins, Sa'adun Pasha and Falih. In the spring of 1908 Falih died, leaving no son of any age or force of character to succeed him, so that Sa'adun became clearly predominant in the tribe. In 1908 Sa'adun seized the opportunity of the revolution and came out as a strong supporter of the Committee of Union and Progress. He was therefore favoured by the officials, while Falih's family was thrust into the shade. Sa'adun's championing of the cause of the Committee gradually brought him into conflict with Saiyid Talib of Basra who, after flirting with the party of Union and Progress, had begun to promote the opposing Arab movement. Confident in the support of the Union and Progress officials, Sa'adun Pasha began to exercise great tyranny among the Muntafiq; he put many of the minor shaikhs to death,* and extended more and more his system of blackmail and extortion. Finally in 1910 Nâzim Pasha, Wali of Baghdad, adopted the policy of governing the whole of the Muntafiq country through Sa'adun Pasha, whom he practically appointed Mutasarrif of Nasiriyah. He supported him unreservedly and would listen to no complaints against him. Great discontent against Sa'adun Pasha, fomented by the party of the sons of Falih Pasha, developed among the tribesmen who, in March 1911, took advantage of his defeat in an expedition against the Dhafir to rise against him. The whole country was in an uproar, and in June 1911 a Turkish Commission was appointed to enquire into the cause of the rising. It appeared that one of the main causes was that Sa'adun Pasha, acting as a Turkish official, had attempted to carry out the Turkish policy of disarmament among his own tribesmen. This had naturally made him intensely unpopular. The Commission, however, was understood to "attribute the Muntafiq troubles to the fact that the arable lands of the tribe are in the hands of a few powerful shaikhs, who oppress their fellow-tribesmen and keep them at variance, and that the proper remedy is a thoroughgoing partition of the lands". This was a rare instance of penetration on the part of a Turkish Committee of Enquiry.

* Notably five Bedur called shaikhs near Badra above Nasiriyah Town, under very [illegible]

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and there is little doubt that they had hit the right nail on the head. At the bottom of all the Muntafiq troubles is an agrarian difficulty, such as has stirred men's minds from the time of Tiberius Gracchus to the time of the Irish Land League. 175 619

Sa'adun Pasha with his son, 'Ajaimi, had been seeking to maintain himself in the neighbourhood of Nasiriyah against his rebellious tribesmen. But on the assembling of the Committee of Enquiry, the Turks withdrew all official support from him, and, entirely reversing their policy, sought to enter into direct relations with the tribesman and to prepare the way for an individualistic regime and for the last step in the smashing of the tribal system. Saiyid Talib, Naqibzadah of Basra, who had not yet appeared in open opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, nor openly espoused the side of the Falih family against Sa'adun, was sent by the Turks to try and get hold of Sa'adun Pasha. He managed to decoy him on board the gunboat *Marmaris* near Suq al Shuyukh and immediately took him off in confinement to Basra and handed him over to the Wali, leaving 'Ajaimi and Sa'adun's other sons at large. This act of treachery on the part of Saiyid Talib was never forgiven by 'Ajaimi and threw him permanently on to the side of the Committee of Union and Progress and against the side of the Arab Party under Saiyid Talib, in spite of the mean way in which Sa'adun Pasha had been treated by Turkish officialdom.

In July 1911 Sa'adun Pasha was sent in confinement to Baghdad and was thence removed in August 1911 to Aleppo, where he died suddenly on 25th November, 1911, as was officially reported, of "apoplexy and heart failure", but as was generally believed of poison. 'Ajaimi remained at large in the neighbourhood of Nasiriyah as an outlaw.

During the interval between Sa'adun Pasha's capture and death the sympathies of the whole Muntafiq tribe (including even his enemies, the Falih family) seem to have veered round in his favour, presumably because he was no longer in the position of an Ottoman official but was obviously out of favour with the Turks.

After the death of Sa'adun Pasha the Muntafiq country was administered from January to November 1912 by a Military Mutasarrif Farid Bey, who was a staunch adherent of the Committee of Union and

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Progress and was therefore on friendly terms with 'Ajaimi. 'Ajaimi, as already explained, was on the side of the Committee out of hatred of Saiyid Talib, the betrayer of his father, who was now drifting more and more into opposition to the Committee and was intriguing with 'Ajaimi's cousins and rivals, the members of the Falih family, Mizyad Beg, 'Abdullah Beg and others. In October 1912, when a reactionary movement against the Committee was threatened in Constantinople, a telegram was sent by one of 'Ajaimi's relations to say that 'Ajaimi was ready to march on Constantinople to frustrate any attempt at reaction. In the same month 'Ajaimi attacked and robbed his cousin, Mizyad Beg (probably with the connivance of the Mutasarrif, Farid Pasha), of a very large sum, and came into conflict with Mizyad's brother, 'Abdullah Beg.

The Committee of Union and Progress had been temporarily overthrown in November 1912 and Saiyid Talib was paramount at Basra and in favour with the Wali, who was a creature of Kiamil Pasha. 'Ajaimi was declared an outlaw, owing to his attack on Mizyad; the Falih family was received into full official favour, and the Committee partisan, Farid Pasha, was removed from his post at Nasiriyah. 'Ajaimi, irritated by these events, threatened an attack on Basra in November 1912, and there was a panic in the town, which Saiyid Talib had helped to put in a position of defence. 'Ajaimi was, however, dissuaded from pressing his attack and retired.

In January 1913 the Committee resumed power by a *coup d'état* culminating in the murder of Nazim Pasha and the removal from office of Kiamil. The partisans of the Committee were immediately installed in power in Basra and 'Ajaimi once more found himself on the side of the Turkish officials, while Saiyid Talib was in opposition. Finally in June 1913 Saiyid Talib stood forth at Basra threatening open rebellion against the Turks. The Committee then evolved the scheme that 'Ajaimi's old friend, Farid Pasha, should be sent from Baghdad to be Military Commandant of Basra, and if possible arrest or kill Saiyid Talib, while 'Ajaimi with his tribesmen should help against Basra from the desert. 'Ajaimi's hands were set free by a reconciliation patched up by the officials of Samawah between him and the Dhafir tribe. He advanced against Basra and Saiyid Talib's assassination was expected at any moment. But Saiyid Talib suddenly

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got in the first blow and had Farid Pasha assassinated in open day in 'Ashar. 'Ajaimi then retreated, and is said to have complained subsequently that he had not been properly supported by the Turks.

During the whole of 1913 the Muntafiq country remained in disorder. 'Ajaimi was now apparently officially recognised as Shaikh of the Muntafiq, but was unable to control the tribes. He worked in concert with Ibn Rashid against the Dhafir. In April 1914 the Wali visited Suq ash Shuyukh and saw 'Ajaimi and a new plot seems to have been concocted against Saiyid Talib, who had meanwhile been growing in power at Basra. In May 1914 adherents of 'Ajaimi began to drift into Basra, and Saiyid Talib was once more in danger of assassination, but he took so firm an attitude that the Wali banished 'Ajaimi's adherents from the town. He remained hanging about not far from Zubair until war broke out in November 1914.

The tribes have never acquiesced in their degradation from landowners to tenants, nor have the Sa'adun been able to enforce to the full the rights they acquired from the Ottoman Government. With the weakening of the central authority since the beginning of the constitutional era in 1908, and the general deterioration in local administration which followed on the Italian and Balkan wars, the official sanction for which the Sa'adun borrowed their old tribal prerogative has proved a broken reed. For several years before the British Occupation the tribes had refused to pay rent, and their attitude is one of extreme unwillingness to be drawn back into the state of subserviency which was imposed upon them. At the same time the prestige of the Sa'adun chiefs, combined with the assiduous preaching of the Jihad by pro-Turkish Saiyids, and the yet stronger inducement offered by the immediate rewards of war, whether they took the form of loot or of Turkish subventions, brought the Muntafiq league out against us in 1914. The work of pacification began with the occupation of Nasiriyah and Suq al Shuyukh in July 1915, and in spite of the proximity of hostile influences, made fair progress, but no final settlement of the Muntafiq district can be reached until the rival agrarian claims of Sa'adun and tribesmen have been adjusted.

During the rebellion of 1920-21 against the British, the Muntafiq to their honour remained quiet. With the introduction of the Arab Government under King Faisal I, the Muntafiq at first were loyal

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co-operators with Government, both tribesmen and Sa'adun thinking the Government would favour them. Latterly the Sa'adun saw Government turn against them and showed bitter resentment at the change from British to Arab administration.

To-day under the Arab Government of Iraq the Muntafiq tribes are keeping fairly quiet (though they did try an abortive rebellion in the Suq al Shuyukh district in 1935), mainly because the Iraq Government have come out into the open and are pursuing the old policy of the Turks, which was to support the tribesmen against the Sa'adun, their hereditary shaikhs. Whether in the long run they will succeed remains to be seen.

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APPENDIX I

DIVISIONS OF MUTAIR, 'AJMAN, 'AWAZIM, RASHAIDA, SHAMMAR AND 'ANIZAH TRIBES 101

TOGETHER WITH THEIR SHAIKHS, NUMBER OF TENTS, STRENGTH, AND CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

MUTAIR (Singular MUTAIRI)

The Tribe is divided into three main groups:

(A) AL DUSHAN (Ruling or Shaikhly Clan).
(B) AL 'ILWAN.
(C) AL BURAIN.

Paramount Shaikh—AL DUWISH (from Shaikhly Clan of AL DUSHAN). [622]
Present incumbent (1937)—SANDAR BIN FAISAL BIN SULTAN AL DUWISH. [162]
Fighting strength—May be taken at 6,000, though inner Najd figures are very doubtful.

Habitat—In winter the Dushan Mutair 'Ilwa and Aulad Wasil sections of the Burain as opposed to Aulad 'Ali and Bani 'Abdilla (who are purely inner Najd sections) range from the Dahana sand belt *in the south* up to Kuwait *in the north*, and more or less keep to the eastern side of the Bátin. They avoid the 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribal country in the coastal region of Hasa province, and claim that the great well areas of Subaihiyah, Tawil and the environs of Kuwait fall within their grazing areas and have done so from time immemorial. In summer above-mentioned groups camp on the well-known wells at Arawiyah, Qaya, Hafar al Bátin, Safa, Qara'a, Wabra, Jariya Ilya, Jariya Sifla. 619 221 101

Religion—Sunni MALIKI (late Ikhwan). [795]

(A) The DUSHAN or Ruling Clan, has no subdivisions but only certain leading families. 619 101

(B) The 'ILWAN MUTAIR group, subdivided into the—

(1) AL MUWAHA and their subsections.
(2) AL THAWIJIN and their subsections.
(3) AL JIRAN and their subsections.

(C) The BURAIN MUTAIR group is likewise subdivided into the—

(4) 'AULAD WASIL and their subsections.
(5) 'AULAD 'ALI and their subsections.
(6) BANI 'ABDILLA and their subsections.

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Taking (A), (B) and (C) above we have the following subsections together with the name of their shaikhs and number of tents in each instance.

(A) AL DUHAIN—Shaikh BANDAR bin FAISAL AL DUWISH.

No subsection, but the chief *hamulas* or families are:

AL SULTAN—Bandar al Faisal.
AL SHUQAIR—Trahib al Shuqair.
AL JABA'A—Mutlug al Jaba'a.
AL 'AMASH—Muhammad al 'Amash.
AL WATBAN—Muhammad al Watban.
AL MAJID—'Abdul 'Aziz.
AL MUHAMMAD—Muhammad al Badr.
AL FAHAD—Majid al Anqa.

Total approximately 200 tents.

(B) (1) AL MUWAHA ('ILWAN group)—Paramount Shaikh BANDAR AL DUWISH of the DUHAIN.

The following are the subsections:

AL BARA'IBA—Shaikh AL SUR (Naif) (100 tents).
AL JUWARA—Shaikh ABU RAS (60 tents).
AL JANTAN—Shaikh AL WASALI (40 tents).
AL JIDAYIN—Shaikh AL JID'AI (100 tents).
AL KHAWATIRAN—Shaikh AL RATTIR.
AL RUKHMAN—Shaikh IBN JARIBAN (AL JARAIBAT) / ABU SIFRA (AL MUHAMMAD) } (180 tents).
AL SA'ADUN—Shaikh IBN MITA'IB (80 tents).

(2) AL THAWIAUN ('ILWAN group)—Paramount Shaikh AL FUQM.

The following are the subsections:

AL MALA'ABAN—Shaikh IBN GHANAIMAN (300 tents).
(Seven principal sub-families).

AL RAWARA—Shaikh AL FUQM (NAIF and JUFFRAN).
(Eight principal sub-families) (300 tents).

Note.—AL MALA'BAN has the following principal sub-families:

AL GHUNAIMAN.
AL SA'ADUN.
AL FITAN.
AL MITNAJIN.
AL AMIRRA.
AL GUTRAILAT.
AL RUWAISHIDA.

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AL SAMARA has the following principal sub-families: 619 101

ARFAN.	JAMA'AIN.
DAMANIN.	JARID.
FUGAWA.	JAWAFIYAH.
HIJJI.	HADAIRAT.

(3) AL JIBLAN ('ILWAN group)—Paramount Shaikh IBN LAMI.

The following are the subsections:

AL ARAQIBAN—Shaikh AL MA'ARGAB (50 tents).
AL SUKRAN—Shaikh IBN RASHIDAN (200 tents) (Three sub-families).
AL 'IDNAN—Shaikh IBN JAGHAITHIM (150 tents) (Two sub-families).
AL LIHAYA (YAHYA)—Shaikh IBN SHIBLAN (FAISAL) (200 tents) (Two sub-families).
AL QA'AIMAT—Shaikh IBN LAMI (The Shaikhly Clan) (100 tents).

Number of tents, 700.

Note.—The SUKRAN include following principal sub-families:

AL MAJALDA.	AL QISHA'AN.
AL MARAIRA.	

The 'IDNAN include following principal sub-families:

AL KHURAIBIYAN.	ABU SHA'IRIN.

The LIHAYA (YAHYA) include following principal sub-families:

AL SHAWAIRAN.	AL SHIYARIN.

(C) (4) AULAD WASIL (Brain group)—Paramount Shaikh AL MURAIKHI.

The following are the subsections:

AL 'AFRAN—Shaikh AL FATHI (20 tents).
AL SIRRAN—Shaikh IBN SHUWAIRIRAT, IBN HAMAITA (200 tents).
AL DIYAHIN—Shaikh AL MUTRAQQA ('Ubaid), IBN JARRUN (Kuwait) (200 tents).
AL HAWAMIL—Shaikh IBN DAMAKH (50 tents).
AL MURAIKHAT—Shaikh AL MURAIKHI (60 tents).
AL AWARATH—Shaikh IBN ZUWAIYID (Masind) (50 tents).
AL ABAIYAN—Shaikh IBN IBNWAN (Dawah) (70 tents).
AL MAHARIBA—Shaikh AL HAFTA (50 tents).
AL WIRAMA—Shaikh IBN MUHAILIB (50 tents).

Note.—There are several other sections, notably in inner Najd, of which little is known.

For further information regarding the AL SUKRAN see Chapter XLIV on curious customs among the Badawin.

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(5) AULAD 'ALI (BURAIN group).—Paramount Shaikh IBN MUSAIYIS (MUSHARI) (Claims to be of 'ANIZAH stock):

The following are the subsections:

AL SA'ARAN—Shaikh IBN MUSAIYIS (300 tents).
AL ABADIN—Shaikh IBN JAHRIMAN (60 tents).
AL HAMADIN—Shaikh AL HUMAIDANI (150 tents).
AL SA'ADUN—Shaikh AL UMJANWI (100 tents).
AL SHALIN—Shaikh AL MAUT (25 tents).
AL SHUTHAILAT—Shaikh AL DIRI (Falah) (990 tents).
DUWIGHANIMI—Shaikh AL MAKNIANI (Nasir) (40 tents).
AL SITHLAN—Shaikh IBN TIRAN (Ati'allah) (30 tents).

Number of tents at very rough computation, 1,700.

Note.—Very little is known of the above subsections as regards numbers and leaders, as they mostly roam in Qasim and towards Hijaz, *i.e.* south of the Dahana and to westward.

(6) BANI 'ABDILLA (BURAIN group)—divided into the following subsections:

AL MAIMIN—Shaikh IBN JINAIL.
IBN SHARAR.
IBN FUDAGHIN (800 tents).
AL SA'ARA—Shaikh IBN THAMINA (600 tents).
AL THI'AUN—Shaikh IBN ISQAIYAN.
IBN JIRRIN (900 tents).

Note.—Very little is known of the above and many other subsections or their numbers or leaders. The whole tribe has its habitat in inner Najd. They are reported to be numerically very strong and to have 4,000 tents at least.

Corrected up to 20.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

The number of this tribe's tents, fighting men, camels, etc., are variable; quantities and figures given must be taken as approximate only, especially as regards the Burain sub-groups of the Aulad 'Ali and the Bani 'Abdilla, who roam between Qasim and the Hijaz.

The tribe has a great tradition behind it, and being a "Sharif" one is considered among the great and honoured ones of Arabia.

[127] The Duwish is looked upon as head of the whole of the Dushan, Irwah and Burain groups. Actually his control of the distant Bani 'Abdilla division of inner Najd is not very strong. (See Genealogical Tree No. V.)

000 About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Ibn Sa'ud in

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About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Ibn Saud
in 1929–30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under 721
ibn Musaiyis, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and [113]
German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Bin Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Bin Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929–30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Bin Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Bin Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Bin Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Bin Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the 669
latter's wooing the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929–30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(a) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.
(b) The confiscation by Bin Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Sharaf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able 726
to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is sturdy and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They 231
own the famous breed of *Kuwait* horses, and up to the 1929–30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear 291
a black hanging with *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and 562
once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shawawir and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman 619
were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929–30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'AJMAN (Singular 'AJMI) 619

Pronounce Shakk—see MUTAIR* (from Shakkly Ghn AL MA'ISH, 101
subsection MIJRAI). 622

* In also pronounced Shakkiah.

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619 *Present incumbent* (1937)—KHALID AL HITHLAIN (Bin Sa'ud's nominee,
101 nicknamed ZIB SAHMAN). RAKAN AL HITHLAIN (tribal nominee).

[623] *Fighting strength*—May be taken at approximately 5,800.

Habitat—In winter the tribe ranges whole Province of Hasa from the
[221] Kuwait border as far south as Hufuf. In summer they camp along the whole length of the Wadi al Miyah in Hasa where water is plentiful, their headquarter camps being 'Nta, Ghanwa, Mulaija, Sarrar and Awaina in Mid Hasa. The Southern 'Ajman largely camp in summer round Hufuf town. The Al Hajraf section and some of the Al Hadi, who have for many years been vassals of the Shaikhs of Kuwait, roam Kuwait and camp at Jahrah in summer.

The tribe is closely related to the powerful Al Murra in the south, and so are in close alliance. Also they marry with the Bani Yam of Najran, who claim the same ancestry. They profess the Sunni Hanbali creed of Islam, and were lately all 'Ikhwan.

The various sections of the tribe with their shaikhs and number of tents are as follows:

AL ARJAN—under Shaikh IBN RUMAN (210 tents).

Subsections:

ARJAN. KIBQ.
MARJAN.

AIDH DHÁ'IN—Shaikh IBN JUMA'A (Manu), AD DAMIR ('Abdulla) (150 tents).

Subsections:

'AMIR. MARDHAN.
DHÁ'IN.

AL HÁDI—Shaikh AL MUTALAQQIM ('Ubaid) (130 tents).

Subsections:

AL HÁDI. AL WAIL.

AL HAJJÁN (pronounced HAITAN)—Shaikh MUHAMMAD AS SURAH (50 tents).

AL HITLÁN—Shaikh IBN SA'ADA and IBN ZIMAMAN (160 tents).

Subsections:

DHAMIRHAR. RAKKAN.
JAHIL. KHURAITIN.
MATAQ.

AL HARAIRI—Shaikh IBN 'ILWAF (100 tents).

AL KHUWAITIR—Shaikh AD DAMMAM IBN 'ADHAN (50 tents).

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AL MANFUDH—Shaikh IBN MIKRAD (MARKHUTH) (200 tents).

Subsections:

DABABAH. SHAFAN.
MANFUDH.
AL HAWAILA (Shaikh JUNAIFIR, father of SARAH, wife of FAHAD AL SITHLAIN).

AL MUFLA—Shaikh IBN DIBLAN (Muhammad) (60 tents).

AL NA IMS—Shaikh IBN SITHLAIN (300 tents).

Subsections:

SUHAISH. HAJIAN.
KARAH. SULBAH.
MUGHATTI. ZAIL.
MUAIG.

AL MISRA—Shaikh IBN 'UTHAIN (SALIM) (90 tents).

AL SÛMAN—Shaikh IBN 'AKSHAN (90 tents).

AS SHÂMIR—Shaikh IBN JUNAIFIR, IBN KHARRAN (200 tents).

Subsections:

HURAIM. KHUDHAIR.

AL SHU'AWILAH—Shaikh IBN MIFLAH (100 tents).

AL SUFRÂN—Shaikh IBN MUNAKHIR (100 tents).

AL SULAIMAN—Shaikh HAIF BIN HAJRAF (in Kuwait).
IBN HAIDAN } in (Sa'udi Arabia) (250 tents).
IBN MURAIKIB

Subsections:

MUSHIR. JARAH'AN.
DARWAR. SULAIMAN.
HAMRAH. HAJRAF.
SITHTHAH.

B 641

This tribal section, for long under paramount Shaikh Haif, has owned allegiance to Kuwait, so Ibn Sa'ud has appointed other two shaikhs to lead the tribe. In tribal eyes Haif is the true leader.

K 622 641

Corrected up to 21-4-37.

GENERAL REMARKS

The number of this tribe's tents, fighting men, camels, etc., is a variable quantity, and therefore figures given must be looked upon as approximate only. The tribe follows the shaikhly house of Al Hithlain, which is paramount always (see family tree of Al Hithlain in Appendix).

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Arms.—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish manner, while the long .303, short .303, German manner, and Turkish cavalry manner are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Ibn Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Ibn Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:

(α) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(β) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(γ) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Shei, and Sahul tribes.

In the 1929-30 'Ikhwan rebellion against Ibn Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained neutral.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Sheikh of the Al Misra section (Ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Ibn Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the 'Ikhwan movement, may be said to be entirely hostile to Ibn Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

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be brought under Kuwait. Were authority to collapse in Najd, the 'Ajman would be the first to desert.

'Awazim (Singular 'Azmi)

Paramount Shaikh—Shaikh (Amir) ibn jama of the al ru'ah camel division (senior) of the tribe—section al madalin, which is the Shaikhly Clan.

Present incumbent—amir 'ali ibn jama.

Strength—Approximately 4,000 fighting men.*

Location.—The tribal range is the north-east corner of Arabia (Kuwait and Hasa), from Kuwait town as far south as Ras Bidiya. In winter Kuwait State is visited west and north-west of Jahrah as far as the Bitin depression. In summer the various sections camp on water in the Kuwait Neutral Zone and in the Sudu region to the south of it where water and grazing is plentiful. Ark and Ingair are favourite camps.

Religion.—Sunni maliki.

The following comprise the sections of this powerful tribe, including their shaikhs and number of tents:

al ruwaikat—Shaikh bat al fahama (80 tents).
al madalin—Shaikh ibn jama (90 tents).
al dhafiran—Shaikh al safar (70 tents).
al abadiyat—Shaikh ibn shlaidiyan (60 tents).
al alaiyat—Shaikh ibn dhaidan (50 tents).
al athamimah—Shaikh ibn thaitrim (40 tents).
al faqu—Shaikh ibn ghiyathi (40 tents).
al jawaziran—Shaikh ibn khafran (90 tents).
al matairi—Shaikh ibn'wana (150 tents).
al munaifi—Shaikh abu khitli (90 tents).
al muhaimah—Shaikh ibn thraina (120 tents)
al mutairan—Shaikh ibn dhar (70 tents).
al qurabah—Shaikh ibn jandal (100 tents).
al ruwaili—Shaikh ibn dhai (180 tents).
al ruwawin—Shaikh al sawadi (40 tents).
al tuma—Shaikh ibn thaiir (140 tents).

also

shuwaikat ajmiya hasantan ja'awiran	No recognized shaikh, settled in Kuwait as fishermen, etc.

* Excluding those domiciled in Kuwait and environs.

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GENERAL REMARKS

B 281 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 (Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 619 The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 619 641 B 619 641 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929-30 Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B 263 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MANA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAAT), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 718 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mauzers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MURAILIM.

101 *Present incumbents*—'ABD IBN MURAILIM (Senior) and MUTLIQ IBN MURAILIM.

221 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[628] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

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State as far south as the Tawal-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619 101 221

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyeh, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI. [715]

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619 101

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADBAH (30 tents).
AL GHURAIBAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAID, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HIRSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).
MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of 641 Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, 619 much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwaig to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters.

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged [233] mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep.

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes 619 such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks,

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619 and their men for their knowledge of the country. Hence they make excellent guides and hunters. During the 'Ikhwan movement half of the tribe left Kuwait and threw in its lot with the Munair. To-day (1937) they have come back to Kuwait territory to their old allegiance. The tribe is 713 well armed with a variety of British and Turkish rifles. A few Martini-Henry carbines also exist among them.

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SHAMMAR (singular Shammari)

Divisions.	*Principal Shaikhs.*
(1) ABDA group	Ibn 'Ali
	Ibn Shuraim
	Ibn Juma
	Ibn 'Ajil
(2) ASLAM group	Mishal ibn Twila
(Al Saiyah)	Muhammad al Waja'an
(3) SINJARA group	Ibn Rimil
	Ibn Thunaiyan
(Tumán)	Mishal al Timiát
(Timiát)	Ibn Aiyish
	Mita'ab al Ruba'a

[641] *Note.*—(*a*) The above owe allegiance to Ibn Sa'ud, King of Sa'udi Arabia. The large and important group of Shammar Jarba, whose habitat is between Baghdad and Mosul (on the left bank of the Euphrates), owes allegiance to Iraq, and so are not included in the above list.

(*b*) Close inter-connection is always maintained, however, between Shammar Jarba and the Najd group of Shammar mentioned above. This especially applies to marriage.

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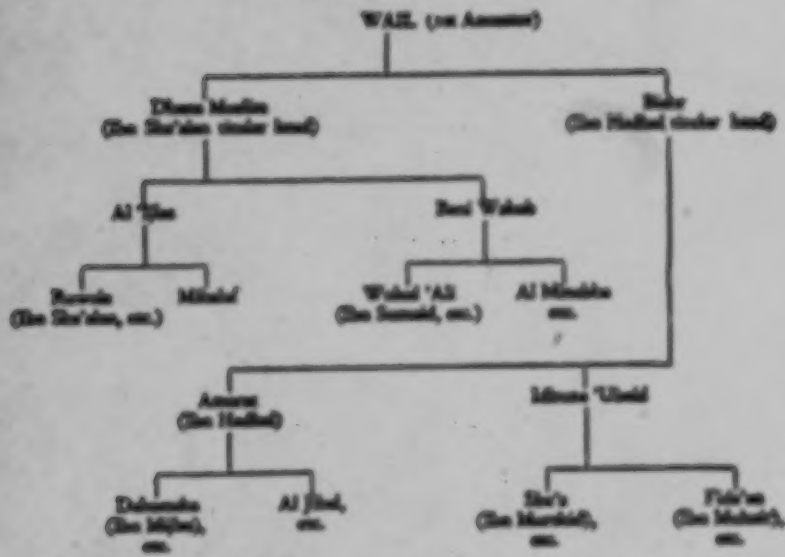
The 'Anizah Tribe

(Origin and main sections)



The Wahab Subdivision tribe claim descent from Wail and so call themselves 'Anizah, but there is some doubt about this.

Notes on the 'Anizah Tribe

1. The parent tribes of the whole of the 'Anizah are said to be the FAQIR (or FAJIR), plural FUQARA, and the 'AIDA.

The former to this day ranges the country between TAIMA and KHAIBAR in North-West Arabia, and the latter the country lying between Madain Salih, Dar al Hamra and Al 'Ula.

2. The various 'Anizah sections as we know them to-day in the Syrian desert first moved up northwards to their present *diwals* about A.D. 1600 and in successive waves, the whole migration taking some 180 years.

The different sections are said to have carried out the move in the following order:

FIDA'AN.	SRA'A.
N'EIMIA.	RUWALA.
AMARAT.	etc.

As the great Northern Shammar tribe was already in possession of the Syrian desert, these had to be driven out by the oncoming 'Anizah. With such success was this done that the Shammar were eventually forced across

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619 101 173 the Euphrates into the country south-west of Mosul, where they reside to-day under the name of Shammar Jarba (Shaikh Ajil al Yawwar).*

3. The town of KHAIBAR is the earliest-known centre of the 'Aniizah tribe, and to this day its two main "Quarters" are called Al Bishr and Tjim.

619 4. The 'Aniizah tribe is the greatest of all Badawin tribes as regards strength and the numbers of their camels. They have a pretty story that their ancestor Wail chanced on the right moment in the Night of Destiny (Lailat al Qadr) the 27th of Ramadhan (Fast Month), when God will always fulfil the prayers of men. Placing one hand on his she-camel and the other on a certain part of his own person, he prayed that her seed and his own should be fruitful and multiply: God heard his prayer with to-day's wonderful results.

It is said that the 'Aniizah to-day number 37,000 males, and their camels approximately one million.

721 619 5. The 'Aniizah between themselves are always at war, but will combine against any foreign aggressor. For example, the Amarat—Sha'a—and Fida'an are at enmity with the Ruwala and will combine against them. Similarly the Dahamsha, though of Amarat origin, do not fight the Ruwala (because of an ancient grievance against the Ibn Hadhal, then the titular overlords).

[628] 6. The great external enemy of the 'Aniizah are the Shammar, whether found in the north or in the south. This is a hereditary feud.

7. The Hawaitat tribe, lying south-west of the 'Aniizah country between Wejh and the Amman border, are also enemies from old time, but are not strong enough to worry them much, hence there is a sort of perpetual truce between them.

APPENDIX II

000 BADAWIN SHAIKHS WE HAVE KNOWN INTIMATELY

'Aniizah	Fahad Beg al Hadhal (dead) Mahruth al Hadhal	Amarat group.
	Nuri as Sha'alan Farhan ibn Mashur (dead) Fawaz ibn Nawaf as Sha'alan	Ruwala group.
Dhafir	Hamud as Suwait (dead). Hantush as Suwait. Jada'an as Suwait. Jali ibn Jurayid.	

* Now Shaikh Sfug ibn Ajil.

Appendix XVII

APPENDIX XVII

HUTAIM TRIBE

(DOMICILE BETWEEN HAIL AND TAIMA)

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Shaikha Ibn Bazik	
Paramount Shaikh	Nasir ibn Sarrouch ibn Barak*
Cousin and Assistant	Nahin ibn Fadaghem
Cousin and Assistant	Awadh ibn Barak

Shaikhs	*Name of Section*
1. Ibn Hadi	Al Hadi
2. Ibn Shumaidin	Gulaidin
3. Ibn Gazbub	Al Gazbib
4. Ibn Simra	Al Dhiba
5. Ibn Naoman	Al Naoamna
6. Ibn Shawwala	Al Shawwala
7. Ibn Marif	Al Khaiarat
8. Ibn Zabun	Al Zabun
9. Ibn Adla	Al Awamura
10. Hadaibdan ibn Awad	Al Mahaminat
11. Ibn Faraidin	Faradna
12. Ibn Rufaidan	Nattayda
13. Ibn Damdik	Doamik
14. Ibn Azaiir	Azaiwh
15. Ibn Hem	Hawaimna
16. Ibn Buwaidi	Al Buwaidi
17. Ibn Hamdd	Al Hamdd
18. Ibn Sumair	Al Fajla
19. Ibn Jaulan	Al Mahabira
20. Ibn Arailja	Rowaithat
21. Ibn Ajwain	Ajawina
22. Ibn Minhaal	Minhailah

Shaikh Nasir said Sharara are of the same stock as Hutaim but run an independent tribe.

To North of Hutaim are Walad Sulaiman.

To South of Hutaim are Bani Abdulla, Qahtan, Azaiba, etc.

To East of Hutaim are Shammar.

To West of Hutaim are Harb.

* Given by Ibn Barak himself on March 10, 1941.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins 1/14
Muntafiq

Appendix XVIII

APPENDIX XVIII

"HISTORY OF THE MUNTAFIQ"

Ref. Chapter XLV, p. 553, line 12.

Mr. C. G. Campbell, an authority on the Muntafiq tribes of the Euphrates, has unearthed valuable and interesting evidence to show that the Muntafiq as allies of the Turks were not defeated and forced to submit to the Persians in 1776 during the three years' occupation of Basra by Shah Kerim Khan Zend (1776–1779), as stated by the author, but on the contrary themselves administered a crushing defeat on the Persian Army near Basra in October 1778 at a place called ARJA. A note to the above effect, furnished by Mr. C. G. Campbell on April 22, 1950 is given below: 619 175

The evidence for believing in a Muntafiq victory at ARJA, ARGIA or YARA (near Basra) known to me is:

(a) *Arab tribal sources* (which regard the battle as the greatest Muntafiq victory of all times).

(b) *Persian History* which admits that Ali Mohomed Khan suffered a severe defeat and his own death at the hands of the *Arab Tribes*. Ali Mohomed Khan was the officer left in command at Basra by SADUQ Khan who was the Persian general who captured Basra. The Persian version says that after Mohomed's defeat and death, Saduq Khan returned to Basra and managed to retain the city by adopting a conciliatory attitude, etc., but abandoned the town immediately on the death of the then Shah, KERIM KHAN ZEND, in 1779 (13th Safar, 1193 A.H.).

(c) *Eversfield*, an English traveller and ex-army officer, who visited the battlefield (Arja) five months after the battle, whilst on his way to England by the direct route to Aleppo, via Basra and Baghdad, the Persians being still in occupation of Basra at the time. Quoting from Eversfield's journal, Mr. C. G. Campbell records the following entry.

"March 16th, 1779. . . . In the month of October last (1778) a battle was fought on the field called ARGIA at which place we expected to halt in 3 hours time, and to learn the reason of the slaughter there committed by means of the rashness of Ali Mohomed Khan, the Persian general. . . . At 2 o'clock in the afternoon we reached the plains of ARGIA, which were as extensive as the eye could carry, but an arm of the Euphrates makes a half circle of 3 miles inland, on the upper banks of which, the Muntafiq Arabs and Persians fought, the former consisting entirely of horse to the number of 8,000, the Persians of 6,000 horse and the same number of foot, besides 18 large Gallivats. The attack was begun by a violent onset of the Persians, whose horses once set in a full gallop cannot without

Appendix XIX

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difficulty be turned, the Arabs, on the contrary, have great management of theirs, and who having thrown their long darts (spears) quickly turned the heads of their horses and galloped away, which the Persians mistaking for flight, pursued with great eagerness, until the Arabs had led them into a swampy ground, when they faced about and attacked the pursuers in their turn. This masterly evolution so disconcerted the Persians that they attempted an immediate retreat, which from the nature of the ground and the ungovernable state of their horses, they so illy effected, that 3 men only (and they much wounded) reached Bussora (Basra) to relate the fate of their unfortunate comrades, all of whom, that day on the field of ARGIA, were cut to pieces by the victorious Arabs. The Gallivats when they perceived the destruction of their army, sailed away down river. . . .

. . . ."We walked over the battlefield, and found it entirely strewn with the bones of the slaughtered Persians. What appears surprising is, that the Arabs lost only twenty men in this engagement. We left this dreadful scene at four o'clock and about five o'clock passed a very handsome town, belonging to the Turks, called ARGIA. . . ."

"(A journal kept on the journey from Bussora to Baghdad; over the little desert to Aleppo, Cyprus, etc., etc., in the year 1779. By a gentleman, late an officer in the service of the Honble. East India Coy. Horsham. Printed by Arthur Lee, and sold by J. & C. Rivington, St. Paul's Churchyard. MDCCLXXXIV)".

Author's Note.—There is no sign to-day of any village or town on the banks of the Euphrates bearing a name resembling ARIA or ARGIA.

APPENDIX XIX

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Ref.: the community known as "AQAIL" or "AGAIL" (see middle of p. 112, Chapter VI).

The following additional information is given about this interesting class.

"It is not correct to number the AQAIL (or AQAILAT) among the inferior or Non-Sharif tribes of Arabia, for as explained in the note at foot of p. 112, they are not a tribe in any sense of the word. They are a camel-buying community with headquarters in Baghdad, Damascus and Qasim. Any Badawin can become an AQAILI whether he be of an inferior tribe or of a Sharif tribe. Hence among the AQAIL or AGAILAT community as they are called, we find many families of irreproachable Sharif Arab stock, as well

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait MI I
Reference 1434

as others of inferior or non-Sharif Arab stock. It all depends where the camel-buyer has originated from before he took to the trade. For example the great house of Al Bassam are not only AQAILIS but are considered among the noblest in the land from the point of view of 'sharaf'."

APPENDIX XX

NOTE ON WORD "DÎYA"

and the various ways it is spelt according to context (see p. 328, Chapter XLII).

1. AL 'IDIYATU al QATIL, means settlement of a killing.
2. DÎATUN, e.g. the court orders that DÎATUN should be taken from the man doing the killing.
3. 'IDIATUN, e.g. "The accused shall pay to the injured party 'IDIATUN of so much" (Qadhis order).
4. The Quran says—"Wa inkan min qaum-in bain-a-kum wa bain-a-hum 'adawatun, fa diatun musallamatun illa ahlihi".

APPENDIX XXI

(Ref. to Chapter XLI on Sukubba)

On June 21, 1949, Amsha al Mohomed al Duwish (Munir) told me that Bandey al Duwish and other Shaikhs kept Sukubba hunters who went off on camels regularly to the Dahana sands to hunt gazelle in summer. They drank from the various "Dubul", and would bring back as many as thirty-five to forty sun-dried carcases of gazelle (jalla). Wooden poles and mats are set up to dry the meat on.

APPENDIX XXII

SOME FISH OF KUWAIT

(Caught off Masjan Island in a reed fish trap) (hadhara) April 1941. (See also Appendix X, p. 592.)

*Sheem	Two dorsal fins—on lower lip half inch rough external surface—fork tail.

* Mentioned in Appendix X.

Appendix XXVIII

APPENDIX XXVIII

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel Wasms

The following additional Wasms should be noted.

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1. Under *Manair Tribe after* (*c*), p. 423, add:
   (*i*) Al Ammash (Al Rumaihih)
   On left cheek.

2. Under *Bani Khalid after* (*f*), p. 425, add:
   (*g*) Ibn Mendil
   On right thigh

3. Add (13) *Murra Tribe:*
   (*a*) Nigadan (Al Mugawe)
   Low on right thigh
   (*b*) Mohomed ibn Salim
   On left side of neck.

APPENDIX XXIX

KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAUD

(End of Chapter XLV)

The method of confining ants to their nest by means of Solomon's Magic Circle, was confirmed to me on April 15, 1948 by Salim al Murri and Saleh al Uhaimir, both trackers of the Murra tribe employed by H.H. the Shaikh of Kuwait when I visited their camp and was chatting to them and their womenfolk over a cup of coffee. 789

Both assured me that the circle did work but (*a*) that the circle must be made anti-clockwise, and that the ants could only be released if the motion of making the circle was again gone through, but this time clockwise. That this was always done when about to strike camp, as then the ants had to be released.

(*b*) The circle could only be made effective by the grown-up children (male and female) of first cousins. For other people to draw the circle was useless, and the ants would take no notice. (*c*) Food had to be given to the imprisoned ants at noon and sunset each day.

[The Rough tribal map (End map 8 of 1: Dickson Mil Kuwait) should be assembled according to the following plan.

A	B	C
D	E	F

Lt Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MII Kuwait
Bedouins MJ 4

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ROUGH T

End map 8 (A)

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-1947) 1951 MTI Kuwait
Redacted MJH

619

TRIBAL MAP OF ARA

Scale- 180 Miles = 1 inch

100 0 100 200 miles.

End map 8 (b)

1: Dickson G-6 (1929-1947) 1951 MII Kuwait
Bedouins M34

• 49

ABIA

Eh

REFERENCES

Names of the Towns are written in Block Letters, and are underlined thus... MOSUL

Tribal Boundaries are shown in fine dotted lines, and the Tribal names are written in Italic Type thus ..... *Beni Kaab* *Wakil*

NOTES

(1) Tribal Boundaries are only approximate

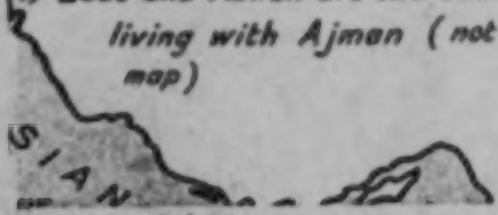
(2) The 'Anizah are divided into two main groups as follows:—

(a) Dhana Muslim consisting of Ruwala, Wuld Ali

(b) Bishr - - Fadán, Sbaá, Amarát and Wuld Suleiman

(3) Dahamsha claim to be independent of Amarát

(4) Zaáb and 'Adwan are two small Sharif Tribes living with Ajman (not mentioned in map)



End map 8 (c)

1: Dickson G-6 (1929-1947) 1961 MII Kuwait
Bodcoms M34

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End map 6 (D)

Ia Dickson G-6 (1929-1967) 1961 MII Kuwait
Hodgovins MJ4

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End map 8 (E)

Jr Dickson G-8 (1929-1967) 1951 MII Kuwait
Bedouins M34

619

End map 3 (F)

13: Thesiger T-S (ca. 1948) 1950 MII Saudi Arabia
Bedouin 1434

THE BADU OF SOUTHERN ARABIA

By W. F. THESIGER, D.S.O.

114 Lecture given on September 18, 1950, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

The Chairman: To-day Mr. Thesiger is going to talk to us about the countries around the Red Sea, with which he has been acquainted since childhood. He was born in Abyssinia. Before the recent war he was with the Sudan Civil Service. In 1940 he was sent to Abyssinia and volunteered for service there with the Ethiopian Patriot Force, in which he was awarded the D.S.O.

Later he was sent on special duty to Damascus and was able to resume his Arabic studies. Since the war he has carried out several remarkable trips to explore the heart of the area known as the "Empty Quarter," and he is now going to tell us about the most recent of these.

101 I AM going to talk about the Badu of Southern Arabia; that is to say,
179 the camel-owning nomads who live in and around the Empty Quarter.
184 I wish to make it clear that I am talking about the Badu, or Bedouin, and not about Arabs who cultivate or live in towns, for there is all the difference in the world between them. I do not suppose that a sophisticated young town Arab would be flattered if you referred to him as a Badui, though it is surprising how many of them do proudly claim Badu origin, and I do know that no Badui would like to be called a townsman or cultivator. At first sight the Badu of Southern Arabia appear to be very different from those of the north, but I believe that this difference is largely superficial and due to the clothes which they wear. I do not think that either a Sa'ari from the deserts just north of the Hadhramaut or a Wahibi from South-Eastern Oman would feel himself much out of place in an encampment of the Rualla. On the other hand, I think that a townsman from Aden or Muscat would always be conspicuous in Damascus. I wish also to make it quite clear that I am describing conditions in Southern Arabia and not in Arabia as a whole. In the past Badu life was everywhere much the same, harder in some places and easier in others. The last quarter of a century has, however, seen the most revolutionary changes in the north. There Ibn Saud has imposed his iron will upon the tribes. He has subjected the nomad to the rule of the settled Arab, stamped out raiding, and taxed the Badui as well as the cultivator.
[177] The same process has been carried out in Trans-Jordan, in Syria, and in Iraq. It was largely the use of the motor-car which made it possible to bring the Badu under control, for that robbed them of their age-old inaccessibility. Previously they had only to retire into the desert to be safe from pursuit, but now they are at the mercy of a motorized patrol, unable to get away and with nowhere to hide.

178 Cars have, however, not yet penetrated into the southern desert, and
179 there the old life still goes on. I do not suppose, except that the Badu are now armed with rifles, that their way of life has greatly changed since the times of Abraham. In the south they are still dominant and even unchallenged. It is true that before they enter the valley of the Hadhramaut

12. Thesiger T-2 (in. 1948) 1950 MJI Saudi Arabia
Sudanic MS4

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

138 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
812 stand the land in which they live—a harsh, unforgiving land which conditions their lives so that they, too, are hard, hard in body and mind. They live in the desert—that is to say, in country which, judged by ordinary standards, is waterless. This applies equally to the barren, broken limestone mountains near the southern coast, to the flat, featureless gravel plains, and to the sands of the Empty Quarter itself, where the mountainous dunes, some of which are 700 feet high, run one behind the other for hundreds of miles. There are, of course, some wells in this desert, but they are usually few and far between: the Sa'ar country has two permanent wells in it, Mazwakh and Zamakh; the Manahil country has three or four. Thus in an area the size of Norfolk there might be two wells. I have myself twice travelled four hundred miles between wells. I admit that this is exceptional, but Badu have raided across these very stretches of desert, riding out and back again without touching at a well. You can think what this means when you realize that this distance is twice as far as from Dover to Edinburgh, and that these Arabs travelled at a speed of three miles per hour, relying only on the water which they could carry with them without foundering their camels, and that the camels themselves did not get a drink until they returned a month later.

137 It seldom rains in this desert; in many parts it has not rained for five
221 years, and I have been in places where not a drop of rain has fallen for twenty-five years. By Badu standards a couple of hours' heavy rain in the
132 year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
233 depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances. Most of this vegetation is not grass, but desert plants like the succulent yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
233 acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the
262 Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

THE 'ANAZAH TRIBES*

TOUVIA ASHKENAZI

619 101 TO THE RABI'A GROUP[1] belong the 'Anazah and the closely related 'Asad who live near each other to the north of the Wâdi Rumma.[2] The Pilgrim Road from Baṣra[3] to Medina[4] crosses their territory. The 'Anazah, who are scattered throughout the peninsula of Arabia, Syria and 'Irak, are divided [601] into a Southern and Northern branch. All the tribes, and all the clans of the 'Anazah tribes, in the opinion of the ar-Rwala, have a common father and therefore are they beni al-'amm, their paternal cousins.[5] They are called by many travellers the 'Anazah nation.[6] The 'Anazah of the Syrian desert are the most

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* Because of limitations of special type available native words are given in the text without diacritical marks. A list showing the proper orthography is given at the end of this article—Editor.

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1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1938, pp. 176-178; see tribal descent of Arabian Bedouins, Carl Rawan, *The Black Tents of Arabia* (Boston, 1935), p. 232; cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1933), p. xix, "The Descendants of Rabia"; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (3rd ed., revised, 1946), pp. 93, 280, 502 n. l; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman* (3rd ed., 1929), pp. 95, 101, 106, 131, 177, 439; Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1946), vol. 2, p. 477.

2 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 374; cf. *First List of Names in Arabia (N. W. and S. W.)* (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, Royal Geographical Society, December, 1931, p. 8 (Rima, Wâdi ar: wadi, 160 km south of Hail; Arabic *A* [for Arabic forms see list at end of this article]). See also David George Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: a Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (New York, 1904), Rumma, W. ar –, pp. 164, 184, 190, 208, 233, 239, 273, 277, 285, 288 ff., 296 ff., 306, 316, 326, 340, 341.

3 Basra: pr. Bawa (sharp a); Arabic *B*.

4 Medina: 350 km north of Mecca; conv. for Arabic *C* – Al Madina; formerly Arabic *D* – Yathrib.

[104] 5 The word duriyya, "descendants," is replaced among the ar-Rwala by the word dana which designates very distant descendants irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or whether the relationship is due to adoption. This term is employed particularly by the 'Anazah. Dana, "descendants": John Lewis Burckhardt employs this term in 1810 (*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* [2 vols., London, 1830], vol. 2, pp. 4-6); cf. Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 47-50; Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins* (Paris, 1930), p. 113; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des etats du Levant placés sous mandat français* (Beyrouth, July, 1930), p. 7.

6 Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), p. 1; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 176; Carl Rawan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins* (Geographical Review, vol. 20, no. 3, 1930), p. 494; *idem*, *Vocabulary of Bedouin Words Concerning Horses* (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 4, no. 2, 1945), p. 97.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

powerful of all the purely nomad confederations from the borders of 'Irak to the eastern frontiers of Syria.[7] 619 101

(1) The Southern 'Anazah, comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab al-Hayl, Eben Sabah, Ebn Sa'ûd, and various clans of the Kahṭan and the Muntifeš (al-Aškar, etc.). (2) The Northern 'Anazah are subdivided into (a) the Dana Muslim, and (b) the Dana Bišr. The Dana Bišr include the Wuld 'Ali[8] and the ar-Rwala,[9] who are also known as the Al-Glâs.[10] 619

THE NORTHERN BRANCH

The Northern Branch of the 'Anazah are subdivided, as we have mentioned, into two branches: (a) Dana Bišr and (b) Dana Muslim. 619 622

According to Gertrude Bell,

The Anizah are divided roughly, into three groups. The Amarat, who claim descent from a legendary ancestor called Bishr, occupy, under Fahad Beg ibn Hadhdhal, the south-east angle of the Syrian desert and spend the summer near the Euphrates. The

7 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia* (India Office, 3rd December 1920: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, London, 1920 [Cmd. 1061]), pp. 39-40; Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins;* Max Fr. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* (Leipzig, 1939), vol. 1: "Die Beduinenstämme in Mesoptamien und Syrien," pp. 62-130; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 15-33; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins,* "Les tribus du desert," pp. 41-45, 113-123; Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia,* pp. 110-112; *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Beyrouth, 1922), p. 6; *The Military Handbook of Palestine and Syria* (Cairo, 1918), pp. 53-55; J. C. Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq* (Journal, Royal Central Asian Society, vol. 22, part 1, 1935), p. 15; E. Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung der Arabischen Beduinenstämme* (Islamica, vol. 6, part 1, Leipzig, 1933), p. 89; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, pp. 497-499; *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council with the Study of the Frontier between Syria and Iraq* (League of Nations, Mandates: Official No. C. 578, M. 285, 1932), vi, p. 27. 113

8 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 26-28; Musil, *Arabia Deserta,* p. 84; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, p. 499, map, "Tribal Areas of the 'Aneze Tribes."

9 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.; idem, Arabia Deserta,* pp. 14-16; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-25; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins,* pp. 113, 123; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen,* vol. 1, pp. 62-130; *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53; Lady Bell, ed., *The Letters of Gertrude Bell* (New York, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 332, 351; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* vol. 1, pp. 234, 271, 358, 376, 388, 565; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert* (New York, 1927), pp. 58-59, 95, 111, 244, 249, 260, 268, 274, 296, 299, 302, 310, 315, 320, 324; *Report, Iraq for the Year 1929* (Colonial no. 55, 1930), pp. 35-36.

10 Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* vol. 1, p. 271. Doughty remarks further "Incorporate of old with the Ruwàlla, are the ancient Annezy Aarab, el-Jellâs; of whom a wady of Kheybar, their former possession long forsaken by them, is yet named" (vol. 1, p. 377). And further he notes: "We came through palm-groves in a valley bottom, W. Jellâs, named after the old division of Annezy, which having long since forsaken Kheybar, are at this day—we have seen—with the Ruwàlla in the north" (vol. 2, p. 92; also pp. 134, 205).

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

619 622 Rwala under Nuri Ebn Shalan, are opposite neighbours of the Amarat on the Syrian side, and just as the Amarat turn to Karbala and Najaf for supplies, so the Rwala turn to Damascus. The third group is composite and consists of the Fedan and Sbaa, both descended, like the Amarat, from Bishr. The Fedan follow the Mheyd family; among the Sbaa, Eben Murshid and Ebn Kuayšiš are the leading saikhs.[10a]

Dana Bišr

The Dana Bišr consist of a number of independent groups of families: el-Fed'ân, Khorsa, as-Sba'a 'Ebede, and as-Sba'a Kmusa. Each of these groups, properly speaking, is a tribe.

According to Burckhardt, the Dana Bišr

divide themselves into two great branches: (1) The Tana Madjed Arabs to whom belong as minor tribes, the Fedan and the Seba; (2) The Selga Arabs. Of these the greater part occupy the district of El Hasa on the Persian Gulf, belonging to the Wahabys. Of these Selgas there are three ramifications, the Medheyan, Metarafe, and the considerable tribe called Oulad Soleyman. The Selga Sheikh is Ibn Haddal, a strenuous supporter of the Wahabys. He was present in almost every battle fought from the year 1812 to 1815 in Hedjaz against the army of Muhammad Aly; and it was chiefly through his exertions that Tousoun Pasha was kept completely in check on his progress in spring 1815, from Medinah towards Kasym.[11]

And further he states.

El Besher, the most numerous of the Aeneze tribes. Their great chief is ibn Haddal, who encamps with his tribe in the Nedjed where most the Besher tribe have taken up their abode. Ibn Haddal is at the same time one of the principal men at the court of Derayeh, if so may be styled the seat of Ibn Saoud. . . . The Besher are divided into the following powerful tribes—el Fedhaan, Ibn Imhyd, Ibn Ghehein (who conducted me to Palmyra in 1810), Ibn Kay Shyshe, Ibn Ghedzour, el Zebaa. In my way from Hanah to Tedmor. I found all the watering-places occupied by Arabs of this tribe: the greater part of them are in Nedjed; el Mauddje, el Metarafe, whose brethren are likewise in Nedjed; el Seleymat, el Hosseny (not to be mistaken for the Hessene) el Medheyan. Thus far extends my knowledge of the greater Aeneze tribes.[12]

619 The term Dana Bišr is equally used to denote the tribes of northern Syria as well as those of 'Irak. According to Raswan, who lived for many years among the 'Anazah tribes, "the Bishri [include] the three federated clans of the Anaza: the Fid'an, Sba and Amarat. . . ."[13] Bišr is the name of Abd's ancestor whose

10a *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p. 41.
11 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 2, pp. 4-6.
12 *Idem*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.
13 Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, p. 28.

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progeny branches into two: 'Abd and 'Amârât.[14] The el-Fed'ân and as-Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amârât, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders.[15] 619

TABLE 1

Dana Biîr

el-Fed'ân | Khorsa | as-Sba'a | 'Amârât

DANA MUSLIM

The Dana Muslim consist of the Beni Wahab and the Al-Glâs, the ar-Rwala being a subdivision of the latter. The Beni Wahab are divided thus: (1) al-Hsene;[16] (2) Wuld 'Ali: consisting of Dana Mifreg, head chief from the family of Eben Smeyr; al-Mašta, head chief from the family of Eben Tayyar; al-Maṣâlîh, head chief from the family of Eben Ga'iš. The Al-Glâs are divided into al-Mihlef and ar-Rwala. 619 622

The ar-Rwala traditions explain that originally the Dana Muslim divisions were encamped in the vicinity of Heybâr,[17] where in the valley of Al-Glâs they still have their hlal, palms. From there they are said to have moved towards the north.[18]

The first tribe to migrate was al-Hsene, whose chief was descended from the kin of Eben Melhem. To him was entrusted the control of the Pilgrim Road

14 This is one chapter in Arab genealogy which it would be interesting to explore. Cf. *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Haut Commissariat de la République Française, Direction du Service des Renseignements du Levant, Beyrouth, May 1922), p. 56. Müller gives a different spelling: Obeid and Amor *(En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122). A French document gives Amer (Amarat and Obeid) (*Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15: "Généalogie des Anézés"). See also Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 376.

15 Doughty cites the relation between the three: "Sbâ, Feddân, Ammarât" (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 376).

16 Their head chief is from the family of Eben Mezyed. On the al-Hsene consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 31-33, and Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 113-114.

17 Heybâr: 130 km north of Medina; Arabic *E*. Doughty calls that neighborhood "Kheybar the patrimony of Annezy" (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 314); Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 117, 169; Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, pp. 21, 30, 36, 68, 169, 184, 267, 272, 273, 282 ff., 289 ff., 317, 340; William Muir, *The Life of Mohammed from Original Sources* (T. H. Weir, ed., Edinburgh, 1912), pp. lxxii, cv, 87, 113 n., 222 n., 283, 310 n., 320 n., 343, 348, 361 n., 374, 375-383, 386 n., 394, 399 n., 419, 425, 481, 503, 513, 528, 536; conquest of, p. 374 ff.

18 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, p. 89.

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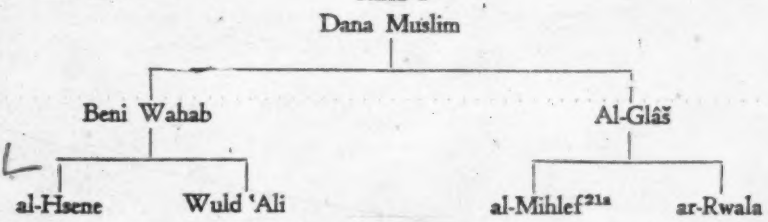
619 from Damascus as far as al-'Ela',[19] in return for which he received a large sum
622 of money from the Turkish Government. In the oasis of Heybâr several families of Wuld Sleyman and the Wuld 'Ali still have their palms. The Serahin, who belong to the as-Sba'a tribe and obey the chief of the kin of Abu-Sama, have their fellahin there.[20]

The house of Sa'ûd is a descendant from the 'Anazah branch, who further belong to the Maṣâlîh. King 'Abd el-'Azîz Eben Sa'ûd honors and appreciates the feelings of these 'Anazah, and especially those belonging to the Maṣâlîh. According to Hafiz Wahbe,

> in the year 850 of the Hegira came Rabî'a, son of Man'a, from their ancient abode, called Dar'a near Katif to 'Ali Eben Dar'a master of Hagr and Gaz'a near ar-Riad, member of the Rabî'a Eben Man'as tribe. Eben Dar'a gave the latter Mulayid and Guzayba, famous places in Dar'a. They settled down and built there these places, he, and his descendants after him. Man'a was the father of Rab'a who became famous and powerful all around his place. His son Musa was even more famous than his father. Musa was father of Ibrahîm, grand father of Mukran and Sa'ûd. Sa'ûd is the father of the House of Sa'ûd.[21]

TABLE 2



THE SOUTHERN BRANCH

To the Southern Branch of the 'Anazah belong: (1) Ab al-Hayl, (2) Ebn Sabah, (3) Ebn Sa'ûd, (4) Kahaṭan—various clans, (5) Muntifeš, (6) Al-Aškar, chief of the Muntifeš tribe are also descendants from the 'Anazah.

CHIEFTANSHIP

622 The word ḳowm indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible
104 to say: "Kowm eben Sa'lân, he is of the ḳowm of Eben Sa'lân"; "the ḳowm of

19 Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, pp. 182, 183, 184, 271.

20 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, p. 58.

21 Hafiz Wahbe, *Gaziratu-l-'Arab fi-l-karni-l-'Isrin* [The Arabic Peninsula in the Twentieth Century] (Cairo, 1354:1935), pp. 106-107. Cf. K. S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia, with an Account of the Development of its Natural Resources* (with Edward J. Jurji, 1947), p. 88.

21a Also called Muhallaf.

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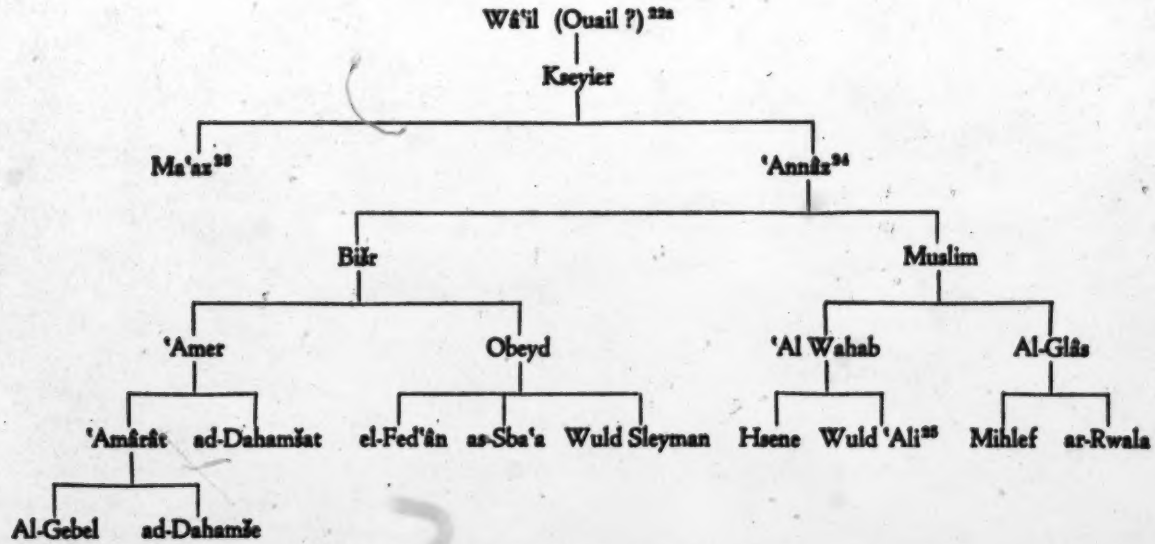
TABLE 3

Genealogy of the 'Anazah[22]



22 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122.

22a Cf. "Wallyin (sons of wâil, that is the Annezy)" (Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 2, p. 477). Cf. Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122: "Tableau de parenté des Anézés" (Ouaïel or Ourseil); *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15; "Généalogie des Anézés."

23 Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 94.

24 Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, p. 232.

25 Were called before Al-'Ali (Rîed Eben-Seneyr) (*Arabia Deserta*, p. 84).

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104 622 Eben Me'gel are encamped here"; "the ḳown of Eben Gandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as "That is the ḳown of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the ḳown of the Frege," will never be heard. When the late Prince Eben Sa'lân spoke of gemâ'ati, he was thinking of the various tribes who obeyed his orders and who would hasten to his assistance. Gemâ'a is almost the same as ḳown.[26] The rank of chief[27] is hereditary in a definite house, âl.[28] It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities; nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses may persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted, either of their own free will or under compulsion, and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes, is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as Seyh al-bâb, while affairs of war are left to a man from a different kin. Such a leader is known as Seyh aš-šdâd or Seyh al-harb. If he succeeds in subduing the enemy and concluding a favorable peace, several clans may become attached to him. They obey him in peace. There ensue wars in which the hereditary head chief generally succumbs and his house acknowledges the supremacy of the previous military commander, who then becomes Seyh al-bâb as well.[29]

619 622 173 According to tradition the head chief of all the Rwala was originally descended

26 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 50-51.

27 The ar-Rwala give the name of Šeyh and also Šuyuh to their head chief. The head chief declares war and concludes peace. Cf. *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 7-9; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 202-208; Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, *The New Iraq: its Problem of Bedouin Education* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), pp. 27-29; Leo Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Beersebe: ihre Rechtsverhältnisse Sitten und Gebräuch, aus dem Arabischen Übersetzt* (Luzern, 1938), pp. 29-31: "Eine Buch des Gouverneurs 'Aref el-'Aref in Beersebe"; Touvia Ashkenazi, *Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du nord* (Paris, 1938), pp. 51-53.

601 28 Generally the word âl denotes the same as beni or eben, its meaning being wider than that of ahl. Feriḳ is the name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor. A Feriḳ is also wider than an ahl. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word âl, which is often interchanged with the article al, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rweyli, a member of the ar-Rwala tribe. Cf. Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 47-50; Ign. Goldziher, in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft, vol. 50, pp. 11-117; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 248; Brünlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung, etc.*, part 1, pp. 68-111; part 2, pp. 182-229.

29 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 50-51.

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from the kin of the Ka'ka'a. Sa'lân was the son of worthy parents. Although he had no property of his own, he had charge of the camel herdsmen of the al-Mur'âz kin in the capacity of a fedâwi, free born servant. The herds grazed in the environs of a certain settlement in Negd. The Ka'ka'a once stole flocks of sheep and goats from the settlers and drove their camels into their fields. The settlers rushed out, captured the herds of camels, and hid them in the enclosed palm gardens. The Rwala surrounded the settlement, but they could not break down the defence, and the settlers threatened that the captured camels would die of hunger if the Rwala did not abandon the blockade. Accordingly the head chief of the Rwala made an offer of peace to the elder of the settlers. The elder declared that he would not negotiate except with his acquaintance Sa'lân and that he would not give up the camels except to him. The representatives of the Frege and Ribiŭân pleaded with the chief to give Sa'lân the seal ring, and this was done. Sa'lân went to the elder and came to terms with him. The settlers returned the captured camels. All praised Sa'lân and said that he was a gentleman. Sa'lân remained in the settlement and did not return the ring to the head chief. The settlers, the Frege, and the Ribiŭân supported him, and after four years he overthrew the head chief and himself guided the destinies of all the Rwala. A struggle for priority ensued between the head chief Eben Sa'lân with his Rwala and chief aŭ-Sreyfi of the Kwačbe. The latter belonged to the Kahaṭan division of the 'Anazah. Originally they camped in Negd. Under their chief aŭ-Sreyfi they advanced to the territory of the Rwala and encamped to the east of al-Gowf.[30] They wished to act and rule in complete independence, but the Rwala declared that they must acknowledge the Rwala supremacy or else withdraw. Thereupon the Kwačbe joined with the Sammâr and Zefir[31] and undertook a great raid upon the tribes obeying Eben Sa'lân. They were led by the seven sons of aŭ-Sreyfi. The Kwačbe and Sammâr wished to avenge their great

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30 al-Gowf: oasis, northern Negd; Arabic *F* or *G* – Gowf al-'Amir. Gowf al-'Amir, the ancient Dûmat el-Gendel, a great oasis and suburbs in the south of the Syrian Desert and on the border of the Nefûd. Gowf signifies a hollow or low ground. The Sunn'a of Gowf are greatly esteemed in all northwestern Arabia and in the lands beyond the Jordan for their skill in metal- and marble-working (coffee mortars and pestles). There is a salt traffic from the neighborhood of Gowf to the Hawrân, whither there come every year many poor Gowfies to labor for the Druses. Cf. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*: Gowf (North), pp. 18, 36, 116, 157 ff., 162 ff., 170, 173, 247, 250 ff., 256, 266 ff.; Gowf (South), pp. 31, 56, 198, 200, 201, 210, 334. On the occupation of Gowf by Eben Sa'ûd and the abandonment of the oasis by the ar-Rwala consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 19. Gowf is mentioned by T. E. Lawrence in the First World War as Nuri Eben Sa'lân's capital (*Revolt in the Desert*, p. 59).

31 On the tribe of Az-Zefir consult Alois Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 24; *idem*, *Northern Negd*, p. 169; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15.

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619 622 173 defeat, and in the following year marched against the Rwala. This time it was to be finally decided who should command, and therefore the Kwačbe marched with their families, tents, and flocks, and established a war camp, manah, and Haw'a (or al-Hawa) to the east of the settlement of Skâka.[32] The Rwala had previously occupied all the wells for a considerable distance around. The Kwačbe, together with the Sammâr, made several attacks on the encampment of the [721] Rwala, but each time they were repulsed. The Rwala, who were commanded by a war-chief ('azid al-harb) Fheyd eben Ma'abhel, never attacked but so pressed their adversaries closer and closer that they were unable to obtain water anywhere. Then the elders of Kwačbe sent a messenger to Fheyd with a request for peace, and offered the Rwala half their herds. Fheyd agreed and peace was concluded. This harsh war is known as Manah az-Zren, "Battle-camp of the Two Starvations." The Sammâr, the allies of the Kwačbe, did not accept the peace and threatened them with war. Aš-Sreyfi then decided that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Rwala and would join them entirely. [illegible] daughter Kut married Fheyd and his Kwačbe encamped together with the Rwala.

Still it is important to note what Burckhardt says of the Seyh of Wuld 'Ali, who in his time had their winter quarters on the Hagg road as far as Kal'at Zerkâ;[34] according to him "their sheikh, is named el Teyar: he occupies the first rank among their chiefs, and is therefore styled Abou el Aeneze, or 'Father of the Aenezes'."[35] According to Lawrence, "Nuri Shaalan, the great Emîr of the Rwala, who after the Sherif[36] and Ibn Saud[36a] and Ibn Rashid[37] was the fourth figure among the precarious princes of the desert."[38]

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32 Sakâka: 50 km northeast of Gowf; Arabic *H*.

33 On the tribe of ar-Rwala consult Musil, *Manners and Customs etc.*; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, pp. 234, 271, 358, 376, 388, 565; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-24; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 14-16; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 113; *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. 1, pp. 62-130.

34 Kal'at az-Zerkâ, close to the spring of that name (Trans-Jordan).

35 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

36 Hussein Eben 'Ali (1856-1931): first king of the Hegâz (1916-1924) and founder of the modern Arab Hâshimite dynasty; Grand Sherif of Mecca (1908-1916) as a result of the Young Turk movement. In the World War he first sided with the Turks; later, on advice of his son Feisal and of Colonel T. E. Lawrence, he joined the Allied cause.

36a 'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmân al-Faisal ibn-Sa'ûd (b. 1880?): King of Saudi Arabia (from 1932); born Riyadh, son of 'Abd-ar-Rahman; Wahabi sultan of Nagd. In World War I he sided with the British against the Turks; invaded and conquered (1924-1925) the Hegâz, forcing abdication of King Hussin and his son 'Ali; proclaimed himself King of Hegâz (1926); changed his title from Sultan of Nagd to King of the Hegâz and Nagd; by decree (1932) he proclaimed the official name of Hegâz and Nagd as Kingdom of Saudi

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The paramount chief of the 'Amârât is Fahad Beg Ebn Haddal who is nominally the ultimate lord of all 'Anazah, though, in fact, his western neighbor, Ebn Sa'lân, who commands the Syrian side of the desert, was more a notable personage. Unlike the Amîr of Gebel Sammâr and the ruler of Negd, Fahad Beg has no fixed abiding place. He lives with his tribe, true people of the camel, who follow where their grazing herds lead them. Yet the strong castles of Ebn Sa'ûd and Ebn Rashîd are not more impressive to the imagination than Fahad's encampment. In spring you may find him in the grassy steppes of the Syrian desert, with a couple of hundred tents round him, widely scattered in complete security from attack, and during many hours before you reach him you ride through his camel herds, for the 'Anazah are the greatest of all breeders. The old Seyh, seated on fine carpets in his guest tent, with his hawk and his greyhound behind him, offers a picture of tribal dignity which walled cities and the lofty halls of the central Arabian princes and their troops of armed slaves cannot rival.[39] In 1920, Fahad Beg claimed to be paramount chief of all 'Anazah (Syria and 'Irak), but whatever his *de jure* rights may be, *de facto* he has no shadow of authority over the Rwala and the chief Nuri Ebn Sa'lân. The Fed'ân and the Sba'a give Fahad scarcely definable recognition, which never, or very rarely, amounts to obedience; and even his 'Amârât Seyhs obey or turn a deaf ear to him as suits their convenience. Overlordship among the Bedouins is a loose term. Nevertheless, Ebn Haddal is the greatest nomad potentate on the western borders of 'Irak. The Turks endeavored to incorporate him into their administrative scheme by making Fahad's father Kaimakam of the desert between the Sitatah oasis and Karbala,[40] where (at the end of a canal running out from the Euphrates) he

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Arabia. For a short account of the rise of the Wahabis under Ebn Sa'ûd and the latter's conquest of Hegâz see *The Statesman's Year-Book* (1929), pp. 645-647.

37 Gertrude Bell writes on May 4, 1916: "I am now engaged in getting into communication with Ibn Rashid, whom it is rather important to preserve as a neutral if we can, do no more. He is only about 4 days off and Sir Percy Cox has approved warmly of my sending him a letter. A curious game, isn't it, but you can understand that it is exciting to have a hand in it" (*Letters of Gertrude Bell*, vol. 1, p. 376). Dr David Hogarth, President of the Royal Geographical Society, gave an account on April 14, 1927, before the Society, of Gertrude Bell's adventurous expedition to Hayil, the capital of Gebel Sammâr: province, northern Negd; Arabic *I*.

Members of the ruling house are captives at the court of Ebn Sa'ûd at ar-Riyadh in Negd. The province of Gebel Sammâr was annexed to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

38 Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, p. 173.

39 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p. 41. Cf. Robert Montagne, *Notes sur la vie sociale et politique de l'Arabie du nord* (extract, Revue des Études Islamiques, année 1932, Paris, 1932); Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, pp. 19-21; Eldon Rutter, *Slavery in Arabia* (Journal, Royal Central Asian Society, vol. 20, part 3, 1933), pp. 315-332.

40 Karbalâ: pr. Karbalâ, 80 km southwest of Baghdad; Arabic *J*. an-Najaf: pr. An Najaf, 145 km. south of Baghdad; Arabic *K*.

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619 owned a few acres of arable land, tilled by riverain fellahîn. These his son in-
622 herited, together with the Turkish title. It was one of the boldest strokes of Ottoman make-believe, but it could not give the nomad Seyh the remotest resemblance to a Turkish Effendi.[41]

We have to conclude that there is no one paramount chief among the 'Anazah tribes. The two most important 'Anazah chieftains are Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân and Fahad Ebn Haddal on the borders of 'Irak and the Syrian desert respectively.[42]

STATISTICS

161 We have little knowledge about their numbers in ancient times. We may relate what Burckhardt says when he travelled amongst them:

> From some Damascus pedlars, who had passed their whole lives among the Bedouins, I learned particulars which induce me to state the force of the Aeneze tribes alone mentioned (viz: El Besher) (their brethren in Nedjed not included) at about ten thousand horsemen, and perhaps ninety or one hundred thousand camel-riders; a number rather over than under rated.[43]

And elsewhere he states:

> To detail all their minor branches or yowayehs, would be to give an index of all their families, every large family with its relations constituting a small tribe in itself. It is difficult to ascertain the numbers of each tribe, from a prejudice which forbids them to count the horsemen; as they believe like the eastern merchants, that whoever knows the exact amount of his wealth may soon expect to lose part of it.[44]

Modern travellers have checked and left us more particulars with regard to statistics of the 'Anazah tribes. The whole tribe was estimated by Lady Anne Blunt, in 1879, as follows: 1. Fedáan—4,000 tents; 2. Sebáa—4,000 tents; 3. Ibn Háddal—4,000 tents; 4. Hesénneh—500 tents; 5. Roála or Jeláas—12,000 tents; 6. Wélled Ali—3,000 tents; 7. Sirhán—?; 8 and 9. Erfuddi and Towf—?.[45] Habib Chiha estimated them at 97,000 tents.[46] During the First World War (1914-1918) the 'Anazah of Syria were estimated by the Intel-

41 *Letters of Gertrude Bell*, p. 41.

42 Cf. Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, pp. 115-116. Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân became head chief of the ar-Rwala tribe and its satellites at the death of the Emir Nuri Eben Sa'lân, his grandfather, which occurred July 1, 1942 (*Palestine Post*, July 3, 1942).

43 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

44 *Ibid.*

113 45 Anne Blunt, *The Bedouins of the Euphrates*, pp. 190-192; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 346.

46 Habib Chiha, *La province de Baghdad; son passé, son présent, son avenir . . . et une étude inédite sur les tribus nomades de la Mésopotamie* (Cairo, 1908), p. 243.

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the Sba (3,000 tents), who winter to the east of the Jebel Aniza and advance as far as the Gaara region itself; and the Ruwalla (4,000 tents).[58]

No census was made among the Bedouins and it is clear that real statistics are lacking nowdays.

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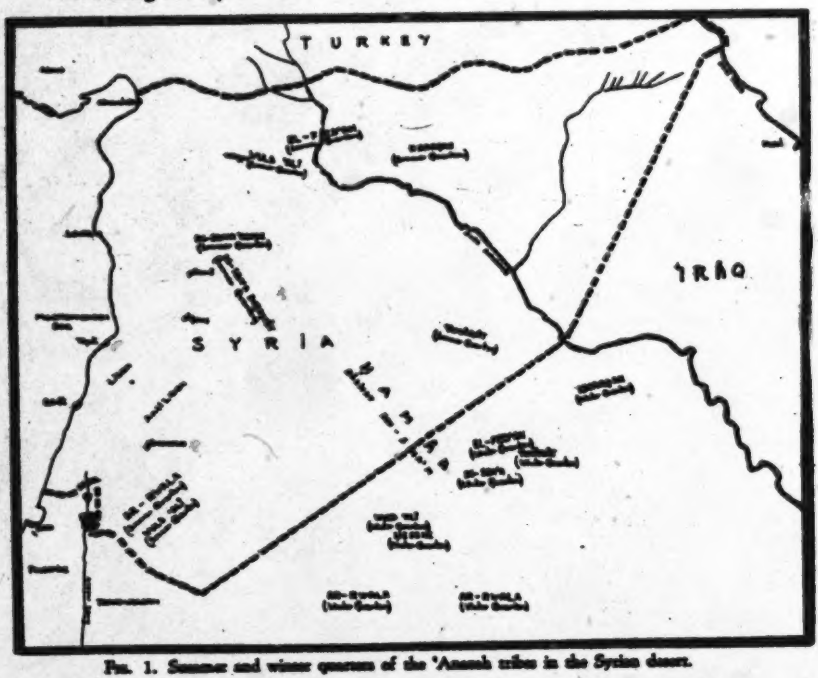

FIG. 1. Summer and winter quarters of the 'Anazeh tribes in the Syrian desert.

MIGRATION PROBLEMS

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At the present time the district covered by their wanderings include the whole Syrian plain, and reaches to the north as far as the latitude of Aleppo, and they are also found in the Beka'a,[59] to the south as far as the Sammâr hills, and east-

58 *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council*, etc., p. 27.

59 Cf. L. Dubertret and J. Weulersse, *Manuel de géographie: Syrie, Liban et Proche Orient* (Beyrouth, 1940), part 1: "La péninsule Arabique," pp. 15-16.

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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TRIBAL AREAS AND MIGRATION LINES OF THE NORTH ARABIAN BEDOUINS

Carl R. Raswan

[With separate map, Pl. V, facing p. 502]

114 SINCE 1911 the writer has spent a total of about seven years among the Bedouins. The main purpose of his repeated visits to northern Arabia has been the breeding of Arab horses and study of their history. Incidentally he has been impelled to determine as accurately as possible the *dira* or pasture districts of the various Bedouin tribes.

114 102 The accompanying maps are based largely upon personal observations and inquiries among the 'Aneze, Shammar, Shararat, Huetat, Beni Sakhr, and other tribes, supplemented by data gleaned from Doughty's "Travels in Arabia Deserta" and more especially from Alois Musil's works. While the maps are in no sense final or complete, the writer is confident that their delineation of the tribal areas is more accurate than that shown on any previous maps.

Definite Boundaries

619 131 101 221 The migrations of the Bedouins are not arbitrary, aimless wanderings in the wilderness. Well defined landmarks limit them. Tribes related by blood ties may frequently use the same districts together at certain seasons of the year. One tribe may conclude a treaty with strangers, permitting the latter to use its pastures and watering places for a specified period. Or else a powerful tribe, like the Ruala, may invade an enemy's territory without warning. In this case constant bickering, raiding, and skirmishing is the inevitable result.

A great northward shift of the Shammar and 'Aneze nomads took place during the first part of the seventeenth century, and the existing apportionment of the tribal areas was at that time roughly established. The boundaries which the various tribes now claim as their own and which are marked by water holes, variations in the desert surface (as between lava rock, gravel, red sand, etc.), dry watercourses, solitary hills, mountain ranges, cultivated tracts, and the like, have been definitely fixed since the beginning of the last century. Some of the more important of these landmarks are shown on Plate V, facing p. 502.

As a typical example of a tribal area let us examine the *dira* of the 'Amarat tribe of the 'Aneze "nation" (Fig. 1). The eastern limit

22:Raswan T-5(ca.1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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of their wanderings approaches close to Baghdad, Kerbela, and An-Nejef. To the south, in seasons of sufficient rain, they pasture their herds on the tract of Al-Hejera; but when rain is scanty they move westward and thence northward around the southern and western edges of Al-Wudiyan. Thence, crossing Wadi al-Ghadaf, Wadi al-Hazimi, and Wadi Hauran (near Ar-Rutba, now a military outpost of 'Iraq) they reach their northern limits at the base of the mountains Abu Rijmen and Jebel Bishri between As-Sukhne and Deyr az-Zor. Within this *dira* lie the boundaries of the pasture districts of other tribes. In the north the Fed'an range as far south as 'Aqlat Shuab (where their great chief Turki ibn Mheyd lies buried), and the Sba'a go south to Wadi al-Ghadaf. The Fed'an and Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amarat, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders. The territory of the Ruala, also related by blood to the 'Amarat, overlaps that of the latter in Al-Wudiyan and Al-Hejera; and on the south Al-Hejera is also occupied by the Shammar (Fig. 2). In addition, the 'Amarat share part of their *dira* with 'Aqeydat, Dleym, and Khaza'el (Fig. 3), tribes of the second rank, despised by the strong Bedouins of noble blood, with whom, however, they are occasionally allowed to migrate.

Relation to Natural Features

Since very early times three great natural features have borne a close relation to the territorial subdivision of the major nomadic nations of northern and central Arabia. The first is a well defined depression that cuts across the entire peninsula from the Red Sea at Al-Wejh to Basra and is marked by the irregular lines of Wadi Humdh to the west and of Wadi Ruma' and its continuation, Al-Baten, to the east. The watershed between these two systems of wadies lies east of Khaybar in Jebel Abyadh. The ancient Bedouin tribes occupying areas north of this depression are now represented also in Syria and Mesopotamia, but those with pastures south of the depression appear to have remained in central Arabia.

The second great natural feature is the Nafud sand desert and its principal outliers, Al-Labbe and Ad-Dhana. The sands of the last reach south across Wadi Ruma' and, extending between Hufhuf and Riyadh, finally connect with the boundless southern sands of the "Empty Quarter." These *nafuds* have always constituted natural limits for the migrating nomads and their herds. During winter and spring they are healthful country: out of the sands, moistened by the rains, springs up a fragrant pasture growth, and the bushes sprout forth life-giving leaves and flowers; but at other seasons all is a desolate waste. On rare occasions the nomad nations whose normal ranges lie far north in Syria return to this cradle of their race. The northern

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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133 group of the Weld 'Ali, for instance, in certain winters wander with
162 their powerful allies, the Ruala, southward to the neighborhood of Teyma', returning north again after their mares and camels have foaled.

133 The third great natural feature is the chain of hills (Ar-Rawaq,
619 Abu Rijmen, and Jebel Bishri) which stretches in an almost straight
162 line from Damascus to Deyr az-Zor on the Euphrates. Sheep-
233 breeding Bedouins are found north of these hills, camel breeders to the south. The sheep breeders occupy a steppe-like rolling country,
178 rich in pasture which lasts into the beginning of summer. Settled areas are nowhere far distant to east and west, and the tribes occupying these steppes will undoubtedly be the first to establish permanent settlements. As far north as Tel el-Abyadh near the Turkish frontier the writer has noticed members of the Fed'an intermarrying with settlers of that region. Mijhem ibn Mheyd, chief of the Fed'an, owns many villages in Syria, and several thousand of his Bedouins are even now at work in the fields, although the majority prefer tending live stock to plowing. The Tayy, one of the purest, most aristocratic Bedouin tribes from central Arabia, are now found in Mesopotamia, far north near Nisibin, where they seldom fold their tents, pack them on camels, and carry them to new pasture grounds. Half of their tents are "permanently" fixed, with reed and clay walls supporting the goat's-hair canvas. Indeed, the Tayy have become a degenerate people!

The Bedouins with the largest pasture circles (those bordering on the Nafud) will probably survive longest as true nomads. These are the great camel breeders, the Ruala and some of the Shammar, who hold the vast tracts of Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan between the Nafud and the northern line of hills.

Political Changes

178 If the problematical political frontiers between the British and French spheres of influence in northern Arabia are maintained, changes may be expected in the migration territories of the Bedouins. The following, in my opinion, might well take place. The tribes whose territories are now cut by the 30th parallel would split, part of them remaining in Ibn Sa'ud's domains and the rest migrating to the
721 north. The continuance of yearly warfare (for the most part in the
178 spring) between the Zana Muslim (Ruala and Weld 'Ali) and other 'Aneze tribes would finally result in an agreement that would assign to the Ruala who remain in Syria the entire Hamad and western part of Al-Wudiyan. The rest of Al-Wudiyan would be given to the 'Amarat, and the steppe country north of the hills to the Fed'an and Sba'a. First the Fed'an and then the Sba'a would gradually become

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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102 131 *Figure 2. Shammar and Related Tribes.* Northern Shammar, Handbook, p. 78. Tuman, N. N., p. 32 (according to Handbook, p. 80, these are listed as a subtribe of the Aslam). Aslam, N. N., p. 33. 'Abde, N. N., pp. 32–33. Sinjara, N. N., pp. 31–32. Zefir, Handbook, pp. 81–83.

Other Major Tribes. 'Umur, P., p. 24. Beni 'Atiyye, N. H., p. 235. Beli, N. H., p. 211. Jeheyna, Handbook, p. 63. Harb, Handbook, pp. 64–67. 'Ateyban, Handbook, pp. 67–69. 'Ajman, Handbook, pp. 85–87. Muteyr, Handbook, pp. 83–84.

Figure 3. Tribes of the Second Rank. Jbur, M. E., p. 83. Hadediyyin, P., p. 151. Sha'ban: 'Afazle subdivision, M. E., p. 186; Welde subdivision, M. E., p. 188. 'Aqeydat, M. E., pp. 73–74. Dleym, M. E., pp. 143–144. Beni Tamim, M. E., p. 139. Zoba', M. E., p. 127. Khaza'el: Beni Selame division, M. E., p. 107. Fua're, P., p. 37. Sleyb: Al'Isa subdivision (the Sleyb are scattered over northern Arabia; some of their subdivisions and areas are indicated in A. D., p. 231). Kuakbe, A. D., p. 16. Beni Sakhr, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 112–119. Shararat, A. D., p. 136. 'Imran, N. H., p. 79. Huetat ibn Jazi, N. H., pp. 6–7; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 51–54. Huetat ibn Jad, N. H., p. 69; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 54–55. Huetat at-Tihama, N. H., p. 129; A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 48–49. Humeyda, Handbook, p. 59; A. P., Vol. 3, p. 103. 'Amarin clan, A. P., Vol. 3, pp. 58–59.

FIGURE 1, 'ANEZE TRIBES

101 1. The inhabitants of Hama' and Homs entrust their flocks to the 'Ayde and Hsene groups of the Weld 'Ali. The sheykh At-Tayyar of the Weld 'Ali
102 owns houses in Homs, Sheykh Hmed, and Al-Buer (see A. D., pp. 390–391).
162 2. North of Al-Barde are good lowland spring pastures of the Sba'a.
3. Near 'Aqlat Shuab is buried Turki eben Mheyd, Fed'an chief (A. D., p. 62).
● 619 4. Near Al-Baghdadi is a garden belonging to Ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe.
131 5. The lowland of Ar-Roza "is in cultivation and belongs to the head chief Fahad ibn Dreym ibn Hadhdhal of the 'Amarat tribe. His fortified farm, Al-Qseyr, is at the southeastern edge of the fields, and he maintains a small house at the spring of Al-'Esele" (A. D., p. 359).
6. The 'Amarat camp between Al-Felluje and Baghdad in August and September; later they go to Kerbela.
7. The family of Ibn Hadhdhal have houses at Kerbela and Rezaza (see A. D., p. 258).
8. Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan are the winter pasture grounds of the Ruala in years of sufficient rain; if the rains do not suffice they go to the eastern borders of the Nafud or to the vicinity of Teyma'.
9. "From the end of June until the end of August the Ruala pasture in An-Nuqra." This summer pasture is called *maqiz*. After September they leave for Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan (A. D., p. 408).
10. The people of Nasib pay tribute to Nuri ibn Sha'lan, head chief of the Ruala, when the Ruala return from Nejd in June (A. D., p. 353).
11. Libben is visited in lean years by the Ruala.
12. Some Muahib of the Qmusa subdivision of the Sba'a tribe camp with the Beni Sakhr; others with the Beli (see Figs. 2 and 3).
13. Route taken by the northern Weld 'Ali to their southern relatives on the Ruala *dira* (pasture districts).
14. The Huetat sometimes camp with the Ruala in this region.
15. In times of peace the Āl Dughman clan of the Ruala camp in this vicinity (see N. N., p. 12).
16. The well of Hebeke in the district of Al-Hazl or Al-Hzul once belonged to Ibn Bneyye of the Āl Sha'lan family of the Āl Mur'az clan of the Ruala (A. D., p. 15; N. N., p. 13).
17. Al-Ma'aniyye belongs to the 'Aneze, not to the Shammar (N. N., p. 32).

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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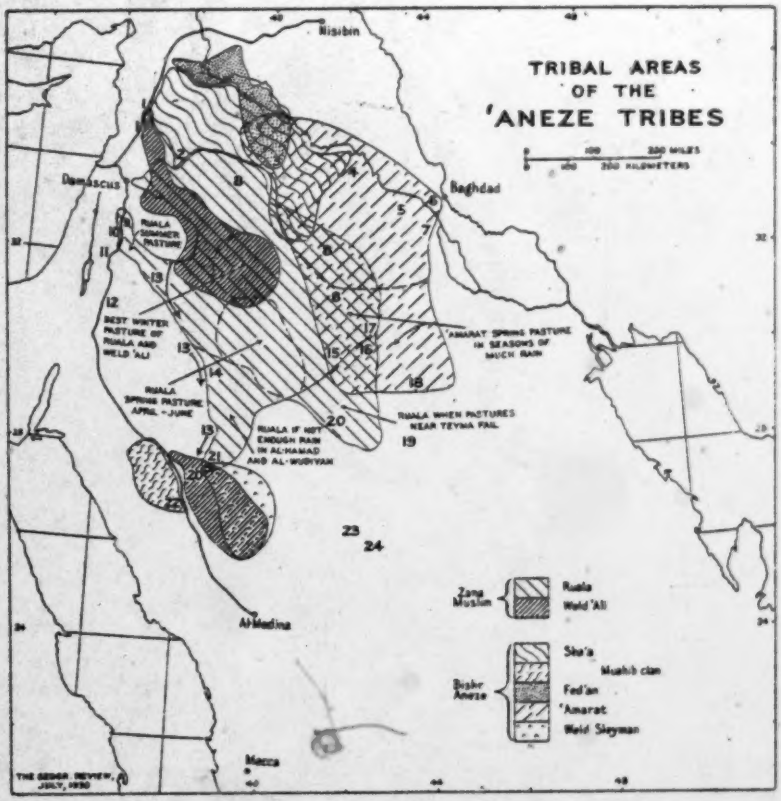

FIG. 1

18. The Hejera is the spring pasture grounds of the 'Amarat, Sinjara Shammar, Zefir, and even of the Muntifeq in seasons of plentiful rain.
19. Teysiyyet 'Aneze at one time belonged to the Dahamshe branch of the 'Amarat (A. D., p. 52; N. N., p. 26).
20. The southern Weld 'Ali and the Âl Mur'az clan of the Ruala join when the pastures southwest of Teyma' fail and go together into Al-Labbe and Al-Hamad (see A. D., p. 180).
21. When there is not enough rain in Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan the Ruala go to the vicinity of Teyma' and the northern Nafud. When they leave, their enemies (for example, Shararat, Weld Sleyman, Hteym, and Beni 'Atiyye) may take their place (A. D., p. 143).
22. "The best valleys upon both sides the Harra, next el-Hejr, are sown all years by some of the Moahib Aarab. Their harvest up, they strike the hamlets of tents, and with their cattle go forth to wander a while as the nomads" (Doughty, Vol. 1, p. 234).
23. Samira was formerly in the *dira* (territory) of the Ruala; the Harb and Beni Salem (Weld Sleyman) were taxed here by Ibn Rashid (Doughty, Vol. 2, p. 301).
24. Ibn Rashid taxed the Weld 'Ali at Al-Fuara (*ibid.*).

77:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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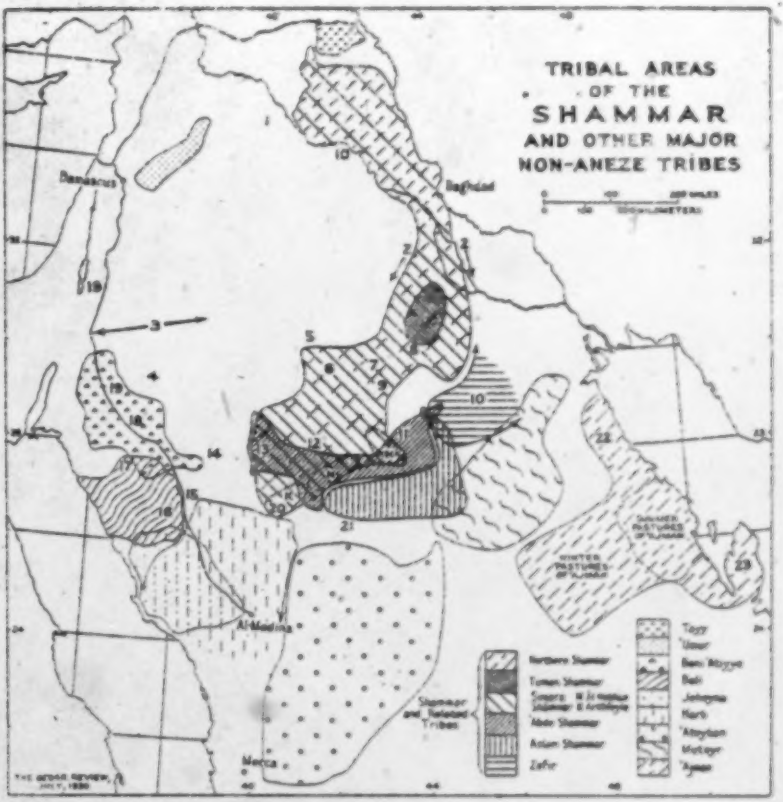

FIG. 2

FIGURE 2, SHAMMAR AND RELATED TRIBES

1. The Northern Shammar trade at Deyr az-Zor and have their agent (*wuqil*) there.
2. In certain years when the winter pastures are good the Northern Shammar migrate to Nejd.
3. The country between Ma'an and Wadi Sirhan after April is war territory between the Huetat and their enemies, the Shararat, Beni Sakhr, and Shammar (see N. H., p. 14).
4. Until the rain pools have dried up (end of April) the Huetat ibn-Jazi encamp near the mountains Al-Hamar and Al-'Afar in territory which belongs to the Shararat (N. H., p. 13).
5. Shammar are sometimes found in the vicinity of Al-Bueytat (see A. D., pp. 214–215).
6. Early summer camping grounds of the Sinjara Shammar.
7. Al-Hazl (Hzul): summer camping place of the Sinjara Shammar.
8. Cairn marking the grave of Bender, a chief of the Zmeyl clan of the Tuman tribe (N. N., p. 193).
9. See Fig. 1, note 18.

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FIG. 3

10. The principal center of the Zefir, kinsmen of the Shammar, is near the Persian Gulf, but they have been known to raid as far north as 'Ana.
11. Al-Khazra: "There are upwards of eighty wells at Al-Khazra, from eight to ten fathoms deep. They belong to clans of the 'Abde tribe [of the Shammar] who pitch their camps by them in the hot summer" (N. N., p. 27).
12. Umm al-Qulban: "The eight huts of this hamlet belonged to [the Shammar emir] Ibn Rashid, who, with Fahhad al-Qfe'i as supervisor, used to rear mares there" (N. N., p. 147).
13. The Shammar claim as their "home" the land east of Misma.
14. See Fig. 1, note 21.
15. See Fig. 1, note 22.
16. See Fig. 1, note 12.
17. Al-Jea forms the best winter encampment of the Beli and their enemies (N. H., p. 214).
18. The Beni 'Atiyye trade in Tebuk; and their head chief, Ibn 'Atiyye, has property there (see N. H., pp. 152, 161).
19. The Beni 'Atiyye send men in July to Kerak, Tafile, or Madaba to sell their camels there and buy barley (N. H., pp. 153–156).
20. The 'Amud clan of the Shammar "number about five hundred tents and usually

22: Raswan

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/The map following p. 502 should be assembled according to the plan given below:

a	b
c	d

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

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camp on the southwestern border of the 'Eja mountains." They were "at one time subject to the reigning family of Āl Jarba, who have emigrated to Mesopotamia together with their clans. The 'Amud have remained in their original homeland and joined the Sinjara" (N. N., p. 94).

21. See Fig. 1, note 23.
22. *Dira* of the Beni Khaled, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.
23. *Dira* of the Beni Hajr, also used during certain seasons by the 'Ajman.

FIGURE 3, TRIBES OF THE SECOND RANK

1. Humeyda: The "Beni Hameydy," said by Doughty (Vol. 1, p. 26) to be "possessors of the most excellent strains of Arab horses, and in this fresh and plain country there is always plenty of wild pasture."
2. "The Beni Sakhr and the Huetat have no strictly defined frontiers, and when in the territory of the settlers both tribes often lay claim to the same settlements and exact payment from the same settlers. This proceeding generally results in skirmishes" (N. H., pp. 13–14).
3. See Fig. 1, note 12.
4. See Fig. 2, note 3.
5. After the end of April the Huetat ibn Jazi camp in this vicinity.
6. See Fig. 2, note 4.
7. See Fig. 1, note 14.
8. "The head chief Abu Tqeqa [of the Huetat at-Tihama] generally resided in the settlement of Zbe'" (N. H., p. 129).
9. See Fig. 1, note 21.
10. Two-thirds of the 5000 inhabitants of Hit come from the Dleym tribe (M. E., p. 27).
11. Al-Khzera: the property of Zaher, chief of the Moghara clan of the Khaza el tribe (A. D., p. 369).

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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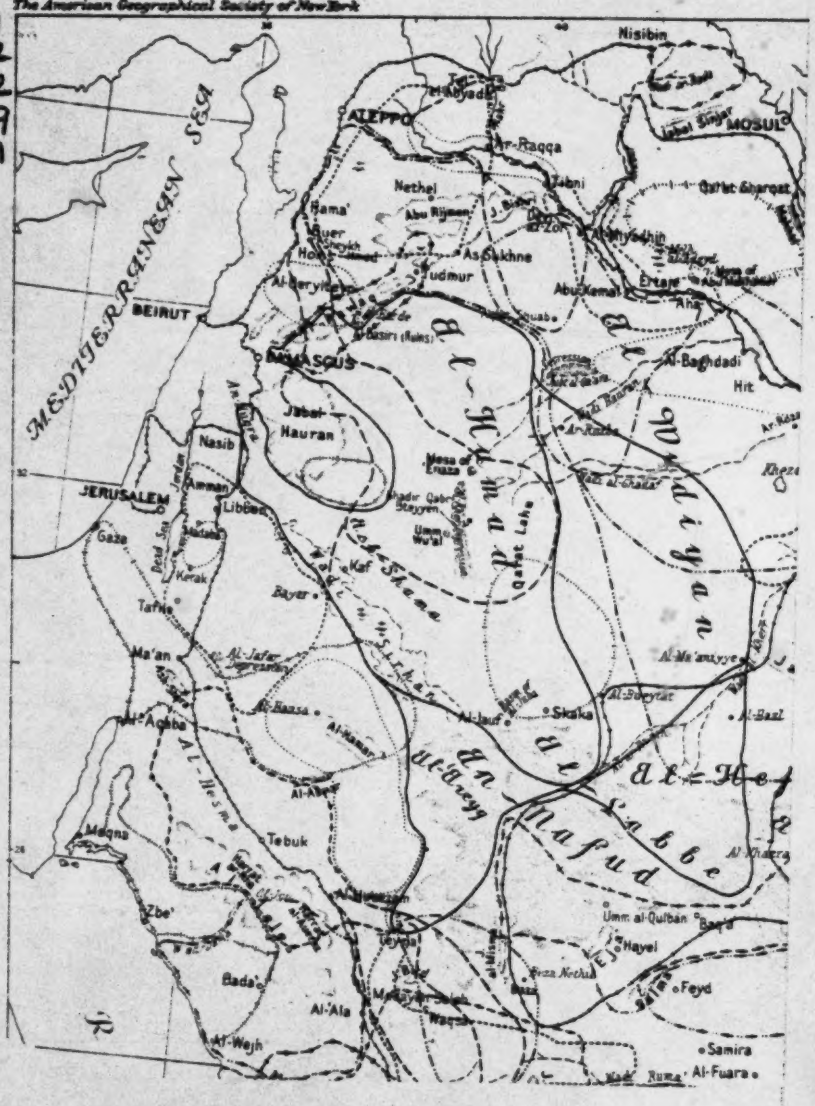

following p 502 (a).

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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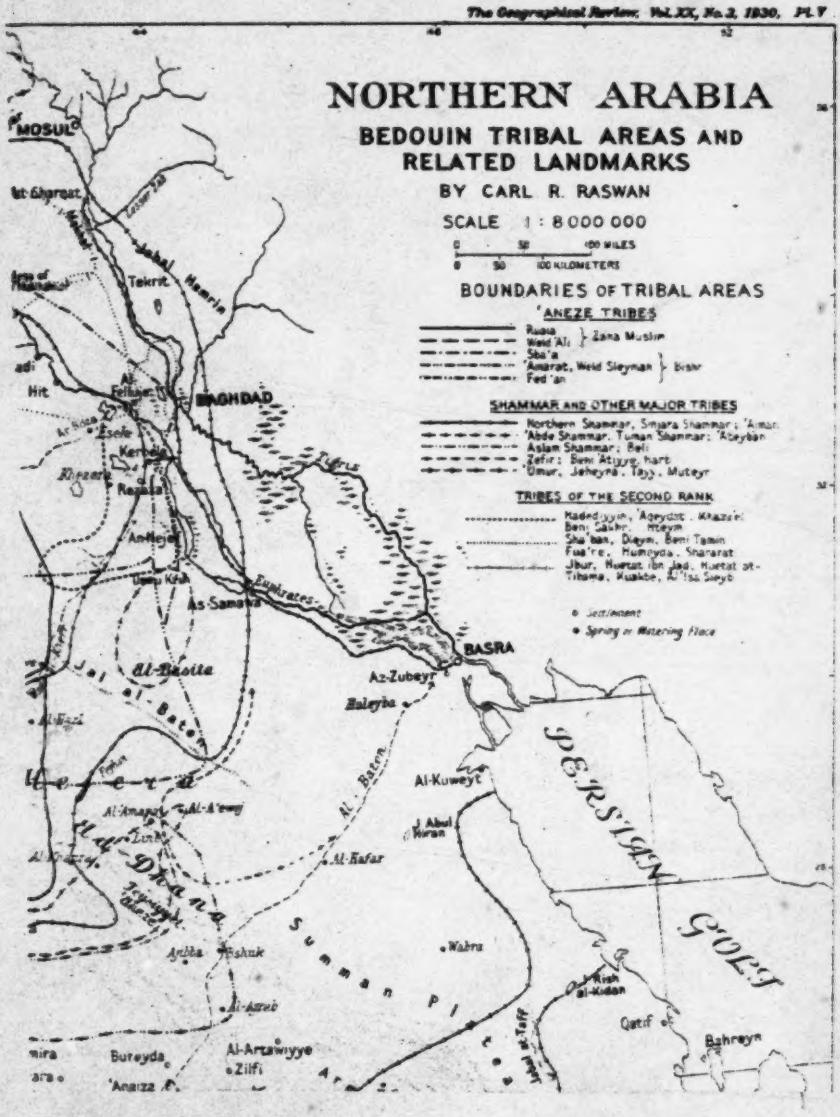
The Geographical Review, Vol. XX, No. 2, 1930, Pl. V



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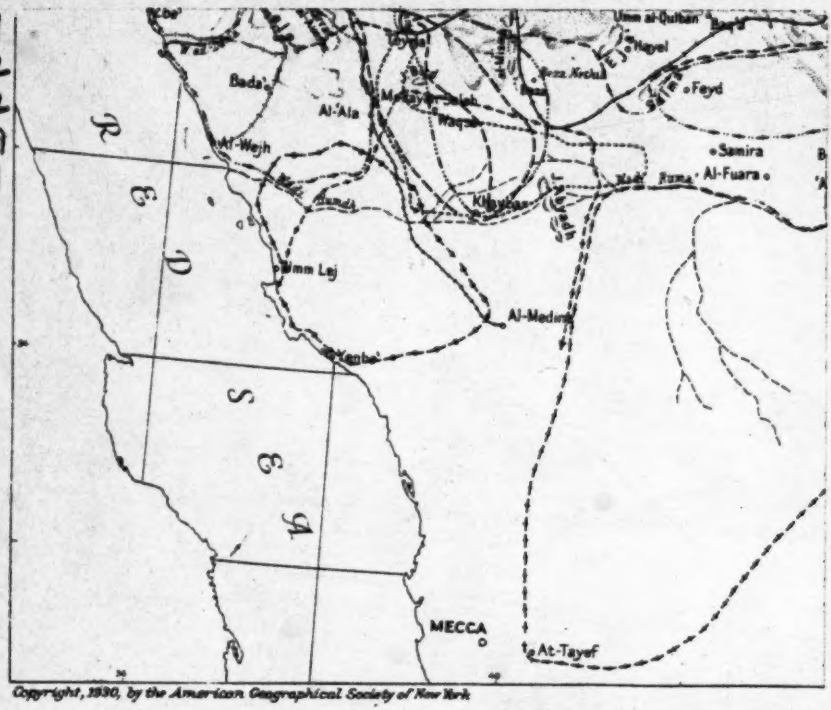

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22:Raswan 1-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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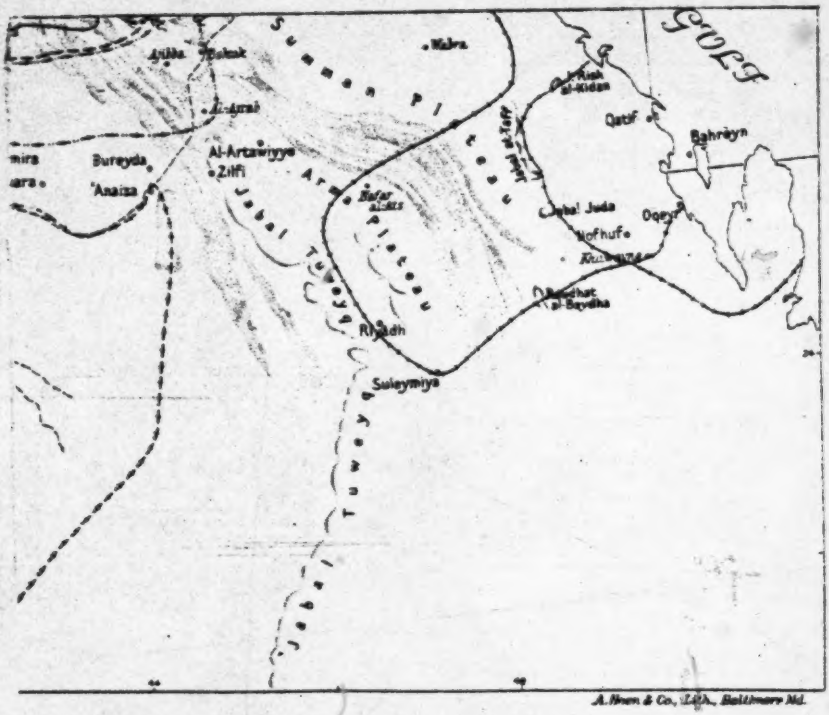

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following p 502 (d)

25: Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

101 619 In December 1947 I arrived at Manwakh, the watering centre for the Sa'ar Tribe. From here I planned to cross the western sands to the Wadi Dawasir. For the past three years I had wandered in the Empty Quarter with the Ruashid, the most nomadic of all the Bedu tribes, and four of them were my comrades on this present venture; but even the far-ranging Ruashid knew nothing of these western wastes. Only from among the Sa'ar could we hope to find the guide whom we required, for they have crossed these 400 waterless miles to harry the Bedu of the north. A large and powerful tribe, they have aptly been described as the wolves of the desert. They have raided eastward as far as the Oman steppes and northward to the Persian Gulf, and are hated and feared by all the South Arabian desert tribes. From the

p 394 (c)

101 Hadhramaut we had crossed the Sa'ar plateau From the
619 to this last well upon the desert's edge, where
622 we had heard that Bin Maiqal and his Bin Ma'aruf section of the Sa'ar were camped. Normally he and his clan lived in the desert around Najran, and of recent years they had acknowledged Ibn Saud as their overlord; but they had been involved in a raid upon the Yam and had fled south to seek refuge among their kinsmen from the animosity of that great tribe and the wrath of Ibn Saud. The desert was full of fear and everywhere the talk was of raids and counter-raids, of deaths and of looted stock.

233 In the sharp cold of the winter's morning we rode down the valley beyond the well, past the milch herds of the Bin Ma'aruf. The herdboys had just driven them forth to graze from their couching-place around the tents, and my companions spoke appreciatively of their condition, calling each other's attention
514 to their finer points. The Sa'ar had news of our approach, for a party of them had ridden

p. 395 (A)

674 past our stopping-place at sunset the day before. Now as we drew near they assembled to receive us and greeted us as is the Bedu custom by firing low over our heads. Then drawing their daggers they swept down on us in a wild yelling mob while we fought to control our startled camels. Dismounting we greeted each of them in turn, and after joining the coffee circle exchanged our news in the traditional Bedu formula. A dish of dates was then set before us and a young lad moved round the ever-growing circle, pouring out to each in turn the customary sips of bitter black cardamom-flavoured coffee.

619 Sitting among them were visitors from neighbouring tribes, who had come here to discuss truces and blood-money, and some of them I had met before. The names of many of the Sa'ar were also familiar to me, for I had heard them repeated again and again, in tales of skirmishes and bloodshed, while on the
411 march and in desert camps. Every man and boy among these tribesmen held a rifle in his

p. 396(B)

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 398(B) -- ANALYST]

401 camels to draw up the water, but the southern
312 Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a
581 leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to
415 either end of the rope which runs over the
(46) pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full
the other descends empty. Men and women
draw together on the well-ropes, four or five
to each rope, singing in chorus as they work.
233 We had not been here long before the camel
herds arrived and the serious work of watering
began. Great leather troughs supported on
crossed wooden hoops were set up by each
family around the well. Soon there was no
room for more watering parties, and late-
comers had to wait their turn. The buckets
rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs
about which the thirsty camels pushed and
thrust while their calves frolicked around.
Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran
in and out among them, driving away camels
which did not belong to them, and restraining
the more impatient of their own. Others
scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite
beasts, while they sang them their watering
songs to induce them to drink deep. When
they had drunk they were couched nearby, to
be watered again later in the day, before
being driven back to pasturage. Round the
well-mouth women filled their water-skins,
which then lay swollen and quivering upon
the ground, guarded from the trampling feet
of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad
only in a leather fringe around their waists.
562 Few of the women were veiled and all joined
freely in the constant jests and laughter.
Among them was a tall girl of startling
beauty. She had come down to the well early
in the day, carrying a water-skin and accom-
panied by her young sister. The centre of a
happy laughing group of lads, she dallied
here till the evening.

574 A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains
291 were camped under an overhanging cliff
171 nearby, and they bade us join them and drink
69 coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet
differed from them in their dress and way of
life. They wore indigo-dyed loincloths and
wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion
among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin
Ma'aruf were clad like the Northern Arabs in
long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell
nearly to the ground. They were returning
to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days'
[341 journey to the south. Floodcrops of sorghum
312] and beans are grown there in a shallow valley,
guarded by numerous stone-built forts and
watch-towers, which look out across the deso-
609 late rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited
by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of
the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for
treachery.
P. 100 (A)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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CHAPTER III

THE BEDOUIN TRIBES

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THIS chapter is designed to give an account of those tribal constituents of present-day Arabian society which are essentially nomadic—those, in short, to which Arabs themselves concede the name Bedu. The Bedouin (*Bedāwi*) type of society is the product of desert and steppe conditions, and cannot survive long under others. A tribe which has left such conditions to settle in an oasis or other permanently arable land does not necessarily cease to be a tribe, but it does cease to be a nomad or Bedouin tribe. Therefore all those tribes of which most members now inhabit continuously fertile lands or tracts of oasis character will be excluded from the following consideration—such, for example, as the tribes of Asir, Yemen and hinterland, the Aden Protectorate, Hadhramaut and the South Littorál, Oman, and the Trucial Coast (see Chapters XIV and XV).

On the other hand, Bedouin constituents of Arabian society which have passed wholly or in part northwards out of the peninsula are included. Not having changed the essential conditions of their life, but still ranging deserts and steppes, they have remained Bedu. It would be unsatisfactory not to take account here of the tribes of the Syrian Hamād and the Mesopotamian Jezīrah. They are regarded by the peninsular Bedouins as forming one great social block with themselves, and some, e. g. certain constituents of the great Anazah group, still pass at regular seasons southward into the peninsula, while others have their own home ranges in the peninsula itself. Moreover, many, like the Ruweilah, Dhafīr, and Huweitāt, move habitually from one side to the other of the border-line, and some, e.g. the Mesopotamian Shammar, though they stay to the north of it, are integral parts of larger tribal units still at home in the south.

For convenience, we adopt a geographical division of Bedouin tribes into Northern, Central (Western and Eastern), and Southern.

At the outset, a tree of tribal descent from the Arch-Patriarch, Abraham, will show what Arabs consider to be the true Bedouin stock. To know this pedigree is of practical value to any one who has to deal with Arab nomads, owing to the value which they themselves attach to genealogy, the social distinctions which they base upon it, and the estimation in which they hold those expert in its intricacies.

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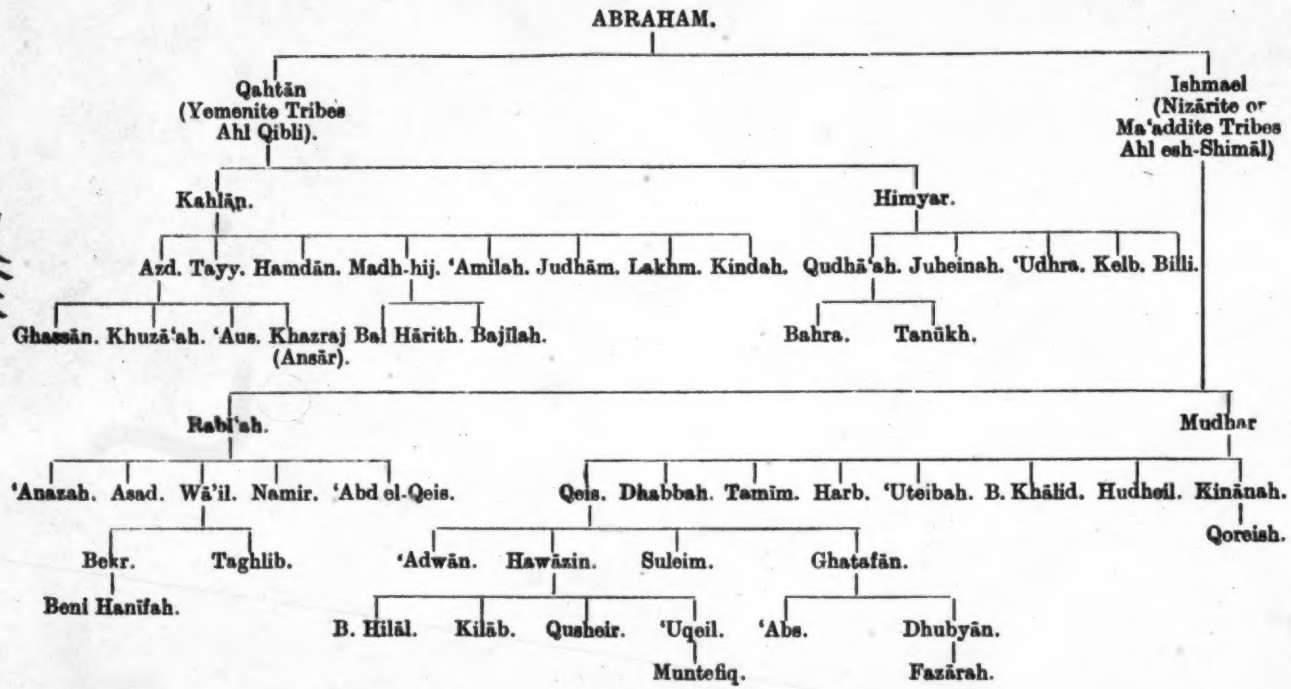

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A. Northern Tribes

1. *The Anazah*

The great group of the **ANAZAH** (*'Anazah*), numerically probably the largest group of nomad Arab tribes, occupies the triangle of the Syrian Desert, the Hamād, which has its base on the Nefūd, about lat. 30°, and its apex near Aleppo, about lat. 36°. On the east bank of the Euphrates the pasture lands N. of Deir ez-Zōr and along the Khābūr are also Anazah country; while a smaller group of kindred tribes is seated round Teima, between the Hejaz Railway and the SW. borders of the Nefūd. Ibn Sa'ūd is said to come of the same stock (Hasanah). 101 619 622

The Anazah belong to the people of the North, Ahl esh-Shimāl. Historians give their descent from 'Anazah, son of Asad, who sprang from Rabī'ah, one of the two great branches of Nizār. The modern Anazah tribesman will always claim descent from Wā'il, who belonged to a younger branch of the Asad group, and relate that it is his son 'Anz or 'Anaz who is the eponymous founder of the tribe. They are not, however, united under one head, but are divided into several large sections which maintain towards one another an attitude generally friendly, though it does not exclude marauding expeditions and private feuds among the smaller Sheikhs. The hereditary foes of the Anazah are the Shammar; indeed the history of nomad Arabia is dominated for the last 150 years by the rivalry between these two.

The original seat of the Shammar seems to have been to the N. of the Wādi er-Rummah, on the pilgrim road from Basra to Medina, or even farther south towards Yemen. One of those mysterious impulses which, from the beginning of historic times, have set the inhabitants of the peninsula migrating northwards—influences which may spring from an almost imperceptible change in climatic conditions coupled with slow increase of population in a land incapable of supporting more than very small numbers—began to disturb the Anazah in the second half of the eighteenth century. They followed on the heels of the Shammar into the Syrian Desert. The Fed'ān and the Hasanah pushed the Shammar before them across the Euphrates, and established themselves in the northern steppes, which are less arid, enjoying a greater rainfall, than the wastes of Central Arabia. The 'Amārāt, Sibā', and Wuld 'Ali seem to have come next, and, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Ruweilah.

Their herds have flourished and increased in a climate more

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beneficent than that which they had left. The most famous stocks of horses are found among the northern Anazah, and the greatest numbers of camels. Bedu of the purest blood and tradition, they have remained entirely beyond the control of the Ottoman Government; and except for a few palm gardens on the Lower Euphrates, a little cultivation on the Khābūr, and a village near Damascus, their Sheikhs have given no pledge to established order by the acquisition of settled lands, nor is any part of the Syrian Desert ploughed or harvested. Their geographical position gives them command over some of the main trade-routes of Turkish Arabia. The Hamād is a bridge rather than a barrier between Syria and Mesopotamia. Until 1911, the camel post from Damascus to Baghdad passed over it once a fortnight, and regularly during the winter and spring the agents of the Damascene sheep merchants cross it, paying dues to the Anazah for safe conduct, while the camel herds of the latter supply the markets both of Syria and of Egypt; indeed, it is not too much to say that the greater part of the camel trade is in their hands. Moreover, the road down the Euphrates from Aleppo to Baghdad is largely at their mercy, as well as the first half of a frequented carriage-road from Deir, *via* the Sinjar, to Mosul. The Anazah are thus the first of the great independent tribes with whom administrators of the settled lands must come into contact, and upon their goodwill depends freedom of intercourse between Syria and Mesopotamia. Last century they played a large part in Syrian politics, and have still a zest for the game. Their own dependence on the Syrian markets must always make it a matter of the first importance to them to maintain friendly terms with those who control the province commercially; but it must be remembered that commercial control of Syria is not, and never has been, in the hands of the Turks.

The western side of the Syrian Desert is occupied by the **Ruweilah** (Ruwalla). With their powerful confederates the Wuld 'Ali and the Muhallaf, who are in the closest relations with them, and also their allies, the Hasanah, they number about 7,000 tents. They wander over the desert from Homs and Hamāh in the north, where the Hasanah have their summer pasturages and are beginning to settle down as cultivators, to Qasr el-Azraq, south of Jebel Durūz (where the Ruweilah dīra touches that of their foes, the Beni Sakhr) and down the Wādi Sirhān to the oasis of Jauf el-'Amr, which the Ruweilah took from Ibn Rashīd some five years ago. In summer they occupy the pasture grounds S. of Damascus and push as far west as the Jaulān. To the east the limits of the Ruweilah do

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not extend far beyond Jebel 'Amūd and the sources of the Wādi Haurān. 619 101 622

The loose confederation of tribes of which the **Wuld 'Ali** are composed holds the steppe east and south-east of Damascus and along the first part of the old post-road to Baghdad. Ibn Sumeir owns the village of 'Ain Dhikr at Tell el-Faras, some 12 hours from Damascus, with the cultivation round it. A detached group round Teima, the **Fuqara** and the **B. Wahhāb,** are also to be reckoned among the sub-tribes of the Wuld 'Ali, but they have no political connexion with them, and fall under the authority of Ibn Rashīd whenever he is strong enough to exercise it. The Fuqara are a small, poor tribe, with few camels, which depends for its livelihood partly on the payment it receives from the Ottoman Government for protecting the Hejaz Railway from Dār el-Hamra to Medā'in Sālih, and partly on a little cultivated land which it possesses in the rocky Harrah of Kheibar. The Billi and the Huweitāt, with their close allies the B. 'Atīyah, are their enemies. The **Aida,** who are the sheikhly clan of the southern Wuld 'Ali, have charge of a section of the Hejaz Railway south of Medā'in Sālih.

In summer the Ruweilah draw into the Wādi Sirhān or go with the Wuld 'Ali towards the fertile Matkh plain, watered by the Barada; but the volcanic Harrahs east of Jebel Durūz are inhabited by tribes hostile to the Anazah, the Serdīyah, a branch of the Beni Sakhr, and the Jebelīyah, composed of Ghiyādh, Beni Hasan, Masā'īd and others, all allied with the Druzes. With these and with the Druzes themselves the Anazah have always been at enmity.

The paramount chief of the **Ruweilah** is of the house of Sha'lān and the sub-tribe of Mur'idh. The present representative is Nūri esh-Sha'lān. His own sub-tribe, the Sha'lān, together with the Nuseir, who come directly under him, consists of about 1,000 tents, but over all the Ruweilah he is unquestioned autocrat, and his authority is recognized by the Wuld 'Ali and the Muhallaf. He is probably the most powerful of all purely nomad chiefs, and, since his capture of Jauf, has shown himself a successful rival of the Shammar. His son, Nawwāf, a convinced adherent of the pan-Arab party, is his representative at Jauf. Though more colourless than his father, he is better educated and is considered by the Arab Unionist party in Damascus, among whom he is well known, to be the most advanced political thinker in the desert. He has the inherited interest in the Turkish question which those of his house can scarcely escape, since it touches their own future so closely. Nūri himself bears a bitter grudge against the Ottoman Government by reason of his having been invited to Damascus by

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101 Sāmi Pasha in 1911, and there held a prisoner for almost a year.
619 The grievance was aggravated by the fact that he had previously
622 offered his assistance to Sāmi Pasha for the subjugation of the Druzes. He dreads any extension of Turkish authority towards the desert, and strongly opposed a scheme set on foot in 1913 to carry a branch of the Hejaz Railway from Jīzah to Qasr el-Azraq, and thence down the W. Sirhān to Kāf. In 1914 he refused to collect camels for the Ottoman Government, who were in need of transport animals for the Egyptian campaign, thereby greatly enhancing their difficulties. He removed his people into their eastern pasturages, where the Turks had no hold over them, and he is said to have acted similarly a year later and, in 1916, to have joined the Sherif of Mecca.

E. of the Ruweilah and the Wuld 'Ali, the Syrian Desert up to the Euphrates is held by the **'Amārāt** and by the two great subdivisions of the **Bishr,** the **Fed'ān** and the **Sibā'** (Sba), who claim descent from various mythical heroes of whom Wā'il was the progenitor. The 'Amārāt country is the SE. corner of the Syrian Desert bordering on the Euphrates from Kerbela to above Hīt. The tribesmen touch the N. edge of the Nefūd and go down SE. into Shammar territory if pasturage is lacking elsewhere, maintaining a truce with the Sheikhs of that dīra. The early spring finds them in a wide depression, the Qa'rah (Ga'rah), two days' journey W. of Hīt, while in summer they come back to the Euphrates or cluster about the springs in the Haurān valley, round Māt.

The Fed'ān range from Aleppo to Deir on both sides of the Euphrates and up the Khābūr valley almost to the Sinjar. The Sibā', famous breeders of camels, are seated on the middle sections of the Palmyra road. They go up towards Homs and Hamāh on the west, to Resāfah on the east, and north almost to Aleppo. If pasture is lacking on the Syrian side of the desert, they seek it in the Fed'ān country and in winter their Sheikhs come down, with those of the 'Amārāt and the Fed'ān, to Māt and the Wādi Sirhān. The 'Amārāt also cross the Euphrates on occasion, and camp with the Fed'ān along the Khābūr. The Wuld Suleimān, who roam between Teima and the Nefūd, are of Fed'ān lineage and a part of Bishr, but they stand politically outside the confederacy; for, like their allies and neighbours the Fuqara, they pay tribute to Ibn Rashīd. They have not many camels, but own a few patches of palm-growing lands in the Harrah Kheibar, which are cultivated, on their behalf, by the Huteim.

The paramount chief of the **'Amārāt** is of the house of Hadhdhāl, Fahd Bey being the present sheikh. His tents number about 3,000.

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He is wealthy, and owns palm gardens at Ghazāzah near Kerbela, at Baghdādīyah above Hīt, and elsewhere on the Euphrates. Although his wisdom and skill in tribal diplomacy are much vaunted, he is now an old man and not so active as Nūri of the Ruweilah; nor does he concern himself with external politics. He has suffered imprisonment at the hand of the Turks and cordially dislikes them, but his closest link with affairs outside the desert is his landed property on the Euphrates. He fears that if the Hindīyah escape, a part of Sir W. Willcocks's scheme of Mesopotamian irrigation, were to be put into execution, his gardens at Ghazāzah might be partly submerged, and he was inclined to blame the English for their share in that project. He could only with difficulty be reassured on this head, and shown that the better distribution of the water would be of benefit to himself in common with all other landowners. 622 101 619

A more striking personality is Hākim (Hāchim) ibn Muheid, who with Hākim ibn Qeishīsh rules over the **Fed'ān,** some 3,500 tents in all. Ibn Muheid is possibly second only to Nūri esh-Sha'lān in the Anazah federation. He is a man of about 40, vain, money-loving, and strongly pan-Arab. His position on the middle reaches of the Euphrates enables him to close the riverain road to traffic whenever he pleases. Until the Baghdad Railway is completed, this road is the customary, and by far the shortest, means of communication between Aleppo and Baghdad, and is now connected with Constantinople by a railway, broken only by a short interruption on the Taurus. The **Sibā'** are less numerous, some 1,800 tents all told; their ruling families are the Beni Murshid and the Beni Hudeib (Hadeib).

Upon all the Anazah the Ottoman Government levies, so far as it is able, a sheep-tax and a camel-tax. The great sheikhs receive Ottoman subsidies, paid with something less than regularity. The sums are not large. A man like Nūri may be given about £20 a month, paid to his agent in Damascus, who uses the money for the purchase of necessary supplies which he sends out to his chief in the desert. The Ruweilah, who raise no crops, are entirely dependent on Damascus for provisions. 651 433 622

The paramount Anazah sheikhs, Ibn Sha'lān, Ibn Hadhdhāl, Ibn Sumeir, and Ibn Muheid, could each of them put into the field from 1,500 to 2,000 men, armed and mounted on camels, with a small proportion of horses. The Sibā' sheikhs could muster another 1,000. The united Anazah forces would therefore number about 9,000 men, if it were conceivable that they could ever be 622 619 701

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701 gathered together at the same time—an exceedingly improbable
•619 contingency in regions where there are no adequate means of
622 communication, and none but a loose tribal organization. Nor are the conditions of pasturage and water-supply prevailing in the Hamād suitable to large concentrations of men and animals. The
[231] total number of camels among the Ruweilah, 'Amārāt, Fed'ān, and Sibā' must be greater than in any other part of Arabia. They cannot, all told, be reckoned at much less than an average of 50 to a tent. The Wuld 'Ali are not so well supplied, but they may own about 20 to a tent. At this estimate the camel-herds of the northern Anazah would touch a very large figure—some 600,000 animals.

ANAZAH

DHANA MUSLIM

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Ruweilah. 3,500 tents Sh. Nūri esh-Sha'lān	*Mur'idh*, 500 tents Nūri esh-Sha'lān el-Mur'idh	*Nā'if* Nūri's tribe *Zeid* 'Arsān Abu Jizlah *Mijwal* *Meshēr* *Mu'abbil*
	Nuseir, 500 tents Ibn Nuseir	
	Nāsir, 300 tents Munāhi ibn Nāsir	*Radhān*
	Dur'ān, 300 tents Sālim ibn Maslat	
	Furjah, 500 tents 'Āsaf el-Fureij	*Khudā'ān Filīta* Ghāzi el-Fuleita
	Dughmān 'Arsān ibn Dughmi	
	Manāyi' Māni' el-Khidhr	
	Ka'ka', 800 tents Hayyān el-Ka'ka' ibn Ghoshm	
	Kawākbah, 400 tents Māni' el-Kuweikib	*Wokīta*
	Mahitta, 150 tents Ibn Musheit	
Muhallaf. 1,500 tents Ibn Ma'jil Ibn Majīd Ibn Jandal	*Ashja'*, 450 tents Qasīm ibn Ma'jil	*Mahayub* *Bala'is*
	'Abdillah, 400 tents Mughāthi ibn Majīd	
	Suwalma, 400 tents Fayyādh ibn Jandal	
	Badēr, 2–300 tents Ibn Ma'jil	

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Wuld 'Ali. 1,800 tents Rashîd ibn Sumeir has about 1,000 tents Mohammed et-Tayyâr Sa'îd ibn Milhem Shahâb el-Faqîr	*'Aseifât*, 200 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Mastâkhâ, 300 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Hammâmid, 300 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Hajjâj, 300 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Tulâh, 150 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Sagra Ibn Sumeir	
	Mashâdîqah, 500 tents Mohammed ibn Sâlih et-Tayyâr	*Tayyâr* *Mureikhât* *Waleikah*
	Hassanah, 600 tents[1] Sa'îd ibn Milhem	
	Fugara, 300 tents[1] Shahâb el-Faqîr	*Sâlih* *Kuleib* *Khamâinah* *Hamdân* *Muqhaseb* *Zumûrah* *Hujr* *'Ainât* *Bugûrah*
	Southern Wuld 'Ali El-Aida[1]	*Aida* *Tumulla* *Thuneibah* *Jebûrah* *Erbeilât* *Khâlid*

DHANA WÂ'IL

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
'Amârât. 1. Jibil. 1,000 tents Fahd Bey ibn Hadhdhâl	*Habâta*, 500 tents Fahd ibn Dugheim el-Hadhdhâl (nephew of Fahd Bey)
	Sugûr, 500 tents 'Amish ibn Dhal'in
2. Dahâmishah. 1,300 tents Mohammed ibn Turki ibn Mijlad	*Suweilimât* Jaza' ibn Mish'in ibn Bekr
	Zebîmah Jaza' ibn Rakkan ibn Mijlad
	Salâbîn Maslat ibn Qneifidh
	'Ali Hais ibn Mijlad

[1] Given by Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 229.

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'Amārāt (*continued*):

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
	Dubei'ān
	Dhāri ibn Dhubyān
	Jumeishāt
	Shilaah el-Ureiyidh
	Muheināt
	Mohammed abu Rūs
	'Ayyāsh
	Dhāri
	Jaleid
	Hamīd ibn Quweit
	Fuweizah
	Haza' ibn Muthib
	Surumah
	Burjās
	Juwāsim
	Bedr ibn Jasīm
	Qa'bān
	Mu'aidi ibn Fāhis
	Suleilāt
	Ibdi Huleihil Seyyah

DHANA 'UBEID

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Fed'ān. 3,500 tents	*Wuld*	
(Dhana Kuheil), 2,000 tents	Mohammed and Mud-him ibn Tūrki	
Hākim ibn Muheid ibn Nawwāf	*Rūs*	
Hākim ibn Qeishīsh	Jedu' el-Kira	
	'Ajajra	
	Zeid ibn Hureimis	
	Shumeilāt	
	Ibn Lubeidān	
	Sāri	
	Feihān ibn Qā'id	
	Hanātiyah	
	Qudeim ibn Jubeil	
(Dhana Majīd), 1,500 tents	*Kharasa*	
Hākim ibn Qeishīsh	'Askar abu Sunūn	
	Ghabīn	
	Sālih ibn Ghabīn	
	Jida'	
	'Eibān ibn 'Arnān	
	Amāmarāt	
	Suleimān el-Awāmir	
	Mikathera	
	Haza' ibn Bugheiz	
	'Awwād	
	Rudein ibn 'Ali	
	Wuld Suleimān, 400 tents	*'Awājah*
	Mash'ān el-'Awājah	Mash'ān el-'Awājah
		Ji'āferah Murtā'id
		Seyyāh el-Murtā'id

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SIBĀ'

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
1,800 tents	*Qumussa*, 800 tents Githwān ibn Murshid	*Ressālīn* Hamad ibn Aida *Khumsān* Sagr ibn Museirib *'Anūrah* Shinān ibn Sheteiwi *Rahammah* Mohammed ibn Sa'id *Musika* Mubārak ibn Qiladān *Muwā'iqah* Fādhil ibn Muweini' *Duwwām* 'Uqeil el-Fīqīqi
	'Ubida, 1,000 tents Burjās ibn Hudeib	

SELQA

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
800 tents Sājir er-Rafadi	*Shimlān* *Madhyān* 'Uqeil ibn Madhyān *Metarafah* Buneyyah ibn Wuteif

2. *The Duleim.*

The **DULEIM** are of mixed blood. According to their own tradition they came out of Nejd into the Syrian Desert. They say that Thāmir, *jidd* of the Duleim, and his brother Jabbār, *jidd* of the Jubūr, guided by a man of the Sulubba, occupied the wells of Muheiwir in the Wādi Haurān.

They wander over the desert on either side of the Euphrates from Fellūjah almost to Ānah, sharing the Eastern Shāmīyah, the Syrian Desert, with the 'Amārāt, with whom they are in close alliance. They have cultivated ground in the Euphrates valley, and rear large flocks of sheep which supply the Damascus market. Every winter the dealers come out across the Hamād, and, staying each with his own Sheikh, purchase the season's lambs, and drive them home across the grassy steppe in the spring. The Duleim are not camel-breeders; their supply is little more than sufficient for their own needs. The Shammar of the Jezīrah are their enemies, and there is constant feud between them and the Shiah tribes of 'Irāq, such as the Beni Hasan, who pasture their sheep in the desert round Kerbela. They are noted thieves, and have always given trouble on the Euphrates high road, where they hold up every unprotected caravan. In 1910 Nāzim Pasha repressed them with a stern hand, and during his brief administration at Baghdad travellers and merchants journeyed in security. 'Ali Suleimān, the paramount Sheikh of the Duleim, was on terms of friendship with Jemāl Pasha, who succeeded Nāzim, and he has continued to court the favour of the Ottoman Government. He owns a house and

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palm gardens at Rumādi, and can, therefore, be coerced into good behaviour. He is not a man of much intelligence, and prefers, to any active share in politics, a quiet life and the peaceful enjoyment of the position left him by his father, Suleimān esh-Sharqi, who was a commanding figure in the 'Irāq. Ibn Qu'ād camps mostly on the east bank of the Euphrates.

DULEIM

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
3,000 tents	'Ali Suleimān esh-Sharqi Ibn Qu'ād	*Mahāmidah* *Abu 'Īsa* *Qureit* *Abu Alwān* *Abu Fahd* *Abu Redmi* *Abu 'Ubeyyah* *Abu Nemis*

3. *The Jebelīyah* (or *Zobeid*).

The **JEBELĪYAH** are a loose confederation of independent tribes acknowledging no common Sheikh, but united by common interests and conditions. They are known either as the Jebelīyah or by the older name of **Zobeid** (Zubeid). They inhabit the volcanic districts to east and south of the Jebel Haurān and the Lejāh between the Haurān hills and Damascus. They own a little cultivated land, mainly in the Ruhbah, and flocks of sheep, but few camels. They are, as a whole, poor and of bad reputation; like all tribes on the frontier of the desert they rob and pillage their neighbours, the settled inhabitants, but they usually escape unpunished; for the Sulṭan's writ fails a few miles out of Damascus, and the stony camping grounds of the Jebelīyah are difficult of approach.

The **Ghiyādh** used to plunder the desert post when it travelled fortnightly across the desert to Baghdad. Since its cessation, in 1912, they have occupied the outlying Turkish station, the *qishlah* east of Dhumeir, which was abandoned by the gendarmerie. The Jebelīyah are close allies of the Druzes, of whom they stand in awe. They pasture the Druze flocks in the low-lying Safa during the winter, and in summer come up into the foot-hills of the Jebel Haurān. They are usually on bad terms with the Anazah, and steal the sheep and camels of the Wuld 'Ali and Hasanah whenever an opportunity offers; and they are always at feud with the Beni Sakhr, who are the foes of the Druzes.

The **Masā'īd** are said to be the most numerous of the Jebelīyah tribes; the Ghiyādh are next in importance.

The **'Īsa**, though they range Jebel Durūz and are classed vulgarly as Zobeid, are of Sakhr stock and acknowledge the kinship. The tribes of Jebel Durūz and the Lejāh are only a part of the Zobeid. Another large group is found east of the Tigris and is Shiah. The

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Aqeidāt, Duleim, and Jubūr all claim Zobeid origin. All Zobeid tribes claim a common Qahtān ancestor and therefore are Ahl Qibli.

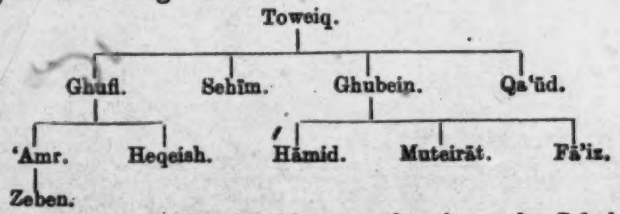
JEBELĪYAH (ZOBEID)

Masā'id 500–600 tents.	E. part of J. Durūz Ibn 'Ayyāsh en-Na'air and Ibn Lāfi	*Adhamāt.* 500 tents.	J. Durūz
Ghiyādh. 500–600 tents.	In the Ruhbah and Safa	*Sherāfāt.* 500 tents.	,,
		Hadīyah. 400 tents.	,,
		Sulūt. 400–500 tents.	In the Lejāh
		Hasan. 400 tents.	Ibn Mutla', Ibn Khudeir. Jebel Durūz
		'Īsa. 400–500 tents.	Rat'ān ibn Mad-hi. Jebel Durūz

4. *Beni Sakhr.*

The **BENI SAKHR**, usually known as Ahl esh-Shimāl, 'People of the North', are of the northern Arabian stock, and reckon their descent from Mudhar, either through 'Abs or through Tamīm. Legend gives varied accounts of their origin, one being that the eponymous founder of the tribe was a certain Sakhr who came from the east; another that their ancestor was a child abandoned in the desert; he was adopted by a Bedouin called Dahāmsh, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and was nicknamed Toweiq (Tuweiq) on account of a small ring which he wore round his neck; for this reason the whole tribe is sometimes known as the Tauqah. It is also occasionally named, after the foster-father of its founder, the Dahāmshah. All traditions agree, however, that the Beni Sakhr spring from a common ancestor whose tomb is venerated at Bir Bā'ir. This cenotaph, built in an ancient caravan-station on the road from Damascus to Teima, which fell into disuse in the early Abbasid period, is covered with small votive offerings, and the great Sheikhs of the tribe, when they move down to summer quarters here, would not venture to enter the Wādi Bā'ir without sacrificing a camel in honour of the *jidd*.

The sub-tribes of the Sukhūr are all descendants of Toweiq, the genealogical tree being as follows:



The territory of the Beni Sakhr stretches from the Jebel Durūz in the north to the depression of Jafar, near Ma'ān, in the south; it is bounded on the east by the Wādi Sirhān, and on the west by the Jordan. It is a rolling country, sparsely covered with grass,

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and intersected by deep valleys which are rich in vegetation. In the spring the Sukhūr go down as far south as the Jebel Tubeiq, when they are on good terms with the Huweitāt; but relations between the two tribes are usually somewhat strained, and more than one pitched battle has been fought in the rocky Tubeiq hills. In the summer the wells of Bā'ir give abundant water, and the deep valley is never bare of pasturage; but the greater part of the tribe withdraws to the country round Mādeba and the northern Belqa, though the gradual extension of cultivation along the line of the Hejaz Railway has restricted their pasture-grounds. Some of the Fā'iz sub-tribe hold cultivated lands round Jīzah, and Fawwāz, eldest son of the paramount Sheikh Telāl ibn Fā'iz, has built himself a house on the ruins of the Roman fortress of Qastal.

The completion of the Hejaz Railway has undoubtedly strengthened the hold of the Ottoman Government upon the independent tribes who range along its northern sections. The Sukhūr, for example, do not enjoy the full measure of their former autonomy; for though they are unassailable when they retire into the desert, retribution falls upon them when the summer droughts force them back into the pastures west of the railway, and their cornfields at Jīzah, Duleilah, Netel, and elsewhere along the line enable the Turks to put a further turn on the screw. Fawwāz has become an Ottoman official, being Kaimmakam of Jīzah; but he is too close to Damascus to have escaped the political movement which has its centre in the capital of Syria, and Arab Unionists speak of him as a firm adherent of the Nationalist party. He is about 35, fairly intelligent, energetic, secretive, and untrustworthy. The Sukhūr are responsible for the Hejaz Railway, as they used to be responsible for the pilgrim road; they guard the line from Jīzah to Kerak, and receive a yearly subsidy in return for their services.

Jaussen[1] reckons the united strength of the tribe at from 700 to 800 tents, including in this estimate the three principal tribal divisions, the **Aghbein**, the **Ghufl** (with the two big sub-tribes, the **Zeben** and the **Heqeish**), and the **Khadhīr**. To these, however, must be added the **Khurshān** and the **Jubūr**, originally constituents of the **Ka'abnah**, a tribe once powerful, but now almost non-existent as a tribal unit. The Khurshān, formerly known as the Hammād, under their Sheikh Hadīthah, are politically inseparable from the Beni Sakhr, though a wholly different tribe-mark bears witness to their different origin. They are a warlike people, breeders of horses and camels; their pasture-grounds are near the Jebel Haurān. The Jubūr are sheep owners, and only half-nomadic.

The **Saleitah**, with a total of about 100 tents, are clients of the Sukhūr and live among them. The **Jahawashah**, though they are

[1] *Coutumes des Arabes au Pays de Moab*, p. 400.

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reckoned as a clan of the Fā'iz, are not of Beni Sakhr stock. They are a fraction of the **Useidah,** who, after a bloody quarrel, abandoned the Belqa, and took refuge with the Fā'iz. They do not intermarry with the Sukhūr, though in all other respects they form part of the tribe. On the other hand, the small but valiant tribe of the **Serdīyah,** an offshoot of the Sukhūr, are politically independent of the latter, and not infrequently at feud with them. They inhabit the eastern edge of the volcanic country to the east of the Jebel Haurān, and owe their position in the desert to the reputation of their late paramount Sheikh, Mit'ab el-Qanj, said to have been the strongest of living men. His son Ghālib, the present Sheikh, is about 30, not so noted a raider as Mit'ab, less ambitious than his father, and of mediocre intelligence. He is in close touch with Damascus, and counted by the younger Nationalist politicians as a friend and ally; but he is not sufficiently powerful to dispense with any protection which he can obtain from the Ottoman Government, and in 1911 he successfully invoked the aid of Sāmi Pasha against his hereditary foes, the Ruweilah.

The Beni Sakhr are almost always at war with the Anazah confederation on their east frontier; with the Huweitāt their relations are doubtful, with a general tendency to hostility, and the same applies to their north-western neighbours, the 'Adwān. The Druzes to the north are their sworn enemies, and the Zobeid confederation (the Jebelīyah), who roam the slopes of the Jebel Haurān, usually throw in their lot with the Druzes against the Sukhūr, though they are on fairly good terms with the Serdīyah. The cultivators from Mādeba and Salt, mainly Christians, who own most of the ploughed lands on the Hejaz Railway, are obliged to maintain friendly relations with the Beni Sakhr, since the Ottoman Government offers them little or no protection. They keep open house for the tribesmen, who profit largely by their hospitality, and hold them in commensurate esteem. Such families as the Ibn Jābir and the Bisharra are much respected, and enjoy a considerable influence in the desert. The cultivated land does not extend far beyond the railway, east of which the soil is too thin and the rainfall too scanty for successful corn-growing.

The latest information is, that after the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey in the winter of 1914, when the attack on the Canal was developing, the Beni Sakhr, fearing that the Ottoman Government would seize their camels for transport purposes, withdrew across the Sirhān. Having been for the past year at peace with the Ruweilah, they took refuge in their country. They were last heard of between 'Amūd and Māt, in the Wadyān district, and had even pushed as far east as the 'Amārāt pastures.

The Sukhūr are not among the great camel-owning tribes, but their herds can scarcely amount to less than some 12,000 to 15,000 head.

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.	Military Value. Horsemen.	Camel-riders.	Armed men.
Beni Sakhr. Telāl ibn Fā'iz. (Not recognized by all the clans as paramount).	*Aghbein*	*Fā'iz* Telāl	90	150	
		Hāmid Ibn Quftān	95	20	
		Jahawashah 'Ajāj	7		180
		Dahāmshah	4		40
		Muteirāt Fanhūr	20		70
700–800 tents	*Ghuft Zeben'* Falāh	*'Athmān* Shaubash *'Abd el-Qādir* Hamd ibn Qam-'ān	110	200	
	Heqeish	*Zeidān* Fahad ez-Zeidān *Beshīr* 'Aqīlah ibn 'Eitān *Sālim* Fahhād ibn Ma-'eishah	80	250	
	Khadhīr Qablān ibn Dakhthāni	*Mōr* Clans and numbers not known			
120 (Ka'abnah) tents	*Khurshān*, 120 tents Hadīthah el-Khu-reishah		60		300
320 tents	*Jubūr*, 320 tents Sālim ibn Izheir Fureij	*Fureij* *A'qamah* *Dīkah* *Ghayālīn*			
1,140–1,240 tents			466	620	590
	Serdīyah, 150 tents Ghālib ibn Mit-'ab el-Qanj		40		250[1]
Saleitah. 100 tents	*Rusheid* Ghathuyān	*Radhāya* (at Lej-jūn and Umm er-Rusās)			
	Abu er-Rujeilah Jau'id				

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5. *The Humeidah.*

The dīra of the **HUMEIDAH** lies round Dhibān. It is bounded on the south-west by Khirbat Sarfa and the Wādi Beni Hammād; on the west by the Dead Sea; on the north by the Zerqa valley, Mareijimah and Duleilah, and on the east by Umm Shureif, 'Arā'ir, and the Wādi Mojib. It extends, therefore, from 7 miles north of Kerak to 4 miles south of Mādeba, a distance of about 28 miles, and is about 17 miles from west to east. The tribe, which had an evil reputation for unruliness and violence, has, since the occupation of Kerak by the Ottoman Government some twenty years ago, been reduced to complete submission and almost ruined by exactions. It pays £T 3,000 in taxes. The mudir of Wālah was specially appointed to take charge of the Humeidah. They number about 700 tents, and claim descent from a common ancestor called Fādhil, who came into the Dead Sea region with Sakhr, the *jidd* of the Sukhūr. For this reason they recognize a distant kinship between themselves and the Beni Sakhr. They are sheep-breeders, and grow crops in the fertile Kūrah district. Some of the Beni Tarīf are to be found at Kerak, and there are about 30 houses of Humeidah at Buseirah, east of Tāfilah, under Sheikh Sālim ibn Masyūghah.

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HUMEIDAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Abu Ruhelhah. 170 tents	*Suweilim* at Kūrah (Dhibān)	*Wansah* *Su'ādah* *Hawāwshah* *Sarārhah* *Hawātimah*
Beni Tarīf. 300 tents	*Mansūr,* at Zeqeibah, W. of Shihān	*Ruwāhanah* *Dhurab'ah* *Heisah* *Shihānbah* *Falāhāt* *Shuqūr* *Hamādīn*
Abu Bureiz. 230 tents	*Mohammed,* at Mekāwir, NW. of Dhibān	*Diyārnah* *Jawafi'ī* *Qubeilāt* *Faqaha* *Rubūtah* *Hurūt* *Tawālibah* *Qa'aidah* *Muteilah* *Hāshim*

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B. Tribes of the Central West

1. *The Huweitāt*

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The **HUWEITĀT** are a stout and warlike tribe whose country extends from near Teima in the south to Kerak in the north, and on the east to the Nefūd and the Wādi Sirhān. On the west it is scattered down the Gulf of Akaba and through Sinai into Egypt. Huweitāt are nomads in the desert north-east of Cairo, and settled as cultivators round Tanta. The Huweitāt of Akaba, Sinai, and Egypt have no political link with the Sheikhs whose head-quarters are at or near Ma'ān; but they recognize certain claims of kinship, and if a Huweiti of the Tawāyah or Beni Jāzi got into difficulties with the Ottoman Government, he would seek refuge, if he could escape, in Sinai or in Egypt. The Huweitāt have, however, an exceptionally bad name for treachery. They are divided among themselves, and do not respect their own blood-ties. One clan will set upon a caravan under the convoy of a *rafīq* of another clan, shoot the *rafīq*, and rob and murder the merchants.

On the Syrian side the leading sub-tribe is the **Beni Jāzi,** and 'Arār ibn Jāzi is nominally the paramount Sheikh; but he is not recognized by the **Abu Tayy,** and the two groups are frequently at feud. The Tayy are an offshoot of the Jāzi, and owe their position to the restless energy of their Sheikhs. The late chief, 'Audah, was one of the most famous raiders of his time, and did not hesitate to carry his expeditions across the Hamād to the Euphrates, where he raided Ibn Hadhdhāl of the 'Amārāt. On one occasion, when he was out against the Sibā', he pushed almost as far north as Aleppo.

The Huweitāt are on close terms of friendship with the Beni 'Atīyah, and are at liberty to camp through all the 'Atīyah country. The Sheikh Ahmed ibn Tuqeiqah occupies the Red Sea coast between Muweilah and Dhaba, with his head-quarters at Dhaba. They are at war with the Shammar, except the clan of the Rammāl, which is connected by marriage with the Tayy; and they are usually on bad terms with the Wuld Suleimān and the Fuqara. With the Sukhūr relations are always delicate, and the two tribes often break into sharp conflict. In 1914 the jealousy between Ibn Jāzi and Abu Tayy led to continuous raids between the sub-tribes. Ibn Jāzi took refuge with the Sukhūr, and the Tayy with the Ruweilah. But the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey filled the tribes with a common fear that their camels might be requisitioned by the Ottoman Government for transport purposes; the Huweitāt made up their differences, and together with the Sukhūr retired east into the Anazah dīra, where the Government could not reach

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them. They are charged with the protection of the Hejaz Railway from Kerak to Ma'ān, and receive a yearly subsidy. Since Sāmi Pasha's expedition into the desert in 1910 they have regarded Ottoman authority with a certain amount of respect. 'Audah's cousin, Mohammed abu Tayy, was imprisoned for several months in Damascus, and upon his release was made responsible for the payment of the sheep- and camel-tax of his tribe—a lucrative position which he would be unwilling to forfeit.

In the spring the Tayy pasture over the north and east of the Jebel Tubeiq; the Jāzi camp to the south and south-west. In the summer the tribe draws in to Ma'ān, where it owns a little cultivation, and to Jafar, a depression east of Ma'ān. Ma'ān is the northern limit of the sandstone desert. Here the grassy downs of the Beni Sakhr country give place to forbidding leagues of rock weathered into fantastic shapes and diversified by sand-hills. Wells are few; nevertheless, in the sandstone bottoms there is a sufficiency of small shrubs and succulent weeds after the scanty rain.

The Huweitāt are not among the great camel-owners; probably the whole of the Syrian branch has not more than 5,000 to 8,000 animals.

The Huweitāt claim to be Ashrāf, i.e., descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fātimah; but it has been conjectured that they have a history which is ethnologically of far greater interest. They may be the descendants of the Nabataeans, who held the caravan road to Yemen—the old spice road—and had their capital at Petra, a few hours west of Ma'ān.

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Sheikh.*
Huweitāt. 400 tents 'Arār ibn Jāzi	*Beni Jāzi*, 100 tents	'Arār ibn Jāzi
	Dhiyābāt, 15 tents	Sālim ibn Dhi'āb
	Tawāyah, 150 tents	
	Demāni, 40 tents	Sālim ibn 'Aleyān
	Rukeibāt, 80 tents	Sālim abu Rukeib
Huweitāt of Akaba Hasan ibn Jād	*'Amrān* *'Alawīn*	Hasan ibn Jād
Huweitāt of Sinai 1,200 camels	*Sarei'īn* *Ghanamīn*	Sa'd abu Nār
	Dubūr	Suweilim abu Dhuhūr

2. *Beni 'Atīyah*

The **BENI 'ATIYAH** are an old tribe closely akin to the Anazah. They claim descent from Ma'z, who is said to have been brother of 'Anz, the ancestor of the Anazah. A part of the tribe in the Hisma plain, east of Akaba, is known as the Ma'zi. Some authorities

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state that the 'Atīyah tribe was the origin of the Huweitāt, the Heiwāt, the Terabīn, Ma'zi, and Tiyāhah. Whether or no this be the true explanation of the relation between the 'Atīyah and the Huweitāt, it is certain that their connexion is exceedingly close. The two tribes camp in each other's country, and aid each other against common enemies.

The 'Atīyah occupy the northern half of the 'Aweiridh Harrah, and are separated from the Mawāhib Harrah by the hollow plain of the Jau, through which there is a road from Wejh to Tebūk. The Jau is reckoned to be the dividing line between the Ahl esh-Shimāl and the Ahl Qibli, the northern and the southern Arabs. The 'Atīyah are held responsible for the Hejaz line from Ma'ān to Dār el-Hamra. The coast from Sheikh 'Antar up to the Gulf of Akaba is in their hands (or those of the Huweitāt, their allies), as well as the high barren hills between the *harrah* and the sea. Their rugged mountain district is unsuitable for camel-breeding. Of the sub-tribes, the **Sidenyīn** and the **Khutheirah** inhabit the 'Aweiridh *harrah*, the Sidenyīn being at the northern end with the **Subūt** to the west of them. The **'Uqeilāt** (Ageylat) used to be carriers of goods between Ma'ān and Tebūk, but the railway must have taken some of their trade.

The 'Atīyah are stout in arms. Their foes are the Shammar and the allies of Shammar, the Fuqara and Wuld Suleimān. With the Fuqara the 'Atīyah maintain an inextinguishable feud. They raid the Harb and the central clans of the Huteim.

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
Beni 'Atīyah	
Mohammed ibn 'Atīyah	*Rabilāt*
	'Uqeilāt
	Sidenyīn
	Khutheirah
	Subūt

3, 4, 5. *The Billi, Mawāhib, and Juheinah*

To the south of the plain of the Jau lie the Mawāhib, who, though they are of Anazah descent, being a tribe of the Sibā', are Billi by adoption. The Billi and their southern neighbours, the Juheinah, are both of the Himyar stock, and therefore rightly described as Ahl Qibli. The **MAWĀHIB** (Moahib) inhabit the southern part of the 'Aweiridh, a rugged mass of volcanic rock upon a platform of sandstone. They are sheep-breeders, and are reduced to small numbers, though they were once powerful enough to drive the Beni Sakhr from the 'Aweiridh. Scattered clans are to be found among their kinsmen, the Sibā', and with the Beni Sakhr in the Belqa. There is besides

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an ancient colony of Mawāhib husbandmen, keepers of cattle, in the Hasa. Their dīra marches with the Hejaz Railway line from a little above El-Akhdhar to Medā'in Sālih; in the west they go down to the country of the Sehāmah, a clan of the Billi, and in summer the Sehāmah come up with their flocks into the *harrah*.

The **BILLI** (Bali) and the **JUHEINAH** (Jeheina), both probably settled from very ancient times in the Tihāmah or coast region, extend from Na'mān Island to south of Yambo'. Both are charged with the protection of sections of the Hejaz Railway, and both are part cultivators and part Bedouins. The Billi are rice-carriers to the Arabs for the Wejh merchants and Turkish subjects, as are also the Juheinah, though neither are subject to much control. They are at feud with the Fuqara and the Wuld Suleimān, and the Juheinah are always at enmity with the Harb. The paramount sheikh of the Juheinah, the Sherif 'Ali ibn 'Abdullah, is a relation of the Grand Sherif, and lives at Yambo' en-Nakhl. The Juheinah Yambo' are the **'Arfu'a.**

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	
Billi. 600 tents Suleimān ibn Rafādah, at Wejh	*Hurūf*	
	Sehāmah	
	Quweyyīn	
	Zubala	
	Aradāt	
	Wābisah	
	Sara'btah	(All these sub-tribes very doubtful)
	Qureyyah	
	Hareiri	
	Qrauti	
	Suweimli	
	Fuweihi	
	Jemān	
Mawāhib. 80 fighting men	*Serāhīn*	

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Juheinah. 500 tents Sherif 'Ali ibn 'Abdullah of Yambo' en-Nakhl I. Mūsa	*Ghaneim.* E. and N. of Umlejh	Ghaneim, Hamdāni, Tharfāni, Mattutti, Mehādi
	Mohammed Sālih of Umlejh	
	Hamādi. Gowaq	Seidāni, Shetheiwān, Arshadi, Hazīmi, Fiheidi
	Rāshid Salāmah	
	Elatti. Habl and mountains	Hamdāni, B. Mad-hi
	Kreyem 'Abd el-Kerīm	
	Sindāni. Habl and mountains	Bōrān, Ru'ūs el-Bil
	'Audah 'Abdullah	

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
	Feidi. Qōra N. of Umlejh Eid Birki	B Marsūq, B. Rubeikah, Mat'ān, Shuweitah, Dhawi Huleyyil, Ladhah
	Samīri. E. of Umlejh 'Abdullah Salāmah	
	Hibeishi. E. of Samīri	
	Alwāni. Nabdh between Umlejh and Yambo' Ibrāhīm Fineighish	
	Hajari. Near Hibeishi	
	Enāmi. Wādi el-'Eis, E. of Umlejh	
	Eneini. Wādi el-'Eis	
II. MĀLIK	*Nazzah.* Umlejh	
	Thobyāni	
	Refa'i (*'Arfu'a*)	Haswāni, Nashūri, Wahbāni
	Erwi	Abu Wāmi, Suweilhi, Sheleibhi, Jammāli, Wadyāni, Amīri, Dhaf'āni, Labdāni.

6. *The Harb*

The **HARB** are Ahl esh-Shimāl. They are a powerful and warlike tribe of the Hejaz and of Nejd, occupying the coast of the Red Sea from Yambo' to Qunfudah, the mountain country between Medina and Mecca, and the desert to the north-east up to Jebel Abānāt. Inland, their country extends just across the Wādi er-Rummah. On the south they push down to the Sha'īb el-'Useibiyāt and the Harrat Qishb, i. e. the vicinity of the caravan road from Boreidah to Mecca, if the Ateibah are in their southern pastures; but this country is really the dīra of the latter.

In the days of the Emir Mohammed of Hā'il, the eastern Harb paid tribute to the Rashīd; but they are now independent. The clans in the Hejaz come under the influence of the Sherif, though they pay him tribute only when it suits them. They are responsible for the safety of the southernmost section of the Hejaz Railway, but their connexion with the pilgrim traffic is chiefly of a less respectable kind; for they rob caravans on the Mecca road, kill and plunder stragglers, and extort money at every opportunity. Their **'Auf** and **Lehābah** clans are noted highwaymen, much dreaded by the Pilgrimage. The Harb of the Hejaz (Beni Sālim and Masrūh) are mostly cultivators, fishermen, and carriers. The Beni Sālim are also camel-breeders, and so are the Nejd clans of the Beni 'Amr; but none of the Harb are specially rich in camel herds.

They are divided into three (or two?) big sub-tribes. The **Beni Sālim** live in the Hejaz, though there is a small branch of the **Muzeināt** in the

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south-east parts of Sinai. The **Subh**, one of their sub-tribes, are almost entirely nomad and have a reputation for bravery and valour. The other sub tribes are half settled, half pastoral, with the exception of the Quwwād, a tribe of menials, camel-drivers, and negroes, divided between the Beni Sālim and the Masrūh. The chief Sheikhs of the Subh are Khalīl el-Ahmed, who is 25 years old, and Sherīf ibn Nāmi, a man of 60.

The **Beni 'Amr** own the date-growing district of Fur' near Medina, but their principal Sheikh, Ez-Zuweibi, is generally in Nejd. He is about 18 or 20 years of age, a strong partisan of the Sherif. The sub-tribe of the **Jahm** are Shiahs.

The **Masrūh** have charge of the caravan road and hold Rābugh. A big sub-tribe, the **Zobeid** (Zubeid), are fishermen and sailors along the coast from Jiddah to Yambo'. Mostly settled in villages, they are of a stock despised by purely nomadic Arabs. Their paramount Sheikh, Husein ibn Mubeirik, lives at Rābugh. His territory extends from Mastūrah in the north to Qulīyah in the south.

A large group of the Zobeid is established in Mesopotamia, where they are cultivators and herdsmen. The **Beni 'Ali**, at Medina, are a turbulent confederation, bitterly hostile to the Turks. They are at present strongly influenced by the Sherif, and before the recent revolt were used by him to keep the town in a state of unrest and disorder. They are a much rougher people than any of the Beni Sālim, and are sometimes said not to be of the Harb race.

HARB[1]

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Beni Sālim. 2,000 tents or more Khalīl ibn Khalīfah el-Ahmadi; Sherīf ibn Nāmi; Muhsin ibn 'Abbās, in Wādi Safra	*Ahamda*, 500 men Khalīl el-Ahmadi, in Jebel Fiqra between Medina and Yambo'. *Subh*, 1,500 men Sherīf ibn Nāmi, in Jebel Subh and Bedr Hunein *Rahalah*, 500 men From Bir 'Abbās to Bir Ibn Hasāni *Hunatiyāt* Khalaf ibn Nahal *'Azīmāt* *Jimālah* Dhiyāb ibn Mudheyyin *Hawāzin*, 200 men or more Wādi el-Kheif, near Fiqra	

[1] This scheme is not put forward as authoritative, but as subject to considerable revision. Authorities differ much about the organization of the Harb.

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Beni Sālim (*continued*):	*Qu'ād* Some belong to the Masrūh *Dhuwāhir*, 200 men Safra, near Medina *Ruwāthah*, 50 men Safra, near Medina *Muzeināt* Talab el-Muzeini, Eastern Hejaz	
Beni 'Amr. 2,000 tents or more Dheifallah ez-Zuweibi, in Nejd	*Beledīyah*, 400 men Between Rābugh and Fur' *Mu'abbed*, 1,000 men Near Mecca *Humrān*, 100 men Between Mecca and Jiddah *B. Jābir*, 500 men Near the Humrān *Bishr*, 200 men Wādi Fātimah *'Ibidah* Jebel Thubra *Rubaqa* At Fur', near Medina *Manash* West of Madhīq, near Fur' *Jahm* Between Mecca and Medina in the Fur' *B. Mohammed* Khureibah, a day N. of Rābugh *Beidhān* Nahidh ibn Mūjid *Wohūb* 'Aqab ibn Rasādah *Jerājirah* *Ghayadīn* *Jibārah*	
3,000 men or more Husein ibn Mubeirik, Sh. of Rābugh. Ibn Muslat.	*Beni 'Ali* Mohammed ibn Ruweiti Ibn Muslat, near Medina *Zobeid* Husein ibn Mubeirik Yambo' to Jiddah	*Bedarīn* Mufadhdhal el-Bedrāni *Khidharah* Nāfi' el-Khadīr *Firidah* Mehsin el-Fird *Sahāf*, 500 men In Jebel Gharān *'Usum*, 80 men, at Khuleis *Mughārūbah*, 50 men. Between Jiddah and Rābugh *Sa'āyadah*, 50 men. Between Jiddah and Rābugh

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Masrūh (*continued*):		*Wifyān*
		Jaghāthihah, in Qadeid
		Jid'ān, Thahabān to Jiddah
		Hunūd
		Jerājirah, 80 men Near Khuleis
		'Izarah, 80 men Near Khuleis
		Wildīyah. Near Khuleis
		Jahādha, 100 men In Towal
		'Uslān, 100 men. From Rābugh to Thahabān
	Zobeid in Mesopotamia. Between Museyyib and 'Alāq, 9 hrs. E. of Hillah	*Abu Sultān*
		Shamamitah
		Abu Mohammed
		Abu Husein
		Jeish
		Abu 'Abdullah
	Wuld Salīm Madwakh ibn Salīm	
	'Auf	*Suwā'id*
		Sehlīyah
		Lehābah, 80 men Jebel Gharān
		Beni Sifrān, 2,000 men Jiddah
		Haib. In Lebanon
		Kanādirah
	Sa'dīn Above Medina on Darb el-Hajj	
	Quwwād (half are Beni Salīm)	

7. *The Ateibah*

The **ATEIBAH** (*'Uteibah*) are the most powerful tribe in Central Arabia, strong in arms and great camel-breeders. Among all the nomads they are second in importance only to the Anazah. They occupy the eastern side of the Hejaz with the volcanic *harrahs* between the Hajj road and the Central Arabian steppes. Their pasturages run east to Qasīm and Woshm, and south to the dīras of the Qahtān, of the Buqūm and Shalāwah, and of the Sebei'. This country abounds in wells; it has a regular if small rainfall in winter, and is not wholly dry in early autumn, when it receives the end of the monsoon rains. It supports large herds of sheep and camels, and in places the grass grows so richly that the Bedouins gather a hay-crop; everywhere there is a low growth of acacias, and game is plentiful.

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619 The clans in the Hejaz, such as the Helissah, Meraukhah, Kurzān, Sebbahah, Marāshidah, and Semarrah, are small in numbers and breed sheep only. There is little cultivation in the *harrahs*, no more than palm-groves and small Ateibah villages.

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The two great divisions of the tribe are the **Rūqah** and the **Berqah**. The Rūqah are chiefly in the Hejaz, the Berqah in the eastern desert. The paramount Sheikh of the Berqah, Mohammed ibn Hindi, used to be a close friend and ally of Ibn Sa'ūd, rode with him in raiding expeditions and aided him with fighting men. But the relation of the Ateibah to the Sherif and Ibn Sa'ūd respectively has been somewhat modified of late. The tribe used to belong to Ibn Sa'ūd's confederation, only those clans which actually inhabited the Hejaz coming under the Sherif: but at the same time Ateibah sympathies were on the whole with the Sherif, possibly because he was farther away and exercised a less direct control. In 1910 his second son, 'Abdullah, raided Qasīm, nominally on behalf of the Ateibah Sheikhs. He captured Sa'd, the brother of 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd; but the support which he expected from Ibn Rashīd was not forthcoming, and when the Emir 'Abd el-'Azīz appeared in force he made terms with him and retired. Ibn Sa'ūd undertook that the Ateibah should be tax-free, and that the Qasīm should pay the Sherif £4,000 a year. The first part of this arrangement was not observed by Ibn Sa'ūd (and in all probability the second part met with as little respect). No sooner had 'Abdullah gone back to the Hejaz than the Emir raided the Ateibah on the ground that they had harboured the rebellious Aulād Sa'ūd, the grandsons of his uncle, who had tried to raise Kharj and Harīq against him. In 1915 'Abdullah returned to the charge. He carried an expedition as far as the province of Sedeir in Nejd, levied taxes from the eastern Ateibah, and had a successful encounter with the Barrīyah, who are allies of the Muteir and subjects of Ibn Sa'ūd.

The Ateibah are foes of the Harb, than whom they are more powerful; they are generally on good terms with the two small tribes on their southern frontier, the Buqūm and Shalāwah, and at feud with the Qahtān.

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ATEIBAH

Paramount Sheikh	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Tūrki ibn Rubei'ān	*Rūqah*, 2,500 tents Tūrki ibn Rubei'ān	*Dhawi Thubeit* Nāsir ibn Muheyya *Hanātīsh Dhawi 'Atīyah* Nejm ibn Shulciwikh ibn Zureibah *Dhawi Mazrū' Talhah* Sineitān edh-Dheit *Mezāhimah* Thu'eil el-Kharrās ibn Huleyyil *Mizham* Ja'ilān *Khufāt* *Helissah* *Meraukhah* *Kurzān* *Sebbahah* *Sheyābīn*
Mohammed ibn Hindi ibn Maslat	*Berqah*, 3,000 tents Mohammed ibn Hindi	*Maqātah* Meqītah ibn Hindi *Khanāfir* Shālih el-Humuqi *Ghazū'ilah* Shāfi ibn Dāli *Qumizah* Mehāhi ibn Thuweimir *Rausān* 'Ubeid ibn Jāmi' *Da'jīn* (or *Da'ājil*) Menāhi el-Heidhal *Dhawi Khuyūt* Nāsir ibn 'Aqeyyil *Sheyābīn* Hadhdhāl ibn Fahīd esh-Shibāni *Dhawi 'Abdillah* Menāhi ibn Museifir *Dhawi Khalīfah* Beyyin el-Jalāwi *Nafa' Dhawi Ziyād* Mohammed abu Ruquba *Dhawi Mufarrij* Shebīb ibn Hajjena *Filitah* Es-Sultān *Daghālibah* Mohammed el-Mihari *'Asumah* Abu el-'Ala *Hiddaf* Aleitha el-'Ameidi *Marāshidah* *Semarrah*

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8. *Minor Tribes of Southern Hejaz.*

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Several small independent tribes share the south part of Hejaz with the two greater tribes, Harb and Ateibah, of which the first lies along the coast, the second inland from Tā'if. They are all, in part, settled or half-settled, and all acknowledge the authority of the Sherif.

(*a*) The **Hudheil** (Hatheil) are divided into two main sections, a northerly and a southerly. The first ranges east and south of Mecca, and especially along the road between that city and Tā'if, the second beyond Tā'if. No. I is said to have seven clans: Mutārafah (Wādi Fātimah), Mas'ūd (Rī' es-Seil), Sowahar (Rī' es-Seil), B. 'Amr, **Met'ān** (from Mecca to Jiddah), Lahiyān (east of Mecca), Janābir (El-Kōr). No. II has eight clans: Garhīyah, Marzūqīyah, Sarwāni, **Kabkabi**, B. Fahm, Nadwīyah, Dadīyah, and 'Abdīyah.

(*b*) **Beni Faham**, a small tribe living in Wādi Waghar, to the east of the Juhadlah and between them and the Beni Thaqīf. They are entirely nomadic and are noted for their skill in tracking. They are friendly with the Beni Thaqīf and Juhadlah, and are still faithful to Sherif 'Ali, the deposed Sherif of Mecca. The Chief Sheikh is Ismā'īl ibn **Dahyān**. They number about 1,000 men. Related to the Qoreish.

(*c*) The **Juhadlah** are an entirely nomad tribe with no defined limits, but such boundaries as they have may be said to start just south of Serūm (Serom), the southern limit of the Harb, and run thence almost to Lith, covering all the coast and taking a wide sweep inland to the east of Jebel Abu Shauk and Jebel Sa'dīyah. Their neighbours on the south are the Āl Mahdi and Dhawi Barakāt and, to the north-east of Lith, the Beni Faham.

They also mingle with the Dhawi Surur and Shenabrah to the south of Mecca, and are generally to be found along the road from Mecca to Jebel 'Arafāt and east to Shaddād and Jebel Mohram. From Serūm to Lith, however, is their original district, the chief centre being round Sa'dīyah. They number about 4,000 men and, although good fighters, are not quarrelsome. Their country is a poor one, and affords scanty pasturage to their herds of camels, in which they are fairly rich. In times of drought they go south to Wādi Dōkhah in the Dhawi Barakāt country. They do not cultivate, but buy all their grain from Tā'if or Lith, in return for the *semn* which they sell. They all carry spears and knives, and, those who can afford them, rifles.

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For purposes of internal administration the tribe is divided into two parts, the one under Mohammed ibn Sa'id, the other under Mohammed ibn Hanesh. The former is faithful to the Sherif of Mecca. Sheikh Mohammed ibn Hanash, who rules over the Āl Munif or Munifiyah, dislikes the Sherif, owing to his habit of commandeering camels whenever his followers go to Mecca, and therefore keeps chiefly to Sa'diyah and the coast. He has made overtures to Idrisi, but is too far off and too weak to do more than sympathize with him. He was neutral during the Turco-Sherifian expedition in 1910, and removed his tribe into the inaccessible mountains.

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The two chief Sheikhs are on good terms with each other and the sub-tribes freely intermingle. They are friendly towards the Dhawi Hasan and Beni Faham, but inimical to the Harb. The Ateibah, though distant, raid them when they stray too far east. The Hudheil and they are of one origin and are on terms of the closest friendship.

The Juhadlah are hospitable to strangers, but they have little religion and seldom go on the Pilgrimage. In person they are taller than most Arabs, wear their hair short, and are dressed in a red 'tob' (*thūb*) which reaches from the waist to the knee, the end being thrown over the left shoulder.

(i) Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Sa'id.

Sub-tribes: 'Alyānīyah, Sheinīyah, Hershīyah, Jamshīyah, Tha'bānīyah, Hamānīyah, Jirshīyah.

(ii) Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Hanash.

(1) Āl Munif, of which the chief subdivisions are:

Āl es-Sihim.	Mohammed es-Sultān.
Āl Madāthir.	Hussein ibn Huneish.
Beni Bur.	Mas'ūd ibn Mohammed.
Āl Yām.	Mohammed ibn Mohsin
Āl Zahein.	Mishar ibn Sihmār.

(2) Hijrīyah, of which the chief subdivision is:

Āl Faham.	Haidar ibn Huneish.

(*d*) The **Āl Mahdi** are a small semi-nomad tribe near Lith, who make their living chiefly as fishermen. They are a poor and down-trodden people, thoroughly awed by their powerful neighbours the Dhawi Hasan. They do not number more than 200 souls.

Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Qasim.

Chief Clans:

El-Mujeishah.	Ahmed ibn Mas'ūdah.
Āl Hasan.	Ibn Ahmed er-Rideini.

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(e) The **Beni Mālik** of the Hejaz are a small tribe numbering not more than 2,000 men, who live in the mountains inland of Lith. The adjoining tribes are the Beni Sa'd on the north, the Shalāwah nomads on the east, the Zahrān on the south, and the Juhadlah on the west. The Beni Mālik are not a fighting tribe, but they are hospitable and industrious, and cultivate figs and grapes in the wādis, as well as wheat, barley, and *dhura*. During the Pilgrimage season most of them go to Mecca and Jiddah and act as porters. They thus come more into contact with the outside world than most tribes and are more civilized. They are devoted to the Sherif and pay him taxes.

Nāsir ibn Rawwāf is their chief Sheikh.

They live at peace with their neighbours, except the Shalāwah, who occasionally raid them. Most of their villages are clustered in Wādi Lōz and Wādi Rummān.

(f) The **Shenabrah** are a small nomad tribe to the south of Mecca, numbering not more than 150 men. They are one of the 21 Ashrāf clans (see pp. 406 ff.), and, being nearly related to the 'Abādilah, support the Sherif of Mecca. Sherif Judallah is their head. The Shenabrah are brave and lawless, and are generally at loggerheads with the Dhawi Surur.

(g) The **Dhawi Surur** number about 200 men and wander over the country to the south of Mecca, being entirely nomadic. They are one of the 21 Ashrāf clans, and are connected with the Dhawi Zeid. They are opposed to the Shenabrah. Sherif Dukhān is their chief Sheikh. Clans are Aulād El-Hasan and Āl 'Azīz. They all obey the Sherif.

(h) The **Beni Thaqif**, a tribe descended from Himyar in the highlands to the south of Tā'if. They are bounded on the north by the northern section of Juhadlah, on the south by the Beni Nasri, east by the Shalāwah, and west by the Beni Faham. They are almost entirely settled and agricultural, and grow cereals, grapes, and other fruits for the Tā'if market. For water they depend partly on the summer rains, but chiefly on well water. Nāsir ibn Ghuzeil is their chief Sheikh, a firm adherent of the Sherif of Mecca. He commands about 2,000 fighting men. In times of crisis they combine with the Beni Mālik, Beni Sa'd, and Beni Nasri. They are always at feud with the Beni Faham and are not cordial to the Juhadlah. They possess very few camels. A certain proportion of the tribe lives permanently in Tā'if. The chief sub-tribes are Sufyān, Mu'adhdher, and Rabī'ah.

(i) The **Beni Sa'd**, a tribe which traces its descent to Himyar.

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It is bounded on the north by the Nasri, on the south by the Beni Mālik, east by the Shalāwah, and west by the Beni Faham and southern Juhadlah. Their country is more fertile than that of their northern neighbours, wells being plentiful, and they raise cereals and fruits. There are no nomads amongst them. They favour the Emir of Mecca and can provide him with about 1,000 men.

Hamsa ibn Mohammed is their chief Sheikh.

There is enmity between them and the Shalāwah, and with the Juhadlah they are by no means friendly. They combine with the Beni Thaqīf, Beni Mālik, and Nasri in times of danger.

9. *Tribes of the NE. Asir Borderland.*

Certain tribes which inhabit the region between Northern Asir and Southern Nejd (so far as this is not occupied by the Ateibah) must be mentioned, although it is very doubtful if any of them can be regarded as predominantly nomadic. It is certain, in any case, that a large proportion of their members are partly settled, either in the upper valleys of the inland Asiri wādis or in the Nejd oases; and it is probable that enough of them are now permanent cultivators to deprive the tribes of the Bedouin character they once had. Comparatively little, however, is known about them.

The most numerous and important tribe is the **SEBEI'**, whose home-land is the ill-known region of Wādi Sebei', which lies between N. Asir and Woshm and appears to include the lower basins of two of the great Asiri wādis, Turabah and Ranyah. Not only, however, are settled Sebei' found also in towns and villages of almost all the Nejd districts, but nomad members wander even east of these into Summān, and over many parts of Eastern Toweiq. The nomad element of the tribe numbers at least 1,000 tents, and is divided in allegiance, the Sebei' of Wādi Turabah being tributary to the Sherif, while the rest (the larger part) acknowledge Ibn Sa'ūd. The whole tribe is either Wahabite or Hanbali Sunnite.

The names of some seventeen sub-tribes are known, but almost all in connexion with settled Sebei'.

Connected with the Sebei' and possibly constituting a sub-tribe only are the **SAHUL** (or Shaul), of which nomad members range S. Nejd and into Hasa. If identical with the **SHALĀWAH**, their home-land is Wādi Sebei'. But it is practically certain that they are now more settled than nomadic and have become only less a permanent element of the Nejd population than the Fadhūl. They

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619 have probably not above 300 tents, and in religious colour and political allegiance follow the Sebei'.

101 The **BUQŪM** are intimately connected with the two foregoing 622 tribes, but are both more predominantly nomadic and less scattered abroad. They are found in the basins of all the inland Asiri wādis, including Wādi Bīshah, and appear to be accepted equally by the Ateibah on the north and the Qahtān on the south, and to divide their allegiance in the same manner as the Sebei'. They are said to have about 500 tents.

C. Tribes of the Central South

1. *The Qahtān*

The **QAHTĀN** are almost the only very ancient Arabian people which still maintains its importance as a tribal unit. They are, according to Arab tradition, the mother-stock of the Ahl Qibli, and it is not improbable that for a very long period of time they may have occupied their present district near the southern limits of the habitable desert. No travellers have penetrated into their country and little is known about them. Strange, and seemingly quite baseless, accounts of their customs are repeated among the northern tribes; for, like all distant and unknown peoples, they are a peg on which to hang marvels. Their country lies to the west of Hautah and is divided into three districts, Hasāt, Areiji, and Tathlīth, the last being near Asir. The Shahrān and the Sebei' lie to the west, the Dawāsir to the south and south-west, the Buqūm and Shalāwah to the north. Somewhere north of Bīshah is the Bilād Qahtān, with a group of villages known as the Qahtānīyah (Tarīd, 'Azīm, and Kir'ān are among their number), and the Beni Wahhāb villages inhabited by a small tribe of that name.

The Qahtān acknowledge the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd and join him in his raiding expeditions. So far as they are Moslems at all, they are Hanbali Sunnites or Wahabites. They come up to Shaqrah in the Woshm for dates, and when they are camping in the southern parts of their country they buy dates from the Dawāsir villagers, but they themselves have no lands in the valley and are not cultivators. They are very rich in camels, which are sold to the Qasīm buyers when the herds come north, towards Nejd. The settled section of the Qahtān, which includes six autonomous tribes and owns the paramount authority of Mohammed ibn Dhuleim, is dealt with later (pp. 132, 441 ff.).

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2. *The Dawāsir.*

The nomadic **DAWĀSIR** are Wahabite and more or less under Ibn Sa'ūd. Half-settled, they have villages in the Wādi Dawāsir, which they inhabit during the summer. They breed camels, though not in such large quantities as the Qahtān. The Qasīm dealers do not come as far south as the Dawāsir, but the latter bring their camels into the Hasa and dispose of them there to the Qusmān.

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The Dawāsir have overflowed into the easterly provinces of Southern Nejd, and now form a considerable settled element in Afīāj, where they are the chief owners of land, worked by men of the *fellāh* tribe of Beni Khadhīr. To a less extent they are found also in Harīq and 'Āridh, where they contribute a proportion of the village and even the town population. Small parties of their nomads wander between Nejd and Hasa and trouble the routes. A considerable body is settled in Bahrein. Indeed, so small a proportion of the Dawāsir is in any sense Bedouin, that the tribe hardly comes within our purview here; for the settled clans see Chap. XVI, pp. 604 ff.

D. Tribes of the Central East

1. *The Shammar*

The **SHAMMAR** are northern Arabs. They do not spring from a single ancestor, but account for themselves by saying that they are a mixture of Taghlib, 'Abs, and Hawāzin, the first a constituent of Rabī'ah, the two last of Mudhar. The Ja'far, to which the ruling family of the Rashīd belongs, is a sub-tribe of 'Abdah, and the 'Abdah claim descent from the 'Abidah, a part of the settled Qahtān: they could, therefore, be Yemenites. Beyond these vague traditions, the Shammar are ignorant of their own history before they established themselves in Jebel Shammar, 'the two mountains of Tayy' frequently mentioned in pre-Mohammedan literature, where they displaced (and probably partly incorporated) the ancient Tayy nation, a branch of the Qahtān. About the middle of the seventeenth century they began to stretch their frontiers into the Syrian Desert, where they encountered, and, after a brief struggle, defeated, the

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Mawāli, then the most powerful tribe in the northern steppe, driving them into the north-east borders of Syria.

Early in the nineteenth century the Anazah forced the Shammar northwards across the Euphrates, and split the tribe into two parts, interposing themselves between these two in the Syrian Desert. Thus the Shammar of Jebel Shammar and those of the Jezīrah (Mesopotamia) came to be geographically and politically distinct. The southern group follows Ibn Rashīd, the northern Ibn Jerba. But ethnologically they are one; the same sub-tribes are found in either group, and though they do not offer united resistance to their common enemy, the Anazah, they are always on terms of friendship with one another. Any small sheikh of the Jezīrah may bring down his tents and flocks to Jebel Shammar for a year's pasturage, if he be so minded.

The **SOUTHERN SHAMMAR** must be considered, not only as a powerful nomad tribe, but also as the masters of the oases in J. Shammar. The settled population of the latter is mostly of the Beni Tamīm, an ancient branch of Mudhar which once inhabited all North-East Arabia, but now has relinquished the nomadic life (see p. 81). The Shammar, for their part, are nomads, though they come down to the oases during the summer drought. The Emir of J. Shammar plays a double part. He is Paramount Chief of his own tribal confederation; but also he is ruler of a settled country, of which Hā'il is the capital, a prince with a fixed habitation, exercising authority over other Bedouins whose connexion with him is not tribal but political. The Shammar tribal frontiers remain more or less unchanged, but the sphere of the Emir's influence varies with the vicissitudes of his dynastic fortunes.

The Shammar tribe ranges the south-east Nefūd and the country to the north almost up to Nejef. To the east its limits have been somewhat restricted by the Dhafīr, who are always at feud with it and encroach upon its dīra. Since the old eastern pilgrim road, the Darb Zobeidah, is seldom safe from Dhafīr raids, it has been abandoned by the Emir's caravans in favour of a more westerly track past the fortified wells of Hayyānīyah; but the proper Shammar pasture-grounds extend up to it and across it. To the north, the loss of Jauf el-'Amr has shut the Shammar into the Nefūd. They do not wander far beyond J. 'Irnān on the west, nor southwards beyond Mustajiddah; while the summer camping-ground of Beidha Nethīl is occupied sometimes by Shammar, but mostly by the Anazah of the Teima district.

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The political influence of Hā'il has decreased notably since the death of the Emir Mohammed, in 1897. At the height of his power he ruled over Riyādh and the Qasīm, and levied tribute from the Northern Harb, the Huteim, Fuqara, Wuld Suleimān, and Beni Wahhāb. The Southern Shammar tribes, great breeders of sheep and camels, number something under 4,000 tents. The villages of J. Shammar contain probably not much over 20,000 souls. Both tribesmen and villagers are devotedly loyal to the Emir. The subject tribes from whom he might be able, on occasion, to raise fighting men number at most 1,200 tents. Teima, which is subject to him, must have a population of from 1,500 to 2,000. 619 101 622

At a rough estimate Ibn Rashīd could probably raise from 500 to 800 fighting men from the villages, and 2,000 from the Shammar tribes. He might obtain another 500 or 600 from the tribes between Jebel Shammar and Teima, though their support would always be doubtful. The tribesmen would bring their own camels, but they would depend on the Emir for food and ammunition. The villagers he would have to mount and arm as well as feed. His own camel herds, seriously reduced in numbers since the days of the Emir Mohammed, may now amount to about 1,000 camels, including those which are not yet fit for service. The Shammar tribes are not as rich in camels as the Anazah, but they must average some 20–30 camels to a tent, which would bring the numbers up to 80,000 or rather more, including breeding camels and calves. 619 101 622 701

The relations between the Shammar and the Muteir are usually hostile. With the Dhafīr the Shammar are always at feud, but the Muntefiq were recently on good terms with Ibn Rashīd. The Huteim are out of hand and raid Shammar territories when the Emir is occupied with distant expeditions against the Ruweilah or the Dhafīr. On the western borders, the Huweitāt are the foes of all Shammar, except the sub-tribe of Rammāl, with whom one of their Paramount Sheikhs is connected by marriage. The B. 'Atīyah are hereditary enemies, and the Juheinah and Billi raid both the Wuld Suleimān and the Shammar.

Arab tribal federations or states, however, are held together only by an autocratic ruler, and their strength increases or diminishes in exact ratio to his weight and capacity. The Southern Shammar had their day under the Emir Mohammed. Since his death they have been handicapped by the violence and folly of their leaders. But, nevertheless, their numbers, their great tradition, and the support of the Ottoman Government make them still one of the chief factors in Central Arabian politics.

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The **NORTHERN SHAMMAR** of the Jezīrah are variously estimated. Probably a total of 2,000 tents is not far from the true figure; but they have been put as high as 10,000 tents. Their pasture-grounds are between the Tigris and the Euphrates, though occasionally they cross the Tigris in the region of the Lesser Zāb. They come down to Baghdad and even south of Baghdad as far as Zobār. To the west they extend to Deir ez-Zōr, which is a headquarters of the tribe; thence north up the Khābūr and to near Nisībīn they wander over the fertile desert which is watered by the Jaghjagh and its affluents. They are at feud with their Anazah neighbours, both Fed'ān and 'Amārāt, and usually on bad terms with the Kurdish tribes to the north and north-east. Traditional rebels against Ottoman authority, they slip between the fingers of the Mutesarrif of Deir and the Vali of Mosul, paying taxes to neither. They exact dues from the caravans on the Tigris road and not infrequently hold up the traffic along this important link between Asia Minor and Baghdad, forcing travellers, and sometimes even the Government post, to take the longer route by Irbil and Kerkūk. The *keleks* on the river are subject to their exactions also. In 1911, the cup of their iniquities having overflowed, Nāzim Pasha, then Vali of the 'Irāq, sent an expedition against them under his chief of staff, Hasan Riza Bey (murdered during the siege of Scutari in the following year). He conducted matters very skilfully. The Shammar came in without resistance, camel- and sheep-dues, many years in arrear, were collected at a great camp formed at Hatrah, and the rights of the tribe over the Mosul road were defined. But the fall of Nāzim immediately afterwards, and the resignation of Hasan Riza, took the heart out of this agreement.

The Shammar of the Jezīrah are all under the sheikhly family of the Jerbān, who sprang into political importance about 1830 with Sheikh Sufūq ibn Jerba, a bitter enemy of the Turks. His eldest son, Ferhān, was a lover of peace and kept on good terms with the Government; but the contest was continued by Ferhān's brothers, of whom the youngest, Fāris, took refuge in J. Shammar with Ibn Rashīd. He returned to the Jezīrah in the seventies, and from that time shared the position of Paramount Sheikh with Ferhān. He took the camping-grounds on the Khābūr, while Ferhān held those round Mosul, with his head-quarters at Hatrah, and on the brackish springs of the Wādi Tharthar. In 1911 'Āsi, the eldest of Ferhān's sixteen sons, was appointed by Hasan Riza Bey Paramount Sheikh and made responsible to the Government for all Mesopotamian Shammar. He is a man advanced in years, peaceable and upright.

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He keeps to the Mosul district, while two of his cousins, 'Abd el-Muhsin and Mohammed, sons of 'Abd el-Kerīm, roam the Khābūr country. The sons of Fāris are young and not of much account. The eldest now living, Mish'al, is nephew, through his mother, of Noweidis et-Timyāt of the **Tūmān** (Shammar of the Jebel). Some of the many sons of Ferhān own cultivated land on the southern reaches of the Tigris, and one, Humeidi, has almost dropped nomad habits and passes much of his time in a house which he has built in Baghdad.

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Between 'Amārah and Baghdad there is a group of small tribes, the **Tauqah** (Toga), who call themselves Shammar, though they are of mixed blood. They are half-nomadic, going out into the desert west of the Euphrates in spring with their sheep and donkeys, and coming back into their Jezīrah villages in the summer. The chief of these tribes are the **Mas'ūd** (Mes'ūd), between Museyyib and Kerbela, the **Zagārit**, round Kerbela, and the **Zauba'** (Zoba), five hours west of Baghdad. They are Shiah, and, like all settled Arabs, fairly numerous.

SHAMMAR OF NEJD

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
'Abdah. 1,500 tents Ibn Jebrīn Ibn 'Ajil Ibn 'Ali	*Mufadhdhal* Mitni ibn Jebrīn *Fadhl* 'Aqab ibn 'Ajil (maternal uncle of Emir 'Abd el-'Azīz) *Ja'far* Wādi ibn 'Ali *Weibār* Ibn Shureim *Jeniddah* Hāmid el-Hihi *'Amūd* Slash ibn Feisāl *Deghairāt* (small)	*Bureik* Ibn Bureik
Aslam. 1,200 tents Dhāri et-Tawālah	*Juheish* *Mas'ūd* (*Mes'ūd*) 'Adhib ibn El-Gheisim *Firidah* (*Fruddah*) 'Amash el-Ferīd *Wureik* 'Aqab ibn Wureik	

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Aslam (*continued*):	*Rumāh*	
	Mutlaq er-Rumāhi	
	Tūmān	*Hadbah* (*Hidbah*)
	Noweidis et-Timyāt	Mutlaq ibn 'Aish
	Munāhi ibn 'Ayyāsh	*Wudhāh* (*Widhāh*)
	Wahab	
	Toweirib ibn Munabbih	
	Raba' (or *Ruba'ah*)	
	Samad er-Raba'i	
	Husein	
	Qwei (small)	
	Dhawīyah (small)	
Sinjārah. 1,000 tents	*Zumeil*	
	Qasīm ibn Rakhīs	
	Salmān	
	Fallāj ibn 'Ardān	
	Ghufeilah	
	'Ayāda ibn Zuweimil	
	Ghi'ihah (or *Ghīthah*)	
	Suweid	
	Ibn Duweihi	
	Rammāl	*Namsān* (*Nimsān*)
	Ghadhbān ibn Rammāl (daughter married to 'Audah Abu Tayy of the Huweitat, with whom he is friends)	*Jirdhān*
	Shilqān	
	Ibn Duheilān	

SHAMMAR OF JEZĪRAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Shammar. 2,000 tents	*Khārisah* (*Khrussah*)	
'Āsi ibn Ferhān	'Āsi ibn Ferhān	
'Abd el-Muhsin ibn 'Abd el-Kerīm		
Mohammed ibn 'Abd el-Kerīm	*'Abdah*	*Bureik*
	Menāwir ibn Suqi	
	Sinjārah	
	'Abd el-Muhsin Mohammed	
	(Sinjārah) *Thābit*	
	Mit'ab el-Hadab el-Qu'eit	
	('Abdah) *'Amūd*	
	(Tūmān) *Sā'ih*	
	Jed'ān ibn Hasan	
	Ferhān es-Sudeid	
	('Abdah) *Fedāghah*	*'Aleyyān*
	Bandar ibn 'Ayādah	

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SHAMMAR OF 'IRĀQ

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Tauqah.	*Mas'ūd (Mes'ūd)*	
	Zagārit	
	Zauba'	
	Dhāhi Mohammed	

2. *Beni Tamīm*

The **BENI TAMĪM** are a famous stock of the northern people, who played an important part in Arabian history before the age of the Prophet, when they extended from the Syrian Desert to Yemāmah. They maintain their ancient seat, for they still form a large proportion of the settled population of Nejd and Jebel Shammar; the oases of the Qasīm are almost exclusively inhabited by them and by the B. Khālid. But they are no longer an independent tribe; they acknowledge the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd or of Ibn Rashīd. At a very early date, probably before the Mohammedan invasion, they began to come up into Mesopotamia, where they are still to be found near Tārmīyah (some 1,500 families). All these are shepherds, and while the Tamīm of Nejd are strict Wahabites, their kinsmen of Mesopotamia are Shiahs.

3. *The Dhafīr (or Dhufīr)*

The **DHAFĪR** form an important tribe whose district extends south of the Shatt el-'Arab and Euphrates from near Zobeir to Samāwah. From Samāwah a line drawn almost due south to the vicinity of Hafar in the Bātin would mark their frontier, and the depression of the Bātin forms the SE. side of the triangle which encloses their territory. Their neighbours are the Muntefiq confederation to the NE., the Shammar to the W., the Muteir and 'Ajmān to the E., while to the south they are in touch with the Sebei', one of the tribes which acknowledges the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd. The Samīd section, and more particularly the Juwāsim (or Jawāsim, orig. Qawāsim), are accustomed to cross the Euphrates in the summer and pasture their flocks in the 'Irāq.

The Dhafīr are foes of the Muteir and are almost always on bad terms with the Shammar, whom they raid when they are in their spring pasturages east of the Nefūd. They harry the Darb Zobeidah and hold up the Emir's caravans from Hā'il to Nejef; indeed the Darb Zobeidah has become so unsafe that the western pilgrimage road is now almost always chosen by caravans in preference to it.

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619 For the past year, however, the paramount Sheikh, Hamūd ibn Suweit, has been at peace with Ibn Rashīd, though he is said to
101 have rejected the latter's proposal that he should join him in aiding 'Ajeimi ibn Sa'dūn and the Turks against the British. The
622 Shammar sub-tribe of the 'Ajil are still hostile to the Dhafīr. With the Anazah they are always at feud, and though the Anazah sheikhs seldom approach within four or five days' journey of their country, the Dhafīr carry their raids as far north as Shifāthah, and west into the Anazah pastures. They are on good terms with some of the Muntefiq group, of whom the Budūr camp habitually under their protection in the spring, when the latter go out with their sheep into the desert. But with the Sa'dūn themselves their relations have been anything but cordial, and since 1915 Hamūd has definitely sided against 'Ajeimi; but he has not succeeded in carrying his whole tribe with him, and the Husein and Dhar'ān sections, as well as other smaller sheikhs of the Samīd, have followed 'Ajeimi's lead against us.

The Dhafīr are composed of two main sub-tribes, the Butūn and the Samīd, of which the Butūn is the more numerous. It is not a homogeneous tribal unit, but has been formed from sections of other tribes which have been welded together. The various constituents have preserved the memory of their origin; the Suweit and the Beni Husein are Ashrāf of the Hejaz; the Sa'īd, 'Areif, and Beni Khālid, with the Kathīr who are an offshoot of the Beni Khālid, are Qahtān; the 'Adwān are Ahl esh-Shimāl, descended from Rabī'ah or Mudhar; the Misāmīr and the small Tulūh clans are Anazah; the Rasimi are Shammar, the Mu'āleim are Beni Tamīm, and the Juwāsim are from the neighbouring Sebei'. The important Dhar'ān section are 'Abīd, that is to say, they spring from the slaves of some nomad group.

The Dhafīr are wholly nomadic and do not engage in any trade. Their country is sufficiently supplied with wells, and they own large flocks of sheep, besides being breeders of camels. In religion they are Sunnis of the Maliki sect. They are well armed with modern rifles and may number some 3,000 fighting men. They maintain good relations with the Sultan of Koweit and come into Koweit for needful provisions and utensils. Sections of the tribe near the Koweit territory have occasionally paid the Sultan tribute; while in the days of Mohammed er-Rashīd the western sections of the Dhafīr yielded tribute to the Shammar. The paramount Sheikh, Hamūd ibn Suweit, is a man of about 45, intelligent, and reckoned a fairly good politician and tribal administrator. His son, Barghash, is a boy of 17.

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DHAFĪR

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*		
Butūn.			
Hamūd ibn Suweit.	*Suweit.*	Hamūd ibn Suweit.	2,000 tents.
	Sultān.	Hamūd ibn Suweit.	
	Miz'ar.		
	Haulah.		
	Battah.		
	Ma'ālib.		
	Tulūh.		
	'Afnān.	Haza' ibn Aqrab.	
	Dhuweihi.	'Ali edh-Dhuweihi.	
	Rasimi.	Shuwei.	
	Sa'īd.	Mutni ibn Khallāf.	
	Husein.	Khallāf ibn Jā'id.	
	Beni Khālid.	Zeil ibn Mandīl.	
	'Adwān.	Mandīl ibn Kāmil.	
	'Awāzim.	Ibn Hadbah.	
	Kathīr.	Jali ibn Jureid.	
Samīd.			
Lizām abu Dharā'.	*Dhar'ān.*	Lizām abu Dharā'.	
1,500 tents.	*Mu'āleim.*	Tumeish el-Boreisi.	
	Misāmīr.	'Ajīl ibn Huzein.	
	'Areif.	Fad'us el-Aslib.	
	'Askar.	Munawwakh ibn Quheisān.	
	Juwāsim (*Jawāsim*).	Haleis ibn 'Ufeisān.	

4. *The Muteir and the Barrīyah*

The **MUTEIR**, closely akin to their western neighbours, the Harb and the Ateibah, are people of the north, claiming descent through Mudhar from Ma'add. Their territory touches the Persian Gulf round Koweit, and runs down the Bātin till it reaches Ibn Sa'ūd's district near Zilfi. The Beni Khālid and the 'Ajmān lie to the south. A turbulent tribe, some 1,500 tents strong, the Muteir stand in close relations with the Sultan of Koweit; but with Ibn Rashīd they are perpetually at feud, and no year passes without raiding expeditions from one dīra to the other. It was a Muteiri who in 1908 killed the Emir 'Abd el-'Azīz, father of the present Emir of Hā'il, at Raudhat el-Mahanna, near Boreidah. The Muteir harry the outlying settlements of Qasīm, and not infrequently interrupt the caravan traffic to the Gulf. Their principal Sheikh, Feisāl ed-Derwīsh, pastures in the Koweit area, and is lord over some 800 tents. All the Muteir belong to the confederation of Ibn Sa'ūd, and contribute fighting men to his raiding expeditions. They are camel-breeders and essentially nomadic; for their reported settlements in Nejd and Hasa see Chap. XVI, p. 609.

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619 The **BARRĪYAH** are an independent tribe, but so closely allied with the Muteir that they are often held to be of the same stock. In all 101 political relations they are at one with the Muteir, and, like them, they come under the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd. Their pasturages are 622 in Qasīm. The last report concerning them is that they opposed 'Abdullah, the second son of the Sherif, when he raided Sedeir at the end of 1914 in order to collect overdue taxes from the eastern Ateibah, and that after some fighting they were defeated.

MUTEIR AND BARRĪYAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
Muteir. 1,500 tents. Feisāl ibn Sultān ed-Derwīsh. Ghaza ibn Shuqeir.	*'Alwi.* Feisāl ibn Sultān. *Jiblān.* Sahūd ibn Lāmi. *Rakhmān.* Muhsin ibn Zureibān. *Sahabah.* Ghaneim ibn Shiblān. *Malā'ibah.* Khilf el-Fighm.
Barrīyah. 1,200 tents. Nā'if ibn Masīs.	*'Abayāt.* Munāhi ibn 'Ashwān. *Deyāhīn.* Shabab el-Qureifah. *Barzān.* 'Aqab abu Shuweibāt. *Tha'lah.* Jermān el-Humeidān. *'Abdillah.* Ibn Saqīyān. *Wāsil.* Ibn Thamnah.

5. *Beni Khālid*

The **BENI KHĀLID** are an ancient tribe of irreproachable lineage, greatly fallen in estate. Stranded witnesses to its former wide range are to be found in a Khālid element of the settled population of Qasīm (especially at Aneizah), of Zilfi in Sedeir, of Malham in 'Āridh, and elsewhere in Nejd. The main remnant, however, is the Bedouin tribe of the name which ranges north of the 'Ajmān on the Gulf shore between the Wādi Maqta' on the north and the middle of the Bayādh district on the south. Inland they wander into the Summān plateau. Scattered communities have settled in various outside localities, e.g. Oman, Musallamīyah Island, Qatīf, the Hasa Oasis, Bahrein, and Koweit, where the tribesmen have become pearl-fishers, &c. The nomads own considerable date-groves.

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Up to 1830 the Beni Khālid ruled the Hasa; but they had long been at war with the Wahabites, to whom, being themselves Maliki Sunnites, they are unsympathetic, and they finally succumbed to the Emir Tūrki of Riyādh. Latterly, after recognizing Turkish suzerainty, more or less, for forty odd years, they have come again under Riyādh. They are great breeders of horses and cattle, and cultivate more than most Bedouins. Their tents are noted for their great size; and in dress (they wear the fine Hasa abbas), deportment, physiognomy, and coloration, these nomads are more like oasis-dwellers than Bedouins. They number about 14,000 souls, and claim to send out 4,000 fighting men.

They are in alliance with the 'Ajmān and share dīras with that tribe, but maintain feuds with the Muteir and the Ahl Murrah. A small, isolated section ranges north of Koweit with the Dhafīr. The tribe is well armed and more trustworthy than the 'Ajmān. Its Paramount Chief is the Sheikh of a settled clan, Āl Khālid, of the 'Amā'ir sub-tribe, who lives on the island of Musallamīyah. For the settled Beni Khālid see below, pp. 572, 608.

BENI KHĀLID

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*	
'Amā'ir.	*Dawāwdah*	'Amā'ir has other settled clans.
	Āl Hasan	
Āl Subeih	*Āl Hayyah*	Subeih has other settled clans.
	Makhāsim	
	Āl Zaban	
Beni Nahad		Mainly nomad.
Āl Miqdām		Mainly nomad.
Muhāshīr		Mainly nomad.
Āl Jabūr		Half-settled.
Āl Humeid		Small and decayed.

6. *The 'Ajmān*

The **'AJMĀN,** who range south of the Beni Khālid, trace their descent to Qahtān through Nafura of Nejrān; but this pedigree is not accepted by Arab genealogists in general.

They are, however, an important Bedouin tribe, which is the strongest nomad unit on the Gulf Coast, although its claim to turn out 10,000 fighting men is excessive. It is singularly at one within itself, its different sub-tribes and clans not having distinct dīras, or falling into sectional groups. 'Ajmi tribesmen of all sections may be found in any camp in any part of the range of the tribe. It also appears to have unusual instinct for federation with its weaker neighbours, thus securing more elbow-room. Under ordinary conditions both the Beni Khālid and the Beni Hajar are its allies,

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and the 'Ajmān have free range in their dīras. The whole tribe is well provided with breech-loading firearms, and being Sunnite of the Hanbali school, it is sympathetic to Wahabism and has some of its dour spirit.

Its proper summer range is the Gulf lowlands from Taff down to 'Oqair, enveloping the Hasa oasis on north and east. Inland it ranges back over the Summān plateau, where its herdsmen wander in winter as far west as the confines of Sedeir; and at the same season 'Ajmān push even into Kharj. On the littoral they straggle sometimes into El-Qatar, and habitually wander north up to Koweit, relying on their agreement with the Beni Khālid, whose proper dīra they thus invade. They are to be found, therefore, at one season or another, over an area of not less than 20,000 square miles.

Very few 'Ajmi tribesmen have ever adopted settled life, though they own some date-groves in Hasa. Their wealth lies in horses, camels, and the smaller cattle. In particular they are horse-breeders. They may total between 4,000 and 5,000 tents.

During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatīf the 'Ajmān were consistently recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their sheikhs and the screw which could be put upon the tribe when, according to its custom, it camped near Hofūf, and wished to dispose of live stock, &c., in the local markets. They maintained the while relations of old standing with the Emirs of Riyādh, and welcomed 'Abd el-'Azīz es-Sa'ūd when he invaded Hasa in 1913. But when his became the established government the 'Ajmān liked him and his taxes little better than the Turks, and he had to organize drastic punishment of their raiding in the summer of 1915, finally driving great part of them north into Shammar country. Their traditional foe is the Ahl Murrah tribe, and of late they have added Ibn Rashīd and the Shammar. With the Sultan of Koweit and the Paramount Sheikh of El-Qatar they have generally, though not invariably, kept on terms.

The Paramount Chieftainship is in the Ibn Hithlein family of the **Ma'īdh** sub-tribe (Nāja' clan). On the murder of Mohammed ibn Hazm ibn Hithlein in 1910, the chieftainship was put in commission; Sheikh Fahd, the elder brother of the late chief, had most support for the sole succession, but he appears to have given way later to Sheikh Theidān, who submitted to Riyādh at the end of 1915. The Nāja' clan is said to be in close alliance with the **Sifrān** sub-tribe, which, though not numerous, contains the most formidable of all the 'Ajmi fighting-men. According to Lorimer (*Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*) the Jiblān section of the Muteir (q.v.) joined forces with the 'Ajmān before 1908.

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'AJMĀN

Sub-Tribe.	*Fighting Strength.*	
Ma'īdh	2,700	619
Suleimān	1,270	101
Mahfūdh	1,200	
Hūlān	1,150	622
'Arjah	650	
Shāmir	600	701
Hādi	500	
Dhā'in	400	
Sifrān	300	
Hammād ibn Rāshid	300	
Rusheid	200	
Misra'	200	
Miflih	100	
Saleifi	100	
Salūm	100	
Sureih	100	
Heiraf	100	
Hayyān	100	
Shawāwlah	80	
Khuweitir	50	
Total	10,200	

7. *Beni Hajar*

The **BENI HAJAR** (or Hājir, often pronounced by Bedouins Hāyir) are nomads of bad reputation, ranging Hasa and part of El-Qatar, south of the 'Ajmān, with whom they have an agreement allowing them to use the 'Ajmi dīra, if provided with authorized *rafīqs*. They were always troublesome to the Turks, and are so now to both Ibn Sa'ūd and the Sheikhs of El-Qatar. 619 101 622

They are pastoral and breeders, but are said also to make excursions into piracy. They allow their women great liberty. Their extreme range is from 'Odeid to the 'Ajmān limit in Hasa; but by consent they wander as far north as Koweit. They have no one Paramount Chief. Their total strength is about 6,000 souls, and they claim to have 1,500 fighting men; the two sub-tribes are at feud. For their small settlements in Nejd see Chap. XVI, p. 606.

BENI HAJAR

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*
Makhadhabah (mainly in El-Qatar).	*Dibisah.*
	Faheid.
	Hamrah.
	Haseyyīn.
	Jarārhah.
	Khayyārīn.
	Madhāfirah.

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Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*	
Makhadhabah (*continued*):	*Māna'.*	
	Mazāhimah.	
	Qumzah.	
	Sa'ayyid.	
	Shabā'īn.	(Sheikh is chief of
	Shahwān.	whole sub-tribe.)
	Shara'ān.	
	Sharāhīn.	
	Sultān.	
	Tawwa.	
	Zabar.	
	Zakhānīn.	
Ahl Mohammed (mainly in Hasa).	*'Amīrah.*	
	Filahah.	
	Kidādāt.	
	Kilabah.	
	Misārīr.	
	Qarūf.	
	Sha'āmil.	(Sheikh is chief of
	Simāhīn.	whole sub-tribe.)
	Tāya'.	

8. *The Ahl Murrah*

The **AHL MURRAH** (Ahl Morra), a savage and ill-known tribe, wholly nomadic, range to the south of Hasa, into the Jāfūrah Desert, and down to the wild oasis of Jabrīn which lies beyond on the confines of the great South Desert. On the north they come up to near 'Oqair, while inland they lie south of the Hofūf–Riyādh routes (which they harry) as far as the borders of Kharj. In most of this inhospitable tract they wander alone, and neither the Turks nor the Ibn Sa'ūds (whose feudatories they nominally are) have ever been able to follow them far enough to subdue them. In 1915–16 they gave the Emir of Riyādh a great deal of trouble. Their savagery and treachery are due mainly to the wild character of their dīra, but perhaps their evil reputation is due also in some degree to the small knowledge of them possessed by the outside world.

They have, however, physical and linguistic peculiarities, which make it possible that they are survivors of the pre-Arab population of the peninsula, like the inhabitants of Ras Musandam and the Southern Mahrah. They are virtually pagans, but profess, on occasion, Islam of the Hanbali school, which is akin to Wahabism. They are as ill armed as they are ill provided with any domestic apparatus or clothing in advance of the Stone Age; but they are brave fighters, who have twice in recent years made short work of Turkish punitive detachments. They own many camels.

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They are said to number about 7,000 souls, and to turn out 2,000 fighting men. Their Paramount Chief is the Sheikh of the Fuheidah clan of the **Shabīb** (or Bishr) sub-tribe, which is notorious for outrages committed on travellers, fishermen, and Turks. The whole tribe is unashamedly predatory, recognizing no code but its own. It maintains perpetual feud with the 'Ajmān and the Beni Khālid.

AHL MURRAH

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*
Shabīb (or *Bishr*).	*'Adhbah.*
	Baheih.
	Bureid.
	Dāwi.
	Fuheidah.
	Ghafrān.
	Hādi.
	Hasan.
	Juheish.
	Shabīb.
	Zukeimah.
	Zibdān.
'Ali ibn Murrah.	*Ghiyāthīn.*
	Jarāba'ah.
	Nābit.
Jābir.	*Ghadhbān.*
	Ahl Ibn-Na'ām.

9. *The Manāsīr*

The **MANĀSĪR** are a small independent tribe in the ill-known Dhafrah district, bordering on the domain of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, to whom, if to any one, they owe a vague allegiance, having for a generation or so been free of tribute to Ibn Sa'ūd. They are the last predominantly nomadic tribe towards the south, the Great Desert and the Jāfūrah Desert enclosing their dīra S. and W., and the mainly settled and friendly Beni Yās of the Trucial Coast lying E. North lies the dīra of the Ahl Murrah, with whom the Manāsīr seem to be on better terms than any one else is. In winter the whole tribe moves into or near El-Qatar. In summer part of it may be found as far south as the Bireimi oasis in NW. Oman. Mainly pastoral, the Manāsīr possess arable land and summer settlements in Dhafrah (Līwah district), and are much in advance of the Ahl Murrah in civilization.

Both in religious tenets and political connexions they pertain to Oman. There seems to be no Paramount Mansūri Chief. The tribe does not number above 1,500 souls.

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MANĀSĪR

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*
Mundhir.	*Ka'ābarah.*
	Māni'.
	Marāshīd.
	Metāwa'ah.
	Medāhimah.
Rahamah.	*Khail.*
	Tareif (or *Janūb*).
	Tarārifah.
	Wabrān.
Sha'ar.	*Ghuweinam.*
	Rasheyyid.
	Thuweibit.

SUPPLEMENT

Non-Bedouin Nomads

1. *The Sherārāt*

The **SHERĀRĀT** are not reckoned among the Arabs as Bedu, that is to say, they do not spring from either of the great nomad families, Qahtān or Nizār. They are said to be of one stock with the Huteim who, like the Sherārāt, are not *asīl*, of known race, and the true Bedouins will not intermarry with them.[1] Nor is there any definite area over which they exercise acknowledged rights of possession; they have not their own dīra, but camp with other tribes. Their tents are scattered from Jebel Durūz in the north to Teima in the south, and east from Kerak to Jebel Shammar. They are to be found among the Sukhūr, the Huweitāt, the Ruweilah, and the Shammar, either in the encampments of the big Sheikhs, or by preference *khalāwi*, i.e. solitary, in the wilderness. In summer small numbers of Sherārāt gather round the fast-drying water-holes and the permanent wells, when the big tribes have moved off with their herds towards the Hejaz Railway and the Jordan valley, or out into the depths of the Hamād. At Hausa in the Jebel Tubeiq, and at Imleih and 'Obeid on the edges of the Nefūd, they find enough water for their slender needs, and the hard surface of the desert is covered with the circular marks of their threshing floors where in August they harvest the wild *semh*.

The Sherārāt honour an ancestor called Suleim, who is buried in the Wādi Mūjib, but they seldom visit his tomb. They have a cult for 'Āqil Weled 'Azzām, whose tomb is in the Jebel Tubeiq. They

[1] They are sometimes reckoned, however, as descendants of the Beni Hilāl.

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regard the Jebel Tubeiq as their own special dīra, while the Sukhūr and the Huweitāt are intruders. 619

In Ibn Rashīd's country the Sherārāt will pay tribute to him; in Moab they pay tribute to the Ottoman Government. Wherever they may be, they must buy the goodwill of the Paramount Sheikh of that region. They are skilled hunters, and their camels are said to be the best in Western Arabia, especially as freight-carriers. Although their small tents are almost destitute of furniture and their coffee-hearths are bare, many of the Sherārāt are well-to-do. A man clothed in rags may be the owner of 20 camels, and a Sherāri sheikh is a rich man in the desert. But a hunter wandering solitary for a year or more, with his tiny tent, his wife, his single camel and little flock of goats, living mainly on such animals as he can trap, content with black cakes of *semh* seed in place of bread, and chewing the green weeds of early spring like one of his own goats, has brought the amenities of existence to the irreducible minimum. The men take service with the cultivators of the Jīzah district, and often settle down among them; but their former trade of supplying the Hajj camels with grass from the Nefūd has vanished with the opening of the railway. 101 622

2. *The Huteim*

Closely related to the Sherārāt are the **HUTEIM** (Heteym), and they are even more widely scattered. They are to be found on the Persian Gulf, in Yemen, on the Red Sea, and in Egypt; but their main range is in Central Arabia, from near Medina, north-east to Jebel Shammar. The name Huteim is used roughly by the Arabs as a synonym for any base-born, half-settled tribe. They are rich and numerous; those of the Kheibar and Medina districts pay taxes to the Government, while those of Jebel Shammar used to be taxed by Ibn Rashīd, but are now out of hand and raid his villages when he is away with his fighting men. The Huteim breed excellent riding-camels, and own large flocks of sheep and goats. Their women are renowned for beauty, but would not be taken in marriage by any Bedouin of good stock. The men are reputed to be timid and of no value as fighters.

3. *The Sulubba*

The **SULUBBA** (Solubba) are an interesting tribe about whose origin nothing certain is known. Probably they are the dispersed remnants of some old stock; but legend has been busy with their ancestry, and has given them as forbears the Indian dancers of Hārūn

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er-Rashid's court at Baghdad. They are sprinkled over the whole of nomad Arabia, but the various groups under their separate sheikhs keep to their own regions, where they ply their trades as smiths, tinkers, carpenters, and cattle-surgeons among the Bedouins and the oasis-dwellers. Their skill in hunting has passed into fable with the Arabs; and in fact they are so expert that they live well, even in the most barren wilderness, from the fruits of the chase. They are well-to-do, earning an ample livelihood by their craftsmanship, and they travel without fear throughout all the desert, where no thief would rob them and no raider harry them. Their knowledge of the country is unsurpassed. They have no camels; their beasts of burden are donkeys, the best breed being a large white ass almost as powerful as a mule. They rear herds of sheep and goats in the Hamád, and their tents are well stocked with every kind of nomad gear. A northern Sulubbi will wear in winter a warm robe of gazelle-skins. The Bedouins accuse them of eating carrion and beasts that have died of themselves, as well as vermin; and there would seem to be truth in the first charge as far as the Suleib (Soleyb) and Ghazeimi are concerned, and in the second if it is limited to locusts and hedgehogs (the locust, however, is a delicacy much prized not only by the Sulubba, but by all nomads). It is impossible to estimate the numbers of the tribe, since they never assemble in any one place.

4. *The Sunná'*

The **SUNNÁ'** are the smiths' caste, sometimes settled in the villages and sometimes wandering with the tribes (*Sunná'* is plural of *Sání'* = artisan, smith). They are braziers, farriers, tinners, blacksmiths, and workers in wood and stone among the tribes and in the oases. Thus they are both villagers and nomads. They may marry with the Huteim but with no Bedouins. They are probably a different race from the Arabs, and are distinguished from them by their features.

5. *The Nawár*

The **NAWÁR** are gipsies, found in Arabia as in other parts of the universe, but not in great numbers. Their habits and activities are the same there as elsewhere.

6. *The Hawázin*

The **HAWÁZIN** (**HAWÁZIM** or **'AWÁZIM**) are a nomad tribe which is not admitted to marriage and fellowship by true Arabs. As a considerable tribal unit it is found only in and about the principality of Koweit, ranging from the outskirts of the town

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itself (where some 250 Hawāzin families are settled), down the coast nearly to Musallamiyah, and for some distance inland. They must be the 'Koweit nomads' who, Raunkiaer says, graze their herds south of the town in winter and resort in summer northwards to the districts round Zobeir, and also control the wells of Tawil. There are also, however, Hawāzin elsewhere, who have the same sort of status, but are members of Huteim or Harb (e.g. in Jauf el-'Amr, Teima, Sedeir, &c.); and there is a distinct Harb clan of the name at Wādi el-Kheif near J. Fiqra (see **Harb**). The Koweit Hawāzin are partly pastoral, partly follow marine occupations—pearl-diving and fishing. They are great breeders of camels, often taking service (e.g. at Qatif) under alien masters for stud-labour. They are subjects of Koweit, and form the bulk of the Sultan's fighting forces: it is due also to their activities that he is able to claim Būbiyān Island, to which some of their herdsmen resort. They are allied with the 'Ajmān, and number some 4,000 souls. It appears that they are comparatively newcomers into Koweit territory, and their tradition is that they were formerly with the Harb in East Hejaz. The one thing certain is that they are regarded by Bedouins as of the same standing as Huteim or Sulubba, and credited with secret non-Islamic beliefs. In fact, however, they are Maliki Sunnites.

NON-BEDOUIN NOMADS

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Sharārāt. 800 tents	*Fulaiḥān*	
Ibn Hāwi	Ibn Hāwi	
Ibn Wardah	*Huleiah*	
	Ibn Duweiji	
	'Amāsin	
	Ibn Wardah	
	Dhuḥeis	
	Ibn Shuṣhān	
	Khuppāli	
	Suwrifi	
Huteim	*Beni Rashīd.* 1,000 tents	*Nuṣṣmiah*
	Dubeim ibn Barak	*Ibn Nuṣṣ*
	Sālim ibn Simra	*Ibn Barak*
	Nr. Ha'il	*Ibn Jelladān*
		Ibn Dumnāh
		Ibn Simri or Thiyabbah
		Mothāberah
		Feradiaa
		Heinān
		Khiḍrāti
		Qabīd
		Suweidir

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.
619 **Hutaim** (*continued*):	*Beni Rashid* (*continued*):	*Fehjāt*
		Bedaunah
101	*Jerābia.* Nr. Wejh	
622 **Sulubba**	*Seidān.* In Nejd	
	Ghaneimi. In Nejd	
	Suleib Ibn Mālik. In 'Irāq and the Hamād	
Hawāzin No Paramount Sheikh of their own tribe, that authority having passed to the Sultan of Koweit	*Kā'ah*	*Hadhālīn*
		Bureikāt
		Shaqufah
	Ghiyādh	
		Malā'ibah
		Mustāhimah
		Musā'idah
		Adhyeibāt
		Jawāsirah
		Muhālibah
		Muweijiyah
		Aghrubah
		Karāshah
		Sawābir
Sunnā'. Smiths		
Nawār. Gipsies		

7. *The 'Uqeil*

485 575 The **'UQEIL** (Ageyl) are the guides and conductors of caravans in Arabia. They are not a tribe but an organization partaking of the nature of a club or society or a masonic lodge. They have no connexion with the ancient 'Uqeil tribe of the Ahl esh-Shimāl, from whom the Muntefiq claim descent; this seems to have disappeared and left no trace. The modern 'Uqeil are all Nejd Arabs, townsfolk or nomads of any tribe from Hasa, 'Āridh, Qasīm or Jebel Shammar; but men of Sedeir and the Wādi Dawāsir are not admitted; nor are members admitted from any of the big tribes, such as the Harb and Ateibah, who are engaged in interminable blood feuds, the object being to keep the 'Uqeil society neutral. Settled Beni Tamīm and Beni Khālid of Nejd and Qasīm are most suitable for its purposes. The head-quarters of the society are at Baghdad, and its president, who is always a native of Boreidah, lives at Baghdad and there enrols the members.

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CHAPTER XIII

SETTLED TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST

BELQA

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THE Belqa is a district east of Jordan and the Dead Sea, which extends roughly from Zerqa, north-east of 'Ammān (Ammon), to the Wādi Zerqa, south of the ancient Christian village of Mādeba, and eastward nearly to Qasr el-Azraq. The Jebel Haurān and the Jebel 'Ajlūn bound it on the north. The Beni Sakhr are the predominant tribe in its southern reaches, the Ruweilah penetrate into the eastern pasturages near Azraq, the 'Adwān are paramount over the Jordan valley (the Ghōr), the Beq'a (i.e. the hills between the Ghōr and the Heshbān), and the lands round Heshbān. The smaller tribes of the Belqa acknowledge the authority of the principal 'Adwān Sheikh, Sultān ibn 'Ali Dhi'āb, whose head-quarters are at Heshbān; and it will therefore be convenient to treat the whole of the Belqawīyah, including the 'Adwān, under one head.

They are a half-settled people, scattered pretty thickly over a comparatively small area; for though the Belqa is not in extent considerable, it is a country rich in pasturage, with plentiful rains in winter, and supports a much larger population than any corresponding area of the Hamād. At a moderate reckoning there must be at least 4,500 tents within its confines, in addition to the big villages of Salt, 'Ammān, and Mādeba, which hold permanently settled inhabitants.[1] It contains much cultivated land and still more which would repay husbandry. The valleys leading down to Jordan are full of timber, oak, terebinth, and smaller trees, and even the uplands might be well wooded, but for the depredations of the goats and charcoal-burners. Round Salt the hill-sides are terraced for vineyards, and the gardens of the sturdy Christian and Moslem population are planted with fruit-trees. The pasture grounds of Heshbān are famous, and Mādeba, which is still largely Christian, is set in cornfields. At 'Ammān an industrious Circassian

[1] The villagers themselves are grouped into tribal confederations.

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colony has filled the valley with gardens and poplar groves, constructed roads along which they can drive their two-wheeled carts, and covered the slopes of the hills with corn. Innumerable ruinfields, remains of villages of the Christian period before the Mohammedan invasion, testify to the fertility of the soil, and its capacity for carrying a larger population. In the winter the warm Jordan valley is favourable for early crops, and forms an ideal refuge for flocks and herds.

Unhappily the edges of the desert suffer notoriously from the shortcomings of the Turkish administration. Since 1895 the Ottoman Government has occupied Kerak and Ma'ān, placing a mutesarrif at the former and a kaimmakam at the latter; there are mudirs at Wālah, Tafīlah, and Shōbak, a kaimmakam at Salt, and mudirs at Mādeba and 'Āmmān. With the opening of the railway to Ma'ān in 1905 communications have been facilitated and small military posts are established along the line. The results have been disappointing. The Belqawīyah, like all the border tribes, have lost touch with the desert law, though they have not acquired any other code in its place. They maintain a tribal organization and a vast network of tribal feuds in which the Ottoman Government seldom interferes, even on behalf of settlers, Circassian, Christian, or Moslem. The whole country is turbulent, crime abounds, and justice is almost non-existent. The villagers protect themselves as best they can, partly by force of arms, but mostly by paying tribute to the Arab Sheikhs in the form of unstinted hospitality and liberal propitiation by gifts in kind. The Circassians, a race detested by the Arabs, incur more hostility from the tribes than other townsfolk, but are also better able to hold their own, being born fighters and well armed. Though the disputes often lead to bloodshed, they are usually small affairs, petty robberies taking the place of raids among the border tribes. But in the summer, when great numbers of the Beni Sakhr come up to the northern pasturages, and the Anazah draw in from the east, the Belqa is the scene of continuous disturbance, ranging from pitched battles to the satisfaction of individual blood-feuds, and no established authority intervenes.

Yet it is just in such frontier lands as these that any strong administration would seize its chance, and herein lies the political importance of tribes like the Belqawīyah. They are cultivators, after the inefficient manner of the Arabs, and like all the half-settled people their numbers are surprisingly large in comparison with those of purely nomadic tribes. They have few camels, and those which they possess are bought from the Bedouins, not bred

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by themselves; but they rear large flocks of sheep and goats, and live richly on their milk during the spring. The fact that they own cultivated ground should give the Government a firm hold over them; they are immobilized thereby, nor do their pastoral conditions give them the means of rapid transport. Their numbers would make them a solid barrier between their wandering kinsmen, who can slip through the fingers of the law at any moment leaving no pledge behind, and the permanently settled lands. Moreover, their geographical position makes them the first problem to be dealt with, a problem on which the security of wide and fertile regions, now lying to a great extent derelict, must depend.

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A group of the 'Adwān, some 700 tents, is seated in Mesopotamia at Qorinshār, west of the Khābūr. Numerically the largest of the Belqa tribes are the Beni Hasan, who are sometimes counted among the Jebelīyah since they are an offshoot from one of that group, the Ghiyādh. They go up into the slopes of the Druze hills, and sometimes wander into the volcanic country to the east. The Shawābkah, as their name indicates, come from Shōbak and are a new tribe; but the 'Adwān are an old confederation tracing their descent through Qeis to Mudhar, a respectable lineage. The 'Ajārmah venerate an ancestor, Sobah, who, they relate, came from lands farther east. His son, 'Ajram, is the eponymous founder of the tribe.

No doubt all the Belqawīyah are, like the 'Adwān, Ahl esh-Shimāl, and though their own stories of their parentage are mere legend and usually devoid of any historic basis, it is reasonable to conjecture that they must have taken part in the gradual sweep northwards of the Hejaz tribes after the Mohammedan conquest. They displaced and even wholly obliterated the powerful Yemenite nation of the Beni Ghassān, which held the marches for the Roman Empire along the Haurān harrahs and in the Belqa, just as the Ghassānids had stepped into the place of the Nabataeans and tribes of the Safa, whose Aramaic dialects, attested by countless graffiti, link them with the civilization of Eastern Arabia and the frontiers of Mesopotamia. It is conceivable that the legendary origin of the 'Ajārmah from an Eastern ancestor may have some real foundation in history, and that they may be connected with strata of culture long since submerged by later migrations, which go back to the last centuries before the Christian era.

The Sirhān, now a small tribe scattered over the Belqa, the Jordan valley, and the Southern Haurān hills, are reckoned to be of the best Northern Arab blood, though they have fallen to low estate. They owned the whole of the Wādi Sirhān, which is

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101 named after them, and were ejected from it by the Anazah. They
619 are now sheep-breeders, like the rest of the Ghawāmah, and reduced to small numbers.

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BELQAWĪYAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
'ADWĀN. 400 tents Sultān ibn 'Alī Dhī'āb, Heshbān	*Sālih*, 140 tents Sultān ibn 'Alī Dhī'āb, at Heshbān	
	Nimr, 60 tents Fahd ibn Qablān, nephew of Sultān ibn 'Alī at Zabūd near Heshbān	
	'Asāf, 70 tents Qablān, east of Salt	
	Kā'id, 90 tents Fā'iz ibn Abu 'Arabi, in the Beq'a	
	Thaudbiyah, 40 tents Rumeilah, in the Ghōr	
	Juhrān el-'Abid Suleimān Hamdān at Masūh Cultivators, vassals of Sultān ibn 'Alī, paying him tribute and giving military service	
'ABBĀD, 600 tents Nahār el-Bukheit, Wādi Sīr	*Mandōr* Nahār el-Bukheit, near 'Arāqīl Amīr	
	Ifqahu, 70 tents Falāh esh-Shaddād at Jerī'ah	
	Nu'eimāt, 200 tents Sālim, NW. of Salt	
	Duweikāt, 120 tents Duweik, at Bahāth, W. of Wādi Sīr	
'AJĀRMAH. 300 tents Nā'if ibn Shahawān, near Heshbān and down to the Ghōr	*Muteiri'in*, 70 tents 'Aqīl el-'Āqīl, at Suwānlyah and Mushaqqar	
	Isifah, 40 tents Sā'il esh-Shahawān, at El-'Āl, near Heshbān	
	Saud'ir, 30 tents Fanash, at Sāmek	*Halāhalah*
	'Ifeishāt, 25–30 tents 'Abd el-Aziz, at Nā'ūr, near Heshbān	
	Hartāfa, 30 tents Ibria, plain of Mahālah	*Manā'isah*
	Sheneiqiyin, 20 tents Rashīd el-Hasan, at Heshbān	
	Sakurūn, 60 tents Ibn Mustafa	
BENI HASAN, 800 tents 'Awwād ibn Kallāb, *Zerqa*	*Izira*, 50 tents 'Awwād esh-Shahhādah, at Rummānah and Kamma, S. of Zerqa	
	Khewālidah, 150 tents 'Alī, at 'Aluq	

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BELQAWĪYAH (*continued*)

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
BENI HASAN (*continued*)	*Khalā'ilah*, 40 tents 'Ali Suleimān, S. of Zerqa *Ghaziyālah*, 120 tents Falāh ibn Rusheid, at Sarrūt, S. of Zerqa *Beni 'Aleim*, 100 tents Hammād el-Hārhashi, at Qafqafa, N. of Zerqa *'Amūsh*, 300 tents 'Awwād ibn Kallāb *Rusheidāt*, 100 tents Ahmed abu Rusheidah, at Mutawwi	
GHAWĀMAH (Arabs of the Ghōr, independent tribes)	*Mashālkha*, 60 tents 'Ali Sa'd, at 'Abu 'Ubeidah in the Ghōr *Balāwanah*, 40–60 tents 'Ali Sa'ūd, at Rajeb, N. of Zerqa *Ghazāwiyah*, 100 tents Mohammed el-Mijwal, at Sheikh Abīl *Sukhūr el-Ghōr*, 90–100 tents Rajah abu el-Leben, at Zār el-Bāsha *Bashātwah*, 150 tents Hasan, at Majama' *Saqr*, 260–300 tents 'Ursān ibn Mulāk, at Beisān *Duleikah*, 350 tents Fadhīl el-'Īsa, at Zuheir el-Qiddis *Masā'īd*, 80 tents Dhāmin el-Mas'ūdah, Wādi Fārah, W. of Jordan *Riyāhanah*, 100 tents Fahd, at Jericho *Beni Khālid*, 300 tents 'Othmān el-Qādhi, at Zawīyah, W. of Sheikh Sa'd *Sirhān*, 200 tents Sālim abu el-Rāfi', from the Ghōr to the Jebel Haurān	
SHAWĀBKAH 'Abdullah el-Metā'ibah, W. of Heshbān	*Metā'ibah*, 100 tents 'Abdullah *Munā'ihah* *Dhawāt* *Harā'id* *Hawātmin*, 700 tents 'Ali abu Wandi, at Mā'in *Nijādah* 'Ali abu Wandi *Humeimāt* 'Ali abu Wandi	

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BELQAWĪYAH (*continued*)

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
SHAWĀKRAH, 50–60 tents Bāshir el-Farūj, at Kufeir abu Ghina	*Shakhātrah* *Khalbalāt* *'Abīd* At Kufeir abu Sarbūt	
YAZĀ'IDA. 70 tents Bāshir el-Turmān, at Judeid. Allies of Ghanamāt	*Sharūqiyīn* Bāshir el-Turmān *Qureiniyīn* Mohammed el-Khawātra	
GHANAMĀT. 90 tents Sālim abu el-Manāwir el-Husein, at Mount Nebo	*Masāndah*, 3 tents *Harāwi*, 4 tents *Sha'ra*, 2 tents *Wakhyān*, 40 tents *'Atawīn*, 2 tents And other small clans.	
MARĀSHDAH Sa'd Raqād, 16 tents at Kufeir near Mādeba. Some of the tribe are near 'Ammān	*Butnān* *Siyūf* *Dahām* servants of Siyūf *Ghaleilāt* *'Abīd* *Shakhatrah*, 5 tents 'Eid	
ARABS OF 'ĀMMĪN Independent tribes	*Dhiyīb*, 65 tents Shebāka, N. of 'Ammān *Sawārbah* *Jawāmis*, 60 tents Muheimir, at Markah, NE. of 'Ammān *Da'ja*, 100 tents Muheimir, at Markah *Aghealāt*, 30 tents Suleimān el-Qureir, at Umm Quseir *Ahaitīn* Rashīd, at Abu 'Alinda *Ibn Hadīd*, 50 tents Ishtiwi ibn Hadīd, at Umm el-Heirān *Debībah*, 20 tents Marj Debībah, at Itbuqa	
ARABS OF MĀDEBA Independent tribes	*'Azeizūt*, 47 tents Ya'qūb *Ma'āyah*, 34 tents 'Udetallah *Karādshah*, 37 tents Salāmah ibn 'Azārah	

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KERAK AND SHŌBAK

The Arabs of the Kerak–Shōbak district were long the bane of all travellers and entirely beyond official control. They are noted robbers, cruel, faithless, and intractable. Since the establishment of a Turkish Mutesarrif at Kerak and a Kaimmakam at Shōbak, they have been reduced to some sort of order; but in the autumn of 1910 the Majālīyah of Kerak revolted, tore up the Hejaz Railway in several places, killed the employés, held up the trains, and stripped the passengers. They were severely repressed by Sāmi Pasha, who called all the Bedouins as far as Ma'ān to account, including the Huweitāt. His energetic action has not yet faded entirely from memory. 101 619 622

All the tribes of this group are cultivators and sheep-breeders. Those who have houses in Kerak or Shōbak send out their flocks into the desert in spring. The Shōbak Arabs exact tribute from the Kerak people. The list here given is taken from Jaussen, who explains that the word *house*, used as a unit in his computation, implies the patriarchal family, including the married sons with their wives and families.

TRIBES OF KERAK AND SHŌBAK

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
ARABS OF KERAK. Sālih el-Mujalli	*Majālīyah*, 140 houses Sālih	*'Ashīrah Yūsuf* Sālih
		'Ashīrah Suleimān Khalīl
		'Ashīrah Ghabūn Khalīl ibn Dā'ūd
		'Ashīrah Dā'ūd 'Awwād
	Ma'ā'ilah, 240 houses Yūsuf Saher	*'Ashīrah Rashā'idah* Sāhir
		'Ashīrāh Zaqā'ilah. Yūsuf
		'Ashīrah Beyā'idah Ja'far
		'Ashīrah Jalāmdah
		'Ashīrah Laghauāt
	Sarā'irah, 160 houses Yahya	*'Ashīrah 'Ai* Yahya
		'Ashīrah Aqā'ilah Sālim ibn 'Īsa
		'Ashīrah Dā'ūd Salīm ibn 'Ayyād

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TRIBES OF KERAK AND SHŌBAK (*continued*)

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
ARABS OF KERAK (*continued*)	*Tarāwinah*, 200 houses Husein ibn Mohammed	*'Ashīrah Tarāwinah* Husein ibn Mohammed *'Ashīrah Qatā'unei* Yūsuf *'Ashīrah Nawā'isah* Mushawwah
	Dhumūr, 160 houses Mahmūd ibn Tāha	*'Ashīrah Dhumūr* Mahmūd ibn Tāha *'Ashīrah 'Uqūl* Ahmed *'Ashīrah Sa'ūb* Hattāb *'Ashīrah Mubeidhīn* Yūsuf ibn Fālih *'Ashīrah Suheimāt* Suleimān
	Qedha, 40 houses Muqbil ibn 'Īsa	
	Bashā'ishah, 20 houses Husein	
	Habā'ishah, 130 houses Derwish	*'Ashīrah Habāshah* Derwish *'Ashīrat Arūd* Buseibas *'Ashīrah Rehā'ifah* 'Abd el-Mu'ti *'Ashīrah 'Asāsfah* Hammād *'Ashīrah Ramādhīn* Mohammed *'Ashīrah Zuneibāt* Fāris *'Ashīrah Kefāwīn* Hāmid
	'Amr, 50 houses Ghāfil ibn Tubeiti	
	'Arab el-Batūs, 50 houses in Wādi Khanzīrah Musallim el-Mājūdi	
	'Arab el-'Irāq 3 hours from Kerak Mohammed ibn Hasan	
	'Arab el-Brārshi, 200 houses At Kafr Rabba, S. of Kerak	
	Hadāyāt, 120 houses, E. of Dhāt Ras Sālim	

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TRIBES OF KERAK AND SHŌBAK (*continued*)

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
CHRISTIAN TRIBES. 200 houses	*Halasa* 'Īsa el-Qaus *Zereiqāt* Mezzi Jirjis *Madānāt* Suleimān ibn 'Īsa *Hejāzīn* Yūsuf *Beqā'īn* Suleimān *'Akasha* Selmān en-Nesrāwīn *Mara'āya* or *Sunna* Butrus *Haddādīn* Khalīl ibn Ibrāhīm	
MOSLEMS OUTSIDE KERAK	*Mahmūdiyīn*, 100 tents Khallāf ibn Sa'īd In the Ruweih; they go up to Kerak *Manā'īn*. N. of Shōbak and E. of the Jebāl	*'Āqir*, 100 tents 'Alī *Rudeisi*, 60 tents Sālim
	Sa'ādiyīn, 60 tents Between Shōbak and the Jebāl	
ARABS OF SHŌBAK	*Rashā'idah* Za'l ibn Saqr SSW. of Shōbak *Ghawāflah*, 40–50 tents Salmān ibn Hasan, in Esh-Shera', S of Petra *'Amārīn* Sālim	
ARABS OF TAFĪLAH	*'Awarān*, 600 houses Dhi'āb	

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CHAPTER XIV

SETTLED TRIBES OF THE WEST

A. Ashrāf

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The **Ashrāf** (Sherifial clansmen) in general are the descendants of Hasan, who was son of 'Ali and Fātimah, and, through the latter, grandson of the Prophet. There are said to be twenty-one clans of this descent scattered over Arabia, of which fifteen live wholly or in part in Hejaz or North-West Asir, and chiefly in and near Mecca. For the most part numerically small, they derive importance from the consideration which their individual members enjoy throughout Arabia. Theoretically, the Emirs (Grand Sherifs) of Mecca might be chosen from any clan of the Ashrāf: but, in fact, they have belonged to one or another branch of the descendants of Abu Numej (who was of the Qatadah stock) for so many centuries that nowadays succession to this office is, in practice, as much confined by prescription to two or three clans only as the Sultanate of Turkey is to the house of 'Othmān.

The mutual affinities, the interconnexion, and the present condition of the Ashrāf clans are not well known; and many of them are mere names to us.

(*a*) *'Abādilah* is the ruling clan at present, being that to which the Emir (Grand Sherif) and his house belong. It is descended from Sherif 'Abdullah, grandson of Mohammed Abu Numej (1631). It was raised to power by Mohammed 'Alī of Egypt in 1827 during his occupation of Hejaz, in place of the Dhawi Zeid who had held the throne since the latter part of the eighteenth century and also at an earlier epoch. In the earlier eighteenth century the Emirate had been with the Dhawi Barakāt. The 'Abādilah clan of Hejaz is entirely settled, the bulk of it living outside Mecca south of the Jiddah road. Many of its members hold office under the Emir. There is another branch in Asir (see p. 407) and scattered families are found in other parts of Arabia.

(*b*) *Dhawi Zeid.* The Dhawi Zeid clan, which descends from Zeid, great-great-grandson of Mohammed Abu Numej, is settled in

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Mecca. The houses of 'Abd el-Mutallib and Ghālib are of the Dhawi Zeid clan, and there is rivalry and bad feeling between it and the 'Abādilah. 101 619 622

The only members of the clan who live at Mecca are Sherif Zeid, son of Feisāl, a young man of about twenty, and the Sherifah Azza, daughter (?) of Sherif 'Aun er-Rafīq. The latter appears to be a woman of considerable character with a keen interest in politics and some power over the Harb. She is unmarried and about sixty years old. The Dhawi Zeid own a large amount of property in Mecca and Jiddah and possess many slaves.

(c) *Shenabrah.* The Shenabrah descend from an eponymous Sherif, Shanbar, not of a ruling house. They are nomadic, and are dealt with on p. 72.

(d) *Dhawi Surur.* The Dhawi Surur are descendants of Sherif Surur, who ruled as Emir in the latter part of the eighteenth century. They are nomadic, and are treated on p. 72.

(e) *Dhawi Barakāt.* The Dhawi Barakāt, descendants of Barakāt, third son of Mohammed Abu Numej, are no longer in Hejaz proper, where they held the supreme power up to the latter part of the eighteenth century and, at a slightly later period, were robbers in Wādi Fātimah. They are said by Burckhardt to have been exhausted by family wars of succession. They are now found in North-Western Asir organized as a tribe.

(f) *Dhawi Hasan.* Descendants of Hasan, second son of Mohammed Abu Numej, are also no longer in Hejaz, but in North-Western Asir organized as a tribe (see p. 426).

Other Ashrāf clans of Hejaz, e. g. *Hirāz, Dhawi 'Abd el-Kerīm, Hurith, Menema, Dhawi Jizān, Dhawi Judallah, Manādil, Dhawi Ibrāhīm,* and *Dhawi 'Amr,* are, apparently, not of actual political importance. For the Ja'āfirah of Asir see p. 429.

Ashrāf are numerous and powerful in Yemen, in the districts of Māreb and Harib, and in Wadyān Dawāsir; but, as is natural, they are most conspicuous and best known in Hejaz.

B. Asir

1. *'Abādilah*

One of the twenty-one clans of Ashrāf.

1. By far the more important section is that settled in Mecca, on which see previous section.

2. There is a small colony of them which has been settled for

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101 many generations in the Beni Qutābah country of the Rijāl el-M'a.
619 Their influence is local and unimportant. Sherif 'Abd ibn 'Abdullah is their leading representative.
622 3. Another small colony has lived for many years with the Dhawi Barakāt, about four hours east of Shakkat el-Yemenīyah. They are allied with the Dhawi Barakāt and friendly with the Zobeid. Their chief Sheikh is Sherif Tālib ibn Qasīm.

2. *Beni 'Abs*

The Beni 'Abs inhabit the country between Wādi Habl on the north and Wādis 'Ain and Wārith on the south. Their territory extends from the sea to the first foot-hills some 25 miles inland, and is bounded on the north by the Beni Hasan, on the east by Beni Aslam, and on the south by the Wa'zāt. They are from the people of the north and trace their descent from 'Adnān through 'Abs the son of Ghatafān, the son of Qeis, the son of Mudhar. They say that they originally came from the Hejaz, and after moving south at some unknown period to Beit el-Faqīh, they again passed north about 500 years ago till they came to their present territory. There is still a small remnant of the tribe, whose present Sheikh is Sheikh Bekhat, near Beit el-Faqīh, immediately to the north of the powerful tribe of Zaranik. The northern 'Abs can put into the field about 3,000 good fighting men well armed with Mausers and Martinis, and are enthusiastic adherents of Idrīsi. In 1915 Yahya 'Ali ibn Thawāb, their paramount Sheikh, was joint commander of Idrīsi's second army opposed to the Turkish forces near Loheia. With Ahmed ibn El-Heij, the chief of the Wa'zāt and the main local supporter of the Turks, the 'Abs have a long-standing feud. Between them and the Beni Aslam there is an enmity which leads to frequent fighting when the rest of the world is at peace, but which is laid aside when the interests of their common lord, Idrīsi, demand. With the Beni Zeid, who are the allies of the Beni Aslam, their relations are the same. They stand to the Beni Hasan as protectors and friends and range freely over their country up to Wādi Heirān. They are partly nomad and partly settled and trading, and though less in number than the Wa'zāt, they are richer. They sow enough grain for their needs and trade with the tribesmen from the hills, taking from them skins and coffee, and selling to them articles of clothing and the like which in times of peace they bring from Loheia and Hodeidah. Their two chief villages are Sūq el-Himāri and Sūq 'Abs, where every Friday and Sunday respectively are held markets

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to which the neighbouring tribesmen come. Sheikh Yahya ibn 'Ali Thawāb is responsible that peace is kept at Sūq el-Himāri. The Sheikhs of the Qu'tābah and Bitarīyah see to the security of Sūq 'Abs.

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Chief Sheikhs: Yahya 'Ali ibn Ahmed Hādi Thawāb, and Hasan 'Ali Thawwāb his brother.

3,000 fighting men.

Sub-Tribes.	*Sheikh.*	*Place.*
METWALA	'Ali Hasan Quwah Hādi Ahmed	W. of Sūq Himāri.
MANĀZIR GUWEIRA	Geilān Dawiyah	N. of Sūq Himāri.
QAFRA	'Ureiq Ahmed	E. of Sūq Himāri.
RANF	Suweid 'Ali	S. of Sūq Himāri.
SHAFAR	'Ali Saghair	Between Sūq Himāri and Sūq 'Abs.
KHARAZAH	Harib Ayya	To the E. in the hills up to W. Ghadir the Beni Aslam boundary.
QUTĀBAH	Ahmed 'Ali	Sūq 'Abs and W. to the sea.
BITARĪYAH	'Īsa	With the Qutābah.
MUDANI'I	Hādi Ahmed ibn 'Abdu	Isolated colony in the mountains near Rufā'ah, 4 hours E. of Sūq 'Abs.

3. *'Alqam el-Hūl (Haul)*

The 'Alqam el-Hūl occupy a narrow strip of country beginning about 2 miles north of Ibha and running out to the west for about 20 miles. The Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah adjoin them on the north, the Beni Mālik on the east, the Beni Mugheid on the south, and the Rijāl el-M'a on the west.

They are divided into two sections, 'Alqam es-Sahil near Ibha and 'Alqam el-'Alein to the west. Each of these numbers about 2,000 men. The chief Sheikh of the 'Alqam es-Sahil is Ahmed ibn Hamīd, a prosperous man of about 45, who is a member of the 'Mejlis Beledi' at Ibha. The Āl Yūsuf are noted for the beauty of their women, many of whom are married to Turks. The 'Alqam el-'Alein are not on good terms with the 'Alqam es-Sahil, and their Sheikh, Abu Matīr, a man of 65, is said to have pro-Idrīsi tendencies. The tribe is, however, thoroughly under the control of the Turks and pays its taxes regularly. It is generally on bad terms with the Beni Mālik and Beni Mugheid, although there can be no actual fighting, and is friendly with the Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, the Beni Qeis, and the Beni Zeidīn section of the Rijāl el-M'a. It has a good reputation for bravery. It traces its descent to Qahtān.

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101 (a) *'Alqam es-Sahil.* Settled. 2,000 men.
619 Paramount Chief : Ahmed ibn Hamīd.
Chief Muftis : 'Abdullah ibn Hujahri and ibn 'Abbās.
622 Chief villages :—

'Ain Ibn Musāfi	Murei Abu Zu.
Hamārah	Mushabbab ibn Ta'yīn.
Umm Makmar	Nāsir ibn Mushabbab.
Umm Shatt 'Ā'idh	'Ā'idh ibn Mushabbab.
Āl Umm Ghaidah	'Ali ibn Mushabbab.
Wādi el-Beih	'Ali ibn Jurāwi.
Āl Yūsuf	Hinbis.
Qarādah	'Abdullah ibn 'Uqrān.
Dein Sunum	Sa'īd Shaghlah.
Mahsān	Mohammed Abu Hanash.
Āl Wādi Mutah	Yahya Tāhir es-Stambūli.

(b) *'Alqam el-'Alein.* 2,000 men.
Beni Ma'āzin.
Chief Sheikh : Abu Matīr.

Chief villages :—

Jau Umm Nejeim	Mohammed ibn Muhsin.
Jebel Kotheiri	Mufarrih ibn 'Ā'idh.
Juhān	Ibn Duseiri.
Ghaina	Sha'bān.
Umm Mujādhah	Ahmed ibn Fa'ai.
Sūda Āl Thawwābi	Mohammed ibn Zeid.
Āl Umm Gaseir	Ibn Daumān.

4. *Beni 'Amr*

The Beni 'Amr are a small settled tribe in the highland country through which the Ibha–Tā'if road passes. Their northern boundary adjoins the Bulqarn and on all other sides they are surrounded by the Beni Shihir, the nomadic Neid being to their east and the settled Ka'b to their south and west. Their country is well watered and productive, wooded except where the ground has been cleared for cultivation. The chief Sheikh is Sa'īd ibn 'Othmān, who lives at Shij, and is said to be a good tribal chief. The Beni 'Amr number about 2,000 men and are hospitable and a fine

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fighting tribe. They have always been violently anti-Turk and about ten years ago, under Sa'īd ibn 'Othmān, defeated a strong Turkish column led by Mohammed Amīn Pasha which was sent to subdue them. They pay allegiance to Idrīsi, but not to the extent of allowing him to levy taxes. They are allied with the Bulqarn and have an old feud with the Ka'b, Beni Kerīm, and Neid sections of the Beni Shihir. 101 619 622

The tribe traces its descent to the Rijāl el-Hajar.

Paramount Sheikh : Sa'īd ibn 'Othmān esh-Shij. 2,000 men.

Clans :—

Āl Suleimān	Mukhāsir ibn Mohammed.
Udheidāt	'Abd ibn Talhah.
Beni Rāfi'	Dhuleim ibn Bukheikh.
Āl esh-Sheikh	Sa'īd ibn Rahmah.
Ahl Jebel el-Mutla	Dalīr ibn Mohammed.

5. *Bahr Ibn Sekeinah*

The Bahr Ibn Sekeinah live along the Muhā'il–Birk road from about 9 miles south-west of Muhā'il to within 18 miles of Birk, a distance of approximately 29 miles. They are bounded on the north by the Āl Mūsa, on the east first by the Beni Thuwwah and then by the Rijāl el-M'a, on the south by the Rijāl el-M'a, and on the west by the Beni Hilāl.

They number 1,000 men, of whom 600 are settled and the rest, the Latīm and the Makhlūtah, nomad. They share with the Beni Hilāl the reputation of being one of the most unregenerate and irresponsible tribes of Asir, and the nomads are still Moslems merely in name, though the influence of Idrīsi during the past few years has done something to reform them. They have never acknowledged the sway of the Turk nor have the latter been able to subdue them. Their country in the highlands of Asir is thickly forested, abounding in running streams, but only a little has been cleared for cultivation.

Their paramount Sheikh is Seyyid Mustafa, a man of 35 years of age, and one of the most prominent figures in Asir. He belongs to a family of Seyyids and not to the tribe itself. In 1912 Idrīsi placed him in supreme command of the forces opposing the Turks and the Sherif of Mecca. When the fighting was over, the Rijāl el-M'a, who will suffer no outsider, complained to Idrīsi against his being put over them and even went so far as to try to murder him. He has his own tribesmen thoroughly under control and is

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looked up to as a stern but just ruler. He is responsible for collecting tribute for Idrīsi and, reserving for himself a quarter of all he receives, has grown rich and lives in some state in Jannah.

The most serious engagement in the war of 1912 took place at 'Ayādi in his country, resulting in a check for Idrīsi.

The Bahr Ibn Sekeinah claim kinship with the Rijāl el-M'a and are usually on good terms with them. They reckon the Beni Thuwwah amongst their friends, but are always at feud with the Beni Hilāl and Āl Mūsa.

Chief Sheikh : Seyyid Mustafa.

Villages : 600 men.

El-Bahr	Mohammed esh-Shar.
Jannah	Mohammed ibn Ahmed.
Mayādi	Ibn Kheir.
Khamīs el-Bahr	Mohammed ibn 'Abdullah.

Nomads : 400 men.

Latīm	Abu Zoa.
Makhlūtah	Mohammed Abu Hanash
Aulād Islām	

6. *Balahmar*

The Balahmar live in the rich highland country to the north of Ibha, their southern boundary coming to within 10 miles of that town. The tribes which adjoin them are on the north the Balasmar, on the east the Shahrān, on the south the Beni Mālik, and on the west the Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah. The tribe is a strong one and numbers about 7,000 men, of whom 4,000 are settled, the rest nomad. Their country is well watered and produces fruits as well as cereals. The paramount Sheikh of the settled portion is 'Abdullah ibn Milhem, a young man of 25, who is liked by the tribe both for his justice and the open house which he keeps. He is a warm supporter of Idrīsi and collects taxes for him.

'Ali ibn 'Abshān, or 'Ali Ghālib Bey as the Turks call him, is the nominal head of all the nomads, but for the last few years he has only had the Āl 'Asla under his control. In his younger days he went to Constantinople and received a military training for five years. On his return to Asir with the rank of Bimbashi he was appointed by the Turks chief tax-collector for the whole district. When Idrīsi revolted he stood by the Government, but was not supported by the Balahmar who, with the exception of the Āl 'Asla,

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all went over to Idrīsi. For the last few years he has lived entirely at Ibha, fearing to go back to his country. He had a house in the village of Melāhah in the Beni Mālik district, which was razed to the ground a few years ago by Sheikh Seyyid Mustafa of the Bahr Ibn Sekeinah, the chief general of Idrīsi in Asir. His son 'Ali was one of the first to be chosen to sit in the Ottoman Parliament, but on his return from Constantinople was captured between Qunfudah and Ibha by the Idrīsi's men and died in captivity at Sabia about six years ago. 'Ali ibn 'Abshan himself is now about 55 years of age and is said to be brave and capable. 101 619 622

The Balahmar say that they are descended from the Rijāl el-Hajar; but they are probably from some other stock, since they are fairer than other Arabs and most of them have red hair, which they wear short, and light eyelashes. The villagers have a reputation for cowardice, but the nomads are stout fighters. The whole tribe, however, has an evil name for treachery and theft and are known amongst other tribes as 'Kilāb en-Na'al', intimating that as a dog in the night they will steal the shoes from their sleeping guests.

The Balahmar are friends with the Balasmar, Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, and Beni Mālik, but are enemies of the Shahrān.

(*a*) Settled. 4,000 men. Paramount Sheikh: 'Abdullah ibn Milhem.

Chief villages:—

Beihān	Mushabbab ibn Yūsuf.
Āl A'mer	Mohammed ibn Musheit.
Sabah	Sheikh Himri.
Shijr	Hamūd ibn Mohammed.
Mowein	Sheikh Abu Hanki.
Āl Husein	Sheikh Abu Sha'rah.
Āl Meshad	'Othmān ibn Rifā'ah.
Āl Mohammed es-Sahīl	'Amr ibn 'Ali.
Āl Qasīm	Sa'ūd ibn Sa'd.
Wādi Ibl	Mahmūd ibn Mohammed.
Āl Umm Sha'ir	Sultān ibn Ahmed.
Misfarah	Sheikh Abu Hakam.

(*b*) Nomads. 3,000 men. Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali ibn 'Abshān.

Chief divisions:—

Āl 'Asla	Himri.
Bahāshah	'Abdullah Ferthān.
Beni Tha'labah	Safar ibn Dūh.

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7. *Bal'aryān*

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The Bal'aryān or 'Sons of nakedness' have received their name from the poor and savage conditions under which they live. They appear to be mostly of African extraction and, save for a few miserable villages, they are nomads. Their exact boundaries have not been ascertained, but it is known that they have the Ghāmid on the north, the Bulqarn et-Tihāmah on their east, the Beni Shihir on their south, and the Zobeid on their west.

They are divided into four sections, the Bal'aryān, Beni 'Īsa, Beni Suleim, and Beni Suheim, and are said to number 6,000 men. In normal times they quarrel amongst themselves, but unite when danger from outside threatens.

They reckon all their neighbours as foes, but have been known to help the Shamrān against the Ghāmid. The Beni 'Īsa pay a nominal allegiance to Idrīsi, which means that they help him in war if there is a prospect of loot, and in peace refuse to pay him taxes. The other sub-tribes are completely independent and refuse to recognize the authority of any one. There are many of these tribesmen scattered all over the country as far as Muhā'il and Birk, plying the trade of butchers. Although respected for their bravery, they are despised by all true Arabs for their mixed blood and their lack of religion, which almost amounts to paganism.

Sub-tribes :—

Bal'aryān, 2,500 men, mostly nomad.
Beni 'Īsa, 1,200 men, mostly settled.
Beni Suleim, 2,000 men, mostly nomad.
Beni Suheim, 600 men, mostly nomad.

8. *Balasmar*

The Balasmar are a strong tribe, reported to number some 9,000 men, and situated due east of Muhā'il, from which they are divided by the Reish. The adjoining tribes are the Beni Shihir on the north, the Shahrān on the east, the Balahmar on the south, and the Reish on the west. They are said to be descended from the Rijāl el-Hajar, and are of the same stock as the Beni Shihir. They dwell on the fertile slopes of the hills and up to the long ascent known as the 'Aqabah Sajein to the top of the main ridge of Asir, and are known accordingly as people of the mountains or people of the Tihāmah. Much coffee is grown on the hill terraces, and wheat and other cereals round the villages.

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Jebel Hadhah is the chief centre of the tribe and the most productive. The Ibha–Ta'if road runs through their territory for about seven miles between Madfa'ah and Tanûmah. 101 619 622

The paramount Sheikh of the whole tribe is 'Ali ibn Mohammed, a man of 50, tall and powerful, with a scar over the right eyebrow. He lives at Madfa'ah and is a firm adherent of Idrisi, as are the rest of the tribe. Idrisi takes taxes from them. In former days Turkish influence reached them, but since Idrisi's rise to power they have been left alone.

The Balasmar are friendly with the Balahmar and the Beni Shihir; with the Reish and Shahrân they are at enmity. Their reputation for hospitality and prowess in war is good.

'Ali ibn Ra'ih is the mufti of the tribe, a dark-skinned man of about 55 with a long flowing beard. He is said to have Turkish leanings, and is on bad terms with 'Ali ibn Mohammed, but he is sound in his judgements and generous, and is liked by the tribe.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Mohammed of Madfa'ah. 9,000 men.

(a) *Ahl el-Jôbil.* 4,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Sadwân	'Ali ibn Hasan.
Hudhwah	Yahya ibn 'Allâmah.
Âl Ikhrein	Mohammed ibn Sâdiq.
Madfa'ah	'Ali ibn Mohammed.
La'bân	'Ali ibn Sa'id.

(b) *Ahl el-Tihdwah.* 5,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Ahl Jebel Haddah	'Abd er-Rahmân.
Umm Zerîbah	Mohammed ibn Sallm.
Khamis Makhâdah	Zabân Abu Sudr.
Umm Hajju	Ghurmallah.
Ahl Sûq el-Ithnein	'Ali ibn Shehâh.
Hadar	Barakât ibn Husein.

9. *Âhl Barak*

The four tribes of Humeidah, Âl Mûsa ibn 'Ali, Âl Isha'i, and Âl Jebâli are known collectively in Asir as the Ahl Barak, and it will therefore be convenient to class them together, although they

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do not form a confederation or trace their descent to the same ancestors.

The district of Barak begins about 15 miles north of Muhā'il, and covers an area of about 20 miles from north to south and 30 miles from east to west. It is a fertile country with plentiful rains and is largely cultivated, simsim being the principal crop. It is bounded on the north and east by the Beni Shihir, on the south by the Reish, Āl Dureib, and Rabī'at et-Tahāhin, and on the west by the Rabī'ah Mujātirah. The most important tribe is the Humeidah, numbering 7,000 men, of whom 4,000 are nomads. They occupy the western part of the district, and the Muhā'il–Qunfudah road from Dhahab to Ghār el-Hindi is in their territory. They quarrel with the Āl Isba'i and are divided amongst themselves, the villagers favouring the Turks, the nomads Idrīsi. Mohammed ibn Hayāzah is their Sheikh, and the paramount Sheikh of the whole district by the nomination of Idrīsi. He is a man of about 45, and has the reputation of using his position with wisdom and moderation.

The Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali occupy the south-eastern portion of the district along the first stages of the Barak–Tanūmah road, and number about 3,000 men. They are entirely sedentary and agricultural, and disagree with the Āl Jebāli. They are friendly with the Reish and the pro-Idrīsi section of the Āl Mūsa.

The Āl Isba'i are between the Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali and the Humeidah and north of the Āl Jebāli.

Both the Āl Isba'i and Āl Jebāli are entirely settled in villages.

Taken as a whole the tribes support Idrīsi, with the exception of the settled Humeidah, and pay him taxes. They are peaceful and pleasure-loving, and by no means fond of war. At the same time they are not above harrying small Turkish convoys. The road from Muhā'il to Qunfudah, however, is so beset with unfriendly tribes that the Turks seldom pass over it except in numbers sufficiently large to repel any ordinary attack.

Humeidah. Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Hayāzah. 7,000 men.

Chief villages, 3,000 men.

A'jamah	Zāhir Akhu Talah.
Rabu' el-A'jamah	Mohammed ibn Zāhir.
Jidhreimah	Ahmed ibn Hayāzah.
Basham	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Khabt Āl Hajri	Abu Dōsah.

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Nomads, Chief Sheikh : Fa'i ibn Hasan. 4,000 men.

Umm Mahshakah	Fa'i ibn Hasan.
Mishghalah.	
Marābah.	
Āl Jemīl.	
Āl Sa'īdah.	
Āl 'Ablah.	
Āl Mohammed.	

Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali. Chief Sheikh : Mohammed Abu Tarash. 3,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Jureihah	Abu Dōsah.
Bashamah.	

Āl Isba'i. Chief Sheikh : Hayāzah ibn Hasan. 1,500 men.

Chief villages :—

Sahil	Zabān.
Khamīs Sahil	Milbis.
Umm Ma'āsh	Ibn Umm 'Arīyah.
Sa'dah	Sa'īd Mohammed ibn Nebīyah (well-known merchant).

Āl Jebāli. Chief Sheikh : Hawāsh. 800 men.

Chief villages :—

Mifah.
Uthrub.

10. *Dhawi Barakāt*

The Dhawi Barakāt are one of the tribes of Ashrāf related to the Qoreish. They occupy a barren stretch of the sea-coast from Shakkat esh-Shāmīyah and about 25 miles south, and extend inland for about 14 miles. The Wādi Dōkhah runs through their country and provides water for their annual crop of *dukhn* and *dhura*. They number only 400 men, but make up for their paucity of numbers by their reckless daring.

Coastal dhows give their shores a wide berth, for they live chiefly on what they can make by piracy, and in their swift vessels take toll of all who come their way. Their chief is Sherif Hasan Abu Mandīl, a man about 45 years old, who recognizes the authority of neither the Sherif, the Turks, nor the Idrisi. His right-hand

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101 man and the one most noted in raiding is Sherif Mohammed ibn Sa'idah.

•619 They maintain a perpetual feud with their piratical rivals the Dhawi Hasan, but are on friendly terms with the Zahrān, their eastern neighbours, and with the Zobeid to their south. There 622 is a small colony of 'Abādilah Ashrāf in their country, which is allied to them.

An offshoot of the tribe lives at Manādil in the Belā'ir country.

Paramount Sheikh: Sherif Hasan Abu Mandil. 400 men.

Clans:—

Manādil	Sherif Zein ibn Qasim.
Hawātimah	Sherif Hāshim ibn 'Ubeid.
Ruwājihah	Sherif Dahshān ibn Khudherr.

Section of Manādil in Belā'ir country. 300 men.

Chief Sheikh: Abu Tālib.

'Abid el-Manādil	Sheikh Jāmūs.

11. *Belā'ir*

The Belā'ir are a strong and truculent tribe inhabiting the country roughly from between Khabt el-'Umr and Jum'at Rabī'ah to Habil and Jōz Belā'ir, on the Qunfudah–Barak road. They are bounded on the north and north-east by the Zobeid, east by the Rabī'ah Mujātirah, south-east by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhin, south by the Aulād el-'Alaunah, and west by the Marāhibah section of the Beni Zeid.

They are divided into main divisions, the Nawāshirah, 3,000 men, and the 'Umr, 4,000, the former partly settled, the latter entirely nomad, and ranging the country to the south of their borders. Their situation astride the two main roads from Qunfudah to Muhā'il is an excellent one for raiding, and they take full advantage of it. They hate the Turks, who can only pass through their country in force. The chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Medīni, a man of 50, who was formerly paramount Sheikh of the whole tribe. He was bought over by the Sherif of Mecca in 1912, and his desertion of the Idrīsi lost him the support of all the 'Umr and of the Nawāshirah with the exception of the Firshah and Sa'dah clans and the inhabitants of the village of Jōz Belā'ir. The tribe is still split in two, and Sheikh Ibn Kheirah of the Nawāshirah has gathered most of the power into his hands, and is reckoned amongst the Idrīsi adherents.

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Their country includes both plain and hills, and is rich enough to give pasture for large herds of camels, goats, and cattle, and to grow cereals in the rainy season. They are allied with the Zobeid, but are generally at loggerheads with their other neighbours. The most extreme section and the one most feared by travellers is a colony of about 300 of the Dhawi Barakāt, called the Ashrāf Manādil, living at Manādil, just to the west of Jōz Belā'ir, on the main road to Qunfudah. They have lived there for many years and have severed all connexion with their parent tribe, but they have retained the tribal reputation for lawlessness. Their chief is Sherif Abu Tālib, who pays allegiance to 'Ali ibn Medini. The colony, however, keeps to itself and does not intermarry with the Belā'ir, nor does it adopt the local custom of allowing its women to go unveiled. The Belā'ir Arabs are lax in their marriage customs, but they do not marry outside their own tribe. Although truculent and quarrelsome, they have a reputation for clean fighting, and are hospitable to those with whom they are not at feud.

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Paramount Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Medini of Jōz Belā'ir.

(a) *Naudshirah.* 3,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Ibn Kheirah.

Clans :—

Shawāridah	Abu Tommah.
Firshah	Sa'd.
Mujā'adah	'Ali ibn Ma'addi.
Heil el-Mujā'adah	Mohammed Munjar.
Habil	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Sa'dah	Mohammed ibn 'Abdu.

(b) *'Umr.* 4,000 men.

Mohammed ibn Ahmed.

Clan :—

She'i el-'Umr	Mohammed ibn Musāfir.

12. *Bulqarn*

The Bulqarn are divided into the Bulqarn esh-Shām or es-Serrah and the Bulqarn el-Yemen or et-Tihāmah, and stretch in a south-westerly direction from near Bishah across the tangled mass of mountains which form the backbone of the Asir range, and down towards the seaward slopes. They are bounded on the north by the Shamrān and Khath'am, on the east by the Shahrān and

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nomads of Beni Shihir, on the south by the Beni 'Amr and Beni Shihir, and on the west by the Bel'aryān and Ghāmid.

The Bulqarn es-Serrah are two-thirds settled and one-third nomad, the Sheikh over all being Mash'ad ibn Bahrān, who lives at 'Alāyah, a large village about eight hours west of Qal'ah Bīshah. He is a rich landowner and also possesses date-groves in Bīshah. The country appears to be fertile and well wooded, and supports large herds of camels, goats, and cattle. The nomads draw in to the cultivation during its season, and when it has been harvested take flour to Bīshah, which they exchange for dates. There is a general truce with the Shahrān amongst all the tribes during the date season at Bīshah, which lasts about four months. At other times the Bulqarn are at feud with the Shahrān, Beni Shihir, Ghāmid, and Shamrān. They are friendly to the Khath'am and Beni 'Amr.

The Bulqarn el-Yemen occupy the lowland district of 'Urdīyah and are wholly given up to farming. Their chief Sheikh is Mujarri ibn Sa'īd.

The two sections of the tribe are friendly and help each other in war. They are not remarkable for their courage, but can render a good account of themselves. In politics they all favour the Idrīsi and pay him taxes. They are hospitable in character, and passage through their country is generally safe.

A. *Bulqarn esh-Shām* or *es-Serrah*. 6,000 men.

Chief Sheikh: Mash'ad ibn Bahrān of 'Alāyah.

1. Settled. 4,000 men. Villages:—

Āl Sīhil	'Abdullah ibn Nāsir.
Āl Barqūq	Hanash ibn Jarāwish.
Sahwah	'Abdullah ibn 'Abd.
Nakhlah	Merzūq ibn Mohammed.
Wajrān	'Abdullah ibn Salim.

2. Nomad. 2,000 men.

Āl 'Itfāfah	Ibrāhīm ibn Masad
Āl Hirīr	Mūsa ibn Ya'qūb.
Āl Dahshān	Mohammed ibn Hasan

B. *Bulqarn el-Yemen* or *el-Tihāmah*. 1,000 men

'Urdīyah	Mujarri ibn Sa'īd.
Āl Mabnah	Ma'addi ibn Suweih.
Āl Dhirwah	Safar ibn Mohammed.
Āl Atīm	'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Kheir
Beni Suheim	Mohammed ibn Nāsir.

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Clans :—

Āl esh-Sha'eir.
Āl Shahbah.
Beni Tala'.
Āl el-Mudeifir.
Āl Mizhim.

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13. *Āl ed-Dureib*

The Āl ed-Dureib are a small tribe numbering some 800 men, to the north-west of Muhā'il. They occupy about ten miles of the Sikkat el-Helāwīyah from Muhā'il to Qunfudah between the villages of Turqush and Ma'mal Āl Ikhleif, and stretch up along the Barak road for about five miles north of Musabbah, which is in their territory. They are bounded on the north by the Āl Mūsa, west by the Reish, south-east by the Āl Mūsa, south by the Beni Hilāl, and west by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn. They are a good fighting race, but are not naturally quarrelsome or bellicose. The Idrīsi, however, frequently incites them to cut Turkish communications. Their country is fertile, and they possess many flocks and herds. The Āl Mūsa and Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn are friendly to them, the Āl Jebāli, Reish, and Beni Hilāl as a rule inimical. They have the reputation of being hospitable beyond the ordinary, and travellers can journey without fear in their country.

There is a small offshoot of their nomad subsection, the Āl Ikhleif, situated in the Rabī'ah Mujātirah country near Ghār el-Hindi, who have cut themselves adrift from the main tribe.

Mohammed ibn 'Amr Akhu 'Abdīyah, a man of 35, is the chief Sheikh. He has been to Mecca several times, and frequently goes to Sabia. During his absence the tribe is governed by his sister 'Abdīyah, who married a Turkish officer, now dead, named 'Ali Bey Rida.

Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn 'Amr Akhu 'Abdīyah. 800 men.

Villages :—

Turqush	Mohammed ibn el-'Allāmah.
Musabbah	Mohammed ibn Hadeyyah.
Juzān	Rājih.
Wādi Musabbah	Mushātir.
Wādi el-Ushir	Ma'addi.
Rāhah	Mohammed ibn Bārūd.
'Ain ed-Dureib	Mohammed ibn Kheir.

Nomad :—

Āl Ikhleif.

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14. *Ghāmid*

101 The Ghāmid own a wide stretch of territory in the highlands of Southern Hejaz and Northern Asir, roughly from latitude 19° 30′ to 20° 15′ and longitude 41° 30′ to 42°. The tribes which adjoin them are, on the north the Shalāwah, east Shamrān, south Bulqarn and Bel'aryān, and west Zobeid and Zahrān. It is difficult to estimate their numbers, reports varying from Burckhardt's estimate of 5,000 to 10,000 fighting men, to a native estimate of 60,000 men. The first is probably as wrong as the last, but there seems no doubt that they are considerably more numerous than any of their neighbours.

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The inland road from Ibha to Tā'if runs through the midst of their country, which is well watered and fertile. The tribe is divided into two portions, the nomad and settled, who are always at odds with one another. The nomads are Āl Seyah, a tall race of fine fighters who live to the north of the settled portion and roam far afield to the Shalāwah country round Turabah, to Ranyah, Tathlīth, and Wādi Dawāsir. They are rich in horses, camels, and goats, and recognize no authority. Their chief is Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān, a man of about 45, and a noted warrior. He is entirely independent of outside influences.

The chief of the settled Arabs is 'Azīz ibn Musheit, a young man of 25 years of age, who follows the Sherif of Mecca and frequently visits him. He is at enmity with Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān. A large number of his men go yearly to Mecca, Jiddah, and Tā'if and act as porters during the pilgrim season. They remain there for about four months, and return with supplies for the rest of the year. Many invest their savings in rifles, which they buy at one of the two chief markets, Ru'eis near Jiddah or Nuzūlah Beni Mālik. They also buy rifles from the Rijāl el-M'a. Although not noted for their fighting skill they yet are frequently at war, their chief foes being the Zahrān, and after them the Bel'aryān, Bulqarn, Shamrān, and Shahrān. The Āl Seyah, who are the better fighters, combine with them when trouble with the Zahrān arises. Their friends are the Zobeid and Beni Mālik of Hejaz.

Their women occupy a much more important position than in most tribes, and take an equal share in all harder forms of manual labour, and even have a say in the tribal councils. The tribe is still nicknamed the Khādimīn ed-Derwīshah, after a woman who died about fifty years ago, having ruled them for nearly 40 years. The women also weave camel's-hair garments and blankets. Owing

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to the annual migration to the Hajj, the tribe is more civilized than most and has a good reputation for hospitality. 101

In May 1915 some of their Sheikhs, whose names are not known, wrote to the Idrīsi proposing to join him. The Idrīsi advised them to keep quiet until a more favourable moment arrived, but sent a Qādhi to collect money from them. At the beginning of 1916 he was still in communication with them. 619 624

A man of importance in the tribe is Sālih ibn 'Ajalah. He is the richest merchant and controls most of the trade between Mecca and the Ghāmid. The export of tobacco, of which a considerable amount is grown, is entirely in his hands.

Another man of influence is Mohammed ibn 'Ali of the Beni Kebīr. He was chosen as one of the representatives of Asir in the Ottoman Parliament ten years ago, and went to Constantinople for one session. Not liking the life, he resigned his seat, but still keeps up his Turkish connexions.

Paramount Chief: 'Azīz ibn Musheit.

(*a*) Settled:

Beni Dhubyān	Mohammed ibn Ati.
Beni Kebīr	Ismā'īl ibn Mohammed.
Beni Kebīr	Mohammed ibn Ibrāhīm.
Bal Jurashi	Hizām ibn Ismā'īl.
Humrān	Sa'īd ibn Mohammed.
Āl edh-Dhafīr	Sālih ibn Yāsīn.
Āl Ramādah	Sa'īd ibn Habīb.
Āl Za'lah	Dhiyāb ibn Nāsir.
Beni Sandal	'Abd er-Rahmān el-Merzūq.
Āl Bahdān	Mubārak ibn Muwalla.
Āl Bāh	Dhāfir ibn Sa'īd.
Ahl Wādi Shibriqah	Salīm ibn Mohammed.
Āl Ferza'ah	Hizām ibn Husein.
Beni Munababah	Fā'iz ibn Mohammed.
Beni 'Omar	Mubārak ibn Muwalla (different from above).
Ahl Wādi Batat	Mohammed ibn Mukhāsir.
Beni Lām	Sa'īd ibn 'Abdullah.
Āl Lahdah	Mohammed ibn Dhubyān
Beni Muntazar	Haneish ibn 'Ablah.
Beni Talaq	Mohammed ibn Sa'īd.
Beni Khutheim	
Beni Jābūs	'Atiyat Allah

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Beni 'Abdillah	Mohammed ibn Ferhat.
Beni Mintisher	'Ali Jamah.
Beni Balsham	
Beni Nāshir	
Bal Hirsh	Mohammed ibn 'Atīyah.

(*b*) Nomad.

Āl Seyah	Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān.

15. *Ahl Hali*

The Ahl Hali consist of four tribes, which may conveniently be considered together, since, although of different origin, they are politically one, sharing the same country, uniting against common enemies, and being ruled over by one chief. Their country embraces the coastal village of Hali and the district round of the same name. The boundary starts from the coast about five miles north of Hali, runs north-east along the Beni Ya'lah territory, and thence follows a line parallel to the Hali–Jum'ah Rabī'ah road and about four miles to the west, up to Kidwah, which is 18 miles NNE. from Hali and close to the boundary of the 'Umr section of the Belā'ir. Thence it goes south-east for about ten miles along the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn and Beni Dhi'b territory to Kiyāh, which is 21 miles NE. of Hali. Here it reaches the Beni Hilāl and follows their line towards the coast, which it touches about 12 miles south of Hāli.

The four tribes are the 'Abīd el-Emīr, Ghawānimah, Aulād el-'Alaunah, and Kinānah, who are all settled with the exception of the Salālimah clan of the 'Abīd el-Emīr and the Fellāhah clan of the Aulād 'Alaunah, both small and unimportant units.

The largest tribe is the Aulād el-'Alaunah, who number 3,000 men and are strung out along the Jum'ah Rabī'ah road from Kidwah to Minjīyah.

Next in importance are the Ghawānimah (1,500) from Radha to Khā'i along the Muhā'il road, then Kinānah from the Beni Hilāl to Minjiyah, and finally the 'Abīd el-Emīr (600 men) on the Beni Dhi'b frontier.

The paramount Sheikh over all is Ibn 'Aji, a man of about 55, who in the past was a friend of the Turks, but seceded to the Idrīsi when the latter began to grow powerful. The Turks used to occupy Hali, but they were driven out sixteen years ago, and have been unable to regain a footing. The confederation is a rich one, having

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sufficient water for its agricultural needs and possessing large herds of cattle. 101

They are noted warriors and maintain feuds with all their neighbours. The Rijāl el-M'a are the only tribe whom they regard with friendly eyes. Their relations towards each other are at times strained, but they unite for common defence and when the Idrīsi calls them out. 619 • 622

The 'Abīd el-Emīr were originally slaves of Sudanese stock, but have long since gained their emancipation and now rank on an equality with the Arabs. A number of them go every year on the Pilgrimage to Mecca, where they have an evil reputation for robbery and theft.

The Kinānah are an ancient and famous tribe, who probably came into being about A. D. 100, and are descended from the Mudhar branch of Nizār. The Qoreish are a branch of them. They were at first settled near Mecca, and took a prominent part against Mohammed the Prophet, by whom they were subdued. When Africa was invaded part of the tribe went to the Sudan, where they are still found in Kordofan, while others went to Egypt and from there pushed as far west as Morocco. The Arabian remnant had meantime taken up their residence near Hali, where they were reported to be by Ibn Batūtah in 1353.

Some severe fighting took place in the Hali country during the campaign of the Sherif of Mecca and the Turks, in 1910, in which the Ahl Hali, who were fighting for the Idrīsi, gave a good account of themselves.

Paramount Sheikh : Ibn 'Aji of Aulād el-'Alaunah.

(*a*) *'Abid el-Emīr.* 600 men. Ibn Saghīr.

Villages :—

Kiyād	Ibn Zemīm.
Sabt el-Kiyād	*Hasan ibn Ahmed.*

Bedouin :—

Salālimah.

(*b*) *Ghawānimah.* 1,500 men. Khalīl el-Ghānim.

Villages :—

Khā'i	Ibn Shabīb.
Kidwat el-Ghawānimah	Hasan Ghebeish.
Radha	Mohammed ibn 'Ajīl.

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101 (c) *Aulād el-'Alaunah.* 3,000 men. Hasan Shijeifi.

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Villages :—

Minjīyah	'Ali Shumeih.
Bei'shi	Ghabeish.
Ferīq	Hasan Sūh.
Fiqāhah	Medīni.
Mashā'ikh	'Ali Sheikh.
Salāmah	'Ali Serūwi.
'Ajam Je'eirah	Ahmari.

Bedouin :—

Fellāhah.

(d) *Kinānah.* Subdivided into :—

1. Shawārah. 1,000 men. Mohammed ibn 'Abd.

Villages :—

Kidwat el-'Ābid	Merzūq.
Beidein	Abu 'Alam.
Sheikh 'Ali	Mubārak ibn Hasan.
Makhshūsh	Shāmi ibn 'Abbās.
Sūq el-Ithnein Makhshūsh	Ahmed ibn 'Abbās.
Qadab	Ibn Zaghlūl.

2. Beni Yahya. 400 men. Sheikh : Abu Radīyah.

Villages :—

Sulb	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Ma'āshīyah	'Ali Dellāq.
Āl Khirshān	Sa'īd 'Abdullah ibn Khirshah.
Melhah.	

16. *Dhawi Hasan*

The Dhawi Hasan occupy the coast-line from just north of Lith down to Shakkat esh-Shāmīyah, a distance of about 45 miles, and inland to the beginning of the mountains, which are here only a few miles from the sea. They are of Sherifial stock and connected with the Qoreish, but they do not reflect credit on the tribe, for they pay small attention to religion and concentrate all their energies on piracy, being the most notorious band of freebooters and sea-robbers along the whole coast. The Turks have a garrison about two hours inland from their main town of Lith, and exercise a certain restraint

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over them; but the Dhawi Hasan hate both the Turks and the Sherif, and what little deference they show to any one is paid to the Idrīsi, who is sufficiently far away to be attractive. Sherif Mustur represents the Sherif at Līth, and collects a certain amount of taxes. 101 619 622

The chief of the tribe is Sherif Mohammed ibn Hasan ibn el-'Aud, whose name is known with dread by every sailor along the coast. Almost equally feared are his followers, Sherif Ismā'īl Abu Khurfān, Sherif Rājib ibn Dajhid, and Murzut ibn Bekhīt, a Sudanese slave who won his freedom by his skill in raiding. They are friendly with the Zahrān and Juhadlah, their eastern and northern neighbours, but have a long-standing feud with the Dhawi Barakāt, who lie to their south.

The Dhawi Hasan possess many slaves, and the cruelty with which they are treated is notorious in the Hejaz. Blacks captured at sea are invariably enslaved and hamstrung to minimize their chance of escape.

Chief Sheikh: Sherif Mohammed ibn Hasan ibn el-'Aud. 3,000 men.

Āl Āsaf	Sherif Hasan ibn Husein.
Khumjān	Sherif Mahjūb ibn Barakāt.
Āl Hasan ibn Ahmed	Sherif Haza' ibn Fuzān.
Āl Jisās	Sherif Bureik ibn Ahmed.

17. *Beni Hasan*

The Beni Hasan inhabit the country between Wādis Heirān and Habl from the sea to about 20 miles inland and are bounded on the north by the Beni Marwān, on the south by the Beni 'Abs, and on the east by the Beni Zeid. They are firm friends of the Beni 'Abs, who protect them and range over their country, and they keep on good terms both with the Beni Zeid, whom they fear, and with the Beni Marwān. In number about 2,000 souls, they can put 500 fighting men into the field. Manjūr is their chief village, about 20 miles ESE. of Mīdi; Hasan es-Sa'īd and Mūsa Hasan their chief Sheikhs

18. *Beni Hilāl*

The Beni Hilāl occupy a broad expanse of country stretching from the Sikkat esh-Sherāf between Hali and Muhā'il to Birk on the sea-shore.

Their exact boundary starts at Sabt es-Sawālah, about 23 miles from Hali, and runs just north of the Sikkat esh-Sherāf and Wādi

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Dofa' up to within 4 miles of Muhā'il, a total distance of about 34 miles. On the north they are bounded by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn and Āl ed-Dureib. From Sirr the boundary goes south-west to Birk, marching first with the Āl Mūsa, and finally near the coast with the Munjahah. The coast is theirs for about 18 miles north of Birk, and then the boundary goes inland and so up to Sabt es-Sawālah along the Hali border. The country is densely wooded and provides pasturage for large herds of camels and goats. The tribe is divided into the Ahl Birk, the Āl Ikhtarsh, who live in the direction of Muḥā'il, and are subdivided into the Āl Misjar and Āl Umm Jam'ah, and the Arabs of the western parts whose subdivisions have not been ascertained. The Āl Ikhtarsh are said to number 5,000 men, and the remainder, including the Ahl Birk, 7,000.

The Ahl Birk and the Arabs inhabiting the villages along the seacoast, such as Nakhl el-Birk, Nahūd, and Sobākhah, form the only respectable portion of the tribe. They cultivate a little, grow date-trees in some of the villages, and supplement this by collecting salt near Birk, which they sell to their neighbouring tribes. Mohammed ibn 'Abdu is the chief Sheikh, a man of 35 years of age and a staunch adherent of the Idrīsi. He is nominal chief over the whole tribe, and does in fact have considerable influence over them. But to keep them entirely in check is almost an impossibility, for they have the well-earned reputation of being one of the wildest and most intractable tribes of the Asir.

Almost pagan, they lead an entirely nomadic life, subsisting on meat and milk and buying what little they need from outside. They have closed the Sikkat esh-Sherāf to the Turks, who are obliged to travel by the more northern roads, the Sikkat el-Helāwīyah or the Barak road, and even ordinary travellers do not dare to pass through their country except in large armed parties. As far as they may be said to have any politics, they are pro-Idrīsi, but they are far too out of hand to be of value as allies. They are at daggers drawn with all the neighbouring tribes with the exception of the Rijāl el-M'a, whose hand they fear.

'Ali ibn 'Abdu, the Sheikh of Birk, was recently reported to be in the pay of the Turks, and to be smuggling mails up to Ibha, but the well-known attitude of the tribe renders this improbable. In 1910 the Sherif tried to suborn him with the offer of £3,000. 'Ali ibn 'Abdu's only reply was to send him a Mauser cartridge.

Mohammed ibn Hasan, chief of the Āl Ikhtarsh, is a notorious highwayman, and has a most unsavoury reputation for treachery and cunning.

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1. *Ahl Birk.* Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn 'Abdu, of Birk. 101
Other prominent Sheikhs :—
'Ali ibn 'Abdu (Sheikh of Birk). 619
'Ali ibn Muqdi (merchant).
Sha'bān. 622
Mohammed ibn Fayy.

2. *Western Arabs.*

3. *Āl Ikhtarsh.* Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Āl Misjar.
Āl Umm Jam'ah.

19. *Ja'dah*

A small Sunni tribe between the Beni Marwān and Masārihah, just south of Wādi Ta'ashar, about 10 miles north of Mīdi. Their chief Sheikhs are Mohammed Ahmed and Sheikh Maqbūl, both of whom have been fighting for the Idrīsi.

20. *Ja'āfirah*

One of the 20 tribes of Ashrāf. They are settled in and round Jōz el-Ja'āfirah to the north of Jeizān. Sherif Mohammed 'Ali is their chief Sheikh. He is said to be secretly disaffected to the Idrīsi, but openly is on good terms with him. The tribe numbers about 600 men.

21. *Khamīsīn*

A tribe, rather smaller than the Beni 'Abs, inhabiting the hills east of Haradh. They are allies of their western neighbours, the Beni Marwān, and adherents of the Idrīsi. Their chief village is Sūq el-Mughāsil, where a market is held every Sunday.

22. *Khath'am*

The Khath'am are a small settled tribe on the Ibha–Tā'if road, with the Shamrān to their north and west and the Bulqarn to their east and south. They do not muster more than 1,500 men and are partly nomadic. The chief village of the settled portion is Lasfar, where lives their chief Sheikh, Juheish ibn 'Aqad, an old man of 60. The nomads are camel-owners, and are almost all engaged in the carrying trade to Bīshah and Namas. They excel in fighting, and are allied with the Bulqarn and Shamrān.

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Their chief menace comes from the Ghāmid, and the Khath'am, Bulqarn, Beni 'Amr, and Shamrān all unite against that powerful tribe when it threatens any one of them. In politics they favour the Idrīsi. The tribe traces its descent back to the Rijāl el-Hajar.

Paramount Sheikh : Juheish ibn 'Aqad of Lasfar.

(*a*) Settled sections :—

Āl Murrah	Thawwāb ibn Nāsir.
Āl Serdān	Mohammed ibn 'Alam.

(*b*) Nomad sections :—

Mazāriqah	Juheish ibn 'Aqad.
Āl Selmān	Shuweib ibn Mohammed.

23. *Beni Mālik*

The Beni Mālik live to the north of Ibha, their southern boundary being only 2 miles away. The adjoining tribes are: on the north the Balahmar, east the Shahrān, south the Beni Mugheid, and west the 'Alqam el-Hūl and Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah.

They are of Qahtān stock, and with the Beni Mugheid, Rufeidat el-Yemen, and 'Alqam el-Hūl form what is, strictly speaking, Asir. The tribe numbers about 5,000 men, of whom 2,000 are nomads.

The villagers are under Sheikh 'Ali ibn Ma'addi, and are divided into the three chief clans of Āl el-Mujemmil, Beni Rizām, and Beni Rabī'ah. They are Turkish in sympathy with the exception of the Beni Rizām, whose Sheikh, Tāhir Abu Hashar, was imprisoned for a year at Ibha for attempting a revolt. They all pay taxes, and are peaceful and unwarlike people, looked down on by all the neighbouring tribes, who have named them in derision 'Jauba' or donkeys.

The nomads are good fighters, and pay only a nominal allegiance to the Turks. They come into the villages during the harvest, and for the rest of the year wander to the east round Jinfur, an isolated village of theirs in the Shahrān country, or go down to the 'Alqam el-Hūl or Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah. They are at enmity with the Beni Tha'labah section of the Balahmar.

The country is fertile, and largely supplies Ibha with fruits.

'Ali ibn Ma'addi, the chief Sheikh, is an old man of 60, and is a member of the Ibha town council. He is reported to be mean and avaricious.

Sa'd ibn Dhuh, the chief of the nomads, is a brave old warrior of over 70, and is anti-Turk. He is supported by his seven sons.

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(*a*) Settled. 3,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Ma'addi.

His sons { Ahmed Ibn 'Ali.
Mansūr ibn Ma'addi.

Chief religious Sheikh : Mufti ibn Khudra.

1. *Āl el-Mujemmil.*	Mūsa ibn Mushāfi.
Chief villages :—	
Āl Atana	Sheikh Humeidi.
Serūr	Sheikh Malaf.
Shāb	Abu Shamil ibn Ghatīyah
Āl Umm Ruwi	Mohammed Abu Qahas.
2. *Beni Rizām.*	Tāhir Abu Hashar.
Chief village :—	
Āl Umm Ruweidi	Abu Aftān.
3. *Beni Rabī'ah.*	
Chief villages :—	
Āl Ya'lah	Walad Abu Dhibah.
Mahālah 'Alīyah	Mohammed ibn Shuweil.
Mahālah Sifla	Ahmed 'Ali Dhibah.
'Aij	Yahya ibn 'Audah.
Wādi 'Atf	Mohammed ibn Jerān.
Āl Tabīb	'Abdullah ibn Na'sah.
Nejlah	Mohammed ibn Na'sah, his brother.
Āl Ghalīdh	Walad Ibn Dufrān.
Āl La'sān	Mohammed ibn Ahmed.
Āl Felāt	*Nāsir ibn Muzallifah.*
Āl Jerja	Sheikh Qadan.
Āl Lashrān	Yahya ibn Lashrān.
Dārah	Ahmed ibn Muftih.
4. *Other villages.*	
Muslit	Ibn eth-Thibeit.
Meiza'a	'Ali ibn Sūdān.
Feyah	'Ali ibn Shahr.
Melāhah	Misfar ibn Humrah.
Seyyad	'Ali Ghareifah.

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(*b*) Nomads. 2,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Sa'd ibn Dhuh.

Clans :—

Āl Habashi	Sa'd ibn Dhuh.
Āl Rameī'ān	Sheikh Sofar.
Beni Minbah	Sheikh Sālikhah.
	Sheikh Mujerri of Junfar.

24. *Beni Marwān*

A Sunni tribe numbering about 1,000 fighting men and inhabiting the country from Wādi Heirān on the south almost to Wādi Ta'ashar on the north. They are bounded on the north by the Masārihah, on the east by the Ahl Haradh and Khamisīn, and on the south by the Beni Hasan. The port of Mīdi is in their country, and their chief village is Sūq el-Keirān. Formerly they were partisans of the Idrīsi, but they rebelled against him when he accepted help from the Italians. They are evidently still disloyal, for the Idrīsi is reported to have sent a punitive expedition against Ibn Bakri, their chief Sheikh, in November 1915. Sheikh Tāhir 'Ali is the Sheikh of Mīdi.

25. *Masārihah*

A Sunni tribe supporting the Idrīsi, who occupy the country from Wādi Ta'ashar almost up to Abu 'Arīsh and Jeizān on the north and east to the first foot-hills. They are bounded on the north by the Reish, on the south by the Ja'dah and Beni Marwān, and on the east by the Beni Mohammed. Their chief village is Samtah, and they are said to muster 1,000 fighting men. The chief Sheikhs are Ahmed Masāwah, 'Othmān Siwādi, Abu Halīm, and Yahya Mihah.

26. *Beni Mohammed*

A tribe east of the Masārihah in the hills south-east of Jeizān. They support the Idrīsi.

27. *Beni Mugheid*

The Beni Mugheid are a fine fighting tribe dwelling in the steep hill country which leads up to Ibha from the south and in and around Ibha itself. The adjoining tribes are: on the north the 'Alqam el-Hūl and Beni Mālik, on the east the Shahrān, on the

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south the Sha'af Rashah and Āl Yinfa'ah sections of the Shahrān and the Rabī'at el-Yemen, and on the west the Rijāl el-M'a. 101

Their southern limit is the Wādi Shahlah, which flows into the Wādi Dhilah (or Dhil'a) at Heidat et-Tihāmīyah. The tribe numbers about 7,000 men, of whom more than 5,000 are firm adherents of the Turks, and as their fortresses are practically impregnable in Arab warfare, they are a valuable asset to the Ottoman Government. 619 • 622

The tribe is divided into seven divisions, the Āl Yazīd, Āl Nājih, Āl el-Wāzi, Āl Umm Sherāf, Āl Umm Jerei'at, Āl Umm Wādi Malah, and Āl Weimān. Their country is fertile, with running streams, and produces coffee and fruits.

The Āl Yazīd are the ruling clan and are subdivided into the families of Ibn Mufarrih, Āl Abu Sārah, and Aulād el-Emīr Mohammed ibn 'Ā'idh, who ruled supreme over all Asir before the days of the Turks and the Idrīsi.

The Idrīsi's rise to power has split up many a tribe in Asir which was formerly united, and the Āl Yazīd have not escaped the general feeling of discord. The head of the Aulād el-Emīr Mohammed ibn 'Aidh is Hasan ibn 'Ali, a young man of 26, who has already distinguished himself in battle. He was at one time with the Idrīsi, but in 1910 was bribed by the Sherif of Mecca and seceded to the Turks, who made him Vali of Asir, which strictly speaking only includes the tribes of Beni Mālik, 'Alqam, Rufeidat el-Yemen, and Beni Mugheid, who are all descended from Qahtān, but is used loosely to include all the tribes from Wada'ah to Zahrān. In practice he only rules those tribes who recognize Turkish authority. The Turks, as is their custom with local chiefs whom they wish to keep in good humour, have made him a Bey. His own house is divided against him, for while his cousins Nāsir and Mohammed [illegible]-Rahmān support him and occupy positions under the [illegible] rest of his family, including his brother 'Ali, a young [illegible] 20, have Idrīsi sympathies and refuse to countenance the Government. The family lives at Reidah and Harmalah, about 15 miles to the south-west of Ibha, Hasan ibn 'Ali himself occupying the strong fortress of Qasr 'Ali ibn Mohammed.

The Aulād ibn Mufarrih live at Sijah, three miles north of Reidah, and are descendants of Sheikh Mufarrih, who ruled over Asir until he was ousted by the house of Ā'idh. On this account there has always been ill-feeling between the two families, which has developed into open hatred in the present generation owing to the murder of Ahmed ibn Mufarrih, father of 'Abdullah ibn Mufarrih, by the father of Hasan ibn 'Ali some years ago.

The Aulād ibn Mufarrih rebelled against the Turks when the

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Idrīsi arose, and under 'Abdullah ibn Mughethil defeated a force sent against them. 'Abdullah ibn Mufarrih is their chief, a man of 45, who holds the title of Bey from the Turks, and on account of his large estate and his landed property in Ibha is outwardly on good terms with them, but secretly in communication with the Idrīsi.

Of the Āl Abu Sārah, whose head-quarters are at Dhohyah, just to the north of Sijah, 'Ali ibn Lāhiq and his son Husein were formerly with the Turks, but have seceded and allied themselves with the Aulād ibn Mufarrih. Mohammed Abu Dūsah has long been a noted opponent of the Turks.

The Āl Nājih are just to the west of Ibha and are divided in their sympathy. Their Sheikh, Yahya ibn Salim, was taken captive and imprisoned by the Idrīsi five years ago for refusing to pay taxes to him.

The Āl el-Wāzi live near the 'Alqam el-Hūl boundary, and are especially noted for their bravery, which has earned their nickname of Tūrk el-'Arab. They are all pro-Turk.

The Āl Umm Sherāf are all settled along the Āl Sirhān (Shahrān) boundary and are entirely out of hand, being at open enmity with the Turks and all their neighbours, as well as their own tribe. Their country is the focus of all the thieves and highwaymen of the district, and they continually hold up the roads and rob innocent travellers. They also go up to the Wādi Tayyah in the Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah district, and help the Āl Hārith in their war against society. The most notorious amongst them are 'Abdullah ibn Mifdhil, Nāsir and Mūsa ibn Sherein, and Gharām ibn Rābih.

The Āl Umm Jerei'āt and Āl Umm Wādi Malah are both settled in and round Ibha, and are with the Government.

The Āl Weimān, a small section of 400 men who live near the Rabī'ah border to the south, are under the influence of the Idrīsi.

The Beni Mugheid are not a quarrelsome race and live at peace with all their neighbours, except the Rijāl el-M'a, with whom they have a hereditary feud. They take a considerable part in the local government, occupying many of the smaller posts, such as clerkships and the like, and a few have been chosen to represent Asir in the Ottoman Parliament. Amongst these are Ahmed ibn Umm Shibah of the Āl Umm Mufarrih, a man of 50, fat, dark, and of average height. He is an eloquent speaker, a keen politician, and very pro-Turk with a strong hatred of the Sa'dah. When at Ibha he sits on the 'Mejlis Beledi'. He is a rich landowner, but is unpopular on account of his meanness.

'Ali ibn Khanfur is another deputy, and belongs to the Āl Umm Wādi Malah. He belongs to a middle-class family, his people being

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traders in hides in a small way. He used to be Bashkâtib of accounts in Ibha, having worked his way up from a small clerkship. He is a small man of about 40; his face is pitted with small-pox. He is very intelligent, and used to be religious, but has latterly taken to drink. He is not liked by the tribe. 101 619 622

Mohammed ibn 'Aziz, of the Âl Umm Manâdhir, is another man of importance. He married a sister of Husein Eff. weled Museiqah Julas, a deputy for Asir and the Finance Minister (Sandîq Amîni), and is accustomed to act for the latter during his absence abroad. He is also responsible for assessing the taxes in all the Turkish districts. A man of 25 years of age, small and dark, he is clever and has a good reputation. His brother, Manaûr ibn 'Aziz, was sent to Constantinople three years ago to represent certain grievances of the people of Ibha, and succeeded in securing the dismissal of several Turkish officials.

Mohammed ibn Musallat, who is Sheikh of the Âl Umm Wâdi Malah, is also president of the town council, or Mejlis Beledi, at Ibha. A man of 30 years of age; he is not liked by the tribe, but is capable and has a fine fighting record. He is also a rich landowner.

(a) *Âl Yazîd.* (Mugheid el-Khotah). 300 men.

1. Aulâd el-Emir Mohammed ibn 'Â'idh.
   Hasan ibn 'Ali, paramount chief.
   'Abdullah ibn 'Ali, his brother.
   Nâsir ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh
   Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh } brothers.
   'Â'idh ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh
   'Abdullah ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh } are cousins of the above.
   Sa'd ibn Nâsir.

2. Aulâd ibn Mufarrih.
   'Abdullah ibn Mufarrih.
   Sa'd ibn Mufarrih.
   'Abd er-Rahmân ibn Mufarrih.
   'Abdullah ibn Mujethil.

3. Âl Abu Sîrah.
   'Ali ibn Lâbiq.
   Husein ibn 'Ali, his son.
   Lâbiq ibn Hien.
   Husein ibn Mersim.
   Mohammed Abu Dîmah.
   'Abd er-Rahmân ibn el-Qâdhi Mufti.
   Ahmed ibn El-Qâdhi.

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(b) *Ál Nájih.* 1,500 men.

Chief Sheikh: Yahya ibn Salim

Chief villages:—

'Ithrahán	Mohammed ibn Sálim.
'Alíyah	Ahmed ibn Mirsi.
'Aziah	'Á'idh el-Felwalli.
Ál Jerr el-Wádi	Mohammed Dalih.
Jíz	Ahmed ibn 'Ali.
Imsiqah	Mohammed ibn Delbíh.
Ál Umm Hanak	Mohammed ibn Sa'íd.
Ál Umm Shi'bah	Umm Saghair.
Umm Misrih	Mishar ibn 'Ali.
Ál Tamím	Mohammed et-Tamím.
Ál Sakrín	Mohammed ibn 'Á'idh.
Ál el-Jabei'i	Mohammed ibn Sultán.

(c) *Ál el-Wádi.* 1,800 men.

Paramount Sheikh: Mohammed ibn 'Awad.

Chief villages:—

Badiah	Mohammed ibn 'Abdullah.
Umm Shahrah	Ahmed ibn 'Ali.
Shebárijah	Ahmed edh-Dhi'b.
Ál Zeidi	'Ali Hejázi.
Ál Umm Zenwah	Mushálí ibn Sa'íd.

Bedouin:—

Umm Naghilah	'Ali ibn Salímah.

(d) *Ál Umm Sherif.* 600 men.

Chief Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Shilláh.

Chief villages:—

El-Hum el-Á'la	'Abdullah ibn Náslh.
El-Hum el-Asfal	Mohammed ibn Náslh.
Ál Bel Folláh	Sa'd ibn Mufarrih.
'Umárát	'Abdullah Abu Lahhab.
Ál Umm Nedim	'Abdullah ibn 'Ali edh-Dhá'ir.
Beni Jura'i	'Ali ibn Jurfleiah.
Khedhah Beni Jura'i	Ahmed el-Jutheidi.
Meghoid el-Wata	'Abdullah ibn Nimeiah.

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(e) *Āl Umm Jerei'āt.* 1,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : 'Abdullah ibn Nimshah.

Chief villages :—

Rudāf	Mohammed ibn Mūsa.
Busrah	Sebeih.
Musheyy	Nāsir ibn 'Areidān.
Merjat	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Heilah	Mohammed el-'Asmi.
'Arin	Sa'id ibn 'Abdullah Humrān.
Ja'ad	Mohammed ibn 'Abūt.
Jitāt Ferhan	Ibn Serūr.

(f) *Āl Umm Wādi Melah of Ibba.* 1,500 men

Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn Musallat.

Chief villages :—

Miftāhah	'Ā'idh ibn Darāsh.
Qara	Mubārak Mirwa.
Manādhir	Mohammed ibn Feza'.
Na'mān ('Ābid el-'Ā'idh)	Sa'id ibn Faraj.
Rabu'	'Ali Dibah.
Makhlūtah	Merzūq ibn Delmakh.
Khūshi	Nāsir ibn Meri.
Umm Nusāb	Humeid ibn Nimshah.
Muqābil	Shai Abu Na'mah.

(g) *Āl Weimān.* 400 men.

Mohammed ibn Musā'idi.

Chief villages :—

Dafan	Abu Shenlah.
Wādi Kheishah	Abu Hanash.

Nomads :—

Āl Weilah	Mohammed ibn Mushāri.

Āl Yazīd esh-Sha'af. 150 men living in Shahrān country.
Yahya ibn Hādir.

Clans :—

Āl M'alaf	Sa'd ibn Tāli.
Āl Hamām	Mohammed Abu Hamāmah.
Āl Ba'wal	Sheikh Sūdān.

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28. *Munjahah*

101 The Munjahah occupy the sea-coast and a few miles inland from
• 619 just south of Birk almost to Shuqaiq, and are bounded on the north by the Beni Hilāl, east by the Rijāl el-M'a and south by the tribes of Mikhlāf el-Yemen. They muster about 6,000 men, of whom
622 five-sixths are nomads. The villagers live in the small ports of Wasm, Wahlah, and Khasa'ah. They have a little cultivation, a few date-trees, and eke out their existence by acting as porters in their own villages and at Birk. These places, though small, are important as being the chief inlets for arms and ammunition, a trade which is chiefly in the hands of the Rijāl el-M'a. The Idrisi stations his port officers at them, but the Rijāl el-M'a, who treat with him as equals rather than subjects, refuse to recognise his right to tax them, and he does not press the point. The Munjahah, however, all pay him taxes, Sheikh Hasan Fasikh being deputed to collect them.

The nomads are fairly well off in sheep and camels. They are fishermen and sell dried fish in the interior. They also export *dōm* nuts to Musawwa'.

Their reputation is very evil and even their guests sleep with their rifles by their sides. Their solemn oath has no meaning for them and they are notorious for their treachery. Before the Idrisi reduced them to order they were slave-dealers and kidnappers, highwaymen and sea-pirates, and used to raid right up to Muhā'il and Barak.

They do not dare now to commit more than an occasional robbery or murder, for the Idrisi's police are always stationed in their country and punish severely any attempt to return to the old way of living.

They are disliked by all the surrounding tribes, but in ordinary times they wander out of their country to the Bahr ibn Sekeinah and Beni Hilāl. They do not go south of Shuqaiq at all, having no wish to come into closer contact with the Idrisi than is necessary.

Their chief Sheikh, 'Ali ibn Fayy, is a man of 45 years of age, and helps the Idrisi to maintain law and order. His house is in Wasm, where he owns considerable property. He has seen much fighting and always leads his tribe in battle.

Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Fayy. 6,000 men.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Qahmah	'Ā'idh ibn 'Isa.
Wasm	Mohammed ibn Fayy.

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Rehaza'ah	Mohammed ibn Tâli'.	101
Raqabah	'Omar ibn Mohammed.	
Wahlah	Mohammed ibn Gharâmah.	619

(b) Nomad: *Mohammed ibn Zeid.* 5,000 men. 622

Chief clans:—

Âl Umm Kharwis	Mohammed ibn Zeid.
Âl 'Abdîyah.	
Âl Zeid.	
Âl Umm Hadish.	
Âl Sarîyah.	
Âl esh-Shihhi.	
Walad Islâm.	

29. *Âl Mûsa*

The Âl Mûsa own the town of Muhâ'il and the country round within a radius of from 5 to 10 miles. They are mostly settled, but the clans of Umm Jirbân and Beni Yazîd are nomad. The tribe is a mixed one, the nomads and a few of the townsmen being of pure Arab blood, the rest being blacks, originally of some African strain. No doubt they were at one time slaves, but they have long since earned their emancipation by their courage, and are now on an equality with the Arab portion of the tribe, although no intermarriage takes place. The tribe is fairly rich in flocks and herds, and although their country, which stands comparatively low, cannot rival the fertility of the highlands, it nevertheless produces good crops in the rainy seasons.

The enmity between the Turks and Idrisi has disorganized the tribe, and divided it into two opposing factions Sheikh Suleimân ibn 'Ali, who is by right of inheritance the paramount chief, has thrown in his lot with the Turks, and has behind him the Umm Jirbân and about half the villagers.

The remainder have broken loose under the leadership of Dhakîr ibn Sha'r, and many of them have retired to live at Jannah in the Bahr ibn Sekeinah country, refusing to live at Muhâ'il so long as there is a Turkish post there. From Jannah they carry on a guerrilla warfare, closing the roads and cutting off Turkish convoys whenever they can.

The tribe is bounded on the north by the Âl ed-Dureib and Reish, on the east by the Reish and Beni Thuwwah, on the south by the Beni Thuwwah and Bahr ibn Sekeinah, and on the west by the Beni Hilâl. Against the Beni Hilâl and Beni Thuwwah the whole tribe has had a feud for many generations. Their other neighbours,

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101 who are all pro-Idrisi, look askance at those who sympathize with the enemy, but maintain friendly relations with Dhakir ibn Sha'r
• 619 and his followers.

There are two nomad Arab offshoots of the tribe, called Beni Shi'b (or Dhi'b) and Sawâlihah, who occupy a small portion of the Sikkat el-Helâwiyah near Kiyâd, about 20 miles from Hali. They are of no political importance, and being separated from the rest of the tribe by the wild Beni Hilâl country, do not maintain very close relations with it.

Chief Sheikh: Suleimân ibn 'Ali.

(a) *Clans of Mukâ'il.* 2,500 men.

Umm Shebâri	Suleimân ibn 'Ali
Âl 'Ajîl	Dhakir ibn Sha'r.
Âl Amir	Ibrâhim ibn Jâbir.
Âl Sha'r	Mohammed ibn Fars.
Âl Z'ebah	Mohammed abu Zoa.
Âl Sherîfah	'Ali Saghir.
Qurûn	Zein.
Âl Umm Khâlid	Suleimân ibn 'Ali.

(b) *Quarters of Mukâ'il.*

Rabu'	Ahmed Jatân.
Sabt Âl Makhluta	Abu Rasein.
Sabt Âl Môsa	Mohammed abu Hâdi.
Jebel Shaza'.	

(c) *Settled clans round Mukâ'il.* 400 men.

Umm Hamâlah	'Abdullah abu 'Alâmah.
Umm Hajaf	El-Qâdirsi.
Umm 'Allamah	Ibn Wada'ah.
Umm Ma'âsh	Mohammed ibn Zeqa.
Umm Dhira'	Mohammed abu Thommah.
Âl Fahimah	Mohammed ibn Hâdi.
Aulâd el-Mashâyikh	Sa'îd Bemân.

(d) *Nomads round Mukâ'il.* 400 men.

Chief Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Sha'r.

Umm Jirbân	Mohammed ibn Ma'addi.
Beni Yazîd	Ahmed ibn Sha'r.

(e) *Nomads near Hâli.* 500 men.

Beni Shi'b (or Dhi'b).
Sawâlihah.

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30. *Naj'u*

The Naj'u are an entirely nomadic tribe, numbering about 6,000 men, inhabiting the portion of the district of Mikhlaf el-Yemen between Sabia and Darb. They possess small herds of camels and goats, but, although numerous, are of little political importance, since they are poor fighters and there is little cohesion amongst their clans. They earn their living chiefly by selling milk and ससम in Sabia. Sheikh Mohammed ibn Musa'i is their chief. The tribe pays taxes regularly to the Idrisi.

Chief subdivisions are the Beni Mohammed (not connected with the Beni Mohammed farther south), the Hajawi or Haju, and Beni Mufarrih.

31. *Beni Nashar*

A small tribe in the mountains east of the Wa'zât and to the south of the Beni Aslam. Their chief village is Sûq Beni Nashar, where a market is held every Wednesday. They do not number more than 1,000 souls, but afford what help they can to the Beni 'Abs and Idrisi against the Wa'zât. Sheikh Yahya Saghir is the principal Sheikh, others being 'Ali el-Qahm (who was originally with Ibn el-Heij of the Wa'zât, but submitted to the Idrisi two years ago), and Ahmed Janâh.

32. *Qahtân*

The Qahtân of Asir are the Rufeidat el-Yemen, Beni Bishr, Senhân el-Hibâb, 'Abidah, Wadi'ah, and Sherif. They are known in Asir generically as the Qahtân, and Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim of the Sherif is Emir over them all by appointment of the Idrisi, as was his father by appointment of the Turks, but they are in fact six separate tribes, each living within its own boundaries, having its own particular ambitions, its special likes and dislikes, its peculiar customs, and forming by itself a completely independent unit. Part of the Rufeidat el-Yemen are under Turkish influence.

It is only in times of great crisis, as when the Shahrân rose in a body against them about a hundred years ago, that they answer to the call of their common blood, or nowadays when the Idrisi calls on them to rally to his standard under their tribal leader. In normal times some are at enmity with others, and although Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim may be called in to settle tribal disputes and is responsible to the Idrisi for their good order, he has nothing to do with their tribal administration. They are in fact a loose confederation, who will only combine for defence in face of a danger

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101 which threatens to extinguish all, and for offence at the bidding of the Idrisi.

• 619 On this account they are dealt with one by one, but are grouped together under the heading of Qahtân for convenience of reference.

622 They are far too removed from the northern Qahtân to keep in touch with them, and never go near their country. Sometimes in times of drought a few of the former come down south and are always well received, but the connexion ends at that.

The southern Qahtân tribes are for the most part, and with the exception of certain nomad sub-tribes, well conducted and prosperous, and interested in trade or agriculture. The different sections vary considerably in military skill and few of them appear to have inherited the characteristics which have earned for their northern relations such an unsavoury reputation.

33. *'Abidah*

The 'Abidah appear to be the bravest as well as the most prosperous and enterprising section of the Qahtân. Their boundary in the south, where they have their villages, is well defined, but to the north their nomads wander over a vast stretch of country, and for almost 150 miles their western boundary adjoins that of the Shahrân. To the east lies Tathlîth and the Yâm tribes, to the south the Beni Bishr, and to the south-west the Rufeidat el-Yemen.

The 'Abidah will follow Mohammed ibn Dhuleim in battle, but they do not like the Sherif in normal times, and look to their own chief Sheikh, Sa'd ibn Suleim, in tribal matters. The latter is a man of about 40, and lives at Khamis 'Abidah, the principal village and market-place of the tribe. He is a rich man, and owns a large estate, and is much liked by his tribesmen, both for his justice and fairness and because he always is in the forefront of every fight. His sister married one of the sons of 'Abd el-Aziz Mubeit, chief of the Shahrân, about 20 years ago, and a truce was made between the two tribes. Shortly afterwards he had the misfortune to kill another of 'Abd el-'Aziz's sons in a petty tribal dispute, and war again broke out and continued until the Idrisi pacified the country. There is still a bitter hatred between the two, which shows itself in periodical outbreaks. So deep is the enmity that in the case of a murder of an 'Abidah by a Shahrân no question of blood money is entertained, and the murdered man's relations do not rest until they have killed a Shahrân in return. Sheikh Sa'd ibn Suleim was formerly with the Turks, but he joined the Idrisi in his first revolt and has been one of his most faithful

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followers ever since. The Idrisi has a representative at Khamis 'Abidah, who collects taxes from all the tribe. 101

The 'Abidah engage largely in trading, and buy up much of the coffee which comes from the district round Jebel Razah through Wada', subsequently selling it throughout Asir. Some of them live permanently in Rijāl, Ibha, and Namas, and others are engaged in the Jiddah trade. They are a very industrious race, always on the look-out for making money, and their villages are numerous and well built. They also specialize as masons and ply their trade throughout Asir. They do not agree with the Shereif or Beni Bishr in peace time, but are friendly with the Rufeidat el-Yemen and Senhān el-Hibāb. 619 • 622

Unlike a great many tribes, the 'Abidah are entirely united and the nomads are guided in their policy by the villagers. They are rich in dark-haired camels and black sheep, and take great pride in their pedigree horses. They will sell their poorer animals in the market, but they take great care of their finer beasts, feeding them on milk and only parting with them on special occasions, such as when they make a present to the Idrisi. The Āl Hamdān and Hurjān, who number about 3,000 men and 2,000 men respectively, are the two largest sections of the nomads. They come down to Khamis 'Abidah for the harvest and afterwards go up to Bishah with the other nomads for the date season. They also wander out to Tathlith, where they meet other Qahtān Arabs and those of the Yām tribes, and where are to be found succulent grasses on which to fatten their herds. Their country abounds in gum, which they collect and sell in Khamis 'Abidah.

In war they fight on camel- or horse-back, and carry rifles, lances, and long curved *jenābiā*. For a long time the Āl Rusheid and Āl Ghamar of the Shahrān used to pay them money in order to escape being raided, but Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz ibn Musheit refused to countenance this.

They are always at odds with the northern nomads of the Shahrān, and sometimes cut across and raid the Bishah-Ibha road round Bir Umm Sarar.

The 'Abidah do not seem to have inherited the bad qualities of the northern Qahtān. The whole tribe has a reputation for hospitality, and the nomads, though wild and rough, are not reckoned treacherous.

Paramount Sheikh: Sa'd ibn Suleim.

(a) Settled. 6,000 men. Clans:—

Āl Ejreish	Nāsir ibn Qidim.
Āl Bassam	Sha'eil.

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Āl es-Sadr (Saqr ?)	'Abd el-'Azīzibn Jalāl.
Āl Umm 'Ammir	Sa'īd ibn el-Ghamas.
Āl ez-Zuheir	Mohammed Abu Lughud.
Beni Talaq	Sa'd Abu Hadīyah
Wahabah	Abu Raqabah.
Āl Ferdān	Mohammed ibn Sihmān.
Āl 'Abis	'Ā'idh ibn Khamzah.
Turib	Mubārak ibn Mohammed.
'Arīn	Mohammed ibn Rashīd.

(b) Nomads. 7,000 men. Clans :—

Āl Hamdān	Ibn Mujit.
Hurjān	Sa'īd ibn Dhi'b.
Fahar	El-Wuteid.
Āl Kera'an	Mubārak Silīh.
Jerābih	Sa'd Abu Hakam.
Jahatein	Mohammed ibn Khazmah.
Sifālah	Mohammed Abu Hakam.

34. *Beni Bishr*

The Beni Bishr stretch from the down country of the central plateau to the mountainous slopes leading down to the district of Mikhlāf el-Yemen, their nearest point to Sabia being about 30 miles away. Their country is barren in the east, but productive and well forested near the sea. The adjoining tribes are the 'Abīdah on the north, Yām, Shereif, and Senhān el-Hibāb on the east, Beni Jum'ah on the south, and the Naj'u and Rufeidat el-Yemen on the west. The tribe numbers about 1,000 settled men and 3,000 nomads. 'Abd el-Hādi is the chief Sheikh, but his influence over the nomads is only nominal. He deserted the Turks some years ago, and all the tribes pay taxes to the Idrisi now. The settled portion is hospitable and prosperous; the nomads wild and intractable, almost without religion and with no marriage laws. They roam chiefly about the Tihāmah and are rich in a breed of large black sheep. The tribe is friendly with the 'Abīdah and Rufeidat el-Yemen, and generally at odds with the Naj'u, Senhān, and Yām.

Chief Sheikh : 'Abd el-Hādi. 4,000 men.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Uerān	Mohammed ibn 'Abd.
Shaqb	Meidh.
'Abidīyah	Selmān.

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Âl Umm 'Â'idh	Shai ibn Mohammed.
Mufarrij	Mohammed ibn Hâdi.
Âl Ferhat	Sa'd ibn Hasan.

(b) Nomads. 3,000 men. Âl 'Urfân is the chief division, clans being :—

Âl Heyal.
Tihmân.
Âl Umm Mohammed
Âl Ferhân.
Âl Ar'ab.

35. *Rufeidat el-Yemen*

The Rufeidat el-Yemen is a large tribe, numbering some 15,000 men, to the south-east of Ibha, extending up the main mountain ridge and on to the plateau to beyond the source of the Wâdi Shahrân.

The tribe is divided into four main divisions, the Âl el-Jihâl, Bishat Ibn Salim, Beni Qeis, and Sha'af Yarimah wa Khutab.

The chief Sheikh over all the tribe is Husein ibn Heif, a man of 40, who lives at Mudhiq, where he is a large and prosperous landowner. His father was a mudir under the Turks, and died in the Ghâmid country fighting for them, but Husein ibn Heif joined the Idrisi when he first revolted, and fought for him in 1910. His tribe shares his dislike of the Turks and respects and obeys him.

The Âl el-Jihâl have for generations been separated from the rest of the tribe, and live a few miles to the west with the Sha'af Rashbah and Âl Sirhân sections of the Shahrân. They have not, however, intermarried with the latter, and are obedient to Husein ibn Heif, although they do not join in any of the quarrels which constantly occur between their own tribe and their hereditary enemies the Shahrân. They are strongly in favour of the Idrisi and have fought for him on several occasions.

The chief of the Bishat ibn Salim is Mohammed ibn 'Ali Weled 'Ali ibn Murki, a shifty and cowardly man of about 45, who supports the Turks and is paid by them. This section pays taxes to the Government.

The Beni Qeis lie to the east of the Bishat Ibn Salim, and also pay taxes to the Turks. Their Sheikh, Abu Salâm, is now an old man of 75 and deaf. He has always had the reputation of siding with the strongest party.

The nomad portion of this section, the Â Shawat, are independent of him and the Turks.

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The Sha'af Yarimah wa Khutab who live to the south are likewise free, and the allegiance which they pay to the Idrisi is only nominal. They are a wild and suspicious people, and though they have no objection to entertaining guests, they will not suffer them to sleep in their tents.

The country of the Rufeidat el-Yemen is for the most part fertile and densely wooded on the slopes of the hills, and the tribe is a prosperous one. They are not noted for their martial ardour, though the Āl el-Jihāl and the nomads can fight well. They are nicknamed by the other tribes the 'Muhaniyatein el-Murrah', owing to their habit of staining their women with henna.

All that portion of the tribe which is against the Turks recognize the overlordship of Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim of the Sherif. The sister of Husein ibn Heif is married to Sheikh Mohammed, and the two chiefs are close friends.

Paramount Sheikh: Husein ibn Heif. 15,000 men.

(a) *Āl el-Jihāl.* 4,000 men. Mohammed ibn Shuwell.

All settled. Chief clan:—

Beni Jabrah.	Mohammed ibn Umm Bishr.

Chief villages:—

Dhibat Āl el-Jihāl	Sa'd ibn Shuwell.
Mahjar	Mohammed ibn 'Aun.
Qelt	Eleir.
Jārr	Muhfar.
Umm Rahwah	Mohammed Hibāhah.
Jara	Ibn Dheifah.
Mahabfah	Abu Gharwān.
Āl Ramadhān	Mohammed ibn 'Ā'idh.

(b) *Bishat Ibn Safiar.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn 'Ali wele-l 'Ali ibn Murā'i. Settled. 5,000 men.

Chief clans:—

Beni Thābit	Muri ibn Dehedn.
Beni Wahhāb	Mohammed ibn 'Aun.

Chief villages:—

Dha'i	Sa'id ibn 'Ali.
Bōthah	Manafir ibn 'Ali.
Al Hideilah	Husein ibn Diri.
Āl Umm Hayyah	Abu Zirbān.

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Al Hetrush	Mohammed ibn Doari.
Al Hayyah	Mohammed ibn Shelti.
Waqashah	Mohammed ibn Rashid.
Al Mushabbab	Mohammed ibn Safar.
Shi'b	'Ali ibn Dhubbi.

(c) *Beni Qeis.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed Abu Salim. 3,000 men.

1. *Settled.* 2,400 men. Chief clan :—

Beni Tamim	Husein ibn 'Abdi.

Chief villages :—

Al Mudhiq	Mohammed ibn Heif.
Al Abu Midrih	Mohammed ibn Hili.
Al Mudir	'Abdollah ibn Shahil.
Fara'ain	'A'idh ibn Mishif.
Al Jafai	Harfash.
Al Farawin	'Abd ibn Sa'd.
Jarkhah	'Abdi Hareish.
Al Lit	Husein ibn 'Omar.
Al Meisarah	Safar ibn Mohammed.

2. *Bedouins.* Al Shuwit. Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Hashish. 600 men.

(d) *Sha'af Yarimah ua Khamis.* Chief Sheikh: Jeleid.

1. *Settled.* 1,000 men. Beni Burrah.
2. *Al Jilhah Nomads.* 1,000 men:

Beni Meleik.
Al Hilami.

26. *Sawhin el-Hibib*

The Sawhin el-Hibib inhabit the Asiri plateau, and are bounded on the north by the Sherif and Yam, east by the Wadi'ah, and west by the Beni Bishr.

The tribe numbers about 4,000 men, of whom three-quarters are nomads. The villagers have a good reputation with the travellers but the nomads are wild and savage, frequently cutting the roads and sparing neither man, woman, nor child when on the raid. The nomads do not cultivate, but they are rich in a dark breed of camels and collect gum which they sell chiefly in Khamis 'Abidah. They wear long black garments.

They are a warlike tribe and are well led by Sheikh Faeiha ibn

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Dhuleim, a man of about 35, who lives in Rāhat Senhān. The villagers pay taxes to the Idrīsi, but the nomads will not do more than help him in war. Their friends are the 'Abidah and Beni Bishr; their foes the Shereif, Wadā'ah, and Yām. When the Idrīsi calls on them to fight they unite under Mohammed ibn Dhuleim of the Shereif, but in normal times they pay him only a nominal allegiance.

Chief Sheikh: Ferdān ibn Dhuleim. 4,000 men.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages:—

Rāhah Senhān.
Hadhb.
Khadd.
Āl Ferwān.
'Irq.

(b) Nomads. 3,000 men. Chief Sheikh: Jilūd. Chief divisions:—

Āl Zerbah.
Āl Ghāzi.
Āl esh-Sherīf.
Āl Selmān.
Āl Shōqān.

37. *Shereif*

The Shereif inhabit the down country to the west of the Yām tribes, and are bounded on the north by the Beni Bishr and Yām, on the east by the Yām, on the south by the Senhān el-Hibāb, and on the west by the Beni Bishr.

Their country is flat and treeless, and most of their cultivation is from well water. They are traders rather than agriculturists, and are well conducted and unwarlike. Their number does not exceed 800 men, of whom a quarter are nomads. They are chiefly known on account of their leader, Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim. His father, Dhuleim ibn Sha'r, who died about 16 years ago, was a famous man in Asir, and for many years was the Mudir of all Qahtān tribes. His head-quarters were at Harajah, in Shereif, where there was also a Turkish garrison. Mohammed ibn Dhuleim succeeded him at a monthly salary of £25, but seceded to the Idrīsi when the latter raised his standard of revolt. The Turks thereupon sent an expedition against him and burnt his fortress in Harajah, but were ultimately forced to retire and have not penetrated to his country since. The Idrīsi made him one of his Muqdamis or generals, and he was in command of the Qahtān tribes in the fighting

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against the Turks and the Sherif of Mecca in 1910. Afterwards he and Seyyid 'Arār ibn Nāsir led the Idrīsi's army against the Imam's forces under Mohammed Abu Nuweibah, in the Sahar country, about three years ago. He is still a young man about 35 years of age, rich according to the standards of the country, and with an excellent reputation both as a leader in war and a tribal administrator.

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Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Dhuleim. 800 men.

(a) Settled. 600 men.

Chief villages:—

Āl Dhuleim	Nāsir ibn Dhuleim.
Āl 'Ajlah	Mohammed ibn Jabbān.
Harajah	'Awad ibn Mihmas.
Hamra	Sa'īd ibn Benāyah.
Beidha	Mas'ūd.

(b) Nomads. 200 men.

Āl Seri	Dhuleim ibn Shayy.

38. Wadā'ah

The Wadā'ah are a small mercantile tribe numbering about 600 men, living in the district of the same name near the Yām tribes of Nejrān. They are bounded on the north and east by the Yām and on the west by the Senhān el-Hibāb. Their country is not naturally productive, but they have a large number of wells and grow grapes which they convert into raisins and sell as far as Ibha and Rijāl. They also import coffee from Jebel Razah and Khaulān esh-Shām, and sell it in Asir or to the merchants of the Rufeidat el-Yemen. They are generally on bad terms with the Yām tribes, but are not a quarrelsome or pugnacious tribe. The Idrīsi has his police and tax-gatherers amongst them, as he has amongst the other Qahtān tribes.

'Ali ibn Rukwān, their chief Sheikh, goes on pilgrimage nearly every year, and acts as Emir el-Hajj for all the southern Qahtān tribes.

Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Rukwān. 600 men. Chief villages:—

Dhahrān.
Safwān.
Beida.
'Irj Wadā'ah.

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39. *Rabī'ah Mujātirah*

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The Rabī'ah Mujātirah are a wild nomad tribe numbering about 5,000 men. The Barak–Qunfudah road runs through the middle of their territory for about 20 miles between the villages of Ghār el-Hindi and Jumā'ah Rabī'ah. They are bounded on the north by the Beni Shihir, on the east by the Humeidah, on the south by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhin, and on the west by the Belā'ir. They are said to be fairer of face than most Arabs, with blue eyes, and to wear their hair well down over the shoulders. They are almost pagan, and at odds with all the world except the Rabī'at et-Tahāhin, who are as savage as themselves. The Idrīsi sometimes succeeds in levying taxes on them, but his influence is only nominal. Passage through their country is dangerous both to the Turks and ordinary wayfarers. They are rich in camels and cattle.

A small clan of the Āl Ikhleif section of the Āl ed-Dureib lives in the north-east corner of their territory with their consent.

40. *Rabī'at et-Tahāhin*

The Rabī'at et-Tahāhin hold the country on either side of the Sikkat el-Helāwīyah (Muhā'il–Qunfudah road) between the villages of Ma'mal Āl Ikhleif and Markh, a distance of about 30 miles.

They are bounded on the west by the Belā'ir, on the north by the Belā'ir, Rabī'ah Mujātirah, and Humeidah, on the east by the Āl Jebāli and Āl ed-Dureib, and on the south by the Beni Hilāl and the Hali tribes. Their country is mountainous and well wooded, and they are rich in camels, goats, and cattle. About 2,000 in number of fighting men, they are entirely nomad, despise all forms of husbandry, and are a terror to travellers on the road. They are allied with the Rabī'ah Mujātirah and Āl ed-Dureib, and generally on fair terms with the Hali tribes. With the Beni Hilāl, Belā'ir, Humeidah, and Āl Jebāli they keep up incessant feuds. The Turks have never been able to do anything with them, but the Idrīsi is able to tax them to a certain extent, and what outside sympathies they have are for him.

41. *Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah*

The Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah stretch from a few miles NNW. of Ibha to within about 15 miles of Muhā'il, their country being about 35 miles from north to south, and 20 miles from east to west on the average, though it tapers to a point in the north. The tribes

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which adjoin them are: on the north the Reish, on the east the Balahmar and Beni Mālik, on the south the 'Alqam el-Hūl, and on the west the Rijāl el-M'a and Beni Thuwwah. The tribe is divided into four main divisions, the Rabī'at esh-Shām, Āl 'Asimah, Rufeidat esh-Shām, and Āl Hārith. The Rabī'at esh-Shām and Rufeidat esh-Shām have no relationship or connexion with the Rabī'at el-Yemen and Rufeidat el-Yemen, as might be supposed.

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The Rabī'at esh-Shām occupy the southern portion of the territory, being entirely settled in villages along the Ibha–Athālif road.

They have no Chief Sheikh, having expelled 'Ā'idh ibn Hasan, their former Sheikh, on account of his desertion to the Turks.

The Āl 'Asimah are partly settled and partly nomad, chiefly along the Beni Thuwwah boundary.

Their Chief Sheikh, 'Alī ibn Hamūd, fought for the Idrīsi in 1910, was captured by the Turks, and after a year's imprisonment was released and reinstated.

The Āl Hārith, who are both settled and nomad, live in the Wādi Tayyah, along which is the main road from Ibha to Muhā'il, and for years have given a great deal of trouble to the Government. The Wādi Tayyah is the head-quarters of all the bad characters in the neighbouring country, and a caravan has to be very strong to pass through without paying toll. The Āl Hārith are notoriously treacherous, and their hand is against the whole world, including their own tribe. They engage in the camel-carrying trade to a certain extent between Muhā'il and the Rijāl el-M'a, but they seldom venture near Ibha, nor can the Turks levy taxes from them, as they sometimes do from the rest of the tribe. Their Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Shāhir, has a very bad reputation.

The tribe as a whole favours the Idrīsi, chiefly because it is discontented with the Government. It is, however, notoriously fickle and unreliable, and goes with the side which pays it best. It maintains a hereditary feud with the Rijāl el-M'a. It is descended from Qahtān.

(a) *Rabī'at esh-Shām.* Settled, 1,500 men.

Chief clan is Beni Ghanmi. Sheikh: El-Fejīh.

Chief villages:—

Telhān	'Amir ibn 'Abdullah.
Umm Sherāf	'Abdullah ibn 'Abdillah.

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101	Umm Sauli	Ahmed ibn Ghanmi.
	Wādi Zebnah	Mohammed ibn 'Abdu.
• 619	Bahah Rabi'ah	Mohammed ibn Sultān.
6221	Umm Mesjawi	'Abdullah ibn Misfir.
	Rahbān	'Abdullah ibn Fejīh.

Sheikh Misfir ibn Ma'sir is Mufti.

(b) *Āl 'Asimah.* 2,000 men.

Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Hamōd.

(i) Settled, 1,000 men. Chief villages:—

Umm Rahwah	Ibn Māni'.
Jau ibn Sheibān	Ibn Haza'.

(ii) Nomad, 1,000 men. Chief clans:—

Āl Umm Haneish Tikhāmah	Māni' ibn Hanash.
Āl Jeheishah	Abu Karāthah.
Āl 'Aqabah	Musaffir.
Sahar Āl 'Āsim	Jābir.

(c) *Rufeidat esh-Shām.*

Chief Sheikh: 'Abdullah ibn Muzerqah, 600 men.

Chief villages:—

Wādi Tabah	Sa'id ibn Sultān.
Āl Umm Jeish	Sha'r ibn Muzerqah.
Āl Bāsha	Zubeir.
Āl Mahmōd	Sa'id ibn Mohammed.
Āl Jemāl	Mahshi.
Āl Umm Hadan	Ibn Suleim.
Āl Bayād	Ibn 'Abōt.
Āl Shadād	Yahya ibn Sultān.
Sharāmah	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Āl Umm Jalāl	Yahya ibn 'Andah.
Āl Bundar	Simm ibn Sā'il.
Āl Umm Ghāl	Ahmed ibn Sā'il.
Talhah	Mohammed ibn 'Awad.

(d) *Āl Hāritī.* 1,000 men.

Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Shāhir.

(i) Settled. Chief villages:—

Umm Jinah	'Amr ibn Jelfa'ah.
Umm Zahra'ah	'Ali ibn Shāhir.

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Umm Muqza'ah	Lāhiq ez-Zeidāni.
A'farah.	
Lasāfah.	

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(ii) Nomad. Chief clans :—

Āl Dhi'b	Ahmed ibn Dhāfir.
Āl Nahyah	Hidha'ah.
Āl 'Aqabah	Mughra'ah.

42. *Rabi'at el-Yemen*

The Rabi'at el-Yemen are a nomadic tribe keeping chiefly to Wādi Dhil'a (Dhulah) and Wādi Shahlah, and sometimes going down to Shuqaiq or up to the Beni Mugheid country. The adjoining tribes are the Beni Mugheid on the north and north-east, the Shahrān on the south-east, the Beni Shi'bah and other nomads of Mikhlāf el-Yemen on the south, and the Rijāl el-M'a on the west. They are rich in camels, donkeys, and flocks, and make a good living by selling arms in Ibha. They are well armed with the type of French rifle which they call 'Abu Bukrah', and carry shields, as well as long curved knives (*jenābiah*). They are noted for their bravery and deem it a disgrace to die in their beds.

Though wild and rough and with such a contempt for marriage that as a rule they have to be known by the names of their mothers, they are nevertheless hospitable, and clean in their fighting, and have the reputation of never going back on their word once given. In person they are very tall and fairer than most Arabs, with blue eyes. They say they are descended from the Ashrāf el-Huseinīyah, but their enemies name the Sulubba, or wandering gipsy tinkers, as their forefathers. They pay but little attention to religion, and on the first day of Ramadan choose thirty young men, whom they dress in white and compel to fast for one day at some appointed place, on behalf of the whole tribe. Having done this they have a feast, and taunt the neighbouring nomads for their inability to rise to such heights of self-sacrifice

They are a united and conservative tribe, condemning those who smoke, and in their contempt for foreign luxuries eating only milk and meat. They live in straw-plaited tents.

Their friends are the Beni Mugheid: their enemies, the Rijāl el-M'a, Shahrān, Beni Shi'bah, and Naj'u. The Turks have never been able to keep them in order, and their attitude to the Idrisi depends entirely on his power to make them obey. 'Ali ibn Jabbār is their chief Sheikh, a man of 45 and a noted warrior. He is said

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to have the tribe well in hand: he pays a nominal allegiance to the Idrisi, but will not allow him to collect taxes.

(*Aulād Āl Umm Huseïn*).

Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Jabbār.

All nomads. 5,000 men. Clans:—

Āl Bawāh	Mohammed ibn Sa'd Buqjān.
Umm Farahnah	Mufarrih ibn Museibakh.
'Ali Fellāh	Mufarrih Mashāf.
Āl Shūkah	Mufarrih ibn Gharāmah.
Āl Museibakh	Mūsa ibn Gharāmah.
Darājin	Mohammed ibn Jarawash.
Mugheidiyin	Mufarrih ibn Mohammed.
Umm Sherifiyin	Hasan Abu Zahrah.
Āl Mughīdhah	Sa'd ibn Mihi.
Āl Mas'ūd	Yahya Abu Hayyah.
Āl Mushni	Mohammed ibn Juwei'id.
Āl 'Arafin	Sa'd ibn 'Abdullah.
Āl Sālim	Hasan ibn Mas'ūd.

43. *Reish*

The Reish are to the north and north-east of Muhā'il, and are bounded on the north by the Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali and the Shahari section of the Beni Shihir, on the east by the Balasmar, on the south by the Beni Thuwwah and Āl Mūsa, and on the west by the Āl ed-Dureib. Their southern boundary comes to within 5 miles of Muhā'il.

They are divided into two sections of Reish and Āl Meshwal, and number about 2,500 men. But although fairly numerous, they are cowardly and unwarlike, and are classed in contempt with the Beni Mālik by the fighting tribes round. They all favour the Idrisi and pay him taxes. They tried to make a stand in 1912 against the Sherif of Mecca, but were badly worsted and their country laid waste. They are entirely sedentary and engaged in farming. The country is fairly level, thickly wooded and productive, with running streams in places. Their enemies are Balasmar, Beni Shihir, and Balahmar; their allies, the Barak tribes, the Āl Mūsa, Beni Thuwwah, and the Beni Qutābah and Beni Dhālim of the Rijāl el-M'a. An isolated colony own the village of Mandar in the Balasmar country and hold aloof from any hostilities which take place between the two tribes. Their sheikh,

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Mohammed ibn Muzhar, has no cause to love the Turks, who killed his son in 1910. 101 619 622

Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Muzhar. 1,500 men.

Chief villages :—

Mandar	Ibn Dhiheib.
Qurn el-M'a	Rājih.
Umm Qoddās	Sa'id Abu 'Allāmah.
Muneidhir	'Amr ibn Hādim.
Hadhān	Mohammed ibn Tāli'.
Āl Umm Sha'tha'	

Āl Mesheel. 1,000 men. Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Tāli'.

Chief villages :—

Umm Hajju	Mohammed Abu 'Allāmah.
Madba'	Sahfān.
Sakkan er-Reish	Ibn Salāmah.

44. *Rijāl el-M'a*

The Rijāl el-M'a, though not so numerous as some of the Asir tribes—it can at most put 17,000 men in the field—is nevertheless one of the most renowned for its courage and dash in war, its internal unity, and its pride of independence. Its country lies between Ibha and the sea, and is roughly a stretch of 50 miles from NW. to SE., and 25 miles from NE. to SW. Its neighbours are the Bahr ibn Sekeinah and Beni Thuwwah on the north, Rabi'ah wa Rufeidah, 'Alqam, Beni Mugheid and Rabi'at el-Yemen on the east, Beni Shi'bah on the south, and Munjahah and Beni Hilāl on the west.

The tribe is divided into seven subdivisions : the Beni Qutābah, Beni Dhālim, Beni Jānah, Jeis ibn Mas'ūdi, Beni Zeidān, Shahāb, and Umm Bina.

The chief Sheikh of the whole tribe is Ibrāhim ibn Muta'āli of Julla, a man much respected for his prowess in war and his wisdom in tribal matters. He is now over 70 years of age, and for some time most of the administration has devolved on his son, Ahmed ibn Muta'āli. The latter is a tall man of about 30, with a fair skin, who first made his name as a fighter when the Rijāl el-M'a overran Mikhlāf el-Yemen just before the rise of the Idrisi. He fought the Sherif in 1910 at Muhā'il and in the Balahmar country, but withdrew his forces at a critical moment owing to the appointment of Seyyid Mustafa, of the Bahr ibn Sekeinah, as general of the whole Asir army. So greatly did the Rijāl el-M'a resent having an

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outsider placed over them, that soon after one of their minor Sheikhs, Seyyid Yahya walad Eth-Sheiri, with the full approval of the tribe, attempted to murder him. The Idrisi gave way on the matter, but the mischief had been done, and the Rijál el-M'a took no further part in the campaign.

Of the sub-tribes, the Beni Qutábah live in the fertile valley of Wádi 'Ua, which rises near Suda, and joining the Wádi Ahklesh near Athálif, eventually flows into the Wádi Dhofa' by Muhá'il. The Beni Qutábah stretch from near its source to beyond Athálif in a succession of villages surrounded by cultivation. The slopes of the hills and the valleys, except where cleared, are here, as elsewhere in the Rijál el-M'a country, deeply forested. The Beni Qutábah, though dwelling in villages, are of a wandering temperament, and are the chief camel carriers on all the trade routes of Asir, going to Sabia, Qunfudah, Birk, and sometimes as far as Bishah and Mecca. There is a small colony of 'Abádilah Ashráf who live with them and wield a certain amount of influence.

The Sheikh of Athálif, Ibráhim el-Hufdhi, is a man of some notoriety. His father was made a Kaimmakam by the Turks and granted a pension of £15 a month, which was paid to his family until the tribe revolted. Ibráhim el-Hufdhi went to Constantinople in 1914 to assert his loyalty to the Turks and ask that the pension should continue to be paid to him. His influence in the tribe is not great.

The Beni Dhálim lie to the south of the Wádi 'Ua and are entirely settled. They are the largest section, numbering 4,000 men, and also by far the richest. They have most of the trade of Asir in their hands and bring petroleum, sugar, tea, clothing, &c., from Aden and Musawwa', which they sell chiefly in the large village of Rijál. They have been the foremost pioneers in the importation of fire-arms from Jibuti, which has increased so largely during the last few years and which the Turks have found it impossible to check. Rijál is the focus of all local products and skins; gum and ससव are brought from as far as the Shahrán country, bought by the Beni Dhálim merchants, and exported to Aden. The village next in importance is Sha'bain, the chief rifle market.

The Rijál el-M'a never marry outside their own country, but as they have grown rich they have bought much land in the neighbouring districts of 'Alqam el-Hill and Hahl'at el-Yemen. Amongst the most wealthy of them is a family of Seyyids, known as the Sa'dat en-Na'ámiyah, who have lived amongst them for many generations and whose head, Seyyid Huseín en-Na'ámi, is the most important leader in war after Ahmed el-Mutta'ib and Ahmed el-Hayyíni.

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The Beni Jinah are partly settled in villages and partly nomad, and inhabit the country towards the Munjahah. They, too, engage in trade to a certain extent, and one of their Sheikhs, Ayub, was the first man to start the gun-running venture. The village of Jahdi was the chief centre, and received its name from Jibuti. They are also occupied with home industries, and both men and women are employed in making straw-woven articles, such as matting, baskets, and hats, which they call *tafhah*, and which are largely worn by the women of Asir. 101 619° 622

The most important man of the Beni Dhâlim and one of the best known in Asir is Zein el-'Abidin, *chief Mufti of Asir*, and greatly trusted by the Idrisi. Educated at Zebid, he had already become a force in Asir before the rise of the Idrisi, by reason of his learning and the justice of his decisions. He has now powers of life and death, and is the chief judge of appeals from the judgements of the tribal Qâdhis and Muftis wherever the power of the Idrisi runs. He is also frequently called in to arbitrate in the more important tribal disputes, and as the Rijal el-M's have implicit confidence in him and are willing to back it by force of arms, his influence is very great. He is now a man of about 40 years of age, and has houses in Sabia and Rijal.

The Jeis ibn Mas'ûd live near the 'Aiqam el-Hil border and are the aristocrats of the tribe. The paramount family belongs to them, and they consider it beneath their dignity to engage in trade of any sort. They live for fighting alone, and have as high a reputation for courage as any tribe in the country. Their integrity, too, is unchallenged, and in most of the tribal disputes in neighbouring friendly tribes they are called in to arbitrate.

In the south are the Beni Zeidin along the Beni Maghaid and Beni Shi'bah boundaries. They, too, are noted fighters. They grow much coffee on the slopes of the hills and their nomad clans are rich in flocks. Their chief Sheikh is Ahmed el-Hayyani, who lives at Hirwah. He is a man of about 45 and, after Ahmed ibn Mota'ali, he is the most important man in the tribe. An enemy of the Turks since childhood, he eagerly supported the Idrisi, and is said to have almost as much influence with him as Mohammed Yahya Es Sâbi. He is a great friend of Seyyid Mustafa, and keeps on good, though at times jealous, terms with Ahmed ibn Mota'ali.

The Shahâb and Umm Bina share the country in the Wâdi Ahâbesh to the north.

They are entirely agricultural and pastoral, and seldom leave their borders except to fight.

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101 The Rijāl el-M'a are foes with the Beni Hilāl, Beni Mugheid, Rabī'ah wa Rufaidah, Āl Mūsa, and Munjahah. With the Beni
• 619 Thuwwah, 'Alqam, and Beni Shi'bah they are allies. They were
622 once good friends of the Bahr Ibn Sekeinah, but relations have been strained since the Seyyid Mustafa episode. Before the Idrīsi arose they were under the domination of the Turks, but since his revolt they have entirely thrown off their yoke. During the last few years the road to Muhā'il from Ibha, *via* Athālif, has been closed to the Turks, and frequent dashes are made to the main Muhā'il–Ibha road when news is received that a Turkish convoy is passing through.

They support the Idrīsi as equals, rather than as subjects, and will neither consent to pay him taxes nor suffer his officers to rule them.

They have a code of justice amongst themselves which is fairly rough and ready, but is rigidly enforced. Murder is severely punished, sometimes by death, sometimes by the payment of blood-money; theft, after two warnings and when proved by witnesses on oath, by the loss of a hand. There is a fixed dowry, both for rich and poor, of ₱ 120, and plurality of wives is the exception. There is a strong feeling against divorce without adequate reason. A man is considered justified in taking a second wife if the first fails to bear him children, but such a failure is not a sufficient excuse for a divorce.

Paramount Sheikh: Ibrāhīm ibn Muta'āli and his son, Ahmed ibn Muta'āli. 17,000 men.

1. *Beni Qutāibah.* Chief Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Mufraj. 2,500 men in Wādi 'Ūa.

Chief villages:—.

Beit Shāji'	Mohammed ibn Shāji'.
Āl Umm Shābi	Mohammed ibn Musallat.
Āl Umm Mas'am	'Ali ibn 'Amr.
Āl 'Amr	'Amr ibn 'Ali.
Ghanmah	Ahmed ibn 'Amr.
Umm Jizā'	Mohammed Abu Rubāh.
Umm Dhaharah	Mohammed el-'Askari.
Beni 'Ābidīn	Ibrāhīm Abu Rubāh.
Sha'bein	Sherīf 'Abdillah.
Athālif	Ibrāhīm el-Hufdhi.
Ashrāf	Sherīf 'Abd ibn 'Abdullah.

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2. *Beni Dhālim el-Hāshir.* 4,000 men.

In Rijāl. Mohammed ibn Ahmed el-Jahwashi.

Chief villages :—

Umm Qadahah	Ibrāhim ibn Fa'i.
Āl 'Othmān	Fa'i ibn Ibrāhim.
Umm Nusūb	Fa'i Judeimi.
Manādhir	Mohammed ibn Sālim.
Umm Barāyah	Ibn Zuleil.
'Asalah	Seyyid Husein en-Ni'mi.
Sa'dat en-Na'āmiyah	Seyyid Hasan en-Ni'mi.
Ghamārah	Ibrāhim Rijni.
Āl Ja'eidah	Qasim Ja'eidi.
Āl Umm Selāmi	Mohammed ibn Zeid.
'Amja	'Abd er-Rahmān ibn Ghala.
Umm Shurafa	Walad Abu 'Ā'idh.
Shasa'	Abu Merjūk.
Umm Jerf	Mohammed ibn Sultān Abu Hāmid.
Na'jah	Ahmed el-Hufdhi.
Āl Mahūb	Zeid ibn Gharāmah.

3. *Beni Jūsah.* Chief Sheikh : 'Ali Midkom. 2,000 men.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Betīlah	Ayyūb.
Kisān	Mohammed ibn Nasīlah.
Khamis Kisān	Ibrāhim ibn 'Abdullah.
Jabūt	Ya'qūb.
Āl Umm Ruweyyi	Ibn Jabrān.

(b) Nomads. 1,000 men. Clans :—

Āl Mahlīyah	Gharām ibn Heif.
Sawājah	Mohammed Abu Hanash.
Naj'u	Abu Ghabeish.

4. *Jeis ibn Mas'ūdi.* 1,500 men. Mohammed ibn Muta'āli.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Umm Jallah	Hasan ibn Muta'āli.
Āl Umm Mukhīli	Mohammed ibn Māni'.
Wādi el-Mirār	Ahmed Makbūt.
Wasānib	Murā'i ibn Mukhāli.
Jebel Jeis	Mohammed ibn Mukhāli.

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(b) Nomads. 500 men. Clans :—

Umm Jarawiyah	'Amr ibn Mohammed.
Umm Muqlabah	Hádi Abu Hadiyah.
Âl Hanash	Abu Sultán.
Beni Shibli	Abu Mashtúf.

5. *Beni Zeidin.* 3,000 men. Chief Sheikh: Ahmed el-Hayyáni.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Salab	Hanash ibn Mas'adi.
Hirwah	Thawábi.
Âl Zahwán	Ibn Khatmah.
Wádi Hirwah	Abu Zenádah.
Maqtal es-Sa'id	Mohammed ibn Musáfir.
Wádi Hamámah	'Izz ed-Dín.
Umm Raddah	Mohammed Tamrán.

(b) Nomads. 2,000 men. Clans :—

Âl Dákir	Ahmed ibn Gharámah.
Âl Wájih	'Ali ibn Heidhah.
Âl Umm Haddi	Ahmed ibn Mohammed.
Âl Umm Zári	Mohammed ibn Sultán.

6. *Shahúh.* 1,500 men. Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Móna.

(a) Settled. 5,000 men. Chief villages :—

Natan	'Abdullah Abu Miskah.
Wádi Nimr	Mohammed ibn Qasim.
Wádi Natrán	Mohammed elh-Dhi'b.
Sheri	El-Khilál.

(b) Nomads. 1,000 men. Clans :—

Âl 'Ashar	Abu Hádi.
Âl Abu Sha'rah	Mohammed ibn Ma'addi.
Umm Nujá'ah	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Âl Idheilah	Talhán.

7. *Umm Bina.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Hanash. 2,500 men.

(a) Settled. Chief villages :—

Sahar Umm Bina	Mohammed ibn Máni'.
Sherí'ah	Abu 'Alámah.

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Jebel Jadrân	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Ja'ja	Abu Sahmân.

(b) Nomads. Clans :—

Âl Behetjân	Musaffir.
Beni Isarah	Abu Ramzah.
Âl Umm Fâdhil	Mohammed Abu Husein.

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45. *Ahl Sabia*

The term Ahl Sabia is vaguely used in Asir to include the people of Sabia itself and the villages round within a considerable radius. They are in no sense a tribe, and should therefore properly be excluded from this handbook, but as mention of them is sometimes made in reports, and they are closely connected with the Idrisi, whose head-quarters are at Sabia, a brief description is included. Before the Idrisi's rise to power these villages were a succession of small independent units, each a law to itself and generally at odds with its neighbour. The Turks never attempted a proper administration of the country, and violence was rife to such a degree that only large armed parties could travel with safety. Only when the hillmen descended on them was there any degree of cohesion, and in the last attack of the Rijâl el-M'a, which took place about thirteen years ago, the villagers all combined to save their homes.

The first task of the Idrisi was to conciliate the different warring elements and to promote peace, and to-day the district is thoroughly under control and law abiding.

The largest element of the population is of Sudanese blood, partly unemancipated slaves, but chiefly those who have gained their freedom. With these are the Muwallads, Sudanese with an Arab strain, and over them the Arabs of pure blood and the Sa'dah and Ashrâf. Sabia itself, of course, contains merchants from other Mohammedan countries, the strongest element coming from the Hadhramaut. Mohammed Yahya Es Sâhi, the chief adviser of the Idrisi, and the Emir of all Mikhlâf el-Yemen, which of course includes Sabia, is from that country.

The Idrisi's standing army of about 500 men is entirely recruited from amongst the Sudanese round Sabia, and they can muster about 10,000 men when the general rally is sounded.

The following is a list of the chief villages and their approximate number of fighting men.

Sabia. Chief sections :—

Ashrâf el-Khawâji	Sherif Idam	300
Sa'dah	Seyyid el-Hasan	400

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101	Al 'Asir	Seyyid 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Asir	400
• 619	Husainiyah	Sheikh 'Othmân	300
	Ma'ân	Ahmed 'Ali	400
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	Adeyyah	Mohammed ibn Nâsir	200
	Muhalla	Husein Abu Sha'ibi	1,500
	Dahna	Seyyid el-Husein	600
	Melhah	Seyyid Husein el-Mekki	900
	Qadah		200
	Shahâdah		100
	Wâdi Musliyah		600
	Wâdi 'Isairah		200
	Wâdi Beish		400
	Ta'ihar		50
	Jebel Feifa		500
	Umm el-Khashab		400
	Salâmah		1,000
	Dhamkid		600
	Khulab		100
	Hammah		120
	Jebel el-Milh		50
	Wâdi Beidh		200
	Jebel en-Nadhir		300
	Madhâyah		200

46. *Shahrân*

The Shahrân cover a greater stretch of country than any other tribe in Asir, and are the largest numerically. The country round Bishah is theirs and they follow the Wâdi Shahrân to its source and thence to within 20 miles of Sabia, a distance from north to south of more than 200 miles. Their boundary from east to west of the Wâdi Shahrân is undefined and constantly changing, as one or the other of the neighbouring nomad tribes gains the upper hand. Farther south it is fixed and varies from 5 to 50 miles in breadth. Their neighbours on the north are the wandering Shalâwah and Sebei', on the east the 'Abidah and Rufeidat el-Yemen, on the south the Naj'u, and on the west starting near the sea and working north, the Beni Shi'bah, Beni Mugheid, where they come to within four miles of Ibha, Beni Mâlik, Balahmar, Balasmar, Beni Shihir, Beiqaru, and Shamrân. The Shahrân, like the Beni Shihir,

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Shamrin, and other tribes of Asir, trace their descent to the Rijal el-Hajar. The tribe is divided into nine main divisions, the Al Mushait, Al Rusheid, Al Ghamar, Nahla, Qa'id, Beni Bijad, Beni Wahhab, Sha'af Rashhah, and Al Yinfa'ah. 101 619 622

The Al Mushait are numerically the smallest, but politically the most important sub-tribe, since they contain the ruling tribal family. In former days its influence over the whole tribe was unquestioned, but since the Idrisi's rise to fame some sections have joined him, while others have remained faithful to the Turks, and discord has crept in and weakened its power. It is still, however, very powerful, and in purely tribal matters has the ultimate word over the majority. The paramount chief is 'Abd el-'Aziz ibn Mushait, now an old man of 60, who lives in considerable state at Dhahbân, and also owns a house in Khamis Mushait, the largest and most important trading centre in Asir. Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz is a rich man, since he levies his own taxes in this town, taking a piastre for every donkey sold, 2 piastres for each camel, and 5 piastres for a skin of *semn*, &c. The Turks do not interfere with him in this, but content themselves with taking 'ushr from the local cultivators. He is, however, expected to entertain freely members of the outlying sub-tribes who visit him, and always keeps an open house. In his old age he has taken to drink, and leaves all the active management of the tribe to his son, Sa'id ibn 'Abd. The latter, like his father, supported the Turks, but he is also said to be in correspondence with the Idrisi. He is now about 32 years old, and is popular with the tribe and, as a leader, famous in war. The only other man of importance in the family is Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz's nephew, Sa'd ibn Hussein, who has been won over by the Idrisi with the promise of the chief Sheikhship if he can oust his uncle and cousin. His appointment, however, would not be popular with the tribe, for he is reputed to be mean and overbearing. His two brothers, 'Abd ibn Ibrâhim and Hussein ibn 'Abd, are with him, but have not much influence.

The Al Rusheid live round Khamis Mushait and towards Ibha and number about 4,000 men. 'Ali ibn 'Iteij is their chief Sheikh, a fighter of repute.

They all support the Turks, but they refuse to pay them taxes, nor do they join the local gendarmerie. They are a prosperous community and their nomads are rich in a breed of large white sheep. They also own many horses. They have not a good reputation in war.

The Al Ghamar are braver than the Al Rusheid and quarrel with them. They live along the Beni Mâlik boundary, and muster about

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1,000 men, of whom 600 are nomads. Mohammed ibn 'Urûr, their chief Sheikh, dislikes Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azîz and supports the Idrîsi. His followers, however, keep very much to their own country and do not meddle in politics.

The Nahâs are a purely nomad section and are rich in horses and sheep. They live out to the east along the 'Abidah boundary, and are of all the Shahrân the most famous in war. They do all their fighting on horseback, principally against the 'Abidah. The Qa'îd and the Âl Rusheid pay them 'khâwah', at the rate of 12 piastres for every well, as a bribe against being plundered. They have no cultivation and live by selling *semn* and their animals in Khamis Musheit. Their young men are not permitted to wear rings until they have killed a man, and once blooded they cut a notch on the stock of their rifles for each of their victims. Utterly out of hand, they never approach Ibha, and recognize neither the Turks nor the Idrîsi nor their own paramount Sheikh. 'Â'idh ibn Jabbâr is their chief, a man of 50, who has led them into battle for years.

The Qa'îd are entirely settled in Wâdi Tindâhah, which flows into the Wâdi Shahrân, and is the most fertile of all the Shahrân country. They are peaceable and unwarlike, and obedient to Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azîz.

The Beni Bîjad are a large sub-tribe numbering 10,000 men, of whom 7,000 are nomads. The settled portion lives along the Ibha–Bishah road between Âl Batât and Shafân, and is entirely agricultural. The nomads are warlike and fight both on horseback and on foot. Their cavalry carry lances as well as rifles. They are on bad terms with the Beni Wahhâb and fight the 'Abidah, Balahmar, and Balasmar. Like most nomads they go up to Bishah for the date season. Sa'îd ibn Hashbal is chief over all the sub-tribe. He was formerly with the Turks, but now sides with the Idrîsi, and only pays a nominal allegiance to Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azîz. He collects tithes from his followers, with whom he is popular, and is a rich man.

The Beni Wahhâb are the largest sub-tribe, numbering 15,000 men, of whom 13,000 are nomads. They live in the Wâdi Shahrân up to Bishah. Of all Arabs they have the most evil reputation. They are robbers and highwaymen, treacherous, even to their guests, have little religion and no marriage laws, and kill women and children in their raids, a custom which is execrated by all other fighting tribes. They are also unclean in their feeding and eat rats and jerboas. The man with the strongest hand rules them, and the present Sheikh, Nâsir ibn Heif, and Heif ibn Nâsir, his son, won

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their position by forcibly ejecting the former Sheikh, Ibn Hashál, who has now degenerated into a petty and uninfluential highwayman.

They are against every tribe and every government, and are paid by other weaker tribes to refrain from raiding. The villagers of Bishah and the clans who live near, such as the Rimáthán, Uqlub, and Beni Sulál, are, however, slightly more civilized. Only during the date season at Bishah, which lasts about four months, there is a general truce, and Arabs from all over the country foregather. Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz owns large and valuable date-groves, and both the Sherif of Mecca and the Idrisi have agents there. These two agents belong to the Beni Wahhâb, Sheikh Yahya ibn Fá'iz acting for the Sherif, and Náṣir ibn Kurkmán for the Idrisi, for the purpose of collecting *Zakát*. The former is the more influential. The Beni Wahhâb go out to Tathlíth at certain seasons of the year, where there is excellent grazing for their many flocks and herds.

The Sha'af Rashhah and Âl Yinfa'ah occupy the Tihâmah to the south of Ibha, from which they are separated by the Beni Mugheid. The Sha'af Rashhah, who are to the north of the Âl Yinfa'ah, are entirely settled and peaceful. The Âl Yinfa'ah live in the district of Temnlyah (Thimnlyah), which is the most fertile of all Asir, and approach to within 20 miles of Sabia. They are numerous and wealthy, and have a good reputation for hospitality and courage. 'Abdullah ibn Hamad is the chief Sheikh of both sections, a tall man of about 55, with a long white beard. He was formerly on the side of the Turks, but broke with them and with Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz about 8 years ago, when his son was murdered by the Beni Wahhâb, while a guest of Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz. Since then he has joined the Idrisi, and, being a man of great influence, has brought his tribe with him. The Idrisi now collects taxes from them and keeps about 100 police at Temnlyah. The enemies of these two sub-tribes are the Rufeidat el-Yemen and Rabi'ah; their friends, the Arabs of Mikhlâf el-Yemen. The nomads of Âl Yinfa'ah are horse-owners and sell their stock in the Sabia market.

(c) *Âl Musheit.*

'Abd el-'Aziz ibn Musheit, paramount Sheikh: Sa'id ibn 'Abd, his son.

Sa'd ibn Husein 'Abd ibn Ibráhim Husein ibn 'Abd	three brothers who are nephews of 'Abd el-'Aziz ibn Musheit.

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101 (b) *Āl Rashrid.* Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn 'Iteij.

•619 1. Settled. 4,000 men.

622 Chief villages:—

Hirtir	'Ali ibn Sa'id.
Waqabah	'Abdullah ibn Sihmān.
Na'mān	Hasan ibn Zubein.
Dhahbān	Sherif Abu Nūrah.
Sofq	Mohammed ibn Mubārak es-Soffār.
Rōnah	Ibn 'Ukah.
Āl Jamāb	Ibn Nimshah.
Darb	Sa'id ibn Benāyah.
Khamis Musheit	Behir.
Jambar	Abu Mikha'.
Soma'dah	Salim ibn Zumei'.
'Itwid	Sa'id abu Milhah.

2. Nomad. 500 men. Chief clans:—

Āl Shubeil	Nāsir ibn Shubeil.
Āl Ghanum	Mohammed ibn Hāzim.
Āl Tarrah	Sa'id ibn Ghuzeil.

(c) *Āl Ghamar.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn 'Urūr.

1. Settled. 400 men.

Tayyib el-Ism	Sa'id ibn 'Urūr.

2. Nomad. 600 men. Chief clans:—

Aulād Muhur	Ibn Shatf.
Āl Shahra	Ibn Rabu'i.
Āl Tayyār	Ibn Ghudheif.
Āl Sa'dān	Ibn Tūrki.
Beni Zerābah	Jeheish.

(d) *Nahās.* All Bedouin. 1,000 men. Chief Sheikh: 'Ā'idh ibn Jabbār.

Clans:—

Āl Khazqa	'Uweir ibn Hizām.
Āl Hazra	Dhi'b Ladqam.
Āl Heiza'ah	Dhi'b ibn Jidhei'.
Āl 'Aliyah	Samghān.

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(e) *Qa'ad*. Settled. 3,000 men. Chief Sheikh: 'Abdullah ibn Sana.

Chief villages :—

Tindikhah	Mohammed ibn Sana.
Al Dhi'b	Ibn Raff'ah.
Al 'Ujeir	'Abdullah el-Wuteid.
Ghuthân	Mi'iq ibn Mohammed.
Al Zalâl	Mohammed ibn Sana.
Al Mustanir	Mohammed ibn Durei'.
Sadr	Dhi'b ibn Jer'ân.
Al Zayân	Wad'ân.
Hauta	'Ali ibn Dakhil.

(f) *Beni Bijad*. Chief Sheikh: Sa'id ibn Hashbal.

1. Settled. 3,000 men. Chief villages :—

Rashda'	Mohammed ibn Es-Sa'ân.
Al Batâ	Hereish.
Al Bithor	Ibn Hanash.
Al Umm Zeitil	Nejeir.
Ghireirah	Safeir.
Shajrah	Abu Milhi.
Madhah	Ibn Fudgham.
Shafân	Mohammed ibn Sa'id.

2. Nomads. 7,000 men.

Beni Munebbih el-Hakam.
Sheikh Sa'id ibn Hakam.

(g) *Beni Wakhâb*. 15,000 men.

Chief Sheikhs: Nâsir ibn Heif and Heif ibn Nâsir.

1. Settled. 2,000 men. Chief villages :—

Khadhra	Ibn Huweilah.
Museiriq	Zuweiki.

(Bishat en-Nakhl), Chief Sheikhs: Yahya ibn Fâ'iz and Nâsir ibn Kurkmân.

Raushin (Roshin)	Nâsir ibn Kurkmân.
Nimrân	Ibn Barrâsh.
Al Bashâk	Abu Jerîdah.
Zereib	Abu Khazmah.
Al Khâlit	Heif.
Wâdi Leimûn	Zereik ibn Mustûr.
Al Shukbân	Yahya ibn Lazar.

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2. Nomads. 12,000 men. Chief clans :—

Āl Bidjārih.
Āl Mustur.
Sifilah.
Mo'kwiyah — Hussein ibn Zāhir
Rimdikān
Uqlah. Sh. Madīf ibn 'Atīyān — Nomads of Bishah.
Beni Sulāl
Jerādīn — Nomads. Sh. Amīr ibn Es-Seyyūri of Bishah.
Mahlef — Yahya ibn Fā'iz.

(h) *Sha'af Bankhah.* 4,000 men. Settled. 'Abdullah ibn Hamdīh.

Chief villages :—

Lāhāl	'Alī ibn Murai'i.
Āl Umm Teir	'Awad el-Majahdad.
Āl Ferza'	'Abdullah abu Hamdm.
Āl Sirhān	'Alī ibn Thābit.
Dhibat Āl Sirhān	Ahmed ibn 'Ukaba.
Munji (or Mangi ?)	'Alī ibn 'Awad.
Āl Umm Jirā'	Waled Es-Zāhri.

(i) *Āl Yinfa'ah.* Settled. 6,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : 'Abdullah ibn Hamdīh of Tanomah.

1. Chief villages :—

Āl 'Othmān	Zeidāni.
Āl 'Alī	Mohammed ibn Tāli'.
Umm Jariyah	Abu Sihim.
Āl Ba'wal	Shuweil el-A'raj.

2 *Āl Yinfa'ah of Tihāmah.* Nomad. 8,000 men. Chief clans :—

Jahārah	Mashāf
Āl Ihlāmi	Baqjān.
Reith	Abu Dūsah.
Beni Majūr	Ibn Ghālah.
Āl A'rābi	Mufarrih.

3. *Āl Yinfa'ah of Jahar*
4. *Āl Yinfa'ah of Hajuri* } Nomads in Mikhlāf el-Yemen.

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47. *Beni Shi'bah*

The Beni Shi'bah live chiefly round 'Itwad ('Itwid) and up the Wādi Dhilah to the Rabi'at el-Yemen boundary, but their nomads have no fixed boundaries and wander all over Mikhlif el-Yemen, north of Sabia. Their Sheikhs and chief families are Arabs and trace their descent to Qahtān, but the majority of the tribe are Sudanese, who have been emancipated for many generations. They are excellent fighters, amenable to discipline, and are generally known as 'Askar or soldiers. 101 619* 622

They all support the Idrisi and pay him taxes.

The Beni Shi'bah do not engage in trade, the villagers being agriculturists and the nomads possessing large herds of camels, cattle, and sheep. They also own horses and nearly always fight as cavalry. They are friendly with the Munjahah, Rijāl el-M'a, and the Mikhlif tribes, but are hereditary enemies of the Rabi'at el-Yemen and generally on bad terms with the Beni Mugheid, whose country they avoid.

Chief Sheikh: Ibrāhim Abu Mohammed. 3,500 men.

Chief villages. 1,000 men.

Darb Beni Shi'bah	Ismā'il Abu Mohammed.
Qasabah	Mohammed Abu Dōshah.
'Askar	Deilabi.
'Abīd	Balāl ibn Hasan.
Āl Abu Dōshah	El-Hufdhi.

Nomads. 2,500 men.

Āl Hadra	Mohammed ibn Mushrā'i.
Āl Hassān.	

48. *Beni Shihir*

The Beni Shihir are one of the most populous tribes of Asir. They are a tall and well-made race and their women are noted for their beauty. They inhabit the country from the Tihāmah 25 miles east of Qunfudah up the main mountain range and across the watershed almost to Wādi Shahrān.

The tribes which adjoin them are, on the north, starting from the Tihāmah, the Bal'aryān, Bulqarn, and Beni 'Amr, on the east the Shahrān, on the south the Balasmar, the Reish, the Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali, the Humeidah, and the Rabi'ah Mujātirah. On the west, where their boundary has narrowed to about 15 miles, are the

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101 Zobeid. Their territory is funnel-shaped, widening out as it goes inland, till it reaches the Shahrân in the east, with whose boundary
•619 it marches for over 60 miles.

The settled portion of the tribe have shown little sympathy with
622 the Idrisi. They are divided into three main sections, the north, south, and Tihâmah, ruled over by different Sheikhs, who are usually on bad terms with each other, but unite against common enemies.

The largest section and the most important politically is the Beni Shihir esh-Shâm, who live chiefly along the Ibha–Tâ'if road, between 'Asâbili and 'Uqrum. The leading family, and one of the noblest of Asir, is that of Ibn Qurûm, closely connected with Mecca, both by sympathy and relationship, Sherif Mohammed ibn 'Abd el-Mu'in ibn 'Aun, the grandfather of the present Sherif, having married into the family.

The present head of the family is Sa'id ibn Fâ'iz, an old man now, with two sons, both born of a Circassian mother, Faraj Bey ibn Sa'id, who has been one of the Hejaz representatives in the Ottoman Parliament, and Fâ'iz ibn Sa'id. They all visit Constantinople and Mecca regularly, have a house in Ibha, and have furnished their house at 'Asâbili in semi-European style, and, having also adopted the western habit of smoking and drinking, are looked at with dislike and suspicion by other tribes. They are, however, large landowners and rich men.

Faraj Bey ibn Sa'id is a tall man of about 28, with a fair skin, which he gets from his mother. He was formerly Kaimmakam of Qunfudah, Muhâ'il, and Hali district, where his cruelty when in his cups made him greatly feared. He speaks Turkish and French and has a Circassian wife in Constantinople. He is a notorious libertine and drunkard, but is a force to be reckoned with.

His brother, Fâ'iz ibn Sa'id, a young man of 25, is much more steady and takes greater interest in tribal matters.

About a third of the Beni Shihir esh-Shâm are nomads, whose main subdivision is that of the Neid. They have little to do with the settled parts, and do not acknowledge Sa'id ibn Fâ'iz, the Sherif, or the Turks. Most of their life is spent in bickering with the Shahrân, but what political leanings they have are in favour of the Idrisi.

The Beni Shihir el-Yemen occupy the rich district of Namas and are under 'Ali Bey ibn Dhâfir, who, like the Qurûm family, is strongly pro-Turk. He is, however, a man of much stricter morals, and is respected by the tribes. His mother is a Circassian. This

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section is entirely settled in permanent villages, and provided a large proportion of the local Turkish gendarmerie. There are said to be a few Idrisi sympathisers among them. 101 619 622

The Beni Shihir of the Tihâmah are neither as numerous nor as powerful as those of the uplands, but their country is fertile and they are more prosperous than most of their neighbours. Their Chief Sheikh is Abu Mismir, who is said to favour the Idrisi secretly.

The nomads under Sheikh Khâdan ibn Mohammed, are all on the Idrisi side. They live chiefly in 'Aqabah Sajain and 'Aqabah Sihân, between the Namas district and the Tihâmah, but go down to lower ground for the harvest.

The Beni Shihir are a good fighting tribe, and on account of their political tendencies are almost hemmed in by foes, the Balasmar being the only tribe with whom they have a pact. The Zobeid and they have a feud of many years' standing.

They are well armed, having received rifles from the Turks at Ibba. They are descended from the Rijâl el-Hajar.

(a) *Beni Shihir esh-Shâm.* 20,000 men.

Sa'id ibn Fâ'iz walad Fâ'iz ibn Qurîm of 'Asâhili and his sons Faraj Bey ibn Sa'id (member of Ottoman Parliament) and Fâ'iz Bey ibn Sa'id.

1. Settled. 13,000 men. Chief sections :—

Ka'b	'Abdullah ibn Sârah.
Beni Kerim	Nâji ibn Sa'id.
Âl Abu Jubeis	Fâdhil ibn Jubeis.

Chief villages :—

Idwah	Sa'id ibn Mubârak.
Rabu' es-Sarw	Hâzimah ibn Mohammed.
Halabah	Hizmi.
Sadr	Mohammed ibn Safar.
Kafâf	Rushwân ibn Mohammed.
Akhâdhirah	'Abd el-Khâliq.
Kalâthimah	'Abd el-Khalij.

2. Nomads. 7,000 men.

Neid.

(b) *Beni Shihir el-Yemen.* Settled. 15,000 men.

'Ali Bey ibn Dhâfir Walad Dhâfir ibn Jâri of Namas.

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101 Chief sections :—

Beni Bukr	Sa'id ibn Jâri.
619 Beni Mashhûr	Dhâfir ibn Mohammed.
Âl Shi'b	Makhfûb ibn Merzûq.

622 Chief villages :—

Dhahdrah	Sa'id ibn Qurûm.
'Aqabah Lambîah	Lâfi ibn Mohammed.
Wâdi Laghr	Shibeili ibn Mohammed.
Tanîmah	Mohammed ibn El-'Arîf.
Sahn Ibn El-'Arîf	Dhâfir ibn El-'Arîf.

(c) *Beni Shihir el-Tihâmah.*

1. Settled. 8,000 men. Chief Sheikh : Abu Mismâr.

Chief sections :—

Âl Limkah	Haidar ibn Er-Rawwâf.
Âl Khâi	Rohômah.
Majârîdah	Mohammed abu 'l-Qasim.
Beni Trim Tihkmah	Mohammed ibn Tummah.
Âl Dîshah	Abu Mismâr.
Âl Thurwîhân	Ibn Ma'ariyah.
Âl Thirbân	Abu Muhsin.
Umm Shahari	Mohammed ibn Dhebeil.

Chief villages :—

Sadr	Mohammed abu 'l-Qâsim.
Jebel Yithrib	Abu Seja'.

2. Nomads. 5,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Khâlan ibn Mohammed.

Âl 'Omar	Khâlan ibn Mohammed.
Beni Ethla	'Abdullah Dhaffâr.
Âl Husein	Nâsir ibn Sa'id.
Ahl 'Aqabat Sajein	Qurûm ibn Dhâfir.
Âl Umm Jeheini	Mohammed ibn Shâtir.
'Umârah	Sheikh Shubeili.

49. *Ahl esh-Shuqaiq*

The Ahl Shuqaiq are a small community inhabiting the small port of Shuqaiq in Mikhlâf el-Yemen. They are chiefly merchants in the hide and 'semn' trade with Musawwa', which they often visit. 'Ali ibn Mubhi is the chief Sheikh, a nominee of the Idrisi. The most important man, however, is Ibn 'Abdals, who was formerly Sheikh, but was imprisoned by the Idrisi for three years for conspiracy.

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He is now out on guarantee, and, being the biggest merchant and richest landowner in Shoqaig, is to be reckoned with. 101

The Ahl esh-Shoqaig, like all the inhabitants of Mikhlif el-Yemen with the exception of the 'Abs, are descended from the Qahtân. 619* 622

Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Mahdi. 1,000 men.

Chief villages:—

Khaslan	Ahmed 'Ali.
Ramlah	'Ali ibn Hawi.
Khabâtiyah	Mohammed ibn Hussein.
Hawa	Sherif Hamdi.

50. Shamrân

The Shamrân occupy a part of the high upland country through which runs the Ibba–Ta'if road and extend down the slopes of the hills to the Tihâmah.

They are bounded on the west and north by the Ghâmid, on the east by the Shahrân, and on the south by the Khath'am and Bulqarn. They are divided into the Shamrân esh-Shân, Shamrân et-Tihâmah, and the nomads, each section numbering about 2,000 men. The northern Shamrân and the nomads are under the Sheikhship of Hasan ibn Mater, a young man of 30, who has a good reputation for wisdom in tribal matters, and has made a name for himself in war. Their chief centre is Balîn, the largest of a number of villages near the Khath'am border, set in a rich and well-wooded valley.

The nomads, the Subâh and Âl Mubârak, wander down into the Tihâmah in the winter, or stay round Balîn, and in the summer go up with the Bulqarn and other nomads to the Shahrân country round Bishah for the date season.

They own many sheep and goats, but few camels.

The most important section of the Shamrân et-Tihâmah is the 'Urbn, under Sheikh Is-hâq ibn Muzallaf, whose chief village is Marwa'. They have permanent villages in which they live during winter, but in summer most of them lead a nomadic life, living in straw-woven tents. The whole tribe unites in war, their chief enemies being the Ghâmid. They are also usually at odds with their weaker neighbour the Khath'am. Their reputation as a fighting race is good, and they share with the Bulqarn the custom of purifying themselves and wearing their finest clothes before going into battle. In normal times they are a hospitable and light-hearted race, ever ready to find an excuse for relaxation. Marriage

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festivals are celebrated on a much larger scale than is usual in Asir. Their outside political leanings are strongly in favour of the Idrisi, as against the Sherif of Mecca and the Turks.

The tribe is descended from the Rijāl el-Hajar.

(a) *Shamerīs ash-Shām.* Settled round Balīs. 2,000 men.

Chief Sheikh: Hasan ibn Mater.

Āl Mitshakah	Mashari ibn 'Ali.
Beni Mater	Mushabbab ibn Sa'īd.

(b) *Bedawīn.* 2,000 men, also under Hasan ibn Mater.

Subāh	Nāsir ibn Fuzān.
Āl Mubārak	Sa'īd ibn Mishrik.

(c) *Shamerīs el-T'ahmah.* 2,000 settled.

'Ubur	Is-hāq ibn Musallaf.

51. *Beni Thawwah*

The Beni Thawwah lie to the south of Muhā'il and are astride the main Ibha–Muhā'il road between Butūh and the Wādi Sha'b el-'Aola, a distance of 10 miles, and the Ibha–Athālif–Muhā'il road between Jebel Hawīlah and Hu'ūn Beni Thawwah, a distance of 15 miles. The territory between these roads is theirs, and their boundary on the north approaches within 5 miles of Muhā'il.

Their neighbours on the north are the Āl Mūsa and Reish, on the east the Balasmar, on the south the Āl Nahyah and Āl Hārith of the Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, and on the west the Bahr ibn Sekeinah.

The tribe numbers some 2,000 men, of whom two-thirds are settled, the remainder nomad.

They are a bold and fearless tribe who live chiefly by raiding, and unprotected parties, either of the Turks or ordinary travellers, are never safe while in their country. They have never submitted to Ottoman authority, and, since the rise of the Idrisi, have quite got out of hand. Their chief Sheikh, Sheikh Sarwi, is one of the most noted highwaymen of Asir, and has given endless trouble to the Government. They are generally at feud with the Āl Mūsa, Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, and Balasmar, and are still allied with the Rijāl el-M's and Balahmar. Their relations with the Bahr Ibn Sekeinah are neutral.

Chief Sheikh: Sarwi. 2,000 men.

(a) Chief villages. 1,300 men.

Ida	Shufut.
Umm Butūh	'Ali ibn Yahya.

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Beflah	Ibrâhîm ibn Musa'ad.
Qawîn	Mushâtir.
Âl Umm Be'eirah	Mohammed ibn Tâli'.
Wâdi el-Hâdir	Ibn Hadhlyah.
Âl Ghazîyah	Sha'bân.

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(b) Nomads. 700 men.

Bedu Âl Ghazîyah	Abu Jahlîah.
Âl Qabeis	Ahmed ibn 'Adwân.
Âl Fidhelîah	Ahmed abu Hamah.

52. *Beni Ya'lah*

The Beni Ya'lah are a small settled tribe, numbering 500 men, situated along the coast a few miles north of Hali. They are bounded on the north by the Markhibah section of the Beni Zeid, on the east by the Aulâd el-'Alâmah section of the Ahl Hali, and on the south by the Shawârah section of the Ahl Hali.

They are divided amongst themselves, Sheikh Bahrân of Shija'îah favouring the Idrisi, and the remainder, under Sheikh Beit-'ali Abu 'Atamah, paying allegiance to the Turks.

The Beli'ir and Hali both raid them, and they depend chiefly on the Turks for their existence as a tribal unit, since they are as unwarlike as their only allies, the Beni Zeid.

Chief Sheikh: Beit-'ali Abu 'Atamah. 500 men.

Villages :—

Ya'lah	Mohammed ibn Sâlim.
Sabt Beni Ya'lah	A'jî.
Arja'	Mohammed ibn 'Abdu.
Shija'îah	Bahrân.
Kidwah	Er-Ridwîli.
Melîhah	Musaffir.
Nikhl	Abu Radîyah.

53. *Zahrân*

The Zahrân is one of the largest tribes of Asir and is bounded on the north by the Beni Mâlik and Shalâwah, on the east by the Ghâmid, on the south and south-west by the Zobeid, and on the west by the Dhawi Barakât for a few miles and then the Dhâwi Hasan. Their western boundary approaches in places to within

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15 miles of the coast, and inland they go up the main mountain range and beyond the Ibha-Tá'if road.

Their country is a fertile one and is thickly populated, the whole tribe being said to number 30,000 men.

It is divided into two main divisions, the settled and the nomad each of equal size.

Rashid ibn Jum'ân is paramount sheikh of the villagers and belongs to the main sub-tribe, the Beni Sadr; Sa'id ibn Amidân rules over the nomads. The former got his title by inheritance, the latter by his prowess in war; but they are both good men, and have their tribesmen well in hand. When he was a young man, Rashid ibn Jum'ân sided with the Turks and was made a Bey, but twelve years ago he raised a successful revolt and has barred the country to the Turks ever since. The nomads were always against them and against the villagers for the same reason, but since the revolt the two chief sheikhs have been good friends. Rashid ibn Jum'ân is now a large fat man of 55. He lives at Jebel Dîs and is married to Nafalah of the Aulâd el-Emir Mohammed ibn 'Ajîb family of the Beni Mughaid.

The Zahrân are purely a fighting race, and never leave their country except to raid. They cultivate and become rich thereby, but they despise all other forms of manual labour.

The Ghâmid are their great and hereditary enemies. They declared for the Idrîsi when he first raised his standard in Asir, and fought for him in 1912 against the Turks and Sherif of Mecca. In May 1915 they wrote to the Idrîsi, proposing to join him, but the Idrîsi, doubtless realizing that they could do little good while hedged in between the Turks at Ibha and the Sherif, advised them to adopt a passive attitude for the present. He, however, sent a Qâdhi to them to obtain monetary help, and early in 1916 reported that he was still in friendly communication with them.

The Zahrân, like several other tribes of Asir, trace their descent to Rijâl el-Hajar.

(a) Settled :—

Paramount Sheikh: Râshid ibn Jum'ân. 15,000 men.

Dîs	Mohammed abu Sandalah.
Âl Bassân	Nâsir ibn 'Aqîl.
Âl Dashwân	Bekr ibn Türki.
Âl Forsa	Munir ibn Hassân.
Al Mustanir	Mohammed ibn Sa'dah.
Beni Sadr	Munir ibn Mohammed.

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(*b*) Bedouin :—

Paramount Sheikh : Sa'īd ibn Aseidān. 15,000 men.

Āl Wādi el-Ahmar.
Beni Su'eif.
Bel Khasmar.
Beni 'Omar.
Kinānah.
Shubeikah.
Beni Ḥasan.
Beni Sālim.

54. *Beni Zeid* (*Northern*)

The northern Beni Zeid focus round Qunfudah and are entirely under Turkish influence.

To the north they inhabit the villages along the Qunfudah–Līth road for some 14 miles, till they reach the boundary of the Āl Difra section of the Zobeid. To the east they stretch along the Barak road for 12 miles, almost to 'Umr of the Nawāshirah section of Belā'ir, and then, keeping always about 10 miles from the coast, their boundary runs south for 20 miles, marching first with the confines of the Mujā'adah section of the Belā'ir and then with the 'Umr Bedawi till it reaches the Beni Ya'lah, when it turns due west to the coast.

They are partly settled and partly nomad, the former numbering about 4,000 men, the latter 3,000.

The villagers are by no means wealthy, but there is a sufficiency of rain to enable them to cultivate in the summer, and their wells provide water to grow vegetables in the dry season. The two nomad sections are the Rabī'ah Weinah and the Marāhibah, the former strung out along the Qunfudah–Barak road, the latter roaming the country to the south of Qunfudah, along the coast and inland. They are rich in camels, and are the chief carriers to Hāli, Muhā'il, and Barak. Most of them carry antiquated rifles, swords, and a curved knife about 3 ft. long, called a *Janbiyān*. They also supply Qunfudah with milk, and are looked down on by the more independent tribes, both for this practice and for their lack of prowess in war.

Hasan ibn Khidhr is the principal Sheikh of the whole tribe, a man of about 30, who has proved a faithful servant of the Turks. He held firm when the Idrīsi threatened Qunfudah in 1912, and was given 2,000 rifles by the Turks for defence. The Beni Zeid doubtless owe a great deal to the Turks, for they are on terms of

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enmity with their neighbours the Belā'ir and 'Umr, and are raided by such distant tribes as the Beni 'Īsa, Dhawi Barakāt, and Dhawi Hasan, who slip through the Zobeid country and back again before they can be brought to book. The Zobeid themselves regard them with tolerance, and the Beni Ya'lah are their allies.

Chief Sheikh : Hasan ibn Khidhr.

(*a*) Settled. 4,000.

Chief villages :—

Jā'	Hasan ibn Khidhr.
Zayālah	Midhish.
Ahl Dār el-Wādi	Medīni.
Sa'dah	Jemāl el-Leil.
'Abīd es-Sa'dah	Jauhar.
Mashā'ikh	Mohammed ibn Misfir.
Rahmān	Abu 'Ajīl.

(*b*) Nomads.

Rabī'ah Weinah	Mohammed Khenein.	1,000.
Marāhibah	Mohammed Abu Jabbār.	2,000.

55. *Beni Zeid* (*Southern*)

A small tribe, numbering about 1,500 souls, inhabiting the mountains immediately to the east of the Beni Hasan. The paramount Sheikh of the tribe and of one of its subsections, the Beni 'Aqal, is Mohammed 'Ali Sebāk. They are on friendly terms with the Beni Hasan, who stand in fear of them, and close allies with the Beni Aslam. They are old enemies of the Beni 'Abs, but sink their differences when fighting for Idrīsi, as they are doing now.

56. *Zobeid*

The Zobeid are a detached section of the Harb, and indeed are locally called Harb as often as by their real name. When on the Pilgrimage, they generally visit their northern brethren, and are received with honour, and similarly extend a warm welcome to any Harbi who may be in their country. They are hospitable and well conducted, and appear to possess the bravery of their race without its traditional lawlessness.

Their boundary starts about 7 miles north of Qunfudah and, after running along the coast for rather more than 20 miles, turns inland and follows the Dhawi Barakāt boundary till it reaches the Zahrān.

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From there it runs parallel to the coast and about 30 miles inland along the confines of the Zahrān, Ghāmid, Bal'aryān, and Beni Shihir till it reaches a point due east of Qunfudah and then follows the boundaries of the Belā'ir and Beni Zeid to the sea.

The Zobeid are settled in permanent villages and are rich in cattle. Their land near the sea is barren, except in the wadis, but increases in richness and fertility as soon as the mountains are reached.

They are said to number 15,000 men, and their paramount Sheikh is Mu'ādi ibn Khair. The whole tribe is strongly in favour of the Idrīsi, and pay him taxes. They are equally strong in their feelings against the Turks, who in spite of their proximity have not ventured to interfere with them for years. Their chief enemies are the Beni Shihir, but they dislike and despise the Beni Zeid. With the Dhawi Barakāt, the Ghāmid, and Zahrān they are friends. The Zobeid go in for gun-running to a certain extent, buying their rifles from Ru'eis near Jiddah, or from Birk, and selling them chiefly to the Zahrān.

Paramount Sheikh : Mu'ādi ibn Khair. 15,000 men.

Clans :—

Āl Khair	Hasan ibn Mohammed.
Beni Zibdah	'Ali ibn Halīm.
Āl Sa'īdah	Mubārak ibn Bekhīt.
Āl Imlāhi	Mīhi ibn Mohammed.
Beni Etma	Yahya ibn Sālim.
Āl Sula'bah	Ahmed el-Hayyāni.
Āl Difra	Hanash ibn Qarāwish.
Āl Mashāf	Museibikh ibn Mufarrih.
Āl Jamīl	Hādi ibn Er-Rabh.
Jadreimah	Mizhar ibn Sihmān.
'Ajelein	Ahmed el-Humrāni.

C. Tribes of Yemen

1. *Āl 'Absi* (*'Absīyah*)

The Āl 'Absi extend from the coast S. of Hodeidah to the fort of J. Bura', about 30 miles from W. to E. and 15 miles N. to S. The E. half of their country is fertilized by W. Sihām, and the southern part by W. Ghadīr. Their numbers are estimated at 5,000 to 6,000 men, divided into the following sections : Rabasah (round Hodeidah), Munāfirah (E. of these), Hawwah (round Mandar, on the coast, 10 miles S. of Hodeidah), B. Sālih (under J. Bura'), Ahl el-Khalīfah,

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Ahl esh-Sha'rah (E. of Marwah), Dār ed-Dōm and Ahl Assabt el-Haradah (near J. Bura').

The principal sheikh is Suleimān Hasan of Mahad. There are important settlements of Seyyids at Marwah and at Mansūrīyah.

Principal villages :—

'Asal (Sheikh Yahya Harisah).	Mandar ('Ali Wahhābān).
Mahad (Suleimān Hasan).	Khalīfah (Moh. 'Atīyah).
Mukeiminīyah (Yūsuf 'Ali).	Shar'a (Moh. Suleimān).

2. *Amarīyīn*

A small Zeidi tribe, living round Jebel Qara, on the boundaries of the Hāshid country, about 20 miles NW. of Shehārah. They own 15 or 20 small villages, of which the largest is Beit Jashīsh. Their chief Sheikh is Sheikh Daghshar, a man of about 55, who has considerable influence in the country round. He is a great friend of the Imam and has frequently tried to make peace between him and the Idrīsi.

3. *Aflāh*

A small and unimportant tribe allied to the Khairān, to the east of the Beni Aslam in Hajūr. Half Zeidi.

4. *Beni Ahlās*

A small tribe, numbering about 2,400 souls, of the Dā'ūdīyah sect, settled to the east of the Beni Murrah and Beni Muqātil, with whom they are allied. They are good fighters and support the Turks, chiefly by reason of their hatred of the Imam and his Zeidi followers. Coffee and *kat* are grown in their country. Their chief Sheikh is Nāsir Husein el-Ahlāsi, an old man of about 65, who visited Constantinople just before the deposition of Sultan Abd el-Hamīd.

Chief villages : Seihān, Marābah, Rabitah, and Masna'ah.

5. *Ahl 'Ammar*

A large and peaceful Zeidi tribe about 20 miles NE. of Qa'tabah, living round Shekāb 'Ammar, and cultivating cereals and *kat* in Wādi Bana. They are descended from Ma'az ibn Jebel Qurishi, who originally lived at Medina, and being sent by the Prophet to the Yemen as governor, settled in Wādi Bana, where his descendants still are.

Paramount Sheikh : Tāhir Husein el-Farah, of the clan Beit el-Farah.

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They come under the Kaimmakam of Qa'tabah, and are allied with the 'Ūd and the Ahl Shā'ir. 101

The chief clans are Beit el-Farah (Sheikh Tāhir Husein) and Beit et-Tayyib (Sheikh Hizām es-Sāwi). 619 622

6. *Āl 'Ammar*

A large Zeidi tribe descended from Beni Tamīm, owning land round Sa'dah, and leading a nomadic life in the mountains to the E. In the south they go down the W. Amashīyah to the country of the Hāshid, with whom they are on good terms. They are excellent fighters and firm adherents of the Imam, whose representative at Sa'dah is Seyyid Mohammed abu Nuweibah, and generally at feud with the Āl Damaj.

Chief Sheikhs: Seyyid 'Abdullah el-Ma'an, Hādi abu Shihah, and 'Ā'idh ibn 'Ali.

Settled. Chief clans: Beni Merj (Hasan Kumalli), B. Surūr (Sālih 'Atīf), 'Abādilah ('Abdullah el-'Abdāli), B. 'Abdān ('Ali 'Abdān).

Nomads. Chief clan: B. Ruham.

7. *'Anazah*

Two sections. Sunni; agricultural.

(*a*) Between the Wa'zāt and the Najrah, in the mountains. Chief Sheikhs are Ibn Mas'ūd and Husein ibn 'Ali. Neutral towards the Wa'zāt. Favour the Imam.

(*b*) S. of J. Reima and W. of the Anīs, with whom they are not friendly. They hate the Imam and also the Turks, by whom they have been greatly persecuted. Their chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Yahya, a man of 45, who has made overtures to the Idrīsi.

8. *Anīs*

The boundaries of the Anīs stretch from a short distance west of Dhamār due north nearly to Wa'lān, keeping always a short distance to the west of the Dhamār–San'ā road. To the west they extend along the B. Matar confines almost to Mefhaq and then, skirting Menākhah, and cutting the W. Siham, go down a few miles south of Jebel Reima, and then across almost to Dhamār.

The paramount Sheikh is 'Ali Miqdād, who lives at Jebel esh-Sharq. He is a man of about 50, and used to be a firm adherent of the Imam. He fought for him in 1911 and captured the Turkish Kaimmakam of Dhur'ān, Zakari Bey. In August 1916, however,

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101 he was reported to have quarrelled with the Imam and closed the road against him. The Imam accused him of collecting revenues
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622 men, but not more than 3,000 can take the field owing to lack of rifles. Their country is fertile, wheat, oats, barley, and *dhura* being the principal crops. They are on good terms with their northern neighbours the Beni Matar. They dislike the Arabs of Jebel Reima, and also the Khaulān, whom they fought 12 years ago. With the Beni Muqātil, who are of the Dā'ūdīyah sect and opposed to the Imam, they have a long-standing feud. There is a well-known Seyyid at Dhur'ān, their chief town, by name Seyyid 'Ali ibn Ismā'īl. He was exiled to Rhodes by Ahmed Pasha Feizi, but was pardoned and is now the Imam's representative with the Anīs.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali el-Miqdād.

Representative of the Imam: Seyyid 'Ali ibn Ismā'īl.

Other Sheikhs are:

Mohammed el-Hadrāni	of Hadrān.
Mohammed es-Siblāni	of Jebel esh-Sharq.
Sālih Heidra	of Sihām.
Fiki 'Ali el-Ani	of Hudra.
Mohammed Shaqdam	of Jebel Burhān.
Sa'īd el-Bā'i'	of Qā' el-Haqal.
Ahmed Sālih Shaqdam	of Wādi Qūma.
Sālih el-Barashi	of 'Udhein.
Mohammed 'Abdullah	of Nuweid.
'Ali Hātim	of Beni Hātim.
'Ali Sālih	of Beni Jaradah.
'Abd er-Rābih es-Senhāmi	of Mikhlāf ibn Hātim and half Fersh.
'Omar 'Ātif	of half Fersh.
Sa'īd esh-Shubai	of Shubai.

9. *Beni Aslam*

A large Shafei tribe with some 3,000 good fighting men, inhabiting the mountains to the east of the Beni 'Abs, with whom they have a feud which is only relaxed when the Idrīsi calls on the services of both. N. are the Khamāsīn; S. the Beni Nashar; E. the allied Zeidi tribes of Beni Ghill, Beni Zāfir, and Beni 'Azīz. They are separated from the Beni 'Abs by Wādi Ghadīr.

Chief village: Sūq Harīqah.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali Bedāwi of Sūq Harīqah.

Other Sheikhs: Husein Burt and his brother 'El-Effendi' of Gadr, and Ahmed Sultān of Sūq Harīqah.

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10. *Beni 'Awwam*

A small Zeidi tribe south-west of the Beni Husein and Wādi La'ah, and about 50 miles due east of Loheia in the mountains. Their chief Sheikhs are 'Ali Da'ām and Husein ibn Hasan. They come under the suzerainty of the Turks, but are said to be discontented with them and with the Imam.

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11. *Beni 'Azīz*

A small Zeidi tribe of Hajar el-Yemen, living at Hubūr Meili just to the south of the Beni Zāfir and Beni Ghill with whom they are allies. Formerly under the Turkish Markaz of Qufl, but came under the Imam by the treaty of 1911. Good fighters. Noted for their fruits, coffee, and *kat*.

12. *Bekīl*

See *Hāshid wa Bekīl*.

13. *Bura'*

Zeidi tribe living in Jebel Bura', SSW. of 'Ubāl. Chief Sheikh is Husein ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān el-Bura', who is on unfriendly terms with the Imam, and hates the Turks, under whose immediate jurisdiction he is. He is a friend of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt of the Hāshid. The tribe is allied to the Hufāsh, Sāri, and Mahweit. They are a peace-loving people, numbering about 2,000 men. Yahya 'Abad is the Sheikh appointed by the Turks over Jebel Bura', Hajeilah, and 'Ubāl. He is about 65 years of age and lives at Hajeilah, which, with 'Ubāl, can muster about 400 men. The chief villages are Manwab, Kamah, Fayish, and Rukab.

14. *Āl Damaj*

A small tribe to the E. of the Āl 'Ammar, with whom it is generally at feud. Little is known of it except that it is Zeidi and under the Imam. The chief Sheikh is Sa'd ibn Sa'd. The chief Seyyids are 'Ali ed-Damaji and Husein Merza'. The chief clans are Āl el-Wādi (Sheikh 'Abdullah), Āl 'Utuf, and Āl 'Awadah (Sheikh Qahtān Damaji).

15. *Garābih*

A small tribe of about 1,000 men settled in Wādi Sardūd, whose chief village is Dhāhi (Sheikh, Yahya 'Izzān). They number 400 fighting men, and their chief Sheikh is Hasan Ahmed es-Sulh.

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They are under the jurisdiction of the Kaimmakam of Bājil. Their fighting reputation is good : they are hostile to the Beni Suleil and the Quhrah, their northern and southern neighbours.

16. *Beni Ghill*

A small Zeidi tribe of Hajūr el-Yemen living in Mikhlāf el-Yemen, between the tribes of Beni Zāfir on the north and Beni 'Azīz on the south, with whom they are allied. Formerly under the Turkish Markaz of Qufl, but since the treaty of 1911 under the Imam : good fighters. Noted for their fruits, coffee, and *kat*.

17. *Hajjah*

Small Zeidi tribe in and round the town of Hajjah (Hadda). There is a Kaimmakam in Hajjah, so they come under the direct jurisdiction of the Turks, whom they dislike, and against whom they fought in 1911. Since the Imam made peace with the Turks their relations with him have been strained. Paramount Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Hizām. The tribe is descended from Beni Tamīm.

18. *Hamdān*

There are two sections of the Hamdān, both claiming descent from Qahtān.

(*a*) Hamdān esh-Shām, a very large Zeidi tribe, almost entirely Bedouin, and roaming over the country a day and a half to the north-east of Sa'dah. They are bounded on the north by the Yām tribes of Nejrān, east by the Bekīl, west by Bedouin tribes, and south by Bekīl nomads. At present they are on bad terms with the Imam. They are quite independent, and will fight for any one who pays them. Chief Sheikh is Sherif Sālih ibn 'Ali. They are of the same stock as the Hamdān el-Yemen, but too far off to be in touch.

(*b*) Hamdān el-Yemen.

Living to the W. and N. of San'ā, chiefly in Wādi Dhahir. They are of the same origin as the Hamdān esh-Shām. Owing to close proximity to San'ā, they do not show their real feelings, but are said to dislike the Turks and the Imam, and to have a secret understanding with Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt of the Hāshid. Their chief Sheikh, 'Ali Shawi', is in the pay of the Turks with the rank of mudir.

Chief clans : B. Dhurhān (Sherif 'Ali Hamūd), B. Beshir (Sheikh 'Alāwi), B. 'Afar, B. Dhayyān, B. Hārith, B. Meimūn (Sālih ibn Meimūn), B. Jabrān.

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Chief villages: Mehājir ('Ali Matlaq), Luqmah ('Ali Yahya el-Hamdāni), Tubar ('Ali et-Tubri), Qebīl (Ahmed Salāmah).

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19. *Hashābirah*

A small Sunni tribe living a few miles south of the Turkish post of Zeidīyah, east of the Kamarān Islands, and coming under the jurisdiction of 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni. To their south is the Quhrah tribe. They number between 250 and 300 fighting men, and their chief Sheikhs are Ismā'īl 'Ali and 'Abdullah Mashhur. Their chief villages are Qaryah, Dār el-Bahri, and Mahāl.

20. *Beni Hasheish*

A Zeidi tribe immediately to the north-east of San'ā, living in Wādi Sīrr, Wādi Sawān, and down to Jebel Nuqūm. They cultivate grapes extensively and also engage in trading. They muster some 1,500 men, but, living so near San'ā, possess few rifles. In sympathy they are pro-Imam. Their chief Sheikh is Muhsin el-Jamrah.

21. *Hāshid wa Bekīl*

It is not clearly established whether the Hāshid wa Bekīl are all of the same descent and therefore one tribe, or a confederation of two tribes of differing origin. The available evidence seems to show that the Hāshid trace their descent back to Himyar and the Bekīl to Qahtān. Whatever the truth, there is no doubt that their names are commonly linked together by natives in Yemen, that they are on terms of close friendship and have been so for many generations, and that together they form one of the most powerful tribal bodies in Southern Arabia. The home country of the Bekīl is to the east in Marashi and Barat, but, as will be seen from the description given below, there are also tribal units living in the midst of the Hāshid country and even so far south and west as Hajjah, Wādi Shīrs, and Mahweit. The Hāshid occupy the country from a few miles north of 'Amrān almost to Sa'dah, and to the west they extend almost to Hajūr. To the east they are settled in Bilād el-Kharf and round Dhibin, but their nomads wander far afield to the north and towards Barat and Jauf.

For many generations the fortunes of the Hāshid wa Bekīl have been intimately connected with those of the Imams of Yemen; and this must always be so, both on account of their common creed and because some of the chief strongholds of the Imam, such as Shehārah, Qāfilat 'Udhr, and Madān, are set in the midst of the

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Hāshid country. The Imams have drawn largely on the confederation for their fighting material, and in return have rewarded its chief men by governorships in different parts of the country. Thus, before the Ottoman conquest, the chief family of the Himrān tribe of Hāshid ruled all the country from Najrah to Wādi La' and Kaukebān, and the head of the Wada' governed Mikhādir just south of Jiblah. The leading Bekīl Sheikhs were equally powerful; and the family of Ausat held the overlordship of Ibb, Suhul, 'Udein, Nadrah, and Ta'izz, while the family of Shā'if were Emirs of Hajjah and Zufeir.

The conquest of the Yemen by Mukhtār Pasha in 1872 and the consequent restriction of the power of these Sheikhs left them with a strong hatred of the Turks and a lasting desire to regain their lost territories; and the many Yemenite revolts against Ottoman authority during the last forty years have always seen them taking a leading part. They bitterly resented the declaration of peace in 1911, and the Imam's treachery towards Idrīsi; and his proposition that they should pay taxes to the Turks caused Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt, the chief of the Himrān and paramount Sheikh of the Hāshid, to withdraw his tribes and enter into relations with the Idrīsi. A truce was arranged in the following year; but there is still bad feeling between the two which is not likely to cease until the Imam declares definitely against the Turks. The defection of so powerful a body of supporters has of course reacted in favour of Idrīsi, who during the last few years has been steadily working to make the feeling permanent. He has, however, to contend against a sentiment of loyalty to the Imam, which has been handed down for many generations, and his lack of ready cash has prevented him from doing more than keep relations between the latter and the confederation strained. He has been in constant touch with its chief Sheikhs for the last few years, and has said that money is the only thing required to bring them on his side.

The outstanding figure of the Hāshid wa Bekīl confederation is Sheikh Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt. This Sheikh, a man of forcible and ruthless character, has gained almost complete ascendancy over the Hāshid tribesmen and largely influences the Bekīl chiefs. He is cruel and unscrupulous, and will join whichever side pays him most. His power is such that, given adequate material help, he can in all probability force the Imam to what terms he likes.

No attempt has been made to estimate numbers in the account which follows, but the confederation is said to have put over 50,000 men in the field against the Turks in 1911.

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A. HĀSHID

The boundaries of the Hāshid have already been described. The tribe is largely an agricultural and pastoral one, but certain sections, especially the Himrān, are engaged in trade. 101 619 622

The most important sub-tribes are the Himrān, Dhu 'Udhrah, and Dhu Fari', and most of the tribal policy seems to be guided by Sheikhs Sālih ibn Muslih, Sālih Ma'id, Mas'ūd el-Barak, and Dirhem ibn Yahya, under the direction of Sheikh Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt. The only sections which have stood out against them and solidly supported the Imam are the Ahnum, Āl Ahim, Zuleimah, and the southernmost tribes, the Beni Surih and Arhab.

The country of the Hāshid is by no means uniformly fertile, and, in consequence, there are many nomad sections. Theoretically taxes are payable to the Imam, but of late years they have mostly found their way into the coffers of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt. The Seyyids are very powerful in the Hāshid country, Hūth being their most important centre in the Yemen after San'ā and Sa'dah. They stand with the Imam, or against him, according to the favours they receive from him. His meanness and parsimony seem to have sent the majority into Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt's camp.

The tribes which follow are placed in the order of what is believed to be their numerical and political importance, irrespective of their geographical position.

i. HIMRĀN

Chief Sheikhs :—

Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Tall, powerfully built, fair skinned with a small white beard. About sixty. Ambitious and unscrupulous. Rules chiefly by fear. Is rich through taxes levied on his people. His two chief sons are Hamūd (age about 35) and Nāsir (age about 25). His chief strongholds are 'at Hamri, Habūr, and Dhōfir.

Sālih ibn Muslih.

Nephew of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt and his most important lieutenant. Age about 40. Is rich and generous, and well liked by the people. Lives at Hamri.

Range :—

(*a*) The majority live in villages between Khamir and Hūth.

(*b*) There are several small sections in Wādi La'ah and Hajjah.

The Himrān traders travel over most of the Yemen. There are many of them in San'ā and Hodeidah.

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Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled between Khamir and Hūth :—
Dhu 'Ali, Dhu Mufarrih, Dhu Quteish, Beni Ma'mar, Dhu 'Ainash, Beni Shatir, 'Useimāt, Beni 'Amr, Dhu Hibah, Beni Jadā'an.
(*b*) Nomads, extending chiefly to the west :—
Beni Qeis, Dhu Mana', Beni Shāwiyah.
(*c*) Settled in Wadi La'ah and Hajjah :—
Beni Sirah, Deyaba', Āl 'Amr.

ii. Dhu 'Udhrah

Chief Sheikhs :—

Sālih ibn Ma'id el-Moghrabi.
Living in Khartūm. A firm friend of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt and a well-known warrior. Age about forty.
Mas'ūd el-Barak.
A rich man of about sixty. Is anti-Imam, but reported to be a coward.
'Ali ibn Sālih.
Supporter of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

(*a*) Due north of Hūth to Qāfilat 'Udhr, and to the east and west of the latter place.
Chief villages : Qāfilat 'Udhr, Butanah, Khartūm, Sadān, Haddad.
(*b*) A small section in Sherāf near Hajūr.
The Dhu 'Udhrah are traders, farmers, and shepherds. Their country is fertile and gives good crops. Those in Sherāf favour the Imam ; the rest are discontented with him, with the exception of the Beni Jukhdim.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled in the neighbourhood of Qāfilat 'Udhr :—
Beni Jukhdim, Beni Shosah, Beni Barak, Dhu Hatum, Beni Hilāl, Dhu Sukeibāt, Dhu Tamīm, Beni 'Arif, Beni Hadayān, Beni 'Anzah.
(*b*) Nomads round Qāfilat 'Udhr :—
Beni Hizein, Beni Jarad, Āl el-Wādi, Dhu Hātim, Beni Miqdad, Beni Bukr, Beni 'Aishan, Beni Sa'd, Hawāzim, Āl Mahsūr.
(*c*) Settled in Sherāf :—
Beni Hafaj, Beni Shammam, Beni 'Akm.

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iii. Dhu Fari'

Chief Sheikhs :—

Dirhem ibn Yahya Fari'.

One of the chief Sheikhs of Hāshid, and a friend of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Ahmed ibn Yahya Fari'.

Brother of above. Was subsidized by the Turks in 1911, and refused to rebel with his brother against the Imam. The latter attacked him and drove him out. He now lives chiefly in San'ā. Is in the confidence of the Imam and was chosen by him to take letters to the Sherif of Mecca in the autumn of 1915. He has little influence in the tribe.

'Ali ibn Yahya Fari'.

Brother of the above. Sides with Dirhem.

Hizām ibn Qasīm.

An important Sheikh in the tribe.

Range :—

From Wādi 'Amashīyah through Qā' el-Harf to Dhibin. Chief villages are Madhakah, El-Moghrabi, Khaiwān, 'Unqān.

The majority of the tribe are nomadic and rich in camels, cattle, and sheep.

Sub-Tribes :—

Suweidah, Āl Kethīrān, Beni Ibrāhīm, Beit en-Nefeish.

iv. Sufyān

*Chief Sheikhs :—*Munāsar el-'Useimi.
'Ali ibn Seilah.
'Abdullah el-Gharbi.

The above support Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

From Wādi 'Amashīyah to Qāfilat 'Udhr and west to Wādi Ahnum. Chief villages are Hajeirah and Mahāsir.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled :—

Beni Hilāl, Dhu 'Akam, 'Useimāt, Beni Ghanim, Damaj, Beni Nūf, Dhu 'Ibri, Beni Jurmān, Beni Khazan, Beni Turab.

(*b*) Nomads :—

'Awāmir, Beni Dhobyān, Āl Thawābah, Beni Fuwāz, Beni Shuheid, 'Ateibāt.

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v. Ahnum

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Chief Sheikhs :—

Qasīm Shebīb.
Supporter of the Imam and opposed to Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.
Seyyid Ahmed el-Madani.
Representative of the Imam.

Range :—

Wādi Ahnum and Bilād el-Hajar. Chief villages are Madān, Sūq el-Hajar, Jashīsh, Jelīlah, and Sameikah.

The Ahnum are a rich trading and agricultural community, and less quarrelsome than most of the other tribes of the confederation.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled :—

Beni Dubb, Dhu Sukeibāt, Beni Kindah, Āl Hāyim, Āl Mesh-hadi.

(*b*) Nomads :—

Beni Mohammed, Beni Harrāsh, Beni Sālih, Dhu Shahi, Beni Murdān, Beni Qureitah, Beni Sa'd, Beni Weil, Beni Hatum, Āl Khubeishah.

vi. Beni 'Arjalah

Chief Sheikhs :—

Ahmed el-Na'māni.
Sālih 'Arjalah.
Qasīm 'Arjalah.
The above are allied with Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

West of Shehārah. The country is fertile, and they are chiefly settled.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled :—

Beni Hamzah, 'Aneizah, Beni Saqaf, Beni Dinar, Āl Manāsīr, Beni Ahmed, Beni Khureimah, Qawāsim, Sherāfah.

(*b*) Nomads :—

Beni Shuqarah and Beni Sha'lān

vii. Suleimah.

Chief Sheikh and representative of the Imam :—

Seyyid Lutf Sari.

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Range :—

Between Khamir and Habūr. Entirely settled and agricultural. Supporters of the Imam.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Tamīm, 'Ajeilah, Āl Shadad.

viii. Āl Ahim

Chief Sheikhs :—

Abu Nā'ib.
Seyyid Ahmed Dabwān.
'Ali Sahil.
All firm adherents of the Imam.

Range :—

West of Ahnum and north of Hajūr. Mostly settled.

ix. Khiyar

Chief Sheikhs :—

'Ali ibn 'Ā'idh Shuweit.
An important man. Follower of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.
Sālih ibn 'Ali.

Range :—

Round Sūq el-Ghill, their chief market-place, due south of Khamir.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Qeis, Wad'ah.

x. Jaraf

Chief Sheikhs :—

Seyyid 'Ali and Husein 'Asheish.
Hereditary Sheikhs living at Sinnatein. Rich men. Partisans of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

Khamir to Ghail, inhabiting the same country as the Khiyar. Cultivators and traders.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Surein, Beni 'Aishah, Beni Mālik, Beni Ghathimah, Beni Muhsin, Dhu Zeid, Beni Sinān.

xi. Ahl el-Wādi

Chief Sheikh :—

Dabwān ibn 'Anz.

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101 A well-known warrior. Age about 35. Supports Nāṣir ibn Mabkhūt. Lives at Debbah.

• 619 *Range :—*

622 Khish Khash and Jebel Ghurbān to Khamir.
Chief villages are Debbah, Rahābah, and Qa'dah.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled :—
Beni el-Faqīh, Dhu Husein, Beni Harrāsh, Beni Nāji'.
(*b*) Nomads :—
Beni Madhkūr.

xii. Kharif

Chief Sheikh :—

Qā'id ibn 'Ali.
Partisan of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Range :—

South of Khamir. All settled.

Sub-Tribe :—

Āl 'Amrān.

xiii. Beni Sur'

Chief Sheikhs :—

Sakhr ibn Khālid.
Ahmed Wahhās.
Supporters of the Imam.

Range :—

East and north-east of 'Amrān in the district of Qā' el-Būn.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni 'Atīf, Beni Zuheir, Beni 'Ajlān, Beni Deheish, Beni Hujrah, Beni Suleimān, Beni Mukram, Āl 'Ardan, Beni Harbah, Sharakwah.

xiv. Arhab

Chief Sheikhs :—

Muhsin el-Qaramāni.
Thābit ibn Yahya Dugheish.
Seyyid 'Ali el-Arhabi. } Representatives of the Imam.
Seyyid 'Ali ibn el-Mutawakkil }

Range :—

All settled in the district of Qā' el-Būn. Pro-Imam.
Chief villages are Hijrah, 'Uri, Mahak, Duneidān, Sa'i.

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Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Bu'sān, Beni Adham, Beni 'Afar, Beni Mezwād, Beni Laqamah, Beni Jalīd, Beni Dugheish, Beni Dhofār, Beni Hideyah, Beni Harash, Beni Qafan.

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B. BEKĪL

The Bekīl are mainly settled in the oases of Barat, Ruhub, and Khabb, which lie some days to the NE. of the Hāshid territory, and they are engaged chiefly in the raising of horses and sheep. The most powerful tribe both in numbers and in military prowess is that of the Dhu Mohammed, whose Sheikhs have nearly all followed the fortunes of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt. The Bekīl tribesmen do not find their home-country sufficient for all their needs, and many have emigrated to Jauf and different parts of the Hāshid country. Thus whole tribes are found in the latter, such as the Beni Mālik near Shehārah and the Beni Jabr round Sūdah, while there are still in Hajjah, Wādi Shīrs, and Mahweit survivors from the old days when the Bekīl Sheikhs were all-powerful in those districts. The Bekīl and Hāshid Sheikhs are on terms of close friendship with the Dhu Husein of Jauf, so much so that the latter are sometimes spoken of as a part of the Bekīl. But there is no doubt that the Dhu Husein are descended from the Ashrāf (Sherifs), and they are therefore dealt with separately. The chief Sheikhs of the Bekīl are 'Abdullah ibn Ghazeilān, Yahya ibn Yahya esh-Shā'if, Nāji' ibn Yahya and Abu Harbah. No personal details are known about them except that they rose with Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt in 1911 against the Imam and have followed his fortunes ever since. The influence of the Seyyids of Hūth is almost as strong amongst the Bekīl as amongst the Hāshid. The Emir Seyyid Ibrāhīm Muhsin er-Rusās of Hūth is their chief Hākim Sherā'i, and he has agents all over their country collecting tithes.

The chief Bekīl tribes are as follows :—

i. DHU MOHAMMED

Chief Sheikhs :—

'Abdullah ibn Ghazeilān, of Dhu Ghazeilān.
Yahya ibn Yahya esh-Shā'if, of Shā'if.
Nāji' ibn Yahya, of Āl Ausat.
Abu Harbah.

Range :—

(*a*) The majority in Barat. Chief villages: Sūq el-'Anan and Rajuzah.

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101 (*b*) Small sections in Wādi Shīrs, Mahweit, and Hajjah.
Traders, shepherds, and horse-breeders.

•619 *Sub-Tribes :—*

622 (*a*) Settled in Barat :—
Dhu Ghazeilān, Shā'if, Āl Ausat, Āl 'Anan, Āl Abu Ras, Dhu Nafeishān, Āl Na'mān, Āl 'Arif, Dhu Hadeyān, Beni Hejlān.

(*b*) Nomads in Barat :—
Sheradrah, Beni Hātim.

(*c*) Settled in Hajjah :—
Dhu Ghazeilān.

(*d*) Settled in Wādi Shīrs :—
Āl Tufeyān. (Muhsin and 'Ali Tufeyān.)

(*e*) Settled in Mahweit :—
Beni Hebeish. (Naqīb Ahmed ibn Hebeish.)

ii. Āl Qa'aiti

Chief Sheikh :—
Yahya el-Qa'aiti.

Range :—
Khabb.

Sub-Tribes :—
Nomads : Ghufārah and Rimanah.

iii. Nihim

Chief Sheikhs :—
Mohammed ibn Misān.
Sālih el-'Awaj.

Range :—
Round Jebel Lōz in Barat.

iv. Beni Jabr.

Chief Sheikhs :—
Sa'd ibn Ahmed et-Tarāf.
'Abdullah et-Tarāf.

Range :—
Mostly settled near Sūdah in the Hāshid country.

Sub-Tribes :—
Beit en-Nini, Beni Nini.

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v. Beni Mālik

Chief Sheikhs :—

Ibn 'Ajmān.
Mohammed el-Kamarāni.

Range :—

Settled south of Beni 'Arjalah in Hāshid country. Chief villages are Rahābah, Harfah, Sayat, Heifah.

Sub-Tribes :—

(*a*) Settled :—
Beni Sinān, Beit el-Haddi, Dā'ūdah, Beni 'Askār, Beni Iswid, Beni Thaqāfah, Beni Kenānah.
(*b*) Nomads :—
Beni Dā'ūd, Beni Fadl, Beni Misbah.

22. *Beni Hubeish*

A Zeidi tribe about 40 miles west of San'ā. Revolted with the Kam'ālah and other Zeidi tribes under Emīr esh-Shibi against the Turks in 1914.

23. *Beni Hibah*

A small Zeidi tribe under the Imam to the east of the Beni Aslam in Hajūr.

24. *Hufāsh*

A tribe between Jebel Melhān and Bājil. They are Zeidis and belong to the Imam, though they come immediately under the authority of the Turks, whom they hate. They are allies of their northern neighbours the Sāri and Mahweit, and also with the Bura' of Jebel Bura'. Chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Yahya.

25. *Beni Husein*

A small Zeidi tribe just to the NW. of Hisn Jemīmah and west of the Beni 'Udhāqah and Jebel Meswar. Pro-Imam. Sheikh, Ahmed Husein. Formerly under Seyyid Ahmed ibn Mohammed el-Kaukebāni, Emir of Kaukebān and the surrounding country. Seyyid Ahmed was defeated by Mukhtār Pasha and died in captivity at San'ā. His family, Beit Sherāf ed-Dīn, fled to Hūth. There is a small Turkish garrison at Hisn Jemīmah.

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26. *Dhu Husein*

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The Dhu Husein are a powerful tribe of Sherifial descent inhabiting the fertile oasis of Jauf. Although somewhat isolated by reason of the distance which separates them from the main centres, they have always kept in close political and commercial touch and have played an important part in the history of the Yemen. Their relations have always been intimate with the Hāshid wa Bekīl, so much so that they are sometimes spoken of as forming an integral part of that confederation. The troubles between the latter and the Imam have had their effect on the Dhu Husein and drawn them into two opposing camps, of which the larger seems to have remained faithful to its old allegiance.

There are several Sheikhs who appear to rank equally in importance. Of these, Sherif Ahmed ibn Husein has always supported the Imam and gave him valuable help against the Turks in 1911. Sherif Muhsin ibn 'Abdullah is also a trusted friend and was sent by the Imam to Aden on a political mission in August 1914. Previously he had commanded an army against the Idrīsi.

The chief opponent of the Imam and a close friend of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt is Husein ibn Thawābah.

The tribe is noted for its fighting qualities, and its Sheikhs are better educated than is commonly the case in Yemen, their capital, Matamah, being a well-known centre of learning. The Dhu Husein go in largely for horse-breeding, and own perhaps the best pedigree stock in Southern Arabia.

The chief sub-tribes are:

Āl Thawābah (Sheikh Husein ibn Thawābah); Beni Furyān (Sheikh Suleimān ibn Ahmed); Dhu Gheilān; Āl Wajhah (Sheikh Nāsir el-Akhram); Dhu 'Akam; Beni 'Aseyān; Beni Hāshim.

27. *Beni Ismā'īl*

A small Shafei tribe in the mountains round Menākhah, numbering about 2,500 souls, and neutral during its siege in 1911. They are now under Turkish domination. They are brave and well armed. Their country is fertile, producing coffee and cereals. The chief Sheikh is 'Ali Muhsin Yahya. The chief clans are: Āl Jaradi, Āl Jebāli, Beni 'Atīyah, Beni Bisher, and Beni Rajab. The chief villages are Masāribah, Jalbein, Jurn Ja'dal, and Jurn 'Arah.

28. *Jāmi'*

A Shafei tribe just north of Loheia and east as far as Zāhirah, which is their chief village. In 1911 they fought the Turks on

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behalf of Idrīsi, but they are now close allies of Ibn El-Heij of the Wa'zāt. The chief Sheikh is Mohammed Zeid, who comes from the Ashrāf of Sabia, and is Mudīr of Zāhirah. He is under his cousin Sherif Hamūd, the Kaimmakam of Loheia, who lives at Mutāridh, and governs the Beni Jāmi' and Wa'zāt.

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29. *Jemīmah*

A small Zeidi tribe living round Jebel Jemīmah, about 15 miles east of Qufl in Hajūr. They are outside Turkish jurisdiction, and are ruled by the Imam's nominee, Seyyid Ahmed ibn Qasīm. Their chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Nāsir.

30. *Beni Juma'ah*

A powerful and independent Zeidi tribe, partly nomad but chiefly settled, living in the country north-east of Abu 'Arīsh almost to Jebel Razah. Eight years ago the important Sheikh, Seyyid ed-Dahyāni, at that time Emir of Sa'dah and district, quarrelled with the Imam and fled to the Beni Juma'ah for protection. Since then he has lived with them and established a firm place for himself amongst them. He is a great friend of the Idrīsi, whom the Beni Juma'ah also support.

31. *Kam'ālah*

A Zeidi tribe about 40 miles west of San'ā, which revolted with the Beni Hubeish and others against the Turks in 1914 under Emīr esh-Shibi.

32. *Khaulān*

There are two branches of this tribe.

(1) Khaulān et-Tawāl. A Zeidi tribe to the east and south of San'ā, inhabiting the country on either side of Wādi Meswar. They are settled and agricultural, and number 7,000 to 8,000 fighting men. Kibs, 3 hours due east of San'ā, is their chief town, and the head-quarters of the influential Seyyid family of Kibs. Seyyid Ahmed Mab'ūth el-Kibsi and his brothers Seyyid Husein and Seyyid Mohammed ibn Ismā'īl are the heads of the family. The Khaulān have always fought for the Imam. The representative of the Imam, who is responsible for the collection of tithes, is Seyyid 'Abbās. The Khaulān dislike the Anīs, and fought them 12 years ago owing to the expulsion of a Khaulāni from Anīs.

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They trace their descent to Ghassān. Sālih ibn Mohammed et-Tawāl is the most important Sheikh of this tribe.

The chief clans are: Beni Jābir ('Abdullah ibn Sa'īd el-Jabri), Beni Kibs (Seyyid Hasan ibn Mohammed el-Kibsi), Yemanyatein ('Abdullah es-Sufi), Beni Dhobyān ('Ali Mahdi Shudeiq), Sihmān ('Ali ibn Yahya el-Qādhi), Beni Sihām (Muhsin ibn Muhsin en-Nini), Sa'b (Sālih ibn Mohammed Talwah).

The chief villages are: Husn Dhobyatein, Dhobeinah, Qada', Beit Nini, Qarwah, Marbūk, Tanam, Shafīq.

(2) Khaulān esh-Shām. A strong fighting Zeidi tribe in the fertile country between Jebel Murran and Jebel Razah due west of Sa'dah. They are related to the southern Khaulān, but are too far off to be in touch with them. They have a good fighting reputation and are allied with the Beni Murran, the Āl 'Ammar, and the Sahār in opposition to the pro-Idrīsi tribes of Jebel Razah. The Imam has a fortress at their chief village, Saqein, from which his representative and one of his chief military leaders, Seyyid Qasīm Seifi, governs the tribes of the district. Here lives also the Paramount Chief, Sheikh Jum'ān ibn Safīq. The country is said to contain gold, and is rich in wheat and coffee, of which last a large quantity is exported into Asir through Dahrān.

Chief divisions: Beni Quteim (Sheikh El-Jā'fari), Āl Thureim (Sheikh El-Hajj), Beni Kumamah (Sheikh Abu Qutābah), Beni Juma'ah (Sheikh Jum'ān ibn Safīq), Kadubah, Marwah (Seyyid 'Abd el-Bāri), Mansūrīyah (Ahmed Yahya Bahr), Quti' (Mohammed Hamūd), Ghanamīyah, Āl Fudhah and Beni Qobah (Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Fudhah), Beni Hāshim (Sheikh 'Abdullah 'Adham), 'Anazah (Sheikh Dabwān). Seyyid Ahmed Yahya Bahr is of great influence in the Tihāmah and looked on by the Suleil, Qahrah, 'Absi, and Zaranik as their religious leader.

Chief villages: Saqein, Tawīlah, and Shi'bah.

33. *Kheirān*

A small and unimportant tribe, allied to the Aflāh, to the east of the Beni Aslam, in Hajūr. Half Zeidi.

34. *Beni Khotab*

A small Zeidi tribe settled about three hours' journey S. of Menākhah. They number about 2,300 souls, and are under the Turks. Chief Sheikh: Husein el-Mudmāni. Chief villages: Hasabar, B. 'Atab, Juda, Beit Madar, Mujwarat el-Kirham.

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35. *Kokha*

A tribe near Mocha, which fired on a ship's cutter of H.M.S. *ama* and killed two men late in 1915. The Sheikh was made risoner, but disavowed complicity, and after being taken to Aden was released. Commerce between Aden and Kokha was forbidden. The Sheikh is a figurehead and powerless, but inimical to the Turks.

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36. *Mahweit*

A Zeidi tribe just south of Jebel Milhān. They are directly administered by the Turks, but are in favour of the Imam, and are allies of their southern neighbours the Hufāsh, Sāri, and Bura' of Jebel Bura'.

37. *Makārimah*

A small remnant, numbering about 2,600 men, of the house of Makrami, the ruling family of Yām, still left in the district of Haraz. For 12 years the Makramis held the Emirate of Heima, Haraz, Menākhah and district by gift from the Imam Muhsin, but they were expelled by Mukhtār Pasha in 1872. Their followers who remained behind have little political importance now, and are chiefly engaged in trade. Like the rest of their tribe they are of Ismā'īliyah sect. In 1911 they fought for the Turks against the Imam. They occupy the villages of Mughāribah, Safīyah, Beit el-Hūd, Khiyam, Beit el-Ghail, Beit el-Akhbari, and Qushamīn. Their chief Sheikh is Qā'id el-Luf, who lives at Mughāribah. They are continually at feud with the Shafei, Zeidi, and Dā'ūdīyah tribes of the vicinity.

38. *Manāri*

The mercantile tribe of the district between Loheia and Hodeidah, peace loving and settled. Their chief village is Munīrah ; Seyyid Mohammed en-Niha is their principal Sheikh. They come under 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni and possibly are a section of the Beni Suleil.

39. *Beni Marhab*

A small Zeidi tribe immediately to the west of Zufeir, who come under the Kaimmakam of Hajjah, and are of no political importance.

40. *Masār*

A Zeidi tribe in the mountains round Menākhah, who were neutral during its siege in 1911. They inhabit the Masār block of hills which bears WNW. of the town and ends west of it. The

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chief sheikh of Masār and the villages round it is Ahmed el-Jans, a man of about 55 and a large landowner.

41. *Beni Matar*

A strong Zeidi tribe in the fertile country between Wa'lān and Mefhaq, just north of the Anīs, with whom they are on good terms. They are hostile to the Imam, who assassinated their chief Sheikh, Ibn Rumāh, whilst a guest of his at San'ā in 1905. At present Mohammed ibn Hasan Rumāh is their head, appointed Mudir by the Turks. 'Ali ibn 'Ali es-Salāmi of Hijrat Ibn Madi is another important chief.

42. *Mekhādir*

A small Zeidi tribe half an hour south of Jiblah. For many years they were ruled by representatives of the Wad'ah section of the Hāshid, until Mukhtār Pasha subdued Yemen and banished Ahmed ibn Muqbil el-Wada'i to his own country.

43. *Mesrūh*

A small Zeidi tribe under the Imam, just to the south of the Khamsīn, in the mountains about 30 miles east of Mīdi.

44. *Metwah*

A tribe in the mountains round Menākhah, which was neutral during its siege in 1911. Of the Dā'ūdīyah sect.

45. *Ahl Milhān*

These live in a mountain district N. of Wādi Sardūd and E. of the Suleil country. It is a small district but very fertile, with a population estimated at 10,000. The principal Sheikh is Ibrāhīm Hasan es-Sujaf of Khuslah. The clans are: Ma'zibah, Habbāt, Beni Useifri, Hamdān, Beni 'Ali, Jubah, Yamamīyah, Beni Wahhāb, Āl 'Asabah, Āl Khuslah, Surub, and Āl Mahras.

46. *Beni Mohammed*

A small tribe east of Kamarān. South of the Beni Qeis and between Zeidīyah and the hills. Sheikh, 'Ali Saghīr. 250 fighting men.

47. *Muqātil*

A warlike tribe in the hilly country between Menākhah and Mefhaq, Hīsn 'Awwād being their chief fortress. During the siege

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of Menākhah in 1911 their country was overrun by the Imam's troops, and they fought against him in self-defence. They bear no love to the Turks, but on that occasion were glad to receive arms and food from the Kaimmakam of Menākhah in return for their help. They are of the Dā'ūdīyah sect and are markedly hostile to their Zeidi co-religionists, such as the Anīs. They muster between 2,400 and 2,700 fighting men, and are allied with the Beni Murrah and Beni Ahlās. 101 619 622

48. *Beni Murrah*

A small tribe of the Dā'ūdīyah sect, inhabiting with the Muqātil and Beni Ahlās, their allies, the country between Menākhah and Mefhaq. They have no love for the Turks, and equally little for the Imam and his followers, whom they fought in 1911. They number about 2,500 souls and their mountainous country produces coffee and *kat*. The chief Sheikh is Hibah Murrah, a rich old man. The chief villages are: Luqmat el-Qādhi, Hamīdi, Luqmat el-Miq'ab, Hisn Ibn ez-Ziyād, and Zayah.

49. *Beni Murran*

The Beni Murran inhabit the rich coffee country round Jebel Murran which lies a few miles W. of Sa'dah. Their chief village is at Tawīlah on the slopes of Jebel Murran. The tribe, reported strong, supports the Imam and fought for him against Idrīsi in 1911. Hizām ibn Qā'id et-Tawāfi is Paramount Chief, and the Imam's representative is Seyyid Qasīm ibn Yahya. The chief divisions are Beni Sa'd, Beni Dheiba'i, Hawāzim, Hijrah, and Hadahidah.

50. *Qafalīyah*

A small Zeidi tribe attached to the Imam, north-east of the Beni Aslam in Hajūr.

51. *Beni Qeis*

The Beni Qeis occupy Wādi Maur and Wādi La'ah from their confluence near Raighah for a day's march E. The country is well watered with springs and running streams. Their hill camels take over caravans coming from the plains and carry up the traffic through the difficult passes leading to Sūq Shiris and Hajjah. The principal Sheikh is 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni of Raighah, whose father was Kaimmakam and very influential. But the Beni Qeis now incline towards the Idrīsi. They are about 2,000 men. The principal villages are Raighah, Tōr, and Musallam.

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52. *Quhrah*

101 An important tribe on the first stages of the Hodeidah–San'ā road from the sea, for about 50 miles E., as far as Hajeilah. Their neighbours are: on the N. the Jarābihah; E. the tribes of Jebel Haraz and Jebel Bura'; and S. the 'Abs. Between the coast and Bājil, 25 miles, the country is mostly desert, and the inhabitants live in temporary huts in the Khabt: but E. of Bājil there is cultivation. The Quhrah own many camels, and transport from Hodeidah to Hajjeilah is mainly in their hands. They can put from 3,000 to 4,000 men in the field, and they gave valuable help to the Turks in 1911 when these occupied the Zahab heights. They are generally at feud with the Beni Suleil.

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The chief Sheikh is Mu'āfa Sherāf. Others are Hasan 'Abdullah and Ibrāhīm 'Ali. The chief villages are: Bājil (Sheikh 'Ayad ibn 'Ali Humeidah), Buhāh, 'Ubāl, and Hajjeilah (Seyyid Husein 'Ali).

53. *Rada'ah*

A Zeidi tribe living round the town of the same name ESE. of Dhamār. They are descended from Qahtān, and are chiefly cultivators and traders. Their chief Sheikh is Hamūd ibn Mohammed, who comes under the Turkish mutesarrif of Rada'ah.

54. *Rahāminah*

A small tribe south-west of Zebīd between Zebīd and Wādi Suweirah.

55. *Ahl Razah*

A Zeidi tribe living round Jebel Razah to the west of the Khaulān esh-Shām and Sa'dah. They are supporters of Idrīsi, and their country was the scene of the first fighting between Idrīsi and the Imam in 1912. Their chief fortress is Hisn en-Nazīr, situated on the slopes of Jebel Razah. The country is fertile, and coffee is largely grown, while there is said to be gold in the mountains. They claim descent from Khazraj, and acknowledge as chiefs Sheikh Ahmed ibn Sālih and Seyyid 'Ali ibn Huseini. The chief clan is the Dhu Hātim (Sheikh Sa'd 'Abdullah). Seyyid Yahya 'Arār ibn Nāsir, one of Idrīsi's chief muqdamis, administers the country of both the Ahl Razah and the Beni Juma'ah.

56. *Ahl Reimah*

The Ahl Reimah occupy the fertile Reimah massif, always spoken of by Arabs as the finest district in Yemen. Coffee, fruits of all

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sorts, and cereals are produced. The district is bounded on the N. by J. Bura' and Wādi Sihām; E. by Salfīyah and J. 'Utmah; S. by Wādi Reimah, and W. by the 'Abs and Zaranik districts. The Sheikh is Murshid ibn Mohammed el-Jābi, who is Turkish Kaimmakam. The Mudir is Seyyid Mahmūd. There are said to be seventy Sheikhs and seventy districts in J. Reimah, and a total strength of over 50,000 men. The principal clans are: Beni Waghid, Jad, Sa'īd, Walīd, Mukhtār, Tuleibi, Mas'ab, Ghuzi, Nomah, Yafuz, Ahl Dalamlam, Beni Harazi, Ahmed, Khudam, Ahl Jābi, and Beni en-Nahāri. The last defeated a Turkish expedition sent to collect taxes in 1914 and captured the Kaimmakam of Menākhah. Their chief Sheikh is Seyyid 'Abdullah en-Nahāri. His brother, the late Sheikh, Yahya, was defeated by the Turks, and died a captive. This clan is generally on bad terms with the Anīs.

Principal villages: Jābi (head-quarters of the district and of Sheikh Murshid), Raubat en-Nahāri (Sūq of Sheikh Murshid), Kusmah, 'Alujah (Sūq of Sheikh Mahmūd), and Hadīyah.

57. *Beni Sa'fān*

A tribe in the mountains WNW. of Menākhah, and separated from it by the Masār block of the Dā'ūdīyah sect. They helped the Turks in 1911, and 'Abdullah Beshīr, their Sheikh, by his friendly co-operation, enabled the Turks to turn the Imam's flank and relieve Menākhah. He is about 65, an experienced fighter. The tribe is a large one, numbering nearly 10,000 souls. It is generally on bad terms with the neighbouring Shafei, Zeidi, and Ismā'īlīyah tribes.

The chief clans are: Beni 'Ali Yahya and Beni Hārūn. The chief villages are: Metwah, Za'lah, Ashkar, Jari, Sharaji, Mujwan, and Hijri.

58. *Sahār*

The Sahār are a fairly numerous tribe, of which the settled portion lives in and round the town of Sa'dah and is engaged in agriculture and trading. Owing to internal disunion and an absence of tribal feeling it does not possess the political importance which its numbers should warrant. The villagers are all under the authority of the Imam, but the nomads are almost completely independent and are accustomed to range far afield to the north and east in the direction of Nejrān and Barat. The tribe keeps on good terms as a rule with its neighbours, the Hāshid and the Arabs of Khaulān esh-Shām.

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'Ali Ma'wad is the chief Sheikh of the settled portion. Seyyid Ahmed and Qasīm el-Hāshimi are the representatives of the Imam.

Settled :—

Chief clans : Beni Hāzim (Sheikh Tabrān Muqbil), Beni Sa'd (Sheikh Taheir), Beni Hamdān and Āl Nuqeim (Sheikh Hamdān el-Jirbi), Beni Dhufeir (Sheikh 'Abdullah Dahmi), Beni Sineidar (Sheikh Ahmed Sineidar), Beni Hurān and Beni 'Umarah (Seyyid Qasīm), Beni Jurmān (Ahmed el-Hāshimi), Beni Juma'ah (Sheikh Dahmash).

Nomads :—

Chief clans : Āl Sinān and 'Amālaqah (Sheikh Sālih Qādir), Beni 'Ajlah and Beni Hureimah (Sheikh Ibn el-'As), Beni Shāmi and Beni Beddar (Sheikh 'Ali el-Wada'i), Beni 'Awad and Beni Haddād (Sheikh Mansūr el-Haddād).

59. *Sāri*

A tribe just north of the Hufāsh and south of the Ahl Jebel Milhān, whose chief Sheikh is Sālih ibn Muslih. They are Zeidis and under the Imam, but their country is administered by the Turks, whom they hate. Allied with their northern neighbours, the Mahweit, also with the Hufāsh and Bura'.

60. *Senhān*

A small Zeidi tribe stretching from just south of San'ā to Mehāqarah and the northern edge of the Bilād er-Ruhus. On the east they are bounded by the Khaulān. They are entirely devoted to cultivation, and number about 700 men. Seyyid Mohammed Sibsib of Mehāqarah is the chief Sheikh. The tribe is loyal to the Imam, who has his representative, the Qādhi Lutf ez-Zubeir, living there.

The chief villages are : Na'd, Jūzah, Qulfān, Hazyaz, Lubād, Safīyah, Mehāqarah, and Sha'asān.

61. *Serbih*

Their stronghold is Da'ān, 3 hours north of 'Amrān. Their chief is Sheikh Rājih, who was granted the grade of Mirmirān before the Constitution and was made Pasha to secure his loyalty, but he remained staunch to the Imam and fought against the Turks in 1911. Peace was signed at Da'ān between 'Izzet Pasha and the Imam in 1911.

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62. *Ahl Sha'ir*

A large and peaceful tribe inhabiting the district round Jebel Sha'ir in Southern Yemen. They cultivate *kat* and cereals in the fertile valley of Wādi Bana. Their paramount Sheikh is Sālih ibn Yahya Hizām, of the Beni Hizām, who comes under the Kaimmakam of Qa'tabah. Sheikh Hajj el-Kabs of the Beni Kabs and Yahya el-Qeishi are also important men in the tribe.

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63. *Shamar*

A small Zeidi tribe attached to the Imam, north-east of the Beni Aslam, in Hajūr.

64. *Shemsān*

A small Zeidi tribe numbering about 1,000 souls, east of the Beni Ghill in Hajūr. They pay outward allegiance to the Imam, but are said to favour the Idrīsi. Their chief is Seyyid Yahya ibn el-Hādi.

65. *Beni Suleil*

The Beni Suleil occupy a large area from the coast opposite Kamarān to the foot of the hills below Jebel Milhān. On the north they have the Bu'ajah, Za'līyah, and Beni Qeis, on the east the Beni Qeis, and on the south the Hashābiri, who are perhaps really only one of their sections.

The main road, which runs north and south through the Tihāmah near the foot of the hills, passes through their country, as well as that of those other tribes mentioned above, and they and the Beni Qeis control the caravan trade going up to the Wādi Maur. Estimates of their numbers vary from 1,500 to 10,000 fighting men. The western part of their territory is desert, but they have a good deal of cultivable land under the foot-hills in the east.

The tribe supports the Turks, and their two chief men, 'Abdullah el-Bōni and 'Abdullah Kauzi, have each received the title of Pasha and been appointed Kaimmakam of Zeidīyah and Mudir of Kenāwuz respectively. They are friendly with the Wa'zāt but independent of them. Towards the Quhrah they are always hostile.

Their chief villages are: Zeidīyah (Sheikh 'Ali Nukar), Kenāwuz, Ibn 'Abbās, and Salīf on the coast. There are important salt-works at the last named, and a jetty where sea-going ships come alongside.

66. *Ahl el-'Ūd*

A large and peaceful tribe living about 13 miles north-west of Qa'tabah, and coming under the Turkish Kaimmakam of that place.

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They live round Jebel Madra, and cultivate *kat* and cereals in Wādi Bana. Hizām es-Sayādi is their chief Sheikh.

67. *Udhāqah*

A Zeidi tribe who claim descent from 'Anazah and 'Adnān, and live round Jebel Meswar to the west of 'Amrān, where there is a strong fortress at present occupied by the Turks. Their Emir is Seyyid Mohammed ibn El-Hādi, a servant of the Imam.

68. *Wa'zāt*

The Wa'zāt occupy the country to the north of Loheia, which has been the scene of the recent fighting between the Turks and the Idrīsi. To the north Wādi 'Ain and Wādi Wārith form the boundary between them and the pro-Idrīsi tribe of Beni 'Abs; to the east are the Beni Nashar; to the south their boundary is the Wādi Maur, including Mutāridh and Ghanamah, but not Zāhirah, which belongs to the Beni Jāmi'. Their chief villages are Mu'lūq, near Jebel 'Izzān in the district of Jarb, and Deiramshuma, a fortified Turkish post about an hour south of Wādi el-'Ain. The paramount Sheikh is Hādi ibn Ahmed el-Heij, a staunch supporter of the Turks who, always anxious to encourage the Sunni opponents of the Idrīsi, have made him Pasha and Mudir of the district. He comes second to the Sherif Hamūd, one of the Ashrāf of Sabia who have seceded from the Idrīsi, and who as Kaimmakam of Loheia governs the Wa'zāt and their allies, the Beni Jāmi'. Ibn El-Heij has long been opposed to the Idrīsi, and three years ago the Idrīsi captured his brother 'Abdullah and still holds him prisoner. With the Beni 'Abs the Wa'zāt have an ancient feud. During the Turko-Italian War Ibn el-Heij wavered in his allegiance and took money from the Italians, but in the past two years he has been most active on the Turkish side. In September 1915 he raided the Beni 'Abs and was wounded. The Idrīsi retaliated by cutting off his supplies, and Ibn el-Heij, finding himself short of food, and his followers beginning to desert, appealed to the Imam for help. The latter sent the discouraging reply that he would send troops if they were fed.

The Wa'zāt are reported to number between 1,500 to 3,000 fighting men. Sheikh 'Ali Ibrāhīm is the most important Sheikh after Hādi ibn Heij.

69. *Ya'bir*

A tribe of the Ismā'īlīyah sect in the district of Haraz, which sided with the Turks against the Imam in 1911.

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70. *Yām*

The Yām tribes form a powerful confederation. They stretch from the northern boundary of the Bekīl in Barat up the Wādi Nejrān and Wādi Habūnah far to the north in the direction of Tathlīth and Wādi Dawāsir. 101 619 622

Joseph Halévy, the only European who has visited their country, found it in 1870 a fertile and productive region inhabited by a well-to-do population. In religion they are Ismā'īlīyah and are known to the rest of Yemen as the Mu'tazilah or isolated sect; but as Wādi Nejrān was the last refuge of Christianity, and has remained far removed from external influence, it is possible that traces of the ancient worship still exist. Halévy was not long enough in the country to verify this, but the tolerance and even favour which he found extended to the Jews in Mikhlāf were hardly in the spirit of strict Mohammedanism. The religious chiefs are probably more orthodox than the bulk of the inhabitants, since they are in communication, not only with the chief Ashrāf of Yemen, but with the Āgha Khān, their spiritual head.

The ruling family is that of Makrami, descended from their famous ancestor who in the middle of the eighteenth century preached his reforming gospel from Nejrān to Hasa. About the middle of the nineteenth century they developed ideas of expansion and obtained from the Imam Muhsin in 1860 the Emirate of Heima, Haraz, and Menākhah. Their tenure, however, was short-lived, as in 1872 they were defeated and banished to their own country by Mukhtār Pasha. There is still a small remnant of the tribe, calling themselves the Makārimah, in the Haraz district, who fought for the Turks in 1911 but are chiefly traders and have little political importance.

The present Emir of Nejrān is Ismā'īl el-Makrami, who owes no allegiance. His tribesmen, however, are willing as a rule to serve as mercenaries with either the Imam or the Turks, if well paid. They have a reputation for ruthless bravery. Idrīsi has been in negotiation with them at various times during the present war, hoping with their help to force the Imam's hand against the Turks, but up to the present without result.

71. *Beni Zāfir*

A small tribe of Hajar el-Yemen living in Mikhlāf esh-Shems which is noted for its fruits, coffee, and *kat*. Formerly they were counted as in the Turkish Merkaz of Qufl, but after the treaty of 1911 between the Turks and the Imam they came under the juris-

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diction of the latter. They are Zeidis, good fighters, and allied with the neighbouring Zeidi tribes of Beni Ghill and Beni 'Azīz.

72. *Za'līyah*

A small tribe immediately to the south of Loheia and the Wādi Maur down to the Beni Suleil. They are independent of the Wa'zāt, their northern neighbours, and come under 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni. Sheikh Hādi 'Ali, living at Dār el-Muhannab, is their chief Sheikh. They number 400 men.

73. *Zaranik* (*Dharāniq*)

A powerful and warlike tribe divided into two sections, the Zaranik esh-Shām and Zaranik el-Yemen, and occupying the country between the sea and the hills from a few miles north of Beit el-Faqīh almost to Zebīd. The Zaranik have for long been a thorn in the side of the Turks, especially during the Turco-Italian War. Repeated expeditions have failed to subdue them, but latterly there have been reports that part of the highland section, under Sheikh 'Ali ibn Hamūd, have succumbed to Turkish bribes. Mohammed Yahya Fashīk, the chief of the lowland section and paramount over the whole tribe, living at Huseinīyah, nine miles north of Zebīd, has, however, continued to hold out stoutly. In November 1915 he made common cause with the Idrīsi in taking active measures against the Turks, and has succeeded in effectually cutting all communications in the Tihāmah from north to south. At the beginning of 1916 he was attacked by an irregular force from Mocha, increased by 300 Arabs under the leadership of Abela Effendi, the brother of Elias 'Osmān, Kaimmakam of Mocha, but unsuccessfully. In May 1916 he again took the offensive and looted the Turkish serai in Beit el-Faqīh. The two most important Sheikhs after Sheikh Fashīk, and closely allied with him, are Shāmi and Munāsar Saghīr of Kokar, chiefs of the Highland section. Other Sheikhs, of whom nothing is known save their names, are 'Abdullah Munāsar of Huseinīyah, Nāsir Jurmush, Ismā'īl Ahmed, Sheikh of Qaramshah, 'Abdullah Duneidinah of Zebīd, Ahmed Risqallah of the Āl 'Ali, Hasan Rīsh of Jīz, Samūd of Āl Mūsa, Hasan Mubārak Umm Faza', and Ibrāhīm Dhumbi of Direihimi.

74. *Zufeir*

Small Zeidi tribe 5 miles north of the Hajjah, with whom they are allied. They come under the Kaimmakam of Hajjah, but are said to dislike the Turks and to have lost confidence in the Imam.

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ambition to add fresh territories to his dominions and become the ruling force in the Hadhramaut.

He has three brothers, 'Omar, Husein, and Manassar—all of whom he has quarrelled with and expelled from the country.

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1. *'Abābid* (sing. *'Abbādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Felej Shirāh in Wādi Fara', in Western Hajar.

2. *'Abādilah* (sing. *'Abdūli*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,200 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Shārjah town, Ghāllah in Shameilīyah, Khaleibīyah, near Wādi Hām, and on Sheikh Shu'aib Island.

3. *'Abriyīn* (sing. *'Abri*)

A tribe of Nizāri descent in the Oman Sultanate, belonging to the Ghāfiri political faction; in religion they are mostly Ibadhis, but a small minority are Sunnis. They are found in Dhāhirah at 'Arāqi; in Western Hajar at 'Awābi, at 'Aqair in Wādi Shāfān, at Zāmmah and Hāt in Wādi Beni 'Auf, at Beit el-Qarn in Wādi Fara', at Tabāqah in Wādi Beni Ghāfir, and at 'Amq, Fashah, Maqamma, and Mabu in Wādi Sahtan; in Oman Proper at Bahlah, Farq, Ghamr, and Hamra: their number is estimated at 6,500 souls. They cultivate dates and corn and are generally a well-behaved and peaceable tribe. They are the real masters of 'Awābi, but Bahlah is their tribal capital and Hamra their largest separate village.

4. *Beni 'Adi* (sing. *'Adwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 5,000 souls; Hināwi in politics, settled chiefly in Western Hajar at the villages of Sawālih, Murbah, Qasra, Ghashab, and Wabil in Wādi Fara', but also found on the coast at Quryāt and at Ghuweisah in the sub-vilayet of Saham.

Those at Ghashab belong to a section called Beni Bakr.

5. *'Ajam, or Persians* (sing. *'Ajmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 10,000 souls, mostly now arabized Shiahs; settled at Muscat town and in

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Bātinah at Masna'ah, Suweiq, Sūr esh-Shiyādi, Ghuweisah, Liwa, and Sohār; also in Ru'ūs el-Jibāl at Bakhah.

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6. *Āl 'Ali* (sing. *'Alīyi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 6,750 souls, including 140 families of Bedouins; Ghāfiri in politics and professedly Hanbali, though virtually Wahabite, in religion. The settled portion are at Umm el-Qaiwein, Shārjah, and Ras el-Kheimah; the Bedouins between Umm el-Qaiwein and Jezīrat el-Hamra and inland to Felej Āl-'Ali. They claim connexion with the Muteir of Nejd. There is a branch 3,500 strong in the Shībkūh district across the Gulf.

7. *Beni 'Ali* (sing. *'Alawi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,500 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar at Wuqbah, Heil Beni 'Ali, Yanqul, Murri, and Felej Sedeiriyīn, and in Bātinah at Saham town. Their tribal capital is Yanqul. They are a leading Hināwi tribe who have generally supported the present ruling family of Muscat. They grow grain and dates.

8. *Beni Bu 'Ali* (sing. *'Alawi*)

The principal Ghāfiri tribe of the Ja'lān and Sharqīyah districts in the Sultanate of Oman. They are partly nomadic and partly settled: the Bedouin portion inhabit Ja'lān and possess considerable herds of camels and goats, while the settled portion cultivate dates and corn in the Beled Beni Bu 'Ali oasis, and are found also at Sūr and at Ras er-Ruweis, Suweih, Khōr Beni Bu 'Ali, Jumeilah, and Lashkarah, on the SE. coast of Oman, where they are mostly mariners and fishermen. A few occur at Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah.

Some authorities connect the Beni Bu 'Ali with the Āl 'Ali of Trucial Oman and the Shībkūh district of Persia.

They number in all about 7,000 souls, of whom 1,000 are Bedouins. They became Wahabites at the time of the Nejdi invasions of Oman about a century ago, and as late as 1845 were strict if not fanatical in the observance of Wahabite principles. They have since relaxed somewhat and now smoke tobacco, but they continue to be exact in the forms and times of prayer and are accounted the most religious tribe in the Oman Sultanate. They belong to a Wahabite sect known as Azraqah.

They are on the average men of middle size with short features and quick, deep-set eyes; gloomy and determined in expression and

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character; warlike and independent, with a high reputation for courage and dash.

Their favourite weapon was originally a thin, straight, two-edged sword, sharp as a razor and attached by a leather thong to a shield 14 inches in diameter, in addition to which they carried matchlocks; their armament is now more modern, but they still have few breech-loaders (1905).

They are the only tribe of the Sultanate who have met a British force on land. On November 9, 1820, they defeated a force of British Indian Sepoys at Beled Beni Bu 'Ali, and on March 2, 1821, suffered severe retribution near the same place. On the latter occasion the tribe lost heavily in killed and wounded, the town and fort were destroyed, and a large number of prisoners were taken, including the principal Sheikh, Mohammed ibn 'Ali; but the date-groves were spared—an act of clemency that was much appreciated and is still remembered. The prisoners, after being kept for two years at Bombay, were repatriated and received grants of money from the Indian Government to enable them to rebuild their houses and restore irrigation. Since this episode the tribe have uniformly shown themselves well disposed to the British and have treated hospitably more than one British traveller, but they have never fully regained their position in tribal politics.

They have a chronic feud with their neighbours the Beni Bu Hasan.

The following are the chief sections, &c., of the tribe:

Section.	*Subsection.*	*Fighting strength* (1905).
Fahūd	Fahūd	50
	Muwāridah	60
	Ruwātilah	50
Ja'āfarah	Ghanābīs	200
	Beni Ibrāhīm	120
	Āl Abu Muqbil	200
	Aulād Sakhīlah	40
	Salābikhah	50
Razīq (Beni)	Āl Hamūdah	200
	Aulād Hasan	100
	Aulād 'Abd el-Jalīl	40
	Aulād Khanjar	40
Sinadah	Majāghamah	60
	Mazāmilah	100 } In addition about 1,000
	Aulād Seif	50 } Bedouins.

9. *Āl Bu 'Amīm* (sing. *'Amīmi*)

A small tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 120 souls; settled in Abu Dhabi town, now merged in the Beni Yās, originally belonging to the Beni Tamīm.

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10. *Beni 'Arābah* (sing. *'Arābi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls, of unascertained politics and religion, found chiefly in Wādi Tāyīn at Sibal, Qurr, Hammām, and Shāt. They are said to have been a large tribe once, but cholera killed off a great number. They have been at feud with the Siyābiyīn for many years, but relations are less strained now. The singular form 'Arābi is avoided because it means a hill donkey.

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11. *Beni 'Auf* (sing. *'Aufi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering in all 1,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion. They are found in Oman Proper at Farq in Wādi Kalbu; in Western Hajar at Qasmītein and Teikha in Wādi Beni 'Auf, at Fara', Misfāh, and Nāzīyah in Wādi Fara', and at 'Awābi in Wādi Beni Kharūs.

12. *'Awāmir* (sing. *'Amiri*)

A large tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering probably 10,000 souls; of Nizāri descent, but now Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; about 6,500 are settled and 3,500 are Bedouins.

To take the settled portion first: in Oman Proper they possess the villages of 'Aqīl, Qal'at el-'Awāmir, Felej, Hameidhah, Qurīyatein, Qārūt, Khurmah, Shāfa', Seiyāhi, and Sūq el-Qadīm, and are found at Nizwa; they occur also at Muscat town, Beit el-Felej, and Ruwi in the Muscat district; at Ghallah and Sād in Wādi Bōshar; at Heil Āl 'Umeir, Sīb, and Ma'bīlah in Bātinah; at Khōdh in Wādi Semā'il and at Khubār and Luwīz in Daghmar. Their sections are Aulād Ahmed, Aulād 'Ali ibn Hamad, Aulād 'Ali ibn Khalf, Aulād Amīr, Harāmilah, Ja'āfarah, Aulād el-Jā'id, Khanājirah, Mohammed, Aulād Mūsa, Rakhbah, Aulād Rāshid, Aulād Saba, Aulād Seif, Aulād Salīm, Aulād Sand, Sarāhīn, Sarāhīn el-Muweilah, and Aulād Shīrāz; at Sīb a section called Aulād Maheyyi is found.

The Bedouin portion range the borders of the Ruba' el-Khāli from Trucial Oman in the north, which they occasionally visit in small numbers, to the district of Dhofār on the southern coast of Arabia. A term 'Afār frequently used in connexion with the 'Awāmir appears to denote a portion of the tribe inhabiting a territory, called 'Afār, between Mahōt and Dhofār; it includes representatives of many sections. The 'Afār are popularly supposed to feed upon carrion: they deny this, but they wear skins and admit that they are not infrequently reduced to devouring them.

The 'Awāmir are reputed brave and warlike but crafty, treacherous,

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101 and predatory; they are said to plunder indiscriminately all whom they meet, not excepting members of their own tribe with whom •619 they happen to be unacquainted.

They speak a peculiar dialect of Arabic, which varies to such an 622 extent that the westernmost Bedouin sections are hardly understood by their settled brethren in Oman Proper.

The 'Awāmir are at feud with the Jannabah and the Darū'.

13. *'Awānāt* (sing. *'Awāni*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, now practically extinct; about 50 are found at Khatt and Jezīrat el-Hamra. Some even deny that these 50 are genuine 'Awānāt.

14. *Āl* (or *'Ayāl*) *'Azīz* (sing. *'Azīzi*)

A small tribe, numbering 700 souls; settled in Dhank town in Dhāhirah; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi and Sunni. They are usually reckoned as Na'īm (see p. 581), but their true origin is not known.

15. *Beni 'Azzān* (sing. *'Azzāni*)

A very small tribe, numbering 20 souls; settled in Nakhl in Western Hajar; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

16. *Badā'ah* (sing. *Bada'i*)

A small tribe, numbering 120 souls; settled in Bidit in Wādi Mabrah in Western Hajar; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi

17. *Āl Badar* (sing. *Badari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,200 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Barkah and Billah in Bātinah.

18. *Bahārinah* (sing. *Bahrāni*)

Bahrāni does not mean 'native of Bahrein'. It is the name of the race, or class, to which nearly all the Shiahs of the Bahrein Islands, of the Hasa and Qatīf oases, and the Qatar promontory belong. The Sunni inhabitant of Bahrein describes himself as Ahl el-Bahrein. As employed along the western coast of the Persian Gulf the term Bahrāni is practically a synonym for a Shiah whose mother tongue is Arabic.

Altogether the Bahārinah number not less than 100,000 souls, of whom only 850 are in Oman, viz. 250 in Sohār town in the Oman

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Sultanate and 600 in the towns of Abu Dhabi and Dibai in Trucial Oman. They are all Shiahs, unwarlike in character and engaged in peaceful pursuits; the richer living by trade and the poorer by husbandry, pearl-diving, and various handicrafts.

The local tradition is that they are descended from Arab tribes who were converted to Shiism 300 years ago, but some European writers are inclined to regard them as aborigines conquered by the Arabs.

19. *Beni Bahri* (sing. *Bahri*)

A small tribe of 500 souls; settled in Western Hajar at 'Aliya and 'Awābi in Wādi Beni Kharūs and at Hibra in Wādi Ma'āwal; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

20. *Balūchi, or Balūsh* (sing. *Balūshi*)

In Baluchistan the word *Balōch* is strictly used to designate certain respectable middle-class tribes of the country only; but in the Gulf of Persia and Oman it is used in a wider sense to include all immigrants from Baluchistan and persons whose mother tongue is the Baluchi language.

In the Oman Sultanate there are 20,000 Baluchis excluding Jadgāls, who in Baluchistan are reckoned as Balōchis but here are designated under their proper name from other Balūsh. In Trucial Oman they number 1,400.

In religion they are seldom Shiahs, even abroad, and they settle more readily among Arab than Persian communities. They were originally introduced as mercenaries, and are still largely in military service. The rest incline to sea-faring occupations, and some have amalgamated with the Arabs inland.

Their distribution is as below:

In the Sultanate:—

Muscat District	Muscat town, Matrah, Sidāb, Qābil 'Ali ibn Zamān, Mizra' el-'Alawi.
Bātinah	Sīb, Barkah, Sūr el-Balūsh, Saham, Sūr Heyyān, Masna'ah, Wudām, Suweiq, Shīlu, Sallān, Majīs, Sohār, Haseifīn, Liwa, Shinās, Haseifīn Sūr el-Balūsh.
Western Hajar	Buweirid in Wādi Fara'.
Eastern Hajar	Quryāt.
Dhāhirah	'Arqi and Aflāj Beni Qitab.
Ja'lān	Dīdu.

In Trucial Oman at:—

Dibai town.
Ghāllah.
Ras el-Kheimah.

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21. *Beni Battāsh* (sing. *Battāshi*)

101 A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 7,000 souls of Yemeni descent; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Wādi •619 Tāyīn, where they occupy a large number of villages including Heil el-Ghāf, and found also in Wādis Maih, Hilu, and Beni Battāsh, at 622 Daghmar and Quryāt, and at one or two other places on the coast of the Muscat district. They bear a good character and are peaceable, concerning themselves chiefly with trade and the cultivation of dates. It is said that they used to breed horses for the Indian market on grazing grounds near Quryāt, but they have long ceased to do so.

They are sometimes at feud with the Siyābiyīn.

Their sections are the following:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Location.*	*Remarks.*
Beni Dhakar	150	Wādi Beni Battāsh	
Aulād Fāris	200	Wādi Beni Battāsh	
Beni Ghasein	80	Madeirah in Wādi Tāyīn	Shepherds
Aulād Hazam	60	Madeirah in Wādi Tāyīn	Shepherds
Aulād Juma'ah	50	Mazāra' in Wādi Tāyīn	Carriers and date-growers
Ma'āshirah	550	Yiti, Bandar Kheirān, and Kheisat esh-Sheikh on the Muscat coast; Mizra' el-'Alawi, Mizra' el-Hadri, and Rija' in Wādi Maih. Hiwar and Felej el-Hilam in Wādi el-Hilu	
Aulād Mālik	120	'Aqair, &c., in Wādi Beni Battāsh	Carriers and date-growers
Aulād Salt	120	'Aqair, &c., in Wādi Beni Battāsh	Carriers and date-growers
Beni 'Umr	650	Hida, 'Uqdah, 'Ajma, Malahlah Gheiyān, Sīdafi and Rikākīyah in Wādi Tāyīn	
Aulād Ward	30	Lashkhar in Wādi Tāyīn	Date-growers

22. *Bawārih* (sing. *Bārihi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 120 souls; Hināwi in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at 'Adeibah in the Muscat district.

23. *Bayāsirah* (sing. *Bayāsar*)

A community or tribe of inferior social status, found everywhere in Oman, but specially at Nakhl, Bahlah, and Nizwa, and in the coast towns of Muscat, Matrah, Saham, and Sohār; they also

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occur at various places in Wādi Semā'il and at Misinnah and Mali in Wādi Beni Ghāfir. Their origin is doubtful; some authorities state that they are of Hadhramaut origin, but most of them appear to be the children of Oman Arabs by slave mothers. They are not united either in religion or politics. They are peaceable and industrious and some have accumulated wealth, but the Arabs do not entrust them with command, and they are accustomed to remove their sandals before kissing the hand of a Sheikh. 101 619 622

They number perhaps 10,000 souls, and are connected among others with the following tribes:

Beni Hasan, 400 houses.
Beni Ruwāhah, 70 houses.
Beni Battāsh, 30 houses.
Habūs, 20 houses.

A few have emigrated to Dhofār Proper and are settled in cultivation at Hamrān.

Their sections are:

Aulād Barakein.
Aulād 'Abdu.
Aulād Subāh.
Āl Khaseib.
Aulād Hamad.
Aulād 'Ubeidān.

24. *Bidāh* (sing. *Bidāhi*)

A small tribe of 100 souls of Yemeni origin; settled at Dūt in Wādi Dhank in Dhāhirah and at Bidit in Wādi Mabrah in Western Hajar; in politics Ghāfiri. Their religious sect is not ascertained; they are sometimes at feud with the Miyāyihah Ibadhis.

25. *Bidāwāt* (sing. *Bidwi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Hināwi in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at Fuleij Bin Qafeyyir in Western Hajar and at Khadrawein in Bātinah. A few Bedouins among them.

26. *Āl Bōshar* (sing. *Bōshari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; settled in Wādi Semā'il; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion.

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27. *Yāl Breik* (sing. *Breiki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, in religion partly Sunni and partly Ibadhi; settled in Bātinah at Masna'ah, Shirs, Qasbiyāt Yāl Breik, Dīl Yāl Breik, Umm el-Ja'ārif, and Saham town.

28. *Daheilāt* (sing. *Ad-heili*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 200 souls; settled in Abu Dhabi town; by some regarded as a section of the Āl Bu Maheir.

29. *Dahāminah* (sing. *Dahmāni*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 150 souls; Sunni in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Wādi el-Qōr at Raha, Fashrah, and Nuslah, and close by at Manei'i.

30. *Dalālīl* (sing. *Dallal*)

An inferior caste who trade in cattle; they really belong to various tribes, and their name is simply taken from their occupation. They number 800 souls, and are settled in Western Hajar at Mahādhar and Haw'ajiri in Wādi Fara'. In politics they are Ghāfiri.

31. *Darāmikah* (sing. *Darmaki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Oman Proper at Saddi and Izki and in Bātinah at Mureir es-Saghīrah.

32. *Darū'* (sing. *Dara'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, belonging to the Ghāfiri faction: originally they were all nomads of the Ruba' el Khāli, but some are now settled at Tana'am and other places in Dhāhirah and a few at Barkah in Bātinah. Estimates of their numbers differ very widely: those in Dhāhirah may amount to 3,000 souls, of whom about one-third are settled.

The Bedouin portion now frequent the neighbourhood of Jebel Hamra. They are a wild and predatory race, and hardly a rising of the eastern tribes occurs in which they are not involved. They rear large numbers of camels, which they graze on the confines of the great desert.

The Bedouin Darū' are said to be Ibadhis; the settled portion are Sunnis.

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The Darū' are divided into the following sections: Badiwei, Batūn, Farādīs, Hāl Bu Hādi, Janīn, Hāl Khamīs, Yāl Khamīs, Mahābinah, Mahāridah, Majāli, Makhādir, Marāziqah, Hāl Mohammed, Mutāwihah, 'Ayāl Nafāfi, 'Ayāl Salīm, Shamātah, 'Ayāl Sultān, Thuweil and Zuweyyah. 101 619 622

33. *Dawakah* (sing. *Daweiki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Barkah. There is a small Bedouin portion ranging round Fuleij in Sharqīyah. They are clients of the Hirth.

34. *Beni Dāwud* (sing. *Dāwudi*)

A small tribe of 200 souls, found in Eastern Hajar in the hills between Sūr and Kalhāt; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

35. *Dhabābihah* (sing. *Adhbeibi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 200 souls; settled in Wādi Sfuni and its tributary Wādi Neidein. Their descent is unknown and they are said to be aborigines.

36. *Dhahūl* (sing. *Dhahli*)

A small tribe of 700 souls; settled in Western Hajar at 'Awābi and Tau esh-Sheikh in Wādi Beni Kharūs and in Bātinah at Liwa town; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

37. *Dhahūriyīn*

A tribe of the Ru'ūs el-Jibāl district in the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 1,750 souls, settled in the villages of Film (60 houses), Hablein (25 houses), Mansal (6 houses), and Maqāqah (100 houses), in Ghubbah Ghazīrah; Midah (1 house), Qānah (40 houses), Sham (25 houses), and Sībi (7 houses), in Khōr esh-Shām; Beled (20 houses) in Ghubbah Shābūs; Muntaf (15 houses) and Shīsah (15 houses) in Ghubbah Shīsah. There are about 200 of them in Lārak Island also, closely connected with the people of Kumzār.

The Dhahūriyīn are practically a part of the Shihūh tribe, by whom they are surrounded, but they claim connexion with the Dhawāhir of Bireimi and do not admit that they are in any way subordinate to the Shihūh. They are Ghāfiri in politics; in religion

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they are Hanbali, except those at Film and Mansal, who are Shafei.

In the cold weather they live by fishing; in spring, leaving only caretakers behind, they migrate bodily to Khōr Fakkān, Dibah, and Khasab, where they attach themselves to some of the permanent residents and bivouac in the date plantations.

38. *Fawāris* (or *Āl Fāris*) (sing. *Fārisi*)

In Oman this name is used to designate arabized Persian immigrants and their descendants. They number 5,000 souls; Sunni in religion; settled in Bātinah at Suweiharah, Sohār, Sallān, Sharu, and Fanjah.

39. *Fazāra'* (sing. *Fazāra'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Makhailīf and Khōr el-Hamām.

40. *Beni Fileit* (sing. *Fileiti*)

A small tribe of 400 souls; settled at Wāsit in Wādi Ma'āwal in Western Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

41. *Futeisāt* (sing. *Futeisi*)

A small tribe of 450 souls; settled at Furfārah in the Liwa sub-vilayet of Bātinah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

42. *Ghafeilāt* (sing. *Ghāfili*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Bu 'Abāli.

43. *Ghafalah* (sing. *Ghafeili*)

A Bedouin tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 500 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; well disposed to the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi. They own 700 camels and inhabit the plain country inland of Ras el-Kheimah and Umm el-Qaiwein, not extending into the hills. Their favourite haunt is the Jiri plain and near it.

44. *Ghafalah* (sing. *Ghafli*)

A small tribe of 500 souls; settled at Liwa town in Bātinah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Sunni.

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45. *Beni Ghaith* (sing. *Ghaithi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar at Halāhil, Rābi, Heil Ibn Suweidān, Gharrāq, and Sihlat, and in Bātinah at Waqībah and Fitnah. 101 619 622

46. *Ghawārib* (sing. *Ghāribi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 350 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Bu 'Abāli and Barkah.

47. *Habūs* (sing. *Habsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering probably 7,000 souls, of whom 100 are Bedouins; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Sharqīyah in Baldān el-Habūs, in Wādi 'Andām at Wāfi and Muteili', in Oman Proper at Manah in Wādi Mi'aidin.

They are a wild, uncivilized tribe, less wealthy and important than their neighbours the Hirth, with whom they have an alliance or the Hajriyīn They own camels, but are chiefly engaged in growing dates. The small Warūd tribe is tributary to them.

Mudheibi is their political capital and Rōdhah in Wādi Samad their largest settlement, both in Baldān el-Habūs.

Their principal divisions are:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Section.*	*Fighting strength.*
'Ayāl 'Abdu	100	Nājiyah	100
'Āsīrah	100	Beni Bu Sa'īd	60
Yāl Dhanein	200	Sawālim	140
Ghanānimah	200	Yāl Shabīb	80
Ghasāsimah	100	Shamātarah	80
Aulād Haban	100	Beni Thāni	100
Jawābir	200	This last section is Bedouin, owning 60 camels, 30 donkeys, 50 cattle, and 2,000 sheep and goats.	
'Ayāl Mahrah	160		
Maqādamah	30		

48. *Hadādabah* (sing. *Haddābi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Shirs in Bātinah and Sharu and Fanjah in Wādi Semā'il in Eastern Hajar. Those at Fanjah are sometimes at feud with the 'Abriyīn.

49. *Beni Hadhram* or *Hadharmi* (sing. *Hadhrimi*)

A small and scattered tribe of 500 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Hadash in Wādi Mistāl, Nakhl in Wādi Ma'āwal, and Kafarah

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in Wādi Semā'il; in Oman Proper at 'Izz and Nizwa; in Muscat at Matrah. They are Ghāfiri in politics, and in religion probably Ibadhi.

50. *Aulād Hadīd* (sing. *Hadādi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sīb and Laghshībah in Bātinah.

51. *Hādiyin* (sing. *Hādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,400 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar in Wādi 'Andām and in the Muscat district at Khafeiji in Wādi Maih and Quram in Wādi 'Adai.

52. *Hajriyīn* (sing. *Hajari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 7,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics, and Yemeni in descent. They inhabit the whole Badīyah division of the Sharqīyah district, are found also at Mudheibi and deal with the port of Sūr. They are rapacious and turbulent and have not a good name for honesty, nevertheless they are one of the wealthiest and most enterprising communities in this part of the country. They are engaged in cultivation and trade and own a number of boats: some of them visit Bombay and Zanzibar. Their tribal capital is Wāsil in Badīyah, but at present they have no *tamīmah*. It was the Hajriyīn who in 1813 attacked Mutlaq, the Wahabite leader, slew him and expelled his force from the country; Sa'd, the son of Mutlaq, in revenge completely broke their power, and they have never entirely recovered their former position.

The subdivisions of the tribe are as follows:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Location.*
Bahārinah	200	Wāsil, Heili, and Hātūh
Bahārinah Habābaaah	80	Wāsil, Dabīk, and Qā'
Aulād Bu Heid	300	Rāk and Mintirib
Mahādinah and Mahāddah	400	Yāhis, Shāraq, and Shāhik
Mahāsinah	400	Ghabbi and Mintirib

53. *Halālamah* (sing. *Hallāmi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, only 75 souls; Maliki in religion; settled in Abu Dhabi town, and attached to the Beni Yās.

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54. *Āl Hamad* (sing. *Hamadi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, 500 souls, with some Bedouins amongst them; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Barkah in Bātinah. The Bedouins range in Sharqīyah.

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55. *Beni Hamīd*

A few at Heir in Shameilīyah.

56. *Beni Hamīm* (sing. *Hamīmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Nizwa and Bahlah in Oman Proper and at Rostāq in Western Hajar.

57. *Beni Hammād* (sing. *Hammādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 900 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Wudām in Bātinah.

58. *Hanādhilah* (sing. *Handhali*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; settled in Eastern Hajar at Ghubrat et-Tām in Wādi Tāyīn; at Samā'īyah, Khabbah, and Waljah in Wādi Khabbah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

59. *Harāsis*

These are few in number and only visitors to Murbāt in Dhofār. Their proper habitat, religion, &c., are unknown.

60. *Beni Harrās* (sing. *Harrāsi*)

A considerable tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,000 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Jammah (500 houses), Buweirid (25 houses), Mansūr (40 houses) in Wādi Fara'; at Hillah Beni Harrās (100 houses) in Wādi Semā'il; at Nakhl (65 houses) and Hibra (40 houses) in Wādi Ma'āwal; at 'Awābi in Wādi Beni Kharūs and at Fīq in Wādi Mistāl. They also occur at Teimsa (40 houses) in Oman Proper. The ruling family is called Aulād Thineyyān; the tribal capital is Jammah. In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

61. *Beni Hasan* (sing. *Hasani*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; found in the Muscat district at

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Qantab, Matrah, Dārseit, Sāru, Khuweir, and Ghubrah, all on the coast; at Jāl, Bōshar Ibn 'Amrān, Sād Felej, Ghallah, and Fuleij esh-Shām, all in Wādi Bōshar; at Quram in Wādi 'Adai and at Mizra' el-'Alawi in Wādi Maih.

One of the sections is called 'Amārīyah.

62. *Beni Bu Hasan* (sing. *Hasani*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,000 souls or, with some subordinate tribes mentioned below, 7,000 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion with the exception of the Ahl Jebel section which is Azraqah Wahabite in religion. Their principal settlement is Beled Beni Bu Hasan in Ja'lān, where they number about 4,000 souls; about 500 are settled at Barkah and Hadhīb in Bātinah, and a few at Jināh near Sūr and at Fita in Eastern Hajar. The subordinate tribes are mostly Bedouin, ranging near 'Aqībah and in Jebel Mashā'ikh in Ja'lān, and, except for one tribe, the Hāl 'Umr, they are all robbers.

The settled portion grow dates and grain, and are well provided with camels. In language and appearance they do not differ from their Bedouin neighbours. They are nearly all armed with rifles of various kinds and are constantly fighting with the Beni Bu Hasan and the Beni Bu 'Ali. Their divisions are:

Sections.	*Fighting strength.*	*Sections.*	*Fighting strength.*
Darū'	30 settled	Masārīr	200 settled
Farārijah	40 "	Rawājih	100 Bedouins
Huwājir	60 "	Shikālah	100 settled
Beni Jābir	70 "	Suwābi'	100 "
Hāl Bu Matāni	200 "		

Client tribes. All Bedouins except the Hāl 'Umr.

Ahl Jebel, 60 households; Azraqah Wahabite; robbers.
Mashā'ikh el-Beled, 40 households; Ibadhi; robbers.
Mashā'ikh el-Jebel, 250 households; Ibadhi; robbers.
Beni Sarhān, 40 households, Ibadhi; robbers.
Hāl 'Umr, 100 households; own 2,000 date-palms.

63. *Hasrīt* (sing. *Hasrīti*)

A very small and poor tribe, practically all Bedouins, numbering 150 souls and distributed along the SE. coast of Oman and Dhofār; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

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64. *Beni Hawāl* (sing. *Hawāli*)

A very small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; settled in Heil and Muta'ārishah in Wādi el-Hilti; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi. 101 619 622

65. *Hawāshim* (sing. *Hāshimi*)

A tribe of 1,000 souls in the Oman Sultanate; settled in Western Hajar at Felej el-Wusta, Shabeikah, and Dāris in Wādi Fara', and in Oman Proper at Adam and Manah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

66. *Hawāsinah* (sing. *Hausini*)

A large and important tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 17,500 settled and also some Bedouins; Hināwi in politics, partly Sunni and partly Ibadhi in religion. They occupy the whole of the Wādi el-Hawāsinah, excluding the tributary Wādi Beni 'Umr; nearly all of Wādis Sarrāmi and Shāfān in Western Hajar; also most of the town of Khābūrah in Bātinah; they are also found at Qasbiyat el-Hawāsinah in the sub-vilayet of Saham. Their capital is Ghaizein in Wādi el-Hawāsinah. They are generally at feud with the Beni 'Umr, who adjoin them on the west.

Wādi el-Hawāsinah is deep and narrow. The villages are built upon the hill-sides and the date-trees grow on artificial terraces to which spring water is conducted in channels: there are no wells. The houses are of stone and mud; the crops besides dates are wheat, barley, bajri, maize, millet, lucerne, beans, sweet potatoes, and fodder grasses; the Hawāsinah keep camels, cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys. The fruits grown are limes, mangoes, grapes, olives, plums, pomegranates, figs, quinces, and almonds. Trade is carried on with Khābūrah and Suweiq.

The divisions of the tribe are:

Hawāmid.
Najāja'ah.
Aulād Rasheid.
Beni Sa'īd.
Sawālim.
Beni Sinān.

67. *Beni Haya* (sing. *Hayā'i*)

A small tribe of 500 souls in the Oman Sultanate; settled in Dhāhirah at Dhank town and in Bātinah at Sīb and Laghshībah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

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68. *Hikmān* (sing. *Hikmāni*)

101 A tribe found on the SE. coast of Oman; the Barr el-Hikmān or mainland between Masīrah Island and Ghubbah Hashīsh is named after them. Mahōt is their principal settlement, but they also occur along the coast for 40 miles to the SW. of Ghubbah Hashīsh and at Murbāt in Dhofār, at Barkah and Wādi Manūmah in Bātinah.

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Their number may be 800 souls. Seventy years ago they were an independent tribe, Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion, regarded as cognate with the Jannabah; but since that time they have partially lost their tribal individuality, those of Barr el-Hikmān having attached themselves to the Beni Bu 'Ali, while others have become Hināwis under the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, to whom they pay annual visits, receiving presents from him.

69. *Beni Hilāl* (sing. *Hilāli*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; settled in Oman Proper at Bahlah and Nizwa; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

70. *Beni Hina* (sing. *Hinā'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 9,000 souls; of Yemeni descent, Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion. The Hināwi faction, formed in Oman at the beginning of the eighteenth century, derived its names from the Beni Hina, whose chief sheikh at that time, Khalf el-Quseir, was the first leader of the faction.

The Beni Hina dwell chiefly in Hajar and in Oman Proper. Their capital is Nizwa in Oman Proper, where they have 300 houses. Their settlements are given below, the number of houses being stated in brackets.

In Hajar. Qurein (100), Habbās (80), Heili (200), Qadīmah (40), Jammah (50), Naghzah (50), Hārithīyah (20), and Khōdh (120), all in Wādi Semā'il; Hajrat esh-Sheikh (50), Hārat el-Jabah (80), Saqairīyah (30), and Shabeikah (40), all in Wādi Fara'; Haweil (45), and Hōqain (200), in Wādi Beni Ghāfir; Khān (40), in Wādi el-Jizi.

In Oman Proper. Nizwa (300), Bilād Seit (40), and Ghāfāt (50). In Bātinah: Liwa town (160). In Dhāhirah: Heil (100) and Dham (80).

There is a small section called Hawāqinah at Nizwa, and the Jabūr, though treated here as a separate tribe, is perhaps a branch.

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The Beni Hina are brave and warlike, and were in 1905 at feud with the Jannabah, Darū', and Beni Kelbān. 101 619 622

71. *Hinādīs* (sing. *Hindāsi*)

A small tribe of the Omān Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Adeibah in the Muscat district and at Ghalīl in Bātinah.

72. *Hirth* (sing. *Hārithi*)

An important tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 9,000 souls, excluding five client tribes who can muster 1,130 fighting men as detailed below. They are said to be of Nizāri descent, but now belong to the Hināwi faction; in religion they are Ibadhis.

The central division of Sharqīyah, called Baldān el-Hirth, with its villages and towns belongs entirely to the Hirth; their principal places are Ibra and Mudheirib, the former being the tribal capital. They are also found at Mudheibi, Nizwa, Samad, and Sīb. The bulk of them thus are located between the Hajriyīn on the east and the Habūs on the west. Though they retain some of the characteristics of Bedouins they are chiefly occupied in agriculture and date-growing. A few of them are wealthy traders owning merchant vessels, and some who emigrated to Zanzibar have become men of substance and position there.

The Hirth do not deal with Sūr; their ports are Matrah and Muscat.

They are a warlike tribe, and now armed with rifles of various kinds.

Their principal sections (in 1905) were:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Section.*	*Fighting strength.*
'Āsirah	150	Maqādihah	150
Barāwanah	250	Marāhibah	100
Ghayūth	150	Mashāhibah	150
Aulād Hadām	200	Matāwabah	150
Aulād Hadri	150	Rashāshidah	200
Aulād Harfah	150	Saqūr	100
Khanājirah	300	Samrah	300
Ma'āmir	280	Hāl Sinā'u	300
Maghārah	100		

The five client tribes, all Ibadhis and largely Bedouins, were (in 1905):

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Tribe.	Fighting strength.	Habitat.
Dawakah	100	Barkah, Shakhākhīt, and Bu Mahār in Bātinah
Muwālik	500	Wādi Beni Khālid
Nuwāfil	80	Bu 'Abāli, Sha'ibah, and Majiz en-Nuwāfil in Bātinah
Āl Bu Rasheid	170	'Abbāsah and Khadhra in Bātinah
Shabūl	280	Heyyadh, Sohār town, and Wādi Bōshar

73. *Hishm or Beni Hāshim* (sing. *Hāshimi*)

A tribe of the Ja'lān and the Eastern Hajar districts of the Oman Sultanate; they are Nizāri by descent, Ghāfiri in politics, in religion partly Ibadhi and partly Sunni. They are supposed to number about 8,000, of whom about 6,500 are settled at Kāmil (200 houses), Dīdu (50 houses), Humeidha (15 houses) and Buweirid (55 houses) in Ja'lān; at Tahwa (60 houses) near Jebel Khadhar; at Zilaft (50 houses), 'Adhfein (200 houses), Halfah (95 houses), Badh'ah (150 houses), Sīq (180 houses), and Sibt (160 houses) in the lower course of Wādi Beni Khālid; a few are found at Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah, and at Sūr in Bilād es-Sūr they have perhaps 80 houses. There are also about 1,500 Bedouins belonging to the tribe, who own some 500 camels, 250 donkeys, 700 cattle, and 8,000 sheep and goats.

They command the road from Sūr to Ja'lān above Rafsah, and can close it at pleasure. The whole of the Wādi Beni Khālid is under their control, for the other tribes inhabiting it are always disunited, and pay dues, it is said, to the Hishm.

The Hishm always supported Seyyid Tūrki when Sultan of Oman (1871–88) and were even with him at the capture of Matrah from 'Azzān in 1871. They took part with his son and successor, Seyyid Feisāl, in the crisis at Muscat in 1895, under the leadership of 'Abdullah ibn Sālim of the Beni Bu 'Ali.

Sections, &c., as obtaining in 1905:

Sections.	Fighting strength.	Habitat.	Religion.
Hirzah	150	Kāmil	Sunni
Hishāshimah	200	Kāmil	"
Kuwāshim	200	Humeidha	"
Marāhibah	300	Dīdu, Sīq	"
Aulād Nāsir	200	Buweirid	"
Beni Rāshid	300	Badh'ah, Sīq	Ibadhi
Beni Seif	300	Halfah	"
Sarāhimah	200	'Adhfein, Sibt	"
Thuwāni	50	Zilaft	"
Tuwā'i	200	Sibt	"
Beni 'Umr	400	Kāmil, Sīq	"
Zaheimiyin	200	Wādi Khabbah	"
Zeiyūd	150	Dīdu, Kāmil	Sunni

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74. *Hūwalah* (sing. *Hōli*)

A tribe numbering 17,000 outside Oman, but represented in Oman by 1,500 souls, in religion partly Maliki; some Shafei settled in Shārjah town. They have altogether lost their fighting qualities and are given up to money-making. 101 619 622

75. *Huyūd* (sing. *Heidi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Dhiyān in Bātinah.

76. *Āl Bu 'Īsa*

A small Bedouin tribe of Ja'lān who occasionally visit Masīrah Island for nefarious purposes, ostensibly as fishermen but really as wreckers.

77. *Beni 'Īsa* (sing. *'Īsā'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, originally Ghāfiri but now (1905) Hināwi in politics; settled in Western Hajar at Hībi in Wādi Sarrāmi,

Ghadheifah, Ghareifah } in Wādi 'Āhin.

Khabt, 'Ablah, 'Abeilah } in Wādi el-Hilti.

78. *Ja'far*

These are about 100 in number and found in Murbāt, Dhofār. Nothing is known about them.

79. *Beni Jābir* (sing. *Jābiri*)

An important and in every way superior tribe of the Oman Sultanate, also the strongest numerically. They are smarter in dress, more intelligent, and better educated than most other tribes. They claim descent from the tribe of Dhubyān, famous in Arab poetry, and are at bitter enmity with the Beni Ruwāhah, who descend from the rival tribe of Abs.

The total number of the tribe is 25,000 souls, and they are found chiefly in Hajar. Their principal seat is the group of the three valleys of Hilam, Tīwi, and Shāb, known collectively as Wādi Beni Jābir I (to be distinguished from the Wādi Beni Jābir II, the western tributary of Wādi Semā'il). Hilam and Tau are equally regarded as their tribal capital. They are widely dispersed, but keep

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101 in touch and act as a body, and have often been used to close the passes leading to Muscat against the Sultan's enemies in Sharqīyah.
• 619 Further details of their distribution are given below against each section of the tribe.
622 In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

Subdivisions, &c., as obtaining in 1905.

Section.	*Fighters.*	*Habitat.*
Aulād Burhān	400	Seijah in Wādi Beni Jābir II (tributary of Wādi Semā'il)
Dafāfi	50	Hājir in Wādi Semā'il
Beni Fahd	200	Firjāt in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Beni Falīt	240	Qaiqa in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Beni Ghadānah	240	Bimah, Fins } on the coast of E. Hajar
Ghazāl	150	Daghmar, Dhibāb } on the coast of E. Hajar
Beni Hadhrami	400	Seima in Oman Proper. Wādi Semā'il
(There is some confusion between this section and the distinct tribe of the Beni Hadhram.)		
Aulād Hameid	180	Muqazzih in Oman Proper
Beni Harb	240	Majāzah in Wādi 'Andām
Beni Ibrāhīm	240	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khamīs	160	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Lurhān	300	Wādi Semā'il
Ma'āmarah	400	'Amq and Felej el-Qabā'il in the Sohār sub-vilayet
Beni Mazrū'	240	Hīl in Wādi Beni Jābir II
(Some regard the Mazārī' of Wādi Fara' as of this section.)		
Beni Muqīm	600	Ghail esh-Shāb, Jahl and Jeilah in Wādi Shāb; Tīwi, Seima, Mībām, and Am[illegible]'n Wādi Tīwi
Aulād Nāsir	320	Wādi Hilam
Beni Qurwāsh	160	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Rāshid	480	Wādis Hilam, Tīwi, and Tau
Aulād Rāshid ibn 'Āmir	240	Wādi Semā'il
Beni Sa'd	240	Wādi Semā'il
Āl Saba'	70	Samā'īyah and Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah
Aulād Saheim	140	Bīr and Misfāh in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Aulād Sa'īd	160	Hōb in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Aulād Salīm	240	Jeilah in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Salūt	640	Hilam in Wādi Hilam and most villages of Wādi Tīwi; Ghallah in Wādi Bōshar
Sha'ībiyīn or Shu'aibiyīn	350	Kabda and Kalhāt and Halfah in Wādi Beni Khālid
(Those of Kalhāt went over in 1907 to the Hināwis and have allied themselves to the Beni Bu Hasan.)		
Shajbiyīn	200	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Wādi	80	Bidbid and elsewhere in Wādi Semā'il

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80. *Jabūr* (sing. *Jabūri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, perhaps a section of the Beni Hina, numbering 700 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Mutahaddamāt in Wādi 'Adai and at Hifri in Wādi Beni Kharūs. 101 619 622

81. *Jadgāl*, or *Zidjāl* (sing. *Zidjāli*)

A tribe of Persian Mekrān, now reckoned there as Baluchis, and said to have come from Sind. In Oman they number 10,000 souls; Sunni in religion. They occupy an entire suburban quarter of Muscat town and are found at Matrah, and generally wherever a Baluchi settlement exists. They have been introduced into Oman at various times as mercenary soldiers.

82. *Jahādhim* (sing. *Jahdhami*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Samad in Sharqīyah.

83. *Jahāwar* (sing. *Jauhari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,000 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Heilein and Mabrah in Wādi Mabrah; at 'Litheibāt, 'Aqair, Heyyadh, Khabt, 'Ablah, and 'Abeilah in Wādi el-Hilti. Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

84. *Jelājilah* (sing. *Jaleijali*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering only 50 souls; settled in Furfār, Heil, and Indūk. Divided in allegiance between the Sheikh of Shārjah and his rival, the rebel Sheikh of Fujeirah.

85. *Jannabah* (sing. *Janneibi*)

A large tribe of the Oman Sultanate, Yemeni by extraction, but now belonging to the Ghāfiri faction, and Sunnis in religion. They number in all about 12,000, of whom 3,000 are nomads. Their tribal capital is Sūr, but they possess also Masīrah Island, and interspersed with the Hikmān and Āl Wahībah occupy in a desultory fashion the SE. coast of Oman from Ras Jibsh, where they have a village, to the borders of Dhofār; some of them visit Murbāt in Dhofār; the cave dwellings on Ras Sājar and the small hamlet of Safqōt at the west end of Dhofār are said to be occupied by them. A few reside among the Hikmān of Mahōt, and detached colonies are

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101 found at Bahlah, Khadhra Bin Daffā', and 'Izz in Oman Proper and at Wādi Manūmah in Bātinah.

•619 It is necessary to distinguish the settled portion, resident chiefly
622 at Sūr, from the migratory, pastoral, and fishing sections farther south. The former, known in common with some of the Beni Bu 'Ali as 'Sūris', own and navigate a large number of sea-going vessels which run to Bombay, Zanzibar, and the Red Sea; they are also merchants having large depots at Sūr, and the Hajriyīn of the interior carry on all their foreign trade through them.

The pastoral portion are dark skinned, thin and under-sized, but not ill-looking; they wear their hair long and confine it round the head with a leather thong. They are disliked by their neighbours, and appear to have little or no religion. In the cool season they come down to the coast with their herds of camels and goats, which are said to be very large, retreating again to caves on the hills on the approach of the SW. monsoon. It has been noticed that those who fish are of a lighter complexion than the rest, and that their cranial and facial type is peculiar to themselves.

As a tribe the Jannabah bear an evil reputation. Those of Sūr indulged in slave-dealing and even piracy as long as these courses were open to them, while those of the SE. coast are wreckers and robbers to a man. They have a perpetual feud with the Āl Wahībah, the enmity between them being more deadly than between any other tribes in Oman.

Their subdivisions and fighting strength are given below:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Habitat.*
'Arāmah	400 (underestimated)	Sūr.
Fawāris	600 ,,	Sūr, in Ja'lān and Masīrah Island.
Ghayyālīn	450 ,,	Sūr and Masīrah Island.
Maja'alah	300 ,,	Nomad.
Makhānah	500 ,,	Sūr and Masīrah Island.

86. *Yāl Jarād* (sing. *Jarādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Bu 'Abāli, Masna'ah, and Marāghah in Bātinah. A few are Bedouin.

87. *Jissās* (sing. *Jissāsi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 350 souls; settled at Kubārah in Dhāhirah and at Bahlah in Oman Proper; Ghāfiri in politics. Those settled at Kubārah are subordinate to the Ya'āqīb of 'Ibri.

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88. *Beni Ka'ab* (sing. *Ka'abi*)

A tribe of about 7,250 souls in the interior of the Oman promontory, having their head-quarters at Mahadhah, in the neighbourhood of which most of them are found. There are some about the head of Wādi el-Qōr, and also in the Sultanate at Hadaf in Wādi Hatta and at Haseifīn, Sūr el-'Abri, and Tareif in the Liwa sub-vilayet of Sohār. They number 1,250 in the Oman Sultanate and 6,000 in Trucial Oman. In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Sunni. 101 619 622

Their principal sections, &c., are :

Section.	*Habitat.*	*Number.*
Drisah	Wādi Shīya	150 nomads
Makātīm	Mahadhah and Kahal	600 settled
Misā'īd	Wādi Bu Jila'ah	350 ,,
Miyādilah	Wādi el-Hayūl and Shibakah in W. Qahfi	500 ,,
Miyā'isah	Jaweif and Sharam in Wādi Khadhra	150 ,,
Mizāhamiyīn	Mahadhah	50 ,,
Naweijiyīn	Khatwah in Wādi Bu Sa'd, Khabbein, Zāhar, and Subeithah in Wādi 'Abeilah affluent of Wādi el-Jizi	1,400 ,,
Salālāt	Mahadhah	300 ,,
Sawālim	Nawei'i	300 ,,
Shweihiyīn	Wādi Shweihah and Shibakah in Wādi Qahfi	1,000 mostly nomad

(A clan of Shwaihiyīn known as Hibnāt are found in Shibakah.)

Ahl Yidhwah	Mahadhah, Kahal, and Sharam in Wādi Khadhra	600 settled
Zaheirāt	Mahadhah and Nawei'i	300 ,,

89. *Beni Kaheil* (sing. *Kaheili*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls ; Ibadhi in religion and Ghāfiri in politics ; settled at Majīs in the sub-vilayet of Sohār.

90. *Beni Keleib* (sing. *Keleibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,400 souls ; settled in Western Hajar at Kitnah, Rābi, Heil Ibn Suweidān, Khaweirij, and Wāsit in Wādi el-Jizi and its tributaries : Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Sunni. They are divided into three sections :

Hadādinah (sing. Haddāni) at Rābi.
Rasheidāt (sing. Rasheidi) at Heil Ibn Suweidān.
Shawāmis (sing. Shāmsi) at Kitnah, Wāsit, and Khaweirij.

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91. *Beni Kelbān* (sing. *Kelbāni*)

101 A tribe of the Oman Sultanate numbering about 8,000 souls, 619 inhabiting both slopes of Western Hajar. On the Dhāhirah side they are found at Maqnīyāt (740 houses), which is their tribal 622 capital, at Sammah (60 houses), at Khadal (100 houses) on an affluent of Wādi Dhank, and at Miskin (200 houses), Najeid (40 houses), and 'Āridh (300 houses) in Wādi el-Kebīr, and at 'Ibri. On the Bātinah side their villages are Zūla (20 houses) in Wādi Beni Ghāfir, Deiqarah (25 houses), Hiyāl (70 houses), Minzifah (25 houses), and Raqayyid (25 houses) in Wādi Mabrah, and Rattah (90 houses) in Wādi Sarrāmi. There are also 30 houses of theirs at Bahlah in Oman Proper. There are no Bedouins among them. In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi. In 1883 they sided with the Sultan of Oman.

Their subdivisions are :

Aulād 'Ameirah, 300 households in Maqnīyāt and Miskin.
Ghabābīn, 200 households in Maqnīyāt.
Jarāwinah, 720 houses in Maqnīyāt, 'Āridh, and Khadal.
Aulād Sinān, 200 households in Maqnīyāt.
Aulād Subeih, 150 households in Maqnīyāt and Miskin.
Beni Tiyūm, 20 households in Zūla, in Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

There is also a section or subsection called Quyūdh found at Raqayyid.

92. *Āl Bu Kelbi* (sing. *Kelbāni*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering only 70 souls, perhaps forming a subsection of the Āl Bu Khareibān section of the Na'īm. They are settled in 'Ajmān town.

93. *Aulād Kāsib* (sing. *Kāsibi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls, all Bedouins, found round Sūr in Eastern Hajar : Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi. Formerly they were a section of the Jannabah ; now they are incorporated in the Beni Bu 'Ali.

94. *Āl Kathīr* (sing. *Kathīri*)

The principal tribe in Dhofār Proper, where all the villages except Tāqa belong to them ; they are represented in the Samhān hills

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also by several sections who act as a partial counterpoise there to the uncivilized Qaras. A few emigrants of the tribe are settled at Dōhah in the Muscat district near Muscat town. 101 619 622

The tribe numbers 4,500, of whom 2,500 are settled and 2,000 nomad.

The settled Kathīr are agriculturists and grow bajri, maize, millet, cotton, and a little wheat and sugar-cane. They also grow coconuts for home consumption only; no dates; tobacco in small quantity—not enough for home consumption even; water and musk melons, papai, and a few plantains and mulberries. In the way of vegetables they have bindis and chilis (red pepper). Ploughs are not used; the ground is worked with spade or hoe. Fish abound and acres of small fish called *'a'īd*, resembling the sardine, may be seen drying near villages.

They wear their hair long, tied by a fillet round their heads; Seyyids, however, and the poorest classes have their heads shaved. For clothing they ordinarily have only one garment, a dark blue sheet, 9 ft. by 4½ ft., which forms a kilt by day and a sheet by night.

The subdivisions of the settled portion are:

Beit 'Ali ibn Badr, 150 families.
Beit 'Amr ibn Mohammed, 40 families.
Āl Fādhil, 120 families.
Bu Ghawwās, 150 families.
Beit el-Marāhīn or Marhūn, 50 families.
Āl Mohammed ibn Hamad, 150 families.
Shanāfirah, 225 families.

This section is loyal to the Sultan of Oman; they are said to have been 'Awāmir originally, but are now reckoned Āl Kathīr.

The Bedouin sections are:

Beit Bekhīt ibn Sālim, Beit el-Hamar, Beit Jadād, and Beit Masan. They own cattle and camels and collect frankincense like the Qaras. They arrange their hair in a top-knot instead of binding it with a fillet. Their dialect differs from that of other Bedouins of Oman and has not been investigated yet.

The Āl Kathīr are a Hināwi tribe, and claim to have emigrated from Hadhramaut three centuries ago, conquering Dhofār Proper and establishing a capital at Dahāriz. In religion they are Ibadhis. They are at constant feud with the Qaras, whom in their arms, clothing, and habits they resemble.

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95. *Ahl Ras el-Kheimah*

101 A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 2,000 souls, all resident in the town of Ras el-Kheimah. They are a mongrel race formed by the fusion of various Arab tribes.
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96. *Beni Khālid* (sing. *Khālidi*)

An Arab tribe of Eastern Arabia who formerly had a very large range (see pp. 84 f., 608). They are still predominantly Bedouin, but here only the portion in Oman is dealt with, and that portion is settled in the Oman Sultanate at 'Abbāsah, Hajeirah, Khōr el-Milh, and Manātīf in Bātinah. Here they number 5,500 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics.

97. *Āl Khameyyis* (sing. *Khameisi*)

A small Bedouin tribe, numbering 400 souls, found in Oman Proper; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

98. *Khamārah*

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 375 souls, all resident in Abu Dhabi town. They are Maliki in religion. They came originally from Khamīr in Persia, and claim connexion with the 'Utūb.

99. *Yāl Khamīs* (sing. *Khamīsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Khabbah and Sha'ībah in Bātinah.

100. *Beni Khāmmārah* (sing. *Khammāri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in poitics; settled at Sūr Heyyān in Bātinah.

101. *Beni Kharūs* (sing. *Kharūsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,500 souls, of whom 1,500 are Bedouins. They inhabit the northern slopes of the Western Hajar and are settled at Misfāh (45 houses), 'Aliya (80 houses), Taqab (12 houses), Istāl (80 houses), Saneiba' (80 houses), Shau (10 houses), Hijār (90 houses), Tau esh-Sheikh (20 houses),

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'Awābi (70 houses), and Felej Beni Khazeir (20 houses), all in Wādi Beni Kharūs; at Nakhl in Wādi Ma'āwal they have 40 houses. Hijār is their tribal capital. The Bedouin section of 1,500 souls is named Yāl Khameyyis. They possess 150 camels, 300 donkeys, 150 cattle, and 2,000 sheep and goats. 101 619 622

The Beni Kharūs are Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion.

102. *Khazeimāt* (sing. *Khazeimi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Haseifin Sūr el-Khazeimāt.

103. *Khazeir* (sing. *Khazeiri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 450 souls; settled at Nakhl in Western Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

104. *Beni Khazam* (sing. *Khazami*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sīya, 'Arqi, and Habūbīyah in Wādi Sarein in the Muscat district.

105. *Khōjah*, known to Arabs as *Lawātiyah*

The head-quarters of the Khōjah sect in the Persian Gulf are at Matrah, where they number about 1,050 souls; but they are found also at Khābūrah (125 souls), Sohār town, Suweiq (30), Barkah and Masna'ah in Bātinah; at Quryāt (1 family), and at Gwādar (300 souls); some also at Dibai, Ras el-Kheimah, and Shārjah towns. In Matrah the entire community lives in a large fort or enclosed quarter upon the sea beach for security and privacy (see above, p. 258). They marry for the most part only among themselves. About 10 families now adhere to Āgha Khān of Bombay; the rest have been converted to Thein 'Ashari Shiism, but preserve to some extent their old social usages and customs. The majority are petty merchants and shop-keepers; a few of them share in the trade between India and Oman, importing rice from Calcutta, piece-goods, oil, and drugs from Bombay, and exporting dates and dried fish. In the ports they are mostly British subjects. A few have acquired land.

106. *Aulād Kuleib* (sing. *Kuleibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Adeibah in the Muscat district.

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107: *Kunūd* (sing. *Kindi*)

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A scattered Ghāfiri tribe of Oman, Ibadhis in religion, numbering 1,500 souls, all settled. They are found at Nizwa in Oman Proper, where they have 40 houses, and which may be regarded as their tribal capital; at Nakhl (50 houses) in Wādi Ma'āwal; at Saheilah (100 houses), Mileyyinah (15 houses), Heil esh-Shiya (10 houses), Heil er-Rafsah (60 houses), and Thiqbah (20 houses), in Wādi el-Jizi and its tributaries; at Heil, Ghāliah (20 houses), and Furfār in the Shameilliyan tract, and finally in independent Oman at Bireimi village and in Mahadhah.

108. *Beni Lamak* (sing. *Lamki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Lamki in Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

Qasra
Umm Himār } in Wādi Fara'.

109. *Ma'āwal* (sing. *Ma'awali*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 8,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Wādi Ma'āwal in Western Hajar, where they own the villages of Āfi (1,000 houses), 'Areiq (40), Musilmāt (300), and part of Hibra (80); also at Khabbah (150) and Barkah (20) in Bātinah. There is also a Bedouin section by name Yāl Bin Rashīd. Āfi is the tribal capital. The Jalandite rulers of Oman, who flourished at the time of the conversion of the country to Islam, or somewhat earlier, are supposed to have belonged to this tribe.

The trade of Wādi Ma'āwal is with Barkah. Wheat, barley, lucerne, and beans are grown, and there are about 100,000 date-palms.

110. *Āl Bu Maheir* (sing. *Maheiri*)

A considerable tribe in Trucial Oman, found in all the coast towns. They have 400 houses in Dibai, 200 in Shārjah, 120 at Ras el-Kheimah, 100 at Abu Dhabi, 100 at Batin, 80 at 'Ajmān, 60 at Khān, and 30 at Umm el-Qaiwein. By some, the Daheilāt of Abu Dhabi town are regarded as a section of the Āl Bu Maheir, who

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in their turn are reckoned, in Abu Dhabi, as a section of the great Beni Yās tribe. 101 619 622

In all they number about 5,500 souls, of whom only about 100, in the Abu Dhabi principality, are Bedouin in their habits.

They are said to be of Mahrah stock and to have come originally from Hadhramaut.

In religion and politics they follow the Sheikh of the principality in which they happen to live.

111. *Mahārah* (sing. *Mahri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,250 souls, all resident in Ras el-Kheimah town, of which they form one of the main elements.

112. *Mahārib* (sing. *Mahāribi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar, at 'Amqāt in Wādi Semā'il, and at Farfārah in Wādi Dhaba'ūn.

113. *Mahāriq* (sing. *Mahrāqi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,200; settled at Adam and Bahlah in Oman Proper and at Sanā'u in Sharqīyah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

The Beni Wāl form one of their sub-tribes.

114. *Mahārizah* (sing. *Maheirizi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 250 souls, sharing with the Sharqiyīn two villages in Wādi Hām, viz. Maāfi and Tayyibah, where they keep some live stock and grow dates.

115. *Mahras*

A few in Murbāt in Dhofār. Nothing known about them.

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116. *Aulād Mahriz* (sing. *Mahrizi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ibadhi in religion; settled at Ba'ad in Wādi Tāyīn.

117. *Majālibah* (sing. *Majlabi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar at Hillat el-Majālibah in Wādi Semā'il.

118. *Manādharah* (sing. *Mandhari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,850 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Western Hajar at *Hawājiri*, Hallah, and Mizāhīt in Wādi Fara'; in Oman Proper at Izki and Saddi; in Dhāhirah at Saleif; in Muscat at Matrah.

119. *Manāsīr* (sing. *Mansūri*)

A Bedouin tribe of Trucial Oman, with head-quarters in Dhafrah; their range is from El-Qatar on the NW. to the Bireimi oasis on the E., and they are found all over Dhafrah, but especially in Dhafrah Proper and Līwah; also in Khatam. A few frequent the neighbourhood of Abu Dhabi town and visit the Bireimi oasis, and some are settled in the coast towns of Khān and Jumeirah. In all, they number about 1,400 souls, of whom only 100 are settled. Most of them winter in Qatar or its neighbourhood and summer in Līwah, where they have temporary villages of huts made of date-sticks and leaves, and possess as joint tribal property some date-groves. When their sojourn in Līwah is over for the year they close up their dwellings and stop up their wells with sand. Their principal grazing ground is in Dhafrah Proper, but in the summer they leave their camels in Beinūnah with those of the Beni Yās. They are Hināwi in politics and Maliki in religion.

They were formerly subject to the Wahabite Government, and in 1865 were understood to pay a contribution worth 2,000 dollars a year, chiefly in kind, into the Wahabite treasury; now they are independent of all control, but maintain some intercourse with the town of Abu Dhabi and its Sheikh.

For the Bedouin Manāsīr, see above, p. 89 f.

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120. *Manāwarah* (sing. *Maneiwari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, or possibly a branch of the Beni Bu Hasan, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Hadhīb in Bātinah. 101 619 622

121. *Maqābil* (sing. *Maqbāli*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,000 souls; settled for the most part in Western Hajar. Their villages are Khān (40 houses), Heil 'Adha (20 houses), and Hansi (20 houses) in Wādi el-Jizi and its tributaries; Muta'ārishah (60 houses), Heil (40 houses), Litheibāt (25 houses), and 'Aqair (20 houses), in Wādi el-Hilti; Murri (60 houses), Mahbab (60 houses), Nizūk (20 houses), Madīnah (25 houses), and Salam (30 houses), in Wādi Beni Ghāfir. They have outlying settlements at Bāt (180 houses), in Wādi Sharsah, in Dhāhirah, and at 'Aweināt (50 houses), Himbār (90 houses), and Tareif (200 houses) in Sohār in Bātinah. Heil in Wādi el-Hilti may be regarded as their tribal capital.

The Maqābīl belong to the Ghāfiri faction. In 1905 they gave trouble to the Sultan of Oman, and were expelled by his troops from a fort in Wādi el-Hilti.

The Beni Khail in Muta'ārishah and the Samāh in Bātinah are sections of the Maqābīl.

122. *Maqānnah* (sing. *Maqaini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Wudām in Bātinah.

123. *Marar* (sing. *Marri*)

A tribe found chiefly in the coast towns of Trucial Oman, but also in the interior; they have 200 houses at Shārjah in the Leyyah quarter, 40 at Abu Dhabi, and 30 at Dibai; besides these there are about 70 families of Bedouin Marar who inhabit Liwah in Dhafrah.

They claim to be a section of the Ahl Murrah, but their pretensions in this respect do not appear to be well founded.

Most of them are pearl-divers by occupation. In politics they are Hināwi, in religion they are Maliki Sunnis.

124. *Marāziq* (sing. *Marzūqi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sūr Heyyān in East

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Bātinah and at Hamām in Saham. They are supposed to be the same tribe as the Marāziq of the Shibkūh district of the Persian coast, though the latter are Wahabites.

125. *Masākirah* (sing. *Maskari*)

A Ghāfiri tribe of the Oman Sultanate, Ibadhi in religion, numbering in all 6,000 souls, of whom 1,600 are Bedouins. They inhabit the 'Alāyah or upper quarter of Ibra, sharing that town with the Hirth, and also occupy Yahmadi and other villages of the Baldān el-Masākirah division of Sharqīyah. Some live at Bilād es-Sūr. They have at times been at feud with the Hirth, but in 1877 were suspected of aiding the Hārithi rebel, Sālih, pecuniarily.

The Bedouin Masākirah are divided into three sections, viz.:

Faleihāt, 300 souls, owning 30 camels, 25 donkeys, 40 cattle, 200 sheep and goats.

Nahad, 500 souls, owning 50 camels, 40 donkeys, 30 cattle, 600 sheep and goats.

Masā'īd or Masā'idah, 800 souls, owning 300 camels, 200 donkeys, 100 cattle, and 800 sheep and goats.

The principal Sheikhs are at Ibra and Yahmadi.

126. *Masālihah* (sing. *Maslahi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls: settled at Qaryah in Oman Proper and in Wādi Beni Khālid in Eastern Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

127. *Mashāfirah* (sing. *Masheifari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 700 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Rumeis and Barkah in Bātinah and at Qābil in Sharqīyah, where some are Bedouins.

128. *Mashārifah* (sing. *Masharrafi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in and about the Wādi Fara' at Lamīm, Teima, Ghassah, Fuleij (or Faleij), Rafsah, and Mislaq in Eastern Hajar. They are entirely dominated by the Beni Bu Hasan.

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129. *Mashā'ikh*

A few in Murbāt in Dhofār Nothing known about them except that they are a sacred class.

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130. *Matārish* (sing. *Matrūshi*)

A tribe of Oman, numbering 1,700 souls, of whom 1,000 are settled in Trucial Oman at Shārjah town and 700 in the Sultanate at Harādi and Mureir el-Kebīrah in Bātinah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Sunni.

131. *Mazārī'* (sing. *Mazrū'i* or *Mizra'i*)

A tribe of Oman, numbering about 6,400 souls, of whom 5,000 are in the Sultanate and 1,400 in Trucial Oman. In the Sultanate they are found at 'Alāyat el-Mazārī' and Wusheil in Western Hajar and at 'Aqr in Bātinah. In Trucial Oman they are found in Abu Dhabi and Dibai towns, in the village of Khān near Shārjah town, in Wādis Hām and Sfuni in the Ras el-Kheimah district, and in Wādi Sfei in the district of Shameilīyah.

They are as a rule Ghāfiri in politics and Hanbali in religion.

In Abu Dhabi territory they are regarded as a section of the Beni Yās.

132. *Mishāqisah* (sing. *Mashqasi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; settled at Heil, Mizāhīt, and Wusheil in Wādi Fara'; Ghāfiri in politics.

133. *Miyāyihah* (sing. *Miyāhi*)

This tribe of the Oman Sultanate is also called Beni Ghāfir, but the alternative name is apt to lead to confusion between the Miyāyihah tribe and the Ghāfiri political faction to which the tribe belongs and to which it gave its name. It has not now, and never had, as a tribe, any dominant position in the Ghāfiri political faction: that the faction was named after it was due not to the strength of the tribe but to the personal energy and talents of its Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Nāsir, who commanded the faction in the earliest struggle against the Hināwi. The Tamīmah of the Miyāyihah is no longer head of the Ghāfiri faction.

The Miyāyihah number about 7,000 souls, all settled. Their villages are Dhab'a (25 houses), Kahaf (30 houses), Dhaweihir (20 houses), Tayyib (25 houses), Rijlah (20 houses), Qarti (40 houses), Ruweibi (15 houses), Difa' (30 houses), Marji (50 houses), Khafdi (30 houses), Tabāqah (20 houses), Dihās (20 houses), 'Amār (25 houses), and Zawājir (35 houses), all in Wādi Beni Ghāfir;

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101 Khadhra (40 houses) in Wādi Sahtan; Rostāq (400 houses), Mizāhīt (65 houses), and Hazam (40 houses), in Wādi Fara'; Darīz (200 houses), in Wādi el-Kebīr; Beit el-'Ainein (20 houses), in Wādi Saneisal; Wahrah (100 houses), in Wādi Sharsah; Bahlah (30 houses), in Oman Proper.
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They are Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion, except only those at Darīz, who are Sunni. Though not a very large tribe they were in 1881 simultaneously at feud with eight tribes and have a reputation for skill and courage in war.

A complete list of their subdivisions is not available. The few sections known are:

Beni Salmān, at Marji and Mizāhīt.
Salāmiyīn, at Dihās.
Maqārishah, at Bahlah.
Khanābishah, at Nizūk (20 houses) and Madīnah (25 houses) in Wādi el-Hōqain, a tributary of Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

134. *Muwālik* (sing. *Mālikī*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Barkah, Shakhākhīt, and Rumeis Bu Mahār in Bātinah, and at Dawwah in Wādi Beni Khālid in Eastern Hajar. They are dependent on the Hirth.

135. *Muwālikh* (sing. *Mālikhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate. numbering 700 souls; ? Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Hadd.

Their sections are:
Beni 'Āmir.
Beni Ghazal.
Beni Mahari.

136. *Beni Na'ab* or *Nu'abah* (sing. *Na'abi*)

A small but distinct tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering perhaps 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, religion unrecorded. Settled at Lājāl, which belongs to them, and at Manah in Oman Proper; at Sīya and elsewhere in Wādi Sarein; in Wādi Mi'aidin; at Mazāra' in Wādi Tāyīn; in the hills on the right bank of the Tāyīn in the Wādi Dheiqah section they are shepherds and form a warlike section of the Beni Battāsh. They are possibly of non-Arab descent but are considered Arab now.

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137. *Beni Na'mān* (sing. *Na'māni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Sanā'u in Sharqīyah. They took part in the attack on Muscat in 1895. 101 619 622

138. *Nabāhinah* (sing. *Nabhāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate which at the end of the sixteenth century furnished the rulers of Oman. They number only 600 and are settled at Sharqatein in Wādi Semā'il; at Hammām el-Ā'li and Sunub in Wādi Bōshar; and at Nakhl. They are Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

139. *Na'īm* (sing. *Na'aimi*)

An important tribe of Oman with independent branches in Bahrein and El-Qatar. Only the main tribe is dealt with here. They number in all 13,000 souls of whom 10,500 are settled and 2,500 Bedouins. In the Sultanate 4,500 are settled at Dhank town (660 houses), Sanqar (45 houses), Saneinah (200 houses); in Trucial Oman 3,500 at Heirah (250 houses), Hamrīyah (250 houses), 'Ajmān (25 houses), Dheid (30 houses), Haqālah (10 houses), and Shārjah town (100 houses); in independent Oman at Qābil (180 houses), Hafīt (150 houses), Su'arah (100 houses), and Bireimi village (100 houses).

The Bedouins range over the entire central portion of the Oman promontory at its base. The district of Jau, in which the Bireimi oasis is situated, may be regarded as their head-quarters, but they predominate in Dhāhirah on the east, and on the west extend to Khatam, which they share with the Beni Yās and the Dhawāhir. In the winter some of them pasture their animals on the watershed between the Bireimi oasis and Sohār, and are an important factor in tribal politics at the head of Wādi Hatta. On the north their principal grazing ground is the plain of Jiri, which is shared by their Khawātir section with the Ghafalah tribe. In the direction of Shārjah the tract known as Gharīf was once in their possession, but they were displaced by the Beni Ka'ab, who, in their turn, have had to cede it to the Beni Qitab.

Roughly speaking there are ordinarily 1,200 Na'īm Bedouins in Trucial Oman, 900 in the Sultanate, and 400 in independent Oman.

Subdivisions:

The Na'īm, whether settled or nomadic, belong to one of two main divisions—the Āl Bu Khareibān, who are said to be descendants

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101 of Khazraj, and the Āl Bu Shāmis, who are said to be descendants
619 of 'Aus. The following are some of the better-known sections of these two main divisions.

622 *Āl Bu Khareibān* sub-tribe :

'Aryān at Hafīt, 140 souls.
Āl Bu Adhnein or Dhanein at 'Ajmān and elsewhere, 700 souls.
Hamīrat at 'Ajmān and elsewhere, 180 souls.
Khawātir at Hafīt and the Jiri plain, 500 souls.
Qarātisah at Bireimi and Su'arah.
Āl Bu Kelbi of 'Ajmān town (perhaps a section).

Āl Bu Shāmis sub-tribe :

'Ayāl 'Azīz at Dhank town, 700 souls ; believed not to be really Na'īm (see above, p. 550).
Darāwishah at Heirah, Hamrīyah, Shārjah town and Ras el-Kheimah town, 1,500 souls.
('Ayāl) Hiyah or Ahiya in Dhank town, 150 souls.
Kilābinah at Hafīt and Sanqar.
Shawāmis at Bizeili, Sancinah, and Dhank, 1,400 souls.
Wahā'ishah at Dhank town, 250 souls.

The Na'īm are Ghāfiri in politics, and, with few exceptions, Hanbali in religion.

140. *Naqbiyīn* (sing. *Naqbi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,800 souls ; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics ; settled in Shārjah principality on the east side of the Oman promontory at Khōr Fakkān, Ghāllah, Lūlayyah, Zubārah, Dibah, Fahlein, Khatt, and Diftah. They are generally hostile to their neighbours the Sharqiyīn. They are all engaged in agriculture.

141. *Āl Bin Nāsir* (sing. *Nāsiri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 120 souls ; Sunni in religion ; all settled in Abu Dhabi town. They live by pearl-diving and fishing and petty trade apparently.

142. *Nidābiyīn* (sing. *Nidābi*)

A settled tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls ; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi. Their villages are Lizugh, Mizra' Bu Ba'arah, Fankh, Da'sar, Sinsilah in Wādi el-'Aqq ; Mizra' and Mizra' el-Heitani in Wādi Seijāni ; Mahbūb, Hassās, and Sarūr in Wādi Semā'il ; Jarda in Eastern Hajar.

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Though not a large tribe their position in Wādi el-'Aqq and Wādi Seijāni commands the principal route from Sharqīyah to Matrah and Muscat towns, and their services have frequently been retained by the Sultans of Oman to bar the progress of insurgents from Sharqīyah to the capital. 101 619 622

143. *Nidheiriyīn* (sing. *Nidheiri*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls, settled at Dawwah in Wādi Beni Khālid, in Eastern Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

144. *Nuwāfil* (sing. *Naufili*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Bātinah at Bu 'Abāli, Sha'ībah, Majiz en-Nuwāfil, and Masna'ah. They are dependent on the Hirth and a few are Bedouins.

145. *Beit el-Qalam*

A few at Murbāt in Dhofār. Nothing known about them.

146. *Qara*

A wild tribe in the Samhān hills in Dhofār, ranging from Sadah on the east to Rakhyūt on the west and inland as far as the country is habitable, which is not a great distance. They number about 5,000 souls, all nomadic except a few hundred settled at Kharīfōt (30 houses), Murbāt (10 houses), Rakhyūt (65 houses), Sadah (20 houses), and Tāqa (20 houses). They call themselves Hakli, speak a language which has been described as a dialect of Mahri, and are commonly stated to be a branch of the Mahrah tribe. They differ greatly in appearance and character from the typical Arab, who regards them as heathens. They are classed as Sunnis of the Ghāfiri faction, but it is doubtful whether they are Arabs at all. They keep camels, cattle, sheep and goats, and subsist chiefly by collecting frankincense and other gums. They also do a little cultivation and a little business in hides and *ghi*. In winter they live in caverns which, if large enough, they share with their animals. One cavern at Dirbāt is 150′ × 50′ × 30′. A few have guns, the rest use iron swords, daggers, and even pointed throwing sticks. They carry a shield which serves also as a hat or water bucket or stool as desired. They quarrel and fight amongst themselves, and are a restless, irresponsible lot, but are not a resolute or really

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101 dangerous tribe. They may annoy their neighbours by damaging their crops at night, but they never attack settled villages.
• 619 Their principal divisions are :
622

Beit 'Ak'āk, at Rakhyūt, 150 fighting men.
Barā'amah, in Samhān hills, behind Salālah, 160 fighting men.
Beit Hardān, in the hills near Rakhyūt, 70 fighting men.
Beit 'Īsa, at Rakhyūt, 80 fighting men.
Beit Jabūb, in the hills, 160 fighting men.
Beit Qatan, in the hills, 150 fighting men.
Beit Ka'bōb, in the hills.
Beit Kishōb, in the hills, 170 fighting men.
Kathōb or Ma'ashani at Tāqa, and in the hills about Wādi Dirbāt, 700 fighting men.
Beit Sa'īd, in the hills behind Hāsiki, 300 fighting men.
Shamāsah at Rakhyūt, 90 fighting men.
Beit Tabōk, in the hills, 170 fighting men.
Beni (or Ahl) 'Umr, at Murbāt and in the hills near by, 1,200 fighting men. This section is friendly to the Sultan of Oman and has a subsection, Beit Makhayyir.

147. *Āl Bu Qarein* (sing. *Qareini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls ; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics ; settled at Dhiyān and Hajeirah in Bātinah. Some at Hajeirah are Bedouins.

148. *Qateit* (sing. *Qateiti*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, very few in number ; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics ; settled in Khābūrah town.

149. *Qawā'id* (sing. *Qā'idi*)

A Bedouin tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 250 souls. They range round about Shōkah in Wādi Hām ; some of them cultivate a little, and are semi-settled at Shōkali. They are believed by some to be an offshoot of the Mazārī', but this is doubtful.

150. *Qawāsim* or *Jawāsim* (sing. *Qāsimi* or *Jāsimi*)

This is the family or small tribe to which the ruling sheikh of Shārjah belongs ; it claims descent from the Prophet Mohammed. Outside Trucial Oman the subjects of Shārjah are sometimes spoken

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of as Jawāsim, and a tribe which has submitted to the sheikh is said to have become 'Jāsimi'; to this fact is probably due the indiscriminate application in old British records of the term 'Joasmee' to all the piratical inhabitants of what is now Trucial Oman. The Trucial flag of 1820 unfortunately came to be known, and is still known, as the Jāsimi flag, and the Beni Yās of Abu Dhabi have consequently always shown a disinclination to fly it. 101 619 622

The genuine Qawāsim in Trucial Oman in 1905 only numbered 18 adult males. Other Qawāsim to the number of 650 occur at Duvvān in the Lingeh district of the Persian coast.

A tribe of Qawāsim, supposed to be identical with the genuine Qawāsim by some, while others hold it to be a section of the Nidābiyīn, is settled in the Oman Sultanate at Miltiqa in Wādi Semā'il, Nafa'ah in Wādi Mansah, Felej el-Hijāri in Wādi Riseil, Mizra' el-'Alawi in Wādi Maih, and at Bandar Jissah on the Muscat coast. This tribe numbers 1,100 souls.

151. *Beni Qitab* (sing. *Qitbi*)

A tribe of Oman, having a considerable range over the promontory and in Dhāhirah. They number about 4,800, of whom 2,500 are settled in the sultanate in the cluster of villages known as Aflāj Beni Qitab, in Dhāhirah, and 200 at Dheid, in the Shārjah principality. The remaining 2,100 are Bedouins, whose territory is bounded by the northern end of the Dheid plain, the towns of Shārjah and Dibai, the Bireimi oasis, and the western slopes of the promontory. The Bedouins muster 600 fighting men in their seven sections, as follows :—Farāriyah, 100; Hawāfir, 80; Khasāwinah, 120; Ma'āliyah, 40; Masā'īd, 180; Midhāqarah, 30; Shibānāt, 50.

The Sheikh of Abu Dhabi has recently admitted the Beni Qitab to be clients of the Sheikh of Umm el-Qaiwein. In politics they are Ghāfiri, and in religion Sunni.

152. *Radeināt* (sing. *Radeini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Abbāsah in Bātinah.

153. *Rahbiyīn* (sing. *Rahbi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in the upper part of Wādi Tāyīn and in Wādi Mansah and its tributaries. Wāsit, between Wādis Tāyīn and Mansah, is the seat of the principal sheikh.

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The Suwābiq at Beyyadh is one of their sections, and the Aulād or Beni Mahriz at Ba'ad and Mizbur is perhaps another.

154. *Ramāh* (sing. *Ramhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar, at 'Ain er-Ramāh, and not found anywhere else. They are goldsmiths.

155. *Beni Raqād* (sing. *Raqādi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; originally Yemeni, now Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Misfāh, Lansab, and Ghallah in the Muscat district and at Badī'ah in Wādi Tāyīn in Eastern Hajar.

156. *Āl Bu Rasheid* (sing. *Rasheidi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Abbāsah and Khadhra in Bātinah. They are partly Bedouin and dependent on the Hirth.

157. *Beni Rāshid* or *Rawāshid*

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Bātinah at Khishdah in Sohār; in Dhāhirah at 'Arāqi and Darīz in Wādi el-Kebīr; in Oman Proper at Adam, Bahlah, Khadhra Bin Daffā' in Sharqīyah, and Nizwa in Sanā'u.

158. *Beni Rāsib* (sing. *Rāsibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and bigoted Wahabite in religion; settled at Wāfi in Ja'lān and at feud with the Beni Bu Hasan. Their sections are Aulād Fāris, Marāziqah, and Aulād Rabī'.

159. *Beni Riyām* (sing. *Riyāmi*)

A somewhat peculiar tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 11,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled at Izki (450 houses), Kamah (20 houses), Manah (140 houses), Birkat el-Mōz (250 houses), Karsha (20 houses), Muti (300 houses), Nizwa (500 houses), Tanūf (40 houses), and Zikeit (15 houses), all in Oman Proper; also at Shareijah (100 houses), and Seiq (60 houses) in

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Jebel Akhdhar; also at Misfāh (100 houses) in Wādi Beni Kharūs, and at Hijār (50 houses) and Qōrah (40 houses) in Wādi Mistāl. 101 619 622

They are said to be of Yemeni descent and among the earliest Arab settlers in Oman. They are well to do and peaceable, but those of the hills are disliked as being irascible, slothful, immoral, and inhospitable; the prejudice against them may be partly due to their disregard of Mohammedan principles in drinking a wine made by themselves from home-grown grapes. They are described as haggard and prematurely old and lacking the usual vivacity and strength of mountaineers. The women go unveiled and are sometimes of a clear ruddy complexion. Their sections are Jawāmīd at Seiq and Shareiqiyīn at Misfāh.

160. *Riyāyisah* (sing. *Rīsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Haseifīn Sūr er-Riyāyisah in Bātinah, at Tawi in Western Hajar, and in ShināS town.

161. *Beni Ruwāhah* (sing. *Ruwāhi*)

An important tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 18,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics, though said to be of Nizāri descent. Their principal seat is the upper part of Wādi Semā'il, called Wādi Beni Ruwāhah, which they monopolize, having 900 houses there; but they also inhabit the lower villages of 'Adhdah (50 houses), Rissah (20), Rufei'ah (80), Qarwāshīyah (50), Naghzah (50), Suharah (100), Hijrat Aulād Sa'ad (50), Jammār (75), Hijrat el-Bakriyīn (100), Ibrāhīmīyah (40), Beit Weled el-Khalīli (100), Subārah (50), Daqdaqain (20), and Tasāwīr (25). In Wādi Bōshar they are found at Fuleij esh-Shām (15), in Wādi Dima at Hājir (100), and in Oman Proper at Izki, Khadhra Bin Daffā' (60), Nizwa (4), and Saddi (10). In Wādi Mistāl they occur at Ghubrah Beni Ruwāhah (40) and Heil (40). The greater part of Wādi 'Andām belongs to them and the whole of Wādi Mahram.

They are a troublesome tribe; they were against the Sultan of Oman from 1871 to 1888 consistently, and are supposed to be still very hostile; but they can be bought, as they were in 1905, when the Sultan made use of them.

Half a mile below the village of Wabāl, in Wādi Beni Ruwāhah, is a wall with towers and a gate through which the highway leads. This is called Darwazah (door), and its object is to close the route up the valley. It is permanently held by a garrison of the Beni Ruwāhah.

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101 The tribe apparently owns few camels, but many cattle, donkeys, sheep, and goats, and thousands of date-palms. They also go in for trade, market-gardening, cultivation, and transport.
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622 The principal subdivisions of the Beni Ruwāhah are :

Section.	*Houses.*	*Habitat.*
Aulād 'Ali	200	Wādi Mahram
Aulād 'Aqīd	95	Wādi 'Andām
'Awāmir	200	Rissah and Rufei'ah in Wādi Semā'il, also Wādi 'Andām
Aulād 'Āyish	200	Wādi Mahram, &c.
Bahālil		Naghzah in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Bin Bahīs	30	Sabārah in Wādi Semā'il
Bakriyīn	160	Hijrat el-Bakriyīn, Ibrāhīmīyah, and Sabārah in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Barkat	80	Wādi Mahram
Aulād Hamad	100	Wādi Mahram
Beni Hamīm	100	Wādi Mahram
Aulād Harmal	150	Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Hasan	180	Wādi 'Andām
Beni Hāshim	60	Mihall in Wādi Semā'il, &c.
Aulād Husein	50	Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Ibrāhīm	60	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khalf	70	Wasād in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khalīl	200	Suharah and Beit Weled el-Khalīli in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khamīs	60	Biyāq in Wādi Semā'il, &c.
Aulād Mas'ūd	80	Biyāq in Wādi Semā'il and Himamt, &c.
Beni Na'mān	50	Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Nāsir Mohammed	20	Wabāl in Wādi Semā'il
Qurūn	70	Suharah in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Rāshid	200	Himamt, &c.
Aulād Sa'd	100	Hijrat Aulād Sa'd in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Salīm	120	Wādi Mahram
Aulād Suleimān ibn 'Umr	10	Hibāt in Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Wakīl	140	Dighāl in Wādi Semā'il, &c.

The Beni Ruwāhah occur also in Oman Proper and in some other places.

162. *Beni Sa'd* (sing. *Sa'di*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls ; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics ; settled in Bātinah at Liwa town, Diwānij, and Asrār Beni Sa'd.

163. *Yāl Sa'd* (sing. *Sa'di*)

A large tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 13,000 souls ; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion. They occupy a block of

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territory 25 miles in length towards the east end of Bātinah, but a number of coastal villages in their tract are in other hands. Their traditional boundary on the east is the lower reach of the Wādi Beni Kharūs; on the west the farthest point they occupy is Khadhra. Their principal settlements are at Masna'ah (50 houses), Tau esh-Shawi (20), Tarīf (60), Muladdah (400), Raqqās (100), Ghareifah (500), Sūr el-Qarat (200), Tharmad (250), Bat-ha Suweiq (600), Khadhra (230), and Sūr Heyyān (50). They are also found at Khabbah and Hadhīb, the town of that name 5 m. E. of Khābūrah.

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Among Arabs they are reputed unwarlike, mean spirited, and inhospitable. They are wealthy, owning hundreds of thousands of date-palms and a considerable area under grain, also many trading and fishing boats.

They pay nothing to the present Sultan, and have always been inclined to side with the 'Azzān branch of his family. On the whole, however, they give no trouble so long as they are left alone.

The principal divisions are :

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Location.*
Yāl Heyyiz	700	Muladdah, Bat-hah Suweiq, and Khadhra
Yāl Hilāl	550	Masna'ah, Sūr el-Qarat, and Tharmad
Khaneijarah	400	Masna'ah, Sūr el-Qarat, and Tharmad
Khuweitar	300	Tarīf, Muladdah, and Raqqās
Maghābishah	400	Masna'ah, Tau esh-Shawi, Raqqās, and Khadhra
Shuweikāt	300	Khabbah and Hadhīb

Mention is made of another tribe of Yāl Sa'd in the Oman Sultanate numbering 150 souls; Ibadhi in religion but Ghāfiri in politics, settled at Dāris in Wādi Fara'. It is not stated whether they are connected with the Hināwi Yāl Sa'd.

164. *Yāl Sa'd* (sing. *Yāl Sa'di*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; settled at Dāris in Wādi Fara'; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

165. *Sa'ādiyīn* (sing. *Sa'di*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ibadhi in religion, and Ghāfiri, but subject to neighbouring Hināwi tribes in politics; numbering 700 souls, settled at Muqal in Wādi Beni Khālid.

166. *Āl Bu Sa'īd* (sing. *Sa'īdi*)

This is the tribe of the Sultans of Oman; in politics Hināwi, in religion Ibadhi, with a few Sunnis among them. They number

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101 6,000 souls, and are widely diffused. Their settlements are at Muscat town (8 houses), where they mostly belong to the sultan's
• 619 family; at Sawāqim (20 houses) in Wādi Mijlās; Heil el-Ghāf in Wādi Tāyīn; Dhiyān (65), Qasbiyat Āl Bu Sa'īd (20) in Bātinah; at
622 Hibra (80) in Wādi Ma'āwal; at Fath Āl Bu Sa'īd (50) in Wādi Bōshar; at Hārat el-Jabah (20) and Beit el-Qarn (5) in Wādi Fara'; at Jammār (75) in Wādi Semā'il; at Samad (50), Khadhar (25), and Sherī'at Āl Bu Sa'īd (10) in Wādi Samad; at Adam (150), Birkat el-Mōz (20), Felej (20), Mahyūl (10), Manah (200), Nizwa (250), and Raddah (20) in Oman Proper.

167. *Sā'idah* (sing. *Sā'idi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ghāfiri in politics, Sunni in religion; numbering 250 souls, settled at Dūt in Wādi Dhank.

168. *Saleimiyīn* (sing. *Saleimi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Rumānīyah in Wādi Fara', Western Hajar.

169. *Yāl 'Abd es-Salām* (sing. *Salāmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Dīl Yāl 'Abd es-Salām in Saham in Bātinah.

170. *Salāmiyīn* (sing. *Salāmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Nakhl, and at Rumānīyah in Wādi Fara', Western Hajar.

171. *Salātinah* (sing. *Saltāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Hināwi in politics and probably Sunni in religion; settled at Furfār es-Salātinah in Liwa in Bātinah.

172. *Sareiriyīn* (sing. *Sareiri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Nakhl in Western Hajar. Some of them are potters.

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173. *Beni Sārikh* (sing. *Sārikhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Hināwi in politics, formerly Ghāfiri; settled at 'Ain Beni Sārikh in Dhāhirah. 101 619 622

174. *Yāl Shabīb* (sing. *Shabībi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Masna'ah in Bātinah and Lizq in Sharqīyah.

175. *Shabūl* (sing. *Shabli*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sohār town in Bātinah, at Heyyadh, Heil 'Adha, Hansi, and Furfār in Western Hajar, and at Jifār in Wādi Bōshar. They are dependent on the Hirth.

176. *Beni Shaheim* (sing. *Shaheimi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar in all the villages of Wādi Dima except Hājir.

177. *Shahā'irah* (sing. *Ashhari* or *Shahyāri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 125 souls; Ghāfiri in politics; settled at 'Asimah in Wādi Hām. They are considered to be aborigines.

178. *Beni Shahūm* (sing. *Shahmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 900 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics. Settled in Western Hajar, at Sa'abah, and Bilād Shahūm in Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

179. *Beni Shakeil* (sing. *Shakeili*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion, numbering 4,000 souls. Settled in Western Hajar at Umm Himār, Mīdān, Meihah, Sani, Maqham, Qaryah, and Heil Ghāfah; in Dhāhirah at 'Āridh; in Oman Proper at Bahlah, Bisya, and Seifam. Their tribal capital is Seifam.

180. *Shakhāriyīn* (sing. *Shakhāri*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Felej esh-Shakhāriyīn in Wādi 'Āhin

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in Western Hajar. They number 250 souls, and are allies of the Maqābīl.

181. *Shakūr* (sing. *Shakūri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; numbering 500 souls, settled in Dhank town in Dhāhirah.

182. *Beni Shameili* (sing. *Shameili*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,000 souls, originally Jews; settled at Shimil in Sīr, except for a few who are nomads among the Shihūh in Ru'ūs el-Jibāl. They are now closely connected with the Shihūh and may almost be regarded as a section of that tribe. At Shimil, which they entirely possess, they have 4,000 date-palms and some live stock, including 50 camels.

183. *Shamūs* (sing. *Shamsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Khōr el-Hamām in Saham.

184. *Shāqōsh*

These form a section of the Beni Ma'in of Qishm, and there are only a few of them. They are Ghāfiri in politics and reside at 'Ajmān town, where they have 12 houses. They are pearl-divers and fishermen.

185. *Sharā'inah* (sing. *Sharā'ini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar at Beit el-Qarn in Wādi Fara' and 'Ain esh-Sharā'inah in Wādi Beni Ghāfir. They are allies of the Beni Kelbān.

186. *Sharqiyīn* (sing. *Sharqi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 7,000 souls, residing entirely within the jurisdiction of the Sheikh of Shārjah, found chiefly in the Shameilīyah tract and in Wādi Hām, but also in smaller numbers in the Jiri plain and in the Ras el-Kheimah district. Their principal settlements are at Bidyah (300 houses), Fujeirah (150), Gharfah (100), Marbah (100), Qareyyah (100), Qidfa' (100), and Ghāllah (70).

About half of those residing in the Shameilīyah tract have succeeded (1905), under the leadership of the Sheikh of Fujeirah, in casting off the yoke of Shārjah. Their independence has not, however, been recognized by the British Government.

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The occupations of the Sharqiyīn are various. They cultivate, fish, dive for pearls, trade with Muscat and Sīb, grow dates, and keep live stock, according to the facilities of the place where they reside. Their sections are Hafeitāt, Yamāmahah, Hamūdiyīn. Some claim the Jalājilah, Mahārizah, and Zahūm as sections of the Sharqiyīn, but this is not certain. 101 619 622

187. *Shawāfi'* (sing. *Shāfa'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at 'Aweināt in Sohār in Bātinah.

188. *Shawāmis* (sing. *Shāmisi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Hināwi in politics; settled at Habbās in Wādi Semā'il. There is a Shawāmis section of the Na'īm and also of the Beni Keleib.

189. *Shihūh* (sing. *Shihhi*)

A peculiar tribe who inhabit the Oman promontory from Bei'ah northwards on the eastern coast, and from Khōr Khuweir northwards on the western coast. The whole of the Ru'ūs el-Jibāl district is in their occupation, except a few villages belonging to the Dhahūriyīn. They also occupy Sha'am, Ghalīlah, and Khōr Khuweir in the Shārjah principality and the village of Heil in Sīr, and are found, too, at Saham town in Bātinah. Their number is roughly estimated at 21,500 souls, of whom 14,500 are on the coast and 7,000 in the interior. Those of the interior are described as Bedouin, but some of them have houses built of loose stone. The Shihūh are almost entirely included in the dominions of the Sultan of Oman. Only about 2,000 of those on the coast and a few of those in the interior are resident in Trucial Oman.

There is little intercourse between the coastal Shihūh and their brethren of the interior, many of whom never come down to the coast. The former are chiefly engaged in diving and wading for pearls and in fishing, though they keep goats and grow dates where they can: their food is chiefly fish which they catch, rice which they import, and dates which they grow and import. The latter are engaged in tending large flocks of goats and in agriculture. With irrigation from natural reservoirs in the hills they grow almost all the grain they want for home consumption. They live on the produce of their cultivation and their goats, and have nothing to do with the sea.

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In religion the Shihūh, both settled and nomad, are mostly Shafeis, but from and including Sha'am and Bei'ah southwards on either side of the promontory they are now Hanbalis. As a tribe they are still imperfect Moslems; those in the hills have no mosques and are extremely superstitious, still offering sacrifices to the mountain Jinns. From the time of the Wahabite movement, however, they have given up worshipping at Mazārs or tombs of holy men.

There are two languages spoken amongst them. The more general is the Shihhi dialect of Arabic; the other is an Iranian dialect chiefly spoken at Kumzār, and on Lārak Island by the Kumāzirah subdivision of the Beni Shateir and their Dhahūriyīn relations. From this fact it is inferred that the Shihūh are a composite tribe, originally Arab, but now containing some Persian elements.

There are two main divisions of the tribe:

1. Beni Hadīyah.
2. Beni Shateir.

The coastal Shihūh regard only these two main divisions and classify themselves in detail by villages and not by subsections. In the interior the classification is by subsections.

The following is the classification by sections among the nomad Shihūh of the interior:

1. *Beni Hadīyah.*

Section.	*Families.*	*Location.*
Beni Mohammed 'Abeid	100	The hills above Khasab
Beni 'Ali. Two clans of equal strength: (1) Ahl 'Aqabah; (2) Beni Yideid	200	Hills above Limah
Beni Ibrāhim	70	Hills near Ras el-Kheimah
Khanāzirah	100	Seih above Khasab
Beni Hām Mazyūd	? 100	Hills east of Khasab

2. *Beni Shateir.*

Beni el-Asamm	70	Musellih near Limah
Ahl Heil	70	Maskin el-Heil near Bei'ah
Beni Hamūd	35	Khabbah or Heir above Limah
Beni Kanar	70	Kaneif and Sahwah
Khanābilah	90	Raudhah, Salhad, Maqaleili
Mahābīb	60	Various places in hills
Maqādihah	60	Saqattah near Dibah
Ahl Muqām	100	Khabbah Sīt near Dibah
Beni Murrah	35	Sal'alah and Ghibbah
Qayyāshah	100	Beighūt
Sā'ad	100	Hills above Ghalilah
Ahl Salhad	180	Salhad and Khabbat Sīt

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190. *Shiyābinah* (sing. *Sheibāni*)

A small Bedouin tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; ranging round Adam in Oman Proper. 101 615 622

191. *Shiyādi* (sing. *Shādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Sār esh-Shiyādi, Ghuweisah, and Abu Dhurūs in Saham in Bātinah.

192. *Shurēj* or *Sharūq* (sing. *Sharji*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 650 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Samad town and Mukhtari' in Wādi 'Andām in Sharqiyah.

193. *Shwaikiyin*

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 2,050 souls; Hanbali in religion; settled in Dibai and Shārjah towns. The bulk of them are in Shārjah, where they have 400 houses.

194. *Beni Sinān* (sing. *Sināni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at Quryāt and Sūr (Sanaisalah) in the Eastern Hajar.

195. *Siyābiyin* (sing. *Siyābi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; somewhat widely distributed, found chiefly in the Hajar and Muscat districts. Their tribal capital is Nafa'ah (200 houses) in Wādi Manzah; other principal settlements are Sīb edh-Dhafar, Ghail ed-Dakk, Ghubrah, Dan, Bidbid, Mizra', Qurtā', Mileyyinah, and 'Amqāt, all in Wādi Semā'il; Rissah and Seijāni in Wādi Seijāni; Felej Shirāh and Misfāh in Wādi Fara'; Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah; Ghubrat et-Tām in Wādi Tāyin; Sa'āl, Ghallah, and both Misfāhs in Wādi Bōshra, Marsirāt, Jafnein, and Rissil in Wādi Rissil; Sīb and Barkah in Bātinah, and at Matrah. Those at Rissah belong to a section called Mubāsili.

Some of the Siyābiyin are rich, but the tribe generally are not held in much repute. They are inclined to be friendly with the Beni

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Jābir and at enmity with the Nidābiyīn, Beni Battāsh, Beni 'Arābah, and Hadādabah. There are no genuine Bedouins among them.

196. *Beni Subh* (sing. *Subhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Abyadh in Wādi Beni Kharūs in Western Hajar and also in Oman Proper (not stated where).

197. *Sūdān* (sing. *Suweidi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, El-Qatar, and Bahrein; they are closely connected with the Kunūd, and their descent from Aswad el-Kindi—supposed to have been an immigrant from Yemen in the time of Mohammed—is generally admitted.

They number in all about 5,500 souls, of whom nearly 5,000 reside in the ports of Trucial Oman. They have 375 houses at Abu Dhabi town, 20 at Batin, 250 at Dibai town, 300 at Shārjah town, 20 on Bu Mūsa Island in the Sheikhdom of Shārjah, 12 at 'Ajmān, 80 at Dōhah in El-Qatar, 10 at Hadd in Bahrein, and 49 on Sirri Island.

There is little to differentiate the Sūdān of Trucial Oman from the other tribes among whom they dwell; but those of El-Qatar are distinguished from most of their Sunni neighbours by being Hanābilah and not Muwālik.

Their two principal divisions are the Āl Ramdha and the Āl Sālmīn. They now live by dealing in and diving for pearls and other seafaring occupations.

198. *Suwālih* (sing. *Salhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Suweiq in Bātinah.

199. *Suwāwifah* (sing. *Suwāfi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, except for those at Khabbah, who are Ghāfiri. They are settled in Eastern Hajar at Khabbah and Quryāt; in Sharqiyah at Sanā'a; in Dhāhirah at Saleif in Wādi el-'Ain.

200. *Teiwānīyah* (sing. *Teiwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Muscat town and in Oman Proper at Nizwa.

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201. *Tatimmaha* (sing. *Tamtami*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Misfāh and 'Awābi in Wādi Bōshar. 101 615 622

202. *Taneij* (sing. *Taneiji*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 4,000 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; 2,500 are settled at Rams (400 houses), Dheid (70), and Hamrīyah (30), and 1,500 are Bedouins ranging round Dheid.

Rams belongs exclusively to the Taneij. Their houses are mostly of mud and stone. The chief occupations of the settled portion of the tribe are fishing and pearl-diving. They have some date plantations two miles inland at Dhāyah.

203. *Thameirāt* (sing. *Thāmiri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 120, residing in Abu Dhabi town. They are reckoned among the Beni Yās.

204. *Āl 'Umeir* (sing. *'Umeiri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Oman Proper at Izki, Birkat el-Mōz, and Mahyūl; also in Bātinah at Heil Āl 'Umeir and Sīb.

205. *Beni 'Umr* (sing. *Ma'amari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 11,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and in religion partly Ibadhi and partly Sunni; settled in Western Hajar and Bātinah, with very few, if any, Bedouins attached to them. In Western Hajar they occupy the whole of the Wādi Beni 'Umr, a tributary of the Wādi el-Hāwāsinah, viz. Mijzi, Jahanāt, Rahbah, Heil Islāt, Farfār, Ghaiz, and Lihbān; also the following villages in Wādi Beni 'Umr el-Gharbi: Heil, Shuweimarah, 'Aqrabīyah, Rahab, Dhabyān, and Beidha; also Hībi in Wādi Sarrāmi.

In Bātinah their settlements are at Sīb, Ghadhfān, and Hadd in the sub-vilayet of Sohār, at Harmūl, Nabar, Asrār Beni 'Umr, Umm el-'Inah, and Hameirah in the sub-vilayet of Liwa; and at Bileidah in the sub-vilayet of Shinās. Other settlements are at Ghashab and Felej el-'Āli in Wādi Fara'; at Hayyāl in Wādi el-Kebīr; and at Shareijah in Jebel Akhdhar. Ghadhfān is their principal place in the north and Lihbān in the south.

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101 They must not be confounded with a similarly named section of the Beni Battāsh.

• 619 They are always at feud with their neighbours the Hawāsinah and the Maqābīl. 622

206. *Beni Waheib* (sing. *Waheibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; scattered over the Muscat district, and not elsewhere except at Daghmar and Quryāt (60 hours). In the Muscat district their settlements are: in Wādi Mijlās and its tributaries at La'bān (40 houses), Sālifah (30), Būlīdah (25), Habūbīyah (160), Mizra' Sumeir (20), Mizra' Baleil (15), Heithadh (30), Fayādh (20), and Heifal (15); in Wādi Maih and its tributaries, at Dhahr Sidrah (30), Tuyān Jahlūt (40), Sa'ādi (60), Maheidith (20), Rākil Milh (30), Mandharīyah (20), Mahā'il (25), Tawīlah (30), and Hājir (30); on the coast at Bistān (20), and Yiti (20); and at Wateyyah (6), Ruwi (25), and Muscat town (45).

Besides these settled members there are two sections of Bedouins, viz. Kawāsib (25 families) and Shabūl (35 families).

207. *Āl Wahibah* (sing. *Waheibi*)

A very important tribe of the Sharqīyah and Ja'lān districts in the Oman Sultanate, almost entirely Bedouin, and enjoying at present (1905) a high position in the tribal system. They number about 13,000 souls. Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics. T' sedentary members occupy the villages of Sadeirah and Aflāj and part of the town of Mudheibi in the Baldān el-Habūs division of Sharqīyah; they are found also on the SE. coast as far north as Ras Sheiblah (20 houses), and as far south as Ras Sarāb; settlements of them exist at Majiz el-Wahībah (100) and Laghshībah (20) in Bātinah, at 'Adeibah (15) and Ghubrah (30) in Muscat; and at Ghallah (10) in Wādi Bōshar.

The Āl Wahībah are warlike, but though always ready to fight for plunder they are not unpleasant in ordinary dealings. They own the fastest camels in Oman and practically no date-groves or villages. This combination makes them most elusive enemies. They have a bitter feud with the Jannabah and sometimes among the Hikmān of Mahōt. Parties of them regularly visit the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi and receive presents from him. The majority of the nomads are purely pastoral, but a few on the SE. coast are expert fishermen.

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They are divided into many sections under six large, but apparently nameless, groups:

Groups of sections and fighting strength (1905).

Group I

'Asākirah
Barātamin (60)
Āl Bu Ghafeilah, 70
Āl Bu Hidai, 70
Aulād el-Jahāmah, 60
Āl Khamīs, 60
Likānīn
Mabābisah
Madhākīr, 70
Āl Mūnis, 60
Muwāfid
Beni Na'mān, 60
Shalālibah, 50
Aulād 'Umr, 80

Group II

'Asāsif, 100
Āl Badr, 100
Jahāfif, 80
Karāhinah
Āl Bu Ma'mar
Mughā'irah, 200
Shuwālīl, 150
Suweid

Group III

Hatātimah
Madhāwirah, 200
Mufanaj
Āl Muharram
Āl Mushīn

Group IV

Āl Hadām
Aulād el-Hindi
Jidālah, 200

Group V

Āl Badr, 100
Yāl Gharīb
Āl Hindi, [illegible]
Āl Mahāsib
Āl Sinā'u

Group VI

Marāmihah, 250

208. *Warūd* (sing. *Wardi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics, though formerly Ghāfiri; settled at Samad in Sharqīyah and dependent on the Habūs.

209. *Washāhāt* (sing. *Washāhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 850 souls: in religion mostly Ibadhi, with some Shafei; in politics mostly Hināwi, with some Ghāfiris; settled at Tameit, Mushabbah, and 'Ajīb in Wādi Hatta and at Aswad in Wādi el-Qōr.

210. *Ya'āqīb* (sing. *Ya'qūbi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; of Yemeni origin, but now Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at 'Ibri, in Dhāhirah.

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211. *Ya'āribah* (sing. *Ya'rabi*)

101 A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Nakhl, Tuweyyah, Tikhah, and Hazam. They were once important, and supplied the rulers of Oman from A.D. 1625–1744. They have no influence now.
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212. *Yahāmidah* (sing. *Yahmadi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Sohār town and Nakhl.

213. *Beni Yās*

One of the most compact and powerful tribes of Trucial Oman; their range is practically co-extensive with the territories of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, the basis of whose power they are.

Nomad. The Beni Yās nomads, numbering about 2,000 souls, are all in the Abu Dhabi principality. Their favourite pastures are in Beinūnah, a tract of the Dhafrah district.

Settled. The non-nomads number in all about 12,000, of whom about 8,000 are settled in the Abu Dhabi principality, about 2,000 in Dibai territory, and the rest outside Oman, viz.: 1,200 in Hanjām Island, 600 in Bahrein, 200 on Tārūt Island, and over 100 in El-Qatar.

In Abu Dhabi town they number 2,800 souls, and in Dibai they occupy 440 houses. Here, on the coast, they are engaged in pearl-fishing and navigation.

Inland, in Dhafrah, they number 5,100 souls and hold all the permanent settlements. [The only other tribe to be seen in Dhafrah is the Mansūri (Manāsīr) and they only come to summer in the Liwah subdivision.] Here the Beni Yās are semi-civilized, living in huts of date-sticks and leaves, owning date plantations individually (not collectively as do the Manāsīr) and trading and corresponding with Abu Dhabi and even Dibai. Their main industry is date-growing, but some of them take a share in pearl-fishing and own a number of boats which are kept at Bandar Radeim, Khōr Mugheirah, and Bandar Mirfah. The pearl-fishers pay dues and the date-growers pay 2,500 dollars a year as agricultural taxes to the Abu Dhabi sheikh. Although, at times, sections of the tribe in the principality have evinced a disposition to hive off (as did the Āl Bu Falāsah section who now live in Dibai), the tribe as a whole is well affected and faithful to the Sheikh, and he is himself one of their number (Āl Bu Falāh section).

The Beni Yās are of the Hināwi political faction and differ from

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most of their neighbours in being, wherever they occur, Maliki Sunnis and not Hināwi. They had in 1905 no special relations of friendship or enmity with adjoining tribes; at that time the following were their tribal sections:

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Sections.	*Subsections.*
Āl Falāh	Āl Sa'dūn.
Āl Bu Falāh (the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi belongs to this section).	
Āl Bu Falāsah	Mijardah. Rawāshid. Yideiwāt or Lideiwat.
Āl Bu Hamīr.	
Hawāmil.	
Mahāribah.	
Mazāri'.	
Qaneisāt.	
Qasal.	
Qubeisāt.	
Qumzān.	
Rumeithāt.	
Sabā'ja.	
Beni Shikr.	
Āl Sultān.	

A few others not definitely ascertained.

214. *Za'āb* (sing. *Za'ābi*)

A tribe of Oman, numbering 4,500 souls, of whom 3,300 are in Trucial Oman and 1,200 in the Sultanate. They are Hanbali in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Jezīrat el-Hamra (500 houses), and Khōr Kalba (150) in the Shārjah principality; at Saham town, Qasbiyat ez-Za'āb, Abu Dhurūs, and Bu Baqarah, in the Sultanate of Oman. Some of them own date-groves at the village of Khatt in the Jiri plain, and go there in the hot weather.

215. *Zafeit* (sing. *Zafeiti*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls, all Bedouins of the Dhāhirah district; Ghāfiri in politics and in religion Ibadhi.

216. *Zahūm* (sing. *Zahmi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 100 souls, settled at Sīji in Wādi Hām, where they have 20 houses, 2,000 date-palms, and some live stock. They are claimed by some to belong to the Sharqiyīn, but their settlement at Sīji is separate and the claim has not been allowed.

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217. *Zarrāf* (sing. *Zarrāfi*)

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A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at Arbaq and Shateifi in the Muscat district. They are merchants and sailors.

218. *Zatūt* (sing. *Zutti*)

A non-Arab tribe of Oman, numbering 1,000 souls; settled in various parts, chiefly at Bireimi, Muscat town, Matrah and Nakhl. They are generally Ibadhi in religion and apparently have a language of their own. Some say they are a branch of the Sulubba, others connect them with the Indian Jāts. They marry among themselves and are farriers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, armourers, carpenters, pedlars. Their women dance for payment but are not immoral. The levirate law obtains among them. They are despised but not molested by the Arabs, who value them for their services.

219. *Beni Zīd* (sing. *Zīdi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Fida in Wādi Dhank in Dhāhirah.

220. *Zikāwinah* (sing. *Zikwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Samad in Sharqīyah.

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CHAPTER XVI

SETTLED TRIBES OF THE CENTRE

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1. *'A'īd*

Settled members of the 'A'īd are reported at Hareimlah in 'Āridh, and at 'Adhār, Dilam, Suleimīyah (or Salāmīyah) and Yemāmah in Kharj, where they form the principal non-Bedouin tribe of the district.

2. *Anazah*

Communities of this important group (see p. 45) are found in the following places in Nejd: (*a*) in 'Āridh, at Barrah, Hareimlah, and Malham in Mahmal; at Bātin esh-Shuyūkh, Manfūhah, and Riyādh in Wādi Hanīfah; and at Dhrumah (Ifqahha tribe), and the villages of Mizāhmīyah and Rōdhah in the Dhrumah district; (*b*) in Harīq, at Harīq town (Hazāzinah sub-tribe of the Ruweilah), and Mufeijir (same sub-tribe); (*c*) in Hautah, at Hautah town and Hilwah, at both of which places they are of the Dā'ūd tribe; (*d*) in Aflāj, at Raudhah (Ijdeimāt tribe); (*e*) in Sedeir, at Dākhilah (Āl Bu Rabā' tribe), Dhalmah ('Askar tribe), Harmah, Ijwei, Janūbīyah, Khīs, Mejma' ('Askar and Haweidi tribes), Ruweidhah, Samnān near Zilfi (Haweishān tribe), and Tuweim; (*f*) in Qasīm, at Aneizah, Boreidah, Dhalfa'ah, Dharās, 'Ain Ibn Faheid, Ghāf near Boreidah, Khabrah, Khadhar, Mureid Seyyid, Quseibah, Rass, Rōdhat er-Rubei'a, Seib, Shahībīyah, Shiqqah, Ta'amīyah, Watāt, and Wathāl. In the Wādi Sebei', Anazah are reported at Khurmah and Raudhah, and they are also said to be found in Kharj.

In Jebel Shammar settled Anazah live in Beidha Nethīl (?), Ghazālah, and Jauf el-'Amr.

3. *Ashrāf*

A few settlements of Ashrāf from the Hejaz (cf. p. 406) are found in Nejd in the following places: in Harīq, at Na'ām; in Aflāj, at Leilah and Seih; in Wādyān Dawāsir, at Sabhah.

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4. *Ateibah*

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Communities of Ateibah (see p. 67) exist in 'Āridh, at Banbān, Barrah, and Rghabah; in Sedeir, at Ilaqah, Iqlah, and Zilfi; in Qasīm, at Qasr Ibn 'Aqeyyil, Athlah, Basr, Bukeirīyah, Ahlab ed-Dūd, 'Ain Ibn Faheid, Ghāf, Ghammāsh, Heid, Jan'i, Nafi, Quwei'ah, Seib, and Wudhākh; and in Mudhnib (?).

5. *Buqūm*

This tribe, which is intimately connected with the Sebei' and Sahul (see p. 74), is said to be represented among the inhabitants of the villages of Rumadān and Turabah in the district of Wādi Sebei'.

6. *Dawāsir*

This widely diffused tribe, which has almost ceased to be Bedouin (see p. 75), is settled in various districts of Nejd; the Saleyyil and Wādi Dawāsir divisions of Wadyān Dawāsir belong almost entirely to them. In Aflāj they occupy the following places: Badī', Haddār, Hamar, Kharfah, Marwān, Rajeijīyah, Raudhah, Wasīt, and Wuseilah. In 'Āridh, Dawāsir are found in the following places in Mahmal: Bīr, Dqalah, Hasi, Jarīnah, Malham, Sufurrah, and Thādiq; and in Wādi Hanīfah at 'Ammārīyah, Dar'īyah and Manfūhah; they also occur in Dhrumah and Mizāhmīyah. Their settlements in Kharj are at Dilam, Suleimīyah, and Yemāmah; in Harīq-Hautah at Harīq town, Hautah town, and Hilwah; in Woshm, at Marāt; in Sedeir, at 'Audah, Ghāt, Hasūn, Jalājil, Ma'āshibah, Raudhah, Ruweidhah, and Zilfi; in Qasīm, at Hatān, Huweilān, Quwei'ah and Shamāsīyah. In the district of Wādi Sebei' and Wādi Turabah they are settled in Hazam, Khurmah, Raudhah, Rumadān, and Suweyyid.

Beyond the limits of Nejd, Dawāsir are found in great numbers in Bahrein (see p. 313), whither they immigrated in 1845, after first settling in Zakhnunīyah Island. Offshoots of this community are found in the Persian coast-district of Dashtistān, in Chāh Kūtah and its dependent villages, and at the village of Jazīrah in Bushire harbour. A few households are also settled at Dōhah in El-Qatar, and in Koweit town.

It is possible that the Āl Breik are not to be regarded as a main tribe of the Dawāsir, since by some authorities they are classified

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in the Misā'irah group. In the following table of the Dawāsir only those clans are included whose places of settlement have been ascertained.

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DAWĀSIR.

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Āl Berik, at Nuweimah		
Āl Hasan	*'Ammār*	*'Ajlān* (or *'Ajālīn*), at Leilah in Aflāj.
		Buras (or *Āl Abu Ras*), at Leilah.
		Huçēān, at Raudhah and Wāsit in Aflāj; at Kamidah in Wadyān Dawāsir.
		Idghamah, at Rajeijīyah in Aflāj.
		Ishkurah, at Badi', Hamar and Wuseilah in Aflāj; at Dārsah in Wādi Dawāsir. The clan includes two families known as the Āl Bu 'Ali and Harāthmah.
		Māna', at Aseil in Wadyān Dawāsir; at Leilah.
		Mubārak, at Raudhah.
		Qoindn, one of the largest clans of the 'Ammar; settlements not ascertained.
		Sa'd, at Aseil.
		Sukhābirah, at Badi'.
	Farjān	*'Arfaj*, at Wuseilah.
		Badrāni, at Bir in 'Āridh.
		Bidhrīn (possibly to be identified with Badrāni), at Jalājil and Zilfi in Sedeir.
		Hamdān, at Leilah.
		Jadhālīn, at Leilah.
Makhārir or Maknārin, at Ma'talah in Wādi Dawāsir and elsewhere.		

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribes.*	*Sub-Tribes (cont.).*
Misā'irah.	*Āl Abu el-Hasan*, at Quweiz in Wadyān Dawāsir.	*Jutaifāt*, at Haddar in Aflāj.
	Āl Bu Sabbā', at Nazwah in Wadyān Dawāsir.	*Sharāfah*, at Sabhah and Thamāmiyah in Wādi Dawāsir.
	Āl Rishdān, at Ruweizah in Wādi Dawāsir.	*'Uwaidhāt*, at Thamāmiyah.
	Hanābijah, at Bilād el-Hanābijah in Wādi Dawāsir.	*'Uweimir*, at Huweizah in Wādi Dawāsir.
Rijbin, at Dām in Wadyān Dawāsir and elsewhere.	*Khattibah*, at Muqābil in Wādi Dawāsir.	

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DAWĀSIR (*continued*)

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribes.*	*Sub-Tribes (cont.).*
SUHABAH.		
WIDĀ'IN.	*'Areimah*, at Bilād Āl Hāmid in Wādi Dawāsir. *Dawude*, at Mathnah in Saleyyil. *Āl Dhuwayyān*, at Bilād Āl Dhuwayyān and Khateijān in Saleyyil. *Farrāj*, at Kheirān in Saleyyil. *Āl Hāmid*, at Bilād Āl Hāmid in Wādi Dawāsir. *Āl Haneish*, at Dahlah in Saleyyil. *Hijji*, at Tamnah in Saleyyil; at Leilah in Aflāj. *Āl 'Īsa*, at Thādiq in 'Āridh. *Jibārīn* (or *Āl Jābir*), at Leilah.	*Khadhrān* (owners of Shutbah in Aflāj, but have not permanently settled there). *Khawāsin*, at Mishrif in Wādi Dawāsir. *Midbal* (or Midābilah), at Dhrumah in 'Āridh. *Āl Mohammed*, at Bilād Āl Mohammed in Saleyyil. *Āl Nāhish*, at Fara'ah in Wādi Dawāsir. *Āl Suweilim*, at Thādiq in 'Āridh; at Muqāhil in Saleyyil. *'Umār*, at Kabkābiyah and Tamrah in Saleyyil. *Walāmīn*, at Nafjān in Wādi Dawāsir.

7. *Fadhūl*

This tribe, connected by vague tradition with the Beni Lām, is represented in the following parts of Nejd: in 'Āridh, at Bīr, Jarīnah, Mahriqah, Malham (Fadhl and Kathīr sub-tribes), Malqa, 'Audah and Dhrumah; in Hariq, at Hariq town; in Hautah, at Hautah town (Āl Tālib and Kathrān sub-tribes); in Aflāj, at 'Amār (Mugheirah sub-tribe), Leilah, Raudhah (Mugheirah sub-tribe) and Umm Shinādhir; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah, 'Attār, Mejma' (Fadhl and Kathīr sub-tribes), Tuweim, and Zilfi. The Fadhūl are a tribe of considerable size, but they do not appear to be found outside the limits of Nejd.

8. *Beni Hajar*

Small settlements of Beni Hajar, now altogether unconnected with the Bedouin tribe of that name (see p. 87), occur in Aflāj at Wuseilah, and in 'Āridh at Hareimlah and Thādiq. Arabs claiming to be Beni Hajar are found on the Persian coast, e. g. in the Rūd-hilleh district.

9. *Harb*

Settled members of this tribe (see p. 64) are found in 'Āridh at Rghabah, in the Wādi Sirr at Barrūd, and in Sedeir at Samnān near Zilfi. Some inhabitants of villages in Qasim claim to be of

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Harb descent, especially at Basr, Bukeirīyah, 'Ain Ibn Faheid, Hamar, Hilāliyah, Jau'i, Mureid Seyyid, Nabhānīyah, Qaryah, Quwei'ah, Sheihīyah, Shiqqah, Subeih, and Ummahāt ez-Ziyābah. 101 619 622

10. *Hawāzin*

In Jebel Shammar at Jauf, Beidha Nethīl, Sakākah, and Teima, and in Nejd at Ghāt (in Sedeir) are settled inhabitants of this name, whose position has given rise to discussion. They would appear to be of Hawāzin descent, though members of the Huteim and Harb tribes; but their connexion with the Hawāzin of Koweit is still a matter of uncertainty (see p. 92 f.).

11. *Huteim*

Settled Huteim are said to dwell at Ghazālah, and Mustajiddah in Jebel Shammar, and at Hāyat, between Mustajiddah and Kheibar. In the Wādi Sirr they are reported at 'Ayūn es-Suweina' and Feidhah. The tribe is closely related to the Sherārāt (see p. 91).

12. *Beni Khadhīr*

This name is used to describe a large body of inferior non-Arab tribes in Nejd, who cultivate the soil for Arab masters; they seldom own land themselves, but the Qāsim, who are Beni Khadhīr, are said to do so at Seih in Aflāj. Beni Khadhīr are settled in the following places: in 'Āridh, at Hareimlah, Jarīnah, Malham (Hadhūd, Hamadāt, Muhārib, and Marshūd tribes), Rghabah, Salbūkh, Sedūs, and Thādiq (Rabeyya, Jidā'ah, Mizei'al, and Jamei'ah tribes), in Mahmal, and at Jabeilah, Malqa, 'Ammārīyah, Ilb, 'Audah, Dar'īyah, 'Araj, Bātin esh-Shuyūkh, Riyādh, Manfūhah, Masni, and Hā'ir on Wādi Hanīfah; in Kharj, at 'Adhār, Dilam, Na'ajān, and Suleimīyah; in Harīq, at Harīq town and Mufeijir; in Hautah, at Hautah town, Hilwah, Quwei, and Wuseitah; in Aflāj, at 'Amār, Badi', Haddār, Haradhah, Kharfah, Leilah, Rajeijīyah, Raudhah, Seih, Shutbah, Stārah, Wāsit, and Wuseilah; in Sedeir, at 'Asberah, 'Attār, 'Audah, Dākhilah, Ghāt, Harmah, Hasūn, Hautah, Jalājil, Janūbīyah, Khatāmah, Khīs, Mejma', Raudhah, Ruweidhah, Tameir, Tuweim, and Zilfi (Beni 'Atij and Natāqah tribes). Beni Khadhīr are also said to be settled at Quwei'īyah in the south-western desert.

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13. *Beni Khālid*

101 Allusion has already been made to the widely scattered settlements of this tribe (see pp. 84, 299, 306, 572); the following are •619 localities in which their presence is reported in Nejd; in 'Āridh, at Malham (Qammāz sub-tribe); in Sedeir, at Zilfi (Dūshān and 622 Hamrān sub-tribes); in Qasīm, at Aneizah, Quseibah, and perhaps at Khabb and Qisei'ah; at Quwei'īyah in the south-western desert there are said to be members of a sub-tribe known as 'Arāfah. In the following table of the settled Beni Khālid, which is not exhaustive, sub-tribes and clans are included from the Gulf Coast; for the nomadic sections of the tribe, see p. 85.

BENI KHĀLID

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*	
'AMĀ'IR	*Dawāwdah* . .	A few at Yasrah in Bahrein and at 'Anik in the Qatīf Oasis.
	Āl Hasan . .	A few in the islands of Musallamīyah and Jinnah.
	Āl Khālid . .	On Musallamīyah Island; the Sheikh of this clan is the Paramount Chief of the tribe.
	Āl Razīn . .	On Musallamīyah Island.
	Āl Shāhīn . .	On Jinnah Island.
ĀL SUBEIH	*Āl Bū 'Aineīn* .	Only in El-Qatar and Bahrein; they are pearl-divers, pearl-merchants, and boatmen, and are now practically a separate tribe.
	Dhaheirāt . .	At Qasr Āl Subeih in Hasa.
	Had-hūd . .	At Qasr Āl Subeih.
	Hameidāt . .	In Qatar and Bahrein; they are now practically a separate tribe.
	Āl Katab . .	In Hasa.
'ARĀFAH	. . . . .	Reported at Quwei'īyah.
DŪSHĀN	. . . . .	At Zilfi.
HAMRĀN	. . . . .	At Zilfi.
ĀL JABŪR	. . . . .	Half-settled, at Jishshah in the Hasa Oasis.
MUHĀSHIR	. . . . .	Some on Musallamīyah; a few at Koweit; others (half-settled) at 'Anik in the Qatīf Oasis.
ĀL MIQDĀM	. . . . .	At Kalābīyah in the Hasa Oasis.
QAMMĀZ	. . . . .	At Malham.

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14. *Muteir*

Though the Muteir are essentially nomadic (see p. 83), communities are reported in the following localities of Nejd: in 'Āridh, at Dhrumah (of a sub-tribe called Nafisah, said to belong to the Braih); in Woshm, at Jareifah; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah. Some of the inhabitants are said to be of Muteir blood in the following places in Qasīm, which district may perhaps be regarded as their principal seat: Bukeirīyah, Buteinīyāt, Ghāf near Boreidah, Hatān, Khabb, Khabb el-Qabar, Khudheirah, Mureid Seyyid, Rafī'ah, Raudhat el-Mahanna, Ta'amīyah, Ummahāt ez-Ziyābah, Wahtān, and Qasr Zeid. 101 619 622

Muteir are also said to inhabit villages in the Wādi el-Mīyah tract of the Hasa province.

15. *Negroes*

Full-blooded negroes dwell in some numbers in Jauf el-'Amr, and at Huweyyat beyond the western borders of Jebel Shammar. At Hāyat, also beyond the border, are about 100 houses of negroes and half-castes. In the southern districts of Nejd a strong infusion of negro blood is reported, and there are said to be many full negroes, especially in Aflāj and Wadyān Dawāsir.

16. *Qahtān*

In the Central South, this tribe is almost entirely nomadic (see p. 74), but communities of reputed Qahtān blood are ascribed to the following places in Nejd: in 'Āridh, at Malqa and Manfūhah; in Hautah, at Hautah town; in Sedeir, at Mejma', Raudhah, Zahlūlah, and Zilfi; in Qasīm, at Basr and Wahtān (Hatān); in SW. Nejd, at Quwei'īyah and Sha'arah.

17. *Sahul*

The Sahul, connected with the Sebei', and possibly only a sub-tribe (see p. 73), are now more settled than nomadic. They are reported in the following places in Nejd: in 'Āridh, at Barrah, Malham, and Dhrumah; in Kharj, at Suleimīyah and Yemāmah; in Harīq, at Harīq town; in Hautah, at Hautah town; in Aflāj, at Harādhah ('Anājīd sub-tribe) and Stārah (Qubābinah sub-tribe).

18. *Sebei'*

The home of this tribe is in the Wādi Sebei', between Woshm and N. Asir (see p. 73), but settled communities are widely distributed in Nejd, where they are found in the following places: (*a*) in 'Āridh,

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at 'Aweinidh, Barrah, Ghiyānah, Hareimlah, Hizwah, Malham, (Āl Ibn Rashīd sub-tribe), Rghabah, Salbūkh, Sedūs, all in the Mahmal region; at 'Ammārīyah, Ilb, 'Audah, 'Arjah, Masāni', Hā'ir, all on Wādi Hanīfah; and at Dhrumah (Āl 'Abd el-'Azīz sub-tribe); (*b*) in Kharj, at Dilam and Yemāmah; (*c*) in Harīq, at Harīq town (Kathlān sub-tribe); (*d*) in Hautah, at Hautah town and Hilwah (Kathlān sub-tribe); (*e*) in Aflāj, at Leilah (Rashūl sub-tribe); (*f*) in Woshm, at Shaqrah (Sūdah sub-tribe) and Watheithīyah; (*g*) in Sedeir, at 'Attār, Ghāt, Harmah, Hautah, Khatāmah, Khīs, Mejma', and Ruweidhah; and (*h*) in Qasīm, at 'Aneizah, 'Aushazīyah (Matārīd sub-tribe), Badāyah and Wādi.

19. *Shammar*

The Shammar are a powerful nomadic tribe (see p. 76), but they have settled communities in the following places in Jebel Shammar: 'Alaq (Aslam tribe), 'Aqdah, Beidha Nethīl, Bida', Feid, Ghazālah, Hā'il, Hafeinah, Hafnah, Jadhāmīyah, Kehāfah (Mas'ūd sub-tribe of the Aslam), Laqītah, Mūqaq, Mustajiddah, 'Odheim, Qasr er-Rabei'īyah, Sab'ān (a sub-tribe of the Aslam), Tābah, Teima and Waqīd. In the Nefūd, Shammar are settled in Qana, and there are permanent military posts at the wells of Trobah and Hayyanīyah. In Nejd, inhabitants of reputed Shammar blood are found in the following places: in Qasīm, at 'Ayūn, Buteiniyāt, Ahlab ed-Dūd, Hamar, Qasr Sa'īd, Shiqqah, and Tanūmah; and in Sedeir, at 'Areirah, Artawīyah, Athlah, 'Attār (Qidārah section) and Zilfi.

20. *Sherārāt*

The Sherārāt, who are related to the Huteim (see p. 90), form a proportion of the population at Jauf el-'Amr.

21. *Sunnā'*

The Sunnā', forming the smiths' caste, are sometimes found settled in the villages of Nejd (see p. 92).

22. *Beni Tamīm*

The Beni Tamīm (see pp. 76 and 81), now entirely a settled tribe, form an important element of the fixed population in Nejd and Jebel Shammar: in Qasīm the people may perhaps be assumed to be Tamīm where the presence of other tribes is not reported. Communities and smaller groups of Beni Tamīm are found in the following places in Nejd: in 'Āridh, at 'Ammārīyah, 'Arjah, Dar'īyah,

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Dhrumah, Hareimlah, Hizwah, Mahriqah, Manfūhah, Masāni', Riyādh, Sedūs, Sufurrah, Thādiq; in Kharj, at 'Adhār, Dilam, Na'ajān, and Suleimīyah; in Hautah, at Hilwah and Quwei'; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah, 'Audah, Dākhilah, Dhalmah, Harmah, Hasūn, Hautah, Jalājil, Janubīyah, Khatāmah, Khīs, Raudhah, Ruweidhah, Tameir, Tuweim and Wushei; in Qasīm, at Aneizah, Boreidah, and in all the oases (see p. 81); in the Wādi Sirr, at Feidhah. 101 619 622

In Jebel Shammar the presence of Beni Tamīm is noted at 'Alaq, Qasr el-'Ashruwāt, Feid, Mustajiddah, Sab'ān, Samīrah and Sileimi.

The tribal organization of the Beni Tamīm has tended to disappear in the process of settlement. The principal sub-tribes, with their lines of distribution, are enumerated in the following table, which must not, however, be regarded as exhaustive:

BENI TAMĪM

Husein.
At Hautah in Sedeir.
'Abd el-Jabbār.
At Dhalmah in Sedeir.
Āl Mādhi.
At Harmah and Raudhah in Sedeir.

Mājid.
At Thādiq in 'Āridh.
Ibn Mu'ammar.
At Sedūs in 'Āridh.
Nawāsir.
At Dhrumah in 'Āridh; at Hautah and Mejma' in Sedeir.

Thamārah.
At Mejma'.
Tuweim.
In Kharj.
Wahabah.
At Mejma'.
Wahūb
At Riyādh.

23. *Beni Zeid*

This settled tribe, connected by some authorities with the Beni Tamīm and by others with the Dawāsir, is found at Shaqrah and Washeiqir in Woshm. In the Wādi Turabah it is represented at Khurmah and Rumadān; communities also occur at Quwei'īyah and Sha'arah in the tract between the above districts.

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The Bedouin Problem

The Bedouin cannot live in the desert without maintaining regular contact with the domain of settled society where he trades the surplus products of his economy for essential provisions. 361 609 621

In the past, the Bedouin have entered the cultivated zone either as conquerors, reducing the peasants to a state of semi-slavery and transforming fertile land into pastures for their herds, or as peaceful guests.[1)]

The conduct of the Bedouin on the outskirts of the settled region is determined by the ability of the government to defend the country and impose restrictive measures on the nomads. Once they accept the idea of compliance with certain conditions, they will soon become semi-nomadic and evolve towards sedentarization.

The substance of Bedouin policy in all the countries of the Middle East is the attempt by the political authorities to subject the nomads to a restrictive code of behavior calculated to protect the settled population, and to organize, facilitate, direct and accelerate their sedentarization. 361 166x

The Crisis in the Bedouin World

In modern times the settlement of the nomads has been regarded as one of the outstanding domestic problems in Arabia and the countries of the Fertile Crescent. The issue has been forced to a head by the crisis which the Bedouin world is under- 361 166x 178

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1. Miller, 1931, pp 18-19

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already settled, have resumed their nomadic mode of existence when political conditions permitted it.[1] M. F. Jamali mentions a number of instances where fully settled tribes of Iraq turned semi-nomadic. Joseph Barslavsky concludes[2] that certain families of the Tayaha tribe in the Negev seem to have descended from the settled population of Zoar. A. Konikoff states[3] that economic reasons forced settled families of southern Transjordan to form themselves into tribes and adopt the way of life best suited to desert conditions. Max Oppenheim mentions[4] that the powerful Howeitat tribe of Transjordan descended from merchants and peasants.

Classification of Nomads

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The constant changes of the social structure make a proper classification of Bedouin society extremely complicated.

Bonné divides[5] the nomadic population into the following groups:

a. Desert Bedouin who are the genuine nomads roving over the vast areas lying between the Syrian desert in the north and the center of the Arabian peninsula in the south, and who engage in camel-raising exclusively.

b. Steppe Bedouin who, in addition to camels, also keep large numbers of cows, sheep and goats, and wander in the steppe, nearer the cultivation.

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1. Jamali, 1934, p. 67
2. ברסלבסקי, 1946, pp. 89 – 100
3. Konikoff, 1946, p. 18
4. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 231
5. Bonne, 1948, pp. 343 seq.

361 c. Semi-Bedouin who occupy a position between Bedouin and
178 Fellahin. They are already engaged in agriculture.
233 While they still live in tents, they ultimately turn to
621 the construction of permanent huts and houses.[1]

Miller introduces the following classifications

1. Nomadic Tribes

361 a. Camel tribes, so called because they engage primarily
233 in camel-breeding although they possess flocks of sheep. They are the true Bedouin of Syria, all belonging to The Anezeh and Shammar groups.[2] Their mobility enables them to maintain a 600 - 800 kil. radius of migration. They wander in the desert from September till late in June when they return to the border of the cultivated zone in order to trade their surplus livestock and purchase necessary supplies. They do not display the least interest in sedentarization.[3]

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b. Sheep tribes, so called because they are chiefly preoccupied with intensive sheep-raising. The need for water for their animals restricts their wandering in time and in space. Early in the spring, before the

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1. Miller, 1931, pp. 96 sqq.
2. The study of V. Miller is based on his observations of tribal life in Syria.
186 3. This statement was made by V. Miller in 1931. It seems highly questionable that within 18 years the situation among the true Bedouin should have changed so radically to enable Fawaz Sha'lan, Chief of the Ruala, to declare that "all the tribesmen now wanted land" (for settlement) cf. New York Times, September 6, 1949. Even changing circumstances have never had such an effect on the conservative mentality of the Bedouin, and it seems, therefore, that the declaration of Sha'lan, made for political reasons, must be taken with a note of caution.

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174 Shammar and Anazeh groups from the Arabian desert into the more fertile steppes of Mesopotamia and Syria.

CHAPTER IV

Tribal Society and the Modern Arab State

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Nomadic society, characterized by specific social, political and economic concepts, is incompatible, and hence often in conflict with the state and its institutions.

Social

Bedouin society is tribal, based on blood relationships, not recognizing any other ties. Its social customs are the result of adaptation to hard life and desert wandering. The concepts of "people" and "nation" are foreign to the nomad whose social outlook is limited to his tribe.

Political

"The characteristic socio-political trait of the nomadic tribe is the lack of political organization or political institutions."[1] The political body is the tribe, control is loosely exercised by the sheikh and the Council of Elders. Unwritten desert law and custom are its judicial authority. The authority of the State is not recognized.

Economic

The pastoral economy sets the nomads apart from the majority of the population engaged in agriculture.

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1. Patai, 1952

Economic

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The Pastoral economy of the Bedouin[1] has been seriously affected by the rapid development of the area. Former pasture lands are increasingly brought under cultivation with subsequent restriction of tribal grazing areas.

Although an exaggerated significance has been attached to the effects of the declining demand for the camel, this factor has dealt a severe blow to the economy of the true desert Bedouin who subsisted in the past exclusively on camel-breeding.

Social

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Tribal society has progressively disintegrated as the result of the sheikh's emergence as a big landowner. The interest which tribal leadership displays in agricultural life, is bound to influence the thinking and acting of the tribesmen. Sooner or later, they will follow the examples set by their sheikhs and settle down.

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1. The statement of Alfred Bonne that "the term Bedouin economy is a contradiction in itself" and that "this economy is no economy in the accepted sense of the word" (Bonne, 1948, p. 36) may be exaggerated because the nomads make a valuable contribution to the economy by:
   a. profitably utilizing the scanty patches of grass that grow for fleeting moments over widely separated stretches of desert area, a resource which would remain otherwise exploited
   b. by supplying the people of the area with their needs of meat, wool and dairy products
   c. producing for local industry and export trade items like wool, skins, hides, and live animals and their edible produce.

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As a member of a well-knit patriarchal society the individual found enjoyed a relative sense of security, and his precarious existence in the desert was made possible by tribal solidarity and experienced and devoted leadership. With the dissolution of the traditional ties the Bedouin may ultimately come to realise the benefits that will accrue to him as part of a new social order, that of the settled community.

Political

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The administrations of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Israel have been concerned with integrating the nomadic element within their borders in the national community.

Saudi Arabia and Israel have formulated and are carrying out definite settlement policies, while the other governments of the area stimulate sedentarization by the creation of suitable conditions. Inadequate as the measures of the governments may be in themselves, they are bound to show results, once the disintegration of the tribal group is sufficiently advanced.

In order to make Bedouin sedentarization a lasting success, government-sponsored settlement projects must be designed and carried out.

For a long time the issue of "settling the tribes" has been a political slogan in the cities of the Arab countries, but only infrequently have the administrations of Syria, Iraq and Jordan taken concrete steps in direction of Bedouin settlement.

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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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572 honour of the tribe as a whole is at stake, not alone the honour of the
484 individual tent-dweller.

The word *rafiq* means a friend or companion. and in the desert sense he is a man whose duty is to see you safely through his people's country (*ammamhu*), and through his tribal territory, even if it so happens that his tribe is at emnity with your own tribe or people.

The *rafiq* usually does his business for a small fee.

A man desiring to travel, say from Kuwait to the Hijaz, would usually have to take *rafiqs* from the Mutair, Harb, 'Utaiba, Qahtan and probably the Bugum or other local tribe.

If a *rafiq* cannot for any reason accompany his client, it should be sufficient for him to give him his stock or cane ('*assa*), and notch same with the tribal *wasm* (mark) of his *bani 'dm*, or tribe, as a whole.

After handing over his '*assa*, the *rafiq* will let it be known by word of mouth, and arrange for the news to be passed on, that he has given So-and-So his marked '*assa* as *rufga* or safe conduct. No one will now touch the traveller throughout the whole length and breadth of the *dirah* owned or wandered over by the *rafiq's* tribe.

Under the strong arm of Bin Sa'ud, many efforts have been made to discourage and even abolish this system of the *rafiq* as unnecessary, and likely to bring the name and prestige of the Sa'udi Government into disrepute. Nevertheless, the *rufga* system is surreptitiously kept alive, as all men feel safer under a *rafiq's* protection than when trusting themselves to the tender mercies of some of the King's frontier guards, or inland governors.

It should be understood that as soon as you have safely passed through one tribal territory, the *rafiq* who has finished his job must find a new *rafiq* from the tribe whose territory you are about to enter, and so on till the journey is finished. It would be breaking the law of *rufga* if your *rafiq*, on completing his duties, deserted you and left you stranded. You could later get heavy compensation from the man and his shaikh, when you were able to prove your claim.

THE QASÉR (pronounced *gasir*)

621 The laws of *gasara* embody the duty of a Badawin towards his tent-neighbour.

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The Tent Neighbour

Chap. VII

The word *qasir* means a tent-neighbour, and the laws relating to the treatment of the *qasir* are held perhaps in even greater reverence than any other custom connected with an Arab's honour, not excepting even the laws of *dakhála* and *wejh* and the treatment of a guest (*thaif*). 621

The *qasir* is under Allah's protection, and many poems and stories have been written from earliest times dealing with the sacred rights of the *qasir*, and of the way in which an honourable Arab should treat a neighbour.

Strictly speaking, a tent-dweller is your *qasir* if he pitches his tent within the distance which you can cover when throwing your cane (*'assa*) or your camel-stick (*mishd'ab*). This was very carefully explained to me by Rashidi falconers at Araifjan in 1932 (Salim ibn Mahayus, Sa'ud bin Nimran, and Addas, the latter's cousin), who demonstrated the distance such sticks could be thrown by a strong man.

It follows, then, that anyone who pitches his tent close to a fellow Badawin's tent, becomes, *ipso facto*, his tent-neighbour, and enjoys the privileges of a *qasir*.

This is done every day where men are of the same tribe, and it means that groups so camped together can rely on each other for mutual support, and are bound to help each other, whether an enemy threatens all or one of them, or whether there is shortage of food, water or the like.

In everyday existence in the desert, a man's tent-neighbours will normally consist of his male relations (*hawi 'dm*) or relations on his mother's side (*khawál*), who camp together for mutual convenience and protection. Although all are strictly speaking tent-neighbours, and come under the protection of the senior member of that particular family, the term *qusara* is not usually applied to such collection of tents, seeing that the owners are all related, and are bound, by the ties of relationship, to stand by each other in any case. [591]

Where the laws of *qasir* specially apply is when a member of a strange tribe, or even of a hostile tribe, comes and asks if he may camp close to such and such person's tent, become his neighbour and join his tribe in their migrations. If his request is granted, and it is practically never refused, then the following code at once comes into

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621 force, though the *qasir* will be well advised, if he can get hold of the shaikh of his protector's tribe, to kill a camel and invite him to a public meal. The shaikh will then see that everyone knows that the stranger is now under the tribe's protection.

The new tent-neighbour becomes, as it were, the guest of the particular Badawin who has given him permission to camp near him as his *qasir*. He is henceforth an *'azīz* (a dear one), and like the *rafiq* or *khawi*, he enjoys special privileges and is not subjected to the rules and regulations of the protector's tribe, and the "*qasir's* stick is now his sword" (*'asso-hu saif*).

The Badawin householder must protect the *qasir* against all comers, and in return the *qasir* must protect his benefactor against any raiders, even raiders of his own tribe.

Any cases or complaints now lodged against the *qasir* must be preferred through the person protecting him. "Sue me," says the protector, "but not my *qasir*, for I am in his place."

628 If any animal or thing is stolen from the *qasir's* tent, and the latter
672 complains to his protector, the protector must either find the stolen animal or article, or make it good.

Should a stranger, or even one of his own relatives or tribesmen, insult a woman of his *qasir's* tent and she cries out for help, the protector must immediately respond and come to aid her, whether her husband is with her or not. If the protector happens to kill the person insulting or harming the woman, he is not liable to pay blood money (*'idiyah*), nor is he exposed to any penalties from the slain man's relatives. On the contrary, the murdered man's kin must themselves pay any blood money due, as it was one of them who outraged the tent of a *qasir*. Public opinion in the desert will always make an offender pay up.

628 If raiders attack a man's *qasir* and carry off camels and mares, the
721 protector must make these good from booty he himself will capture in the next successful raid he engages in.

If the camels are stolen by camel thieves and a neighbouring tribe is suspected, the protector must himself join in the search and hire men to spy them out (*bil asa*) at his own expense.

If a *qasir* happens to kill a man of his protector's tribe, and then comes to his protector's tent and asks his help, the latter must help

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554 me by Shaikh Hamud himself, and later vor ned for by the Shaikh
619 of Kuwait on 9th September, 1932.

622 Shaikh Jada'an al Suwait, who succeeded to the Shaikhship of the
628 Dhafir after the death of Hamud, was camped near Athaiba and
577 Ruhail on the Kuwait–Iraq border in 1931. Hearing that one of his own tribesmen had fired at and wounded a Mutairi tribesman who was his *gasir* at the time, even though the Mutair tribe and the Dhafir tribe were open enemies, Shaikh Jada'an had the offending tribesman brought before him, and with his own hand slashed him over the head with his sword.

The deed flashed through the Badawin world like lightning at the time, and Jada'an's name, as the upholder of Badawin hon ur,
[182] became almost as famous as that of his forbear. Unfortunately the Iraq authorities, with that folly which has frequently characterised them in dealing with the high-spirited tribesmen of the desert, imprisoned Shaikh Jada'an for several weeks, before they saw that they were making a martyr of a desert hero. This act cost them his allegiance. Shortly after, Shaikh Jada'an went over to Bin Sa'ud, taking half the tribe with him.

Shaikh Jada'an told me the story himself, saying that he only acted as he did in order to keep the vital Badawin law clean and untarnished.

So greatly have the Dhafir tribe preserved and guarded their good name in the above respect, that it is said of Mana, another famous Shaikh of the Dhafir, that the immediate cause of his death was the news (which was brought to him as he was riding home from a raid), that a certain well-known guest of the tribe had, in his absence, been attacked and slain. Certain it is that on being told what had happened, his heart seemed to stop beating and he fell forward on to his camel's neck and rolled to the ground a dead man. His daughter, whom I met in 1935, told me that the old man had literally died of a broken heart, and her words were vouched for by her husband, Shaikh Hautuah al Suwait, cousin of Jada'an.

621 I myself have only once been appealed to by a person who was
671 my *gasir*. I am glad to say that the results were eminently satisfactory.
577 It happened on this wise. I was in Kuwait, and it was in the hot month of July 1932, when everyone was sleeping on the roof at night. I was sleeping outside the old Agency dining-room, over the cook's quarters.

I. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

A Midnight Appeal

Next door and behind the Agency premises resided the divorced tribal wife of a well-known pearl merchant. She was a pure-bred tribal lady of the Wasil sept of the Mutair, and had been put away by her husband because he wanted to marry again. With the lady lived her daughter, a girl of about fifteen. The daughter was all the mother had in the world and was the pride and apple of her eye.

The roof on which I slept at night abutted on to the house of the lady in question, her roof was only some eight feet higher than mine and owing to its proximity to mine she herself never utilised her roof for sleeping.

Apparently, although I did not know it at the time, my neighbour's daughter had a male cousin who aspired to her hand. He had custom and the *Shari'a* law on his side, and asked to marry the girl. The mother had steadfastly refused, on the plea that she had only her daughter to work for her, and without her she would starve. After much pressure the mother had apparently agreed to let her daughter marry if sufficient money compensation was paid her for the years of trouble and expense which she had incurred in bringing her daughter up.

Actually she wanted sufficient money to enable her to live. The young man and his people refused her demands and complained to the shaikh. The latter decided that the young man was within his rights, and ordered the girl to be removed to some distant relative's house, whence after due ceremony and regard for convention she would be married. Four times the shaikh's *fidawiyah*, or guards, came round to the mother's house, and each time she refused them entry. The law did not permit them to enter forcibly, but they vowed that law or no law her position as a woman would not prevent them next time breaking open her door and forcibly abducting the girl.

It was then that the incident happened. I was asleep on my roof and the night was hot without moon. It was about twelve midnight when I awoke to hear my name called, "Ya Abu Sa'ud—Ya Abu Sa'ud," came the voice out of the darkness, "Wake up and listen". Wide-awake now, I realised that someone was addressing me in a low whisper from my neighbour's roof, only a few yards away. "What is it?" I said. "Who are you that startles me like this at dead of night?" "I am your *ghafir*," replied the voice with a moan, "I am daughter of

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

621 So-and-So, and I appeal to you to listen to me." Realising then who
671 was speaking to me over the wall, I learned her whole tale. At the
577 end she said, "Ya Abu Sa'ud, I am in the deepest distress, I entreat you to help, I, your *qasir*, your neighbour, your tent *jdr*" (another word for neighbour). "What wouldst thou that I do for thee, my sister?" I replied. "Go to-morrow morning," she said, "and tell Shaikh Ahmad of my plight, and fight for me and my daughter, for verily if they take her away I shall die." To all my pleading that she was not under my jurisdiction, she merely replied, "I know nothing about that. All I know is that you are my neighbour and the law makes it incumbent on you to come to my assistance."

The end of it was that I promised to do as she asked, and on the next day I went and saw the Ruler, apologised for butting in where I was not concerned, but pointed out that my *qasir* had appealed in such and such manner to me, and that as I understood the importance of such an appeal, I in turn begged his intervention on her behalf. The shaikh was so struck with my tale, and so delighted that I pleaded with him for one of his Muslim subjects against his own decision, that he turned round and said very charmingly, "Colonel Dickson, this 'aw of the *qasir* is a very sacred one for us Arabs; that you know and understand the depth of its meaning is patent to me, else you would never have acted as you have done. The girl is yours, give her back to her mother and say I, Ahmad, revoke my orders previously given. Even as you listened to the woman who appealed to you as *qasir*, so likewise I will listen to you and grant your request, to prove to you how deeply I feel you have been honoured by one of my country-women, and how deeply I also honour the law of *qusara*." I was much impressed by the shaikh's words, and it will be long before I forget his remarkable reply. His orders were duly passed on to my neighbour, and to this day the poor woman shows her gratitude in little kindnesses to my servants. I never again saw her to speak to.

SHIMA

577 The Arab's idea of *shima* is much the same as our conception of honour, and I shall illustrate it only by the story given below.

Othman al Rashid of Buraida (an ex-horse-dealer of Kuwait) on

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

156 609 conditions, singly or in combination, cause the attitude of individuals or groups to differ in degree. As a general rule nomads who range habitually on the fringes of alien civilized areas are more dangerous to encounter than those habitually withdrawn in the wilds. Thus, the northern and western constituents of the great Anazah group are less safe to visit than the Shammar. Other contingent circumstances may make particular groups yet more hostile—if, for example, they range near the political frontier of two alien powers, as do the eastern Sinaitic groups; or in a difficult mountainous country, like the Huweitāt and Huteim east and north of Akaba; or where shelter and water can be obtained in hidden rocky recesses, as among the Beni Sakhr in the southern trans-Jordan region; or in insalubrious low-lying tracts such as the Yemen Tihāmah, or the southern part of Hasa, or the eastern part of the south coast, which account for the evil repute of the Zaranik (*Dharānīq*), the Ahl Murrah, and the Qara tribes respectively.

Certain of the inland tribes, however, have reputations as bad or worse, and in their case one must look for peculiar causes. The ill fame of some groups of the Harb, for example—of one group especially, the 'Auf sub-tribe of the Masrūh section—is probably due to temptation long put in their way by the pilgrim routes, where these pass through a lean region debated between two powers. The repute, again, of the Qahtān, reckoned by the popular voice the most savage of Bedouin groups, may be accounted for by their seclusion and isolation along the northern fringe of the impenetrable Southern Desert. It is possible, however, that in both these instances report is worse than fact—in the one, because it is the well-known pilgrim route that has so often suffered, in the other because the northern Bedouins, who chiefly inform European minds, [266] know very little about the group in question. It is common talk, for example, that some of the Qahtān tribes are cannibal. On investigation, this imputation is always passed southward to the next group, till it finally fades away into *terra incognita*.

One word of caution, however, must be uttered about such cut-and-dried tribal reputations. They have not, in some cases, been always the same. The Huteim, for instance, who have a bad name for robbery now, used to be esteemed among the most inoffensive of nomads—almost on a par with the despised but universally tolerated Sulubba. Some one familiar with the desert talk of the moment should always be consulted before the desert itself is entered.

609 577 621 The least suspicious and most trustworthy Bedouins are, naturally, those of the largest and best-knit tribes, especially such as form part of a federation under the central authority of one of the

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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greater Emirs or the Grand Sherif. These tribes are not only 609
controlled to some extent and directed to a common policy, but 577
also have a tradition of self-respect, which ensures the observance 621
of the Bedouin code of hospitality. As Doughty has well said, what stands to a Bedouin for religion is that which men will think of him. Fortunately the fame of a lavish entertainer and a protector of the guest is a condition of nobility among Bedouins; and an appeal against any action inconsistent with this will seldom be disregarded. A properly authorized stranger, whatever his creed, should have little to fear under ordinary circumstances among such tribes as the Shammar, the Ateibah, the Wuld 'Ali, or the Ruweilah.

What, however, does proper authority mean to the ordinary 609
Bedouin? Not the exhibition of any passport or other written docu- 577
ment. Letters from the chief Emirs, the Grand Sherif, or other great 486
sheikhs are very valuable if the traveller is passing from one of them [212]
to another; but in ninety out of a hundred desert camps he will find no one who can read or will respect paper. The one thing needful is a *rafiq*, i.e. a companion derived from the tribe through whose range one must pass, or from some tribe allied with it or authorized to share its range. If possible, he should be a man of importance whose face will be recognized instantly by the desert men—a race which, like other unlettered races, keeps a long memory for faces and a very wide knowledge of personalities. Still better if he has been attached to the traveller by some well-known chief. The *rafiq* must be kept well in evidence and to the fore in case of such a sudden attack as Shakespear experienced at the hands of the Ateibah in Woshm, when a good deal of harm was done before his *rafiq* could make himself known in the night to the raiders. In territories controlled by a central authority, e.g. a sovereign Emir, a well-known man from the centre may suffice throughout; but even then it is better to take a *rafiq* from tribe to tribe. There are one or two [101
denominations of Arabs who are franked by all tribes and can them- 463]
selves conduct a traveller anywhere in more or less security; but it is rather less than more. Such are the *'Uqeil* (Agayl)—recognized carriers—and the *Sulubba* (Solubba)—tinkers, medical magicians, hunters—whom no one molests. But travelling with such folk entails the disadvantage that one must go where they wish to go and at their pace; and in disturbed districts near frontiers their aegis is not to be relied upon.

The efficacy of the *rafiq* system is based on the recognition that a 486
particular range or dira (*dirah*) appertains to each tribe, and even to 609
each main section of a tribe. Tribes sometimes hold their diras in common, as the 'Ajmân and Beni Khâlid are said to do at present in

30; Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ 4

609 northern Hasa; and there are certain districts, containing but few
486 wells, where several tribes, each having a right of watering, cross and recross each other's dîras, without committing thereby acts of trespass, though not without engendering frequent friction. Such, for example, are the steppe west of Jebel Shammar and that north-east of the same district towards the lower Euphrates valley. For the right of crossing a dîra the traveller is expected to pay in money or kind to the chief, who often drives a very hard bargain, but should not be regarded as levying blackmail. After all, in return for the payment, he and his tribe concede protection and allow the traveller to consume some of their very scanty supply of fodder and
621 water. All Arab society is patriarchal. Some one man can answer for each unit, and among the best Arabs for very large units. The traveller's chief danger arises where tribes are small or so broken up that not more than one or two families recognize a chief.

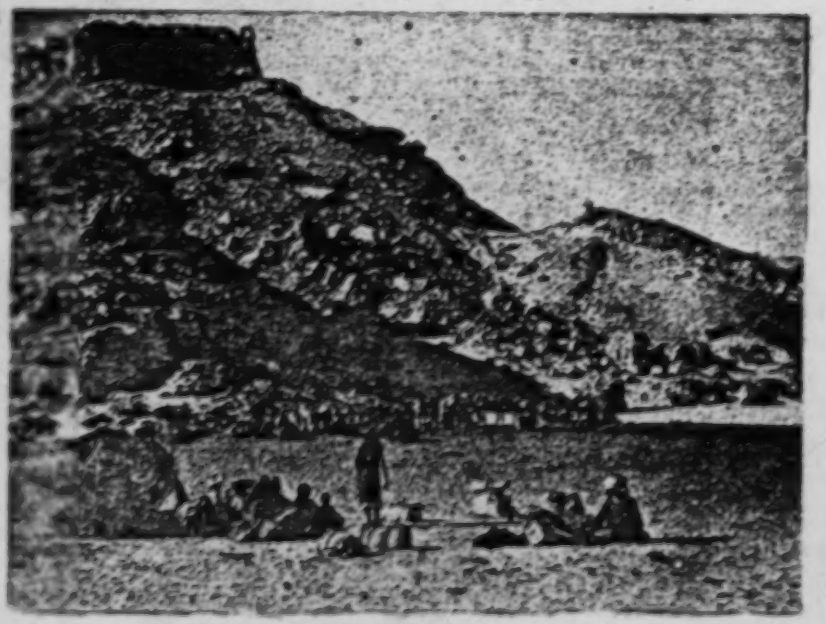
486 There is, however, one recognized exception to this sanctity of
721 dîras, namely, the right of every tribe, or even section of a tribe, to raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, unless
577 barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship. To go
621 out on raid (*gharaah*) is the young man's chance of proving himself, and to provide him with that opportunity is virtually obligatory on all tribes, except the meanest. The greater chiefs, like their ancient cousins, the Assyrian kings, make an annual practice of the Raid. The farther afield it goes, the greater the glory in a society punctiliously sensitive to public opinion. Raiding parties may, therefore, be met very far from the ranges of their own people, and no district is quite safe from them. They may generally be recognized by their travelling light, without women, and on high-bred camels. The *rafiq* is powerless against them in his own dîra, except possibly through some lucky friendship on his part or the repute of his tribe. But raiding parties are not very particular. They will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attack, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognized part of the game, and entails no slur on the courage of any members of the party.

486 The more the traveller can learn and retain in his mind of the
181 genealogy of individuals and tribes, in a land where pedigrees are very widely known back to a hoar antiquity and inordinately valued
574 the better for his safety and the impression he will make and leave on his hosts. He should know also, as far as possible, the political grouping of tribes and recent desert history. If, like Doughty, he

Life Photo Archive: 7-8 (1944-47)1948 MOI Saudi Arabia
Bookmark: MO4

621

To another camp upon an encampment of Bin Ma'arof Sa'ar when he arrived at Mamzakh to prepare for a journey of sixteen waterless days across Arabia's Empty Quarter. The well here, which is stone-lined and over 200 feet deep, is one of the only two permanent watering places in Sa'ar territory



P 395 (C).

411 hand and all wore the distinctive carnelian-
[15] studded dagger, and one and all impressed
me as virile, reckless and uncontrolled, but
701 humorous and friendly. While we sat among
621 them talking there was a sudden stir, for they
had noticed a dozen mounted Arabs approaching rapidly across the dunes. Then someone recognized one of the camels and they relaxed. These camels were stretched out and travelling very fast, yet were urged to even greater efforts by the wild yells of their riders. They were the scouts, sons of sheikhs and the very pick of the tribe, who set out each dawn to scour the surrounding desert, keen-eyed for the tracks of strangers. Lithe, hard-bodied and alert, these lads rode their splendid beasts with effortless mastery. They had heard the firing and, thinking the camp attacked, had ridden back to help.

621 Scattered upon the dunes around us were
592 small black tents, round which naked infants romped, while dark-clad women moved about gathering sticks and tending herds of goats. Sometimes a family changed its site, for, though fear of raiders had imposed upon them the need to keep together, their restless nomad instincts drove them to constant movement within the wide confines of the camp. Such short migrations provided an interesting sight as they moved slowly past. The children drove the camels, laden with tents, cooking-pots, watering-troughs and ropes, the simple requirements of their life; while the Bedu mothers and the virgin beauties of the tribe rode in the slow swaying camel-litters.

574 *That evening they feasted us on meat* and, after the camel herds had drifted in at dusk, brought us great frothing bowls of milk, the nectar of the Arabs. The night was filled with the haunting sounds of an Arab camp—the ceaseless restless moaning of camels, the barking of dogs, the rise and fall of Arab voices from their gathering-places round the fires, and sometimes the distant harmony of song.

312 Next morning when the sun was warm we drove our camels across the sandy plain to water at the well, which is situated close under high limestone cliffs on the northern
401 edge of the valley. A few Arabs had already
312 arrived and were fastening their pulleys to the scaffolding around the well. It is over 200 feet in depth and stone-lined, a monument to some forgotten people in the dim past. At the deep wells in the Najd the Arabs use their

p 398 (B) [TEXT CONTINUES ON P 400 (A) -- ANALYST

Bedouins MJ4

162, 166, 101, 619, 643, 622, 361, 438

/For information on the settled tribes of the Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut in 1920, the territory occupied, the paramount rulers and tribal chiefs, brief history, their settlements, means of livelihood, etc., see 30: Great Britain, MJ1 Saudi Arabia, category 116, pp. 509-546./

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

369 It is not such a life as would be popular in
181 America, but men live, and women live, and children live there, and love their desert with an unparalleled devotion. Transplanted to a real garden spot of the earth, they weep for a glimpse of their beloved desert.

The love of the desert is a very deep and a very beautiful thing. For political purposes one of these desert chiefs was urged to give up his residence in the open and arid desert and come to live in the town. The greater comfort and luxury to be found in the town were pointed out to him as contrasted with the hardships and loneliness of the desert; but the old chief did not see it that way. "In the town," said he, "I have no doubt that I shall find all the things which you describe, but out here in the desert I have my family and my goats, great distances, and God."

182 In such a country only one type of life is possible, and that is the Bedouin type. Some knowledge of the Bedouin, his environment and its effect upon him is fundamental in any effort to understand the Arab. The nomad tribe is probably the basis from which the other types of Arab life have been developed historically, and these other types can be most easily understood today if studied in connection with the simpler organization of the desert. The most conspicuous difference from our own society lies perhaps in the fact that all members of the community do the same thing. Some are more energetic than others, and on that account own larger herds of camels and larger flocks of goats or sheep, but the occupation of all is the same, and the standards of life differ very little.

619 The Bedouins are divided into tribes, and the larger
622 tribes into sub-tribes. These tribes of Arabia are "communities of will," to use H. G. Wells' phrase, and the in-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin N34

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

forth scornfully triumphant over the worst that environment can do to him. There is no division of labor in the desert. Every man has the same occupation and is pursued by the same gaunt specter of starvation. Every man breathes the same atmosphere of the great free desert and shares the same conceptions of God and His terrible omnipotence. How could men be otherwise than equal when they all live in the same desert and worship the same God? The hypocrisies and pretenses of caste and rank cannot live long in that country where God is so great and so terrible and so omnipotent and where men at the best are helpless insects in His hands.

The Arab is perhaps the most incorrigible individualist that the world affords. He regards any abridgement of his liberty as intolerable. His desert is a land of freedom. Everybody does what is right in his own eyes with perhaps less restraint than anywhere else in the world. To one who is familiar with the Orient, perhaps the most significant fact to be noted in Arab society is the complete absence of the caste system. The Arab knows nothing about caste. His sheikh, who has the power of life and death over him, the Bedouin regards as on precisely his own level. He expects this sheikh to rule well, to have a heavy hand for offenders, to maintain relations with neighboring tribes, to protect the poor from the rapacity of the rich. If the sheikh does not do all these things, he will join cheerfully with his comrades in assassinating him and will submit with equal cheerfulness to whomsoever may be his successor. He would be not at all nonplussed if asked to be ruler himself; quite possibly he might fill the office with credit. All this he knows, as does his sheikh. The result is a society where there is almost no feeling of superiority and inferiority,

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East Int
Bedouin M34

CHAPTER VI

HUMAN SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

WRITING in the thirteenth century A.D. the Arab geographer Ibn Battuta was greatly impressed by the contrasts in ways of life and social organisation shown by various communities of the Middle East. In particular, he devoted special attention to the differences between nomadic peoples, known collectively by the Arabic term of Badawin (singular: *Bedu*), and settled cultivators, or *Hadhar*. Such contrasts are still as characteristic of the peoples of the Middle East now at the present day as they were in the time of Ibn Battuta, and in examining the problems of human relationships in the region, it is useful at the outset to outline some of the chief features of social organisation. Attention will first be given to two relatively small groups—nomads and townspeople: conditions amongst the Hadhar, who form the majority of the population of the Middle East, will be dealt with at more length in succeeding chapters.

The Badawin.—The main feature of this group is of course regular movement in search of pasture for animals. For the greater part, this movement is from one district to another—i.e. true nomadism; but in mountain regions different levels in the same district are occupied successively, and this is termed transhumance.[1] The Badawin of Arabia may be cited as true nomads whilst the Kurds of Anatolia and the western Zagros tend rather to practice transhumance.

With rainfall, and therefore pasture, both scanty in amount and liable to much variation from one year to another, the nomads have found that experience provides the best means of survival. Thus the oldest members of the group is given the task of making decisions which guide the activities of the entire community—accent is, so to speak, on age, not youth. Frequently too, in the face of sudden crisis—failure of wells, or attack by outsiders—rapid decision is called for, and one man alone rather than a group, is looked to as supreme leader—in warfare particularly more confidence is felt in a single man than in a committee. This type of social organisation, termed patriarchal, places the life of a community under the control of a chosen man, and

[1] True nomadism is in effect, horizontal movement, transhumance is more a change in climate.

21: Fisher 3-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

is highly characteristic of nomadic pastoralism. The chief (sheikh) of the community has considerable personal power, which is tempered only by precedent (the collective experience of the group as a whole) and by the opinion of older members of the tribe. There is little place for individuality, or for innovation, and patriarchal communities have kept their ways of life largely unaltered through many centuries. It has been said that if Abraham were to return, he would find little change in the habits of the present inhabitants of the Syrian and

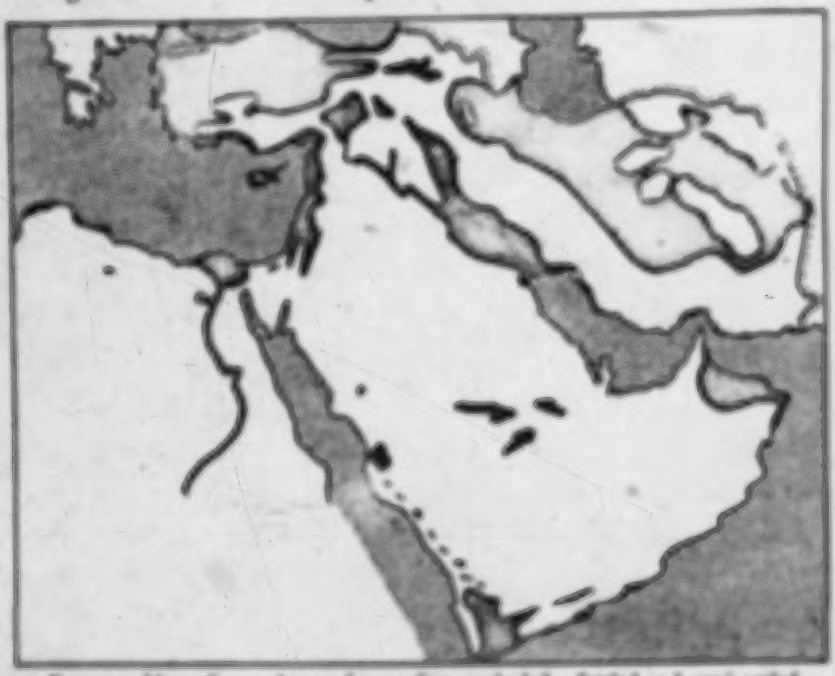


FIG. 20. Nomadism. Areas of nomadism underlined. Settled and semi-settled occupation shown in black.

Arabian deserts; and, apart from effects following the introduction first of iron in the second millennium B.C., and later of firearms, life among the Kurds seems scarcely to have varied since their present homeland was first occupied in *c.* 2400 B.C.

A sharp limit to the size of social groupings amongst nomads is set by natural resources, which in a given district can support only a relatively small number of people. Thus the unit amongst Bedawin is the tribe—a group large enough to profit by advantage of numbers, yet small enough to exist under desert conditions. Family relationship is strong, and perpetuated by emphasis on intermarriage within

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had become a profitable cash crop and many shaikhs were induced 174
to change from stock-breeding to cereal-growing which was more 166x
lucrative.[1] Not a depleting desert economy, but the desire
for money was the cause of the change.

After the revolution of 1908 the Young Turks re-affirmed 166x
the policy of settling the nomads on land. The Wali of Baghdad 622
was instructed to formulate a scheme for the settlement of the
tribes.

The shaikhs were divided in their attitudes, a great number
definitely hostile to the policy of the government, others,
bought by gifts of land and titles, ready to co-operate.

The Young Turks, anxious to assert their exclusive political
power and authority, had tried, wherever possible, to crush the
influence of the powerful shaikhs. Hence their hostility to
government-sponsored settlement schemes.

The British Mandatory Government was not concerned with 648
settling the nomads. When the British came to Iraq, it became 166x
their avowed Bedouin policy to rebuild tribal organization under
competent shaikhs. They set about to strengthen the power of the
shaikhs whose authority over the tribesmen had been partially
broken by the Young Turk administration. Landholdings of the
tribal leaders were protected, large subsidies and tax exemptions
granted.

WHILE BRITISH TRIBAL POLICY WAS RESTRICTED TO GIVING GRAINS

° Baghdad, 1925, pp. 203 seq.

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IRAQ

648 unlimited powers abused more often than not, the process of seden-
X166 tarization took its course.

423 After the First World War very little of the tribal land was still communally held, its ownership having been claimed by individuals.[1] Land settlement in Iraq had resulted in the transfer of the tribal semi-collective landholdings to individual holdings of the sheikhs. This increased the inequality of land-ownership in favor of the leaders and at the expense of the members of the tribe.[2]

622 Since the early 1930's some of the Iraqi sheikhs have dis-
423 played a growing interest in settlement of their tribesmen. The
X166 Sheikhs Ali al-Suleiman and Mushin al-Ruhan were largely responsible for the restoration on scientific lines of the Euphrates canal and thus making possible the Dulaym development project which provided for the settlement of 2 000 tribesmen.[3]

X166 The new settlement of Dulaymiyn developed rapidly and proved
425 a success. An area which had been barren for centuries was re-
622 claimed and returned to cultivation. During the inter-war years the Iraqi local government distributed State land to individuals prepared to irrigate and cultivate it by installation of water pumps. Due to the cost involved, only the wealthy sheikhs could take advantage of the offer.

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1. Report, 1926, pp. 152-153
2. Hinaidi, 1930; Hinaidi, 1952, p. 275
3. Report, 1920-22, p. 20

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
IRAQ BEDOUINS MJ4

Their already substantial landholdings were thus considerably increased. 423 622

Neither the British Mandatory Authorities nor the Iraqi local government had in the 1920's a definite tribal settlement policy. Whatever was undertaken in this direction like the Diloymiya project is attributable to the initiative of the tribal leaders. 648 166x

The transformation which the tribal sheikhs have been undergoing during the past few decades can be best illustrated by a concrete case. Ajil el Jawar, the chief sheikh of the Shawaw, had by the 1930's a variety of lucrative commercial interests. The government of Iraq and the Oil Companies appointed him to take over the protection of the wells and the pipelines. Besides, Ajil was charged with supplying laborers for railroad construction work. From these sources he received considerable income. The main part of his wealth, however, consists of real estate. Ajil inherited the lands near Ialat Shergat and Takrit which Sultan Abdul Hamid had given to his grandfather Farhan as presents. In addition he acquired lands in the vicinity of Tell A'far, and also owns property in Baghdad and Hamid, as well as houses in Tell A'far and in the village Ialat Shergat.[1] 622 425

The case of Ajil el Jawar is typical for all the powerful chiefs of Iraq, who have become wealthy landlords whose estates are cultivated by fellahin. Where the tribesmen followed the examples of of their sheikhs and settled down, they became the exploited tenants

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, pp. 150 ff.

1/4 [i.e., the wealthy sheikhs -- analyst]

IRAQ BEDOUINS MJ4

622 and share-croppers on the holdings of the chiefs who rapidly
425 changed from their traditional role of "primus inter pares" to that of a semi-feudal landlord.

656 In the thirties the administration of Iraq became increasingly
425 aware of the plight of the Bedouin. In 1934 three committees con-
X166 sisting of high government officials and tribal sheikhs were formed for the purpose of studying the problem of land distribution among the tribesmen and of encouraging them to take up agriculture.

A plan was formulated with the aim of settling 40 000 Bedouin over a period of ten years, at the rate of 4 000 per annum.[1] Guided by the administration policy of Bedouin settlement, the Minister of the Interior proceeded in 1936 with the assignment of land to the nomadic tribes and landless fellahin. Distribution was made in small plots of about five acres per head. Provision was also made for financial assistance needed to initiate cultivation. Prospective settlers, in turn, were subject to the stipulation that their villages and homes must be constructed along modern lines.[2]

At the end of 1936 Prime Minister Hikmat Suleiman declared in the outline of his government program that the authorities are vitally concerned with the settlement of the tribes and ready to provide each family with land. He stated that legislation would

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1. Orients Moderne, Vol. IXV, pp. 453-4 1934
2. Orients Moderne, Vol. XVI, p. 279 1936

MI Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4
166
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agriculture was taking place on a small scale. During the latter part of the century the Wuld Ali tribe began to take up cultivation near Rasa and the Euphrates in the Euroun.[1]

The leaders of the Syrian tribes, however, particularly the Anezeh and West Hamour shaikhs, benefited from Sultan Abdul Hamid's policy aiming at winning their support by gifts of land and villages. In 1870 Jad'an of the Fad'an obtained from the government several villages and large tracts of land.[2] Nejhan, the grandson of Jad'an, owns two villages on the Euphrates besides the property which he inherited from his grandfather. In the 1930's he purchased additional ground near 'Ain 'Isa where he built a house.[3] Rust el-Sha'lan, the shaikh of the Rwala, owned substantial property consisting of vast estates, a house in Damascus and several auto-cars.[4]

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Since the end of the First World War, all the important tribal leaders of Syria have been in possession of extensive land-holdings, and most of them have taken an increasing interest in cultivation. In 1938 Shaikh Sakmakh of the Sha'a Gawaan undertook to restore an ancient system of canals and began tillage on land which had been heretofore desert.[5] In 1935 the shaikh of the Sha'a Shainat doubled his cultivation in

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 73
2. Ibid., p. 79
3. Ibid., p. 81
4. Ibid., pp. 105 ann.
5. Neubert, 1935, p. 106

622 the region southwest of Aleppo. In the Jezireh the sheikh of
423 the Feda'an-Hadid increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable landholdings of the
427 powerful Shammar and Aneseh chiefs are predominantly cultivated
by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on
camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, cantonment wells were restored and new ones created,
medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydrauliques sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water supply. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyra. In 1931 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyra, Deir ez-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. Ibid., 1935, p. 106
2. Dresdner, 1940, p. 77
3. Report, 1931, pp. 99-100

educational needs of the tribes.

This policy aimed at introducing improvements into the Bedouin mode of living without changing it.

Some of the sheikhs made serious attempts to settle the tribesmen on their estates. The Haddidyin began in the 30's to cultivate on the estates of their sheikh.[1] Rakan, the sheikh of the Sha'a, has been consistently trying to make the members of his tribe engage in agriculture.[2]

Apart from minor successes the attempts of sedentarization were largely premature. While economic changes and a taste for modern living induced a great number of the sheikhs to abandon nomadism and settle down, the majority of the tribesmen preferred to continue their pastoral activities and their traditional migrations. Even economic disasters in the desert did not appreciably accelerate the pace of their sedentarization.

In 1931, for example, the Syrian Bedouin lost 30 - 40 per cent of their animals in the wake of inclement weather conditions.[3] 1931/32 was also a season of exceptional drought when certain tribes lost 50 per cent of their camels and 80 per cent of their sheep.[4] The desert was strewn with animals that died of hunger. The critical situation among the tribes prompted the French Mandatory Government[5] to encourage the nomads to settle down to an agricultural life. Fertile land and implements were freely dis-

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 298
2. Ibid., p. 85
3. Rappart, 1932, p. 98
4. Rappart, 1932, p. 92
5. The French High Commission maintained a special tribal service

[I.E. GOVERNMENTAL REFORMS -- ANALYST]

land reform on which successful tribal settlement will ultimately 421
depend, but as the land-owning families exercise control over the indigenous administrations, the prospects for sweeping changes do not seem bright.

Transformation of the Sheikh

With the process of sedentarization the tribal sheikh undergoes a profound political and social transformation. 166x

In the traditional tribal society inter-tribal political activities were confined to disputes over water and grazing rights. 578 622 664
Since the 19th century sheikhs have become involved in big power politics. Bedouin history since the First World War abounds with cases of tribal chiefs being pre-occupied with the political issues of the country. At present the tribal leaders constitute a very active element in the parliamentary life of Syria and Iraq. While the sheikhs of the Transjordanian tribes have in the past not taken a prominent part in the political activities of their country, they have taken sides in the main controversial issue of englophile government circles versus pan-Arab, anti-foreign Nationalists. Mithal Pasha, the sheikh of the Beni-Sakhr, was the avowed friend of the Mufti while Hamad el Jazi, the sheikh of the Howeitat was an active supporter of Abdullah.[1]

The social changes which the sheikh undergoes are considerable. His household becomes substantially enlarged by addition of a great number of slaves, specialists in various tasks. The wives of the sheikh have chamber maids at their disposal. 622 178

1. Oppenheim, 1943, pp. 182-183

178 [493] 622 It is not a rarity to see an automobile under the tent of the sheikh, even when he still wanders and camps with his tribe. Gradually the chiefs establish luxurious residences, equipped with all the comforts of modern living. At this stage the sheikh will spend most of the time away from the tribe, favoring the social, economic and political activities of the sedentary population.

177 622 178 An instructive example of the changes in the social status of the powerful sheikh is the case of the Rwala. The Rwala tribesmen still belong to the few remaining true Bedouin. Their former Sheikh, Nuri Bey al-Sha'lan, however, showed already before World War I his preference for a house to a tent. His grandson Fawaz, the present Emir of the tribe, was in his youth a genuine Bedouin, but later his mode of living became thoroughly westernized.[1]

619 178 566 The tribesmen will not remain unaffected by this development. For a while they try tenaciously to preserve the nomadic mode of existence, but sooner or later they will become the exploited tenants and share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

566 622 During the Mahdiyya regime the absentee landlords lost much of their grip on the cultivators, but the tenants of the tribal sheikhs are still in a virtual state of serfdom. In some cases the tribal chief still has complete authority over the

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1. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 108

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members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he favours and collects his own levies.[1]

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Beduin tribe Ale Hiab that owned 20 000 dunums of land in the Huran.[2] The sheikh's family in whose name the land was registered, sold 20 000 dunums to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunum orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh.

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CHAPTER II

Attitude of the Tribesmen towards Settlers.

The Beduin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Transjordan Beduin was desperate; 1936/37 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen

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1. Hitchcock, 1931, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted for sheep and goats — 40%, camels — 15%, camels — 35%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1937, p. 10

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Responsible circles in the Arab world today pay due attention to the problems of the nomad society, and from time to time constructive recommendations are mined for the solution of the social and economic problems of the Bedouin element. For example, the First and Second United Nations Social Welfare Seminars for Arab States in the Middle East appointed Special Committees to discuss Bedouin problems and needs. The recommendations which were submitted to the plenary sessions aimed at the raising of the Bedouin standard of living by settling on land part of the tribal population and helping the remaining nomads improve their mode of existence in the desert.

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During the last twenty years, particularly in the 1930's, programs for Bedouin settlement have been formulated in Iraq and in Syria. But there is no reference as to how much of the plans was actually carried out.[1] Where settlement has taken place, it was largely the private enterprise of the tribal sheikh. As the tribal land was usually registered in the name of the chief or leased to him by the government, practically all the members of the tribe have become mere settlement, the tenants or share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

The sheikh-landlord has a personal economic interest in developing his land holdings, but his policies are rarely concerned with the welfare of his tribesmen. This is why the Social

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1. Since no further reference was made to the plans in the ensuing years, the writer feels justified in assuming that the projects for Bedouin settlement remained on paper.

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welfare Seminar of 1950 cautioned against offering the tribal chiefs large stretches of land on which the mass of the tribesmen would become a class of agricultural laborers.[1]

A P P E N D I X

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Recommendations for the Formulation of Settlement Policies

There is a definite need for constructive government-sponsored settlement schemes.

It has been recognized that specific problems, presented by old and deeply rooted traditions, must be taken into consideration:[2]

a. the element of persuasion and education, the mental adjustment of the Bedouin to the new conditions. Projects of amelioration and irrigation or schemes of free land distribution may aid the fellah and the nomad, but it must be recognized that not all the Bedouin will abandon nomadic life voluntarily, even when offered free land. The traditional contempt for agricultural work must be counteracted by persuasion and education.

b. the need for introducing gradual changes. Successful administration of the nomads cannot proceed more rapidly than their mental adjustment to the new conditions. Where the Bedouin are not gradually prepared for agricultural life, they will become landowners, but not cultivators. They will turn into "rent-dwellers who depend for their living on the rents paid by their fellahin-tenants."[3]

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1. Al-Qibbeh, 1950, p. 280
2. Miles, 1952
3. Ibid.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4
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XXII

Ali, the "Protector"

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AND NOW THOSE wonderful days with the Ruala had come to an end. I had to say good-bye for a time, because I meant to visit the Fid'an and other Bedouin tribes then roaming the deserts of Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. Several of their chiefs were inveterate enemies of Amir Fuaz, and at odd moments they also fought among themselves. But I knew some of them from earlier days and for the rest I pinned my faith on the inviolable rules of Bedouin hospitality. On the Euphrates I also hoped to find a suitable *rafiq* (courier) who would be qualified by his knowledge of the country and his friendliness with the tribes to act as both guide and guard to me. To assist me, Amir Fuaz gave me a personal letter to Hajem Pasha, who was then in command of the major part of the Fid'an in the Jesirah between the Tigris and Euphrates, while Ibn Meheyd contented himself with the lordship of the minority west of the Euphrates in Syria. Fuaz was closely related to Hajem Pasha, though these ties did not prevent the two chiefs from indulging in mutual pillage and warfare as opportunity offered.

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Amir Fuaz advised me to go first to Aleppo and there get in touch with Hajem Pasha's *wakil* (representative), who would see to the transmission of his letter and secure a trustworthy travelling companion for me; and I acted on his advice. I had not been in Aleppo since 1916.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

224 A tribesman entered the tent with the information that the chief's* hunting-party was returning.

It was a wonderful sight as the horsemen drew up. There were about seventy of them, with hares, gazelles, and bustards hung over the withers and cruppers of their mares. A pack of greyhounds had been unleashed and they immediately sought the shade of the tent, where they stretched themselves out with heaving flanks and hanging tongues. Several slaves got up and brought them water, which they lapped up thirstily. Meanwhile, the riders had dismounted, and unloosing the casting-leads of the hooded falcons, set each bird on a padded perch before the rug of the *sheykh*.

•622 576 Tai', on alighting from his horse, passed into the women's apartment. After a while he appeared before us. In honour of his guest, he had girded on an old sabre.

We all stood up and greeted him. Ali came forward and kissed the *sheykh's* hand, and pressing it to his forehead, said in his extravagant manner:

"Ya Muhafut—O Protector! God grant thee long life, most magnanimous of all Arabs!"

Then Ali presented me to the *sheykh*, who embraced me. With simple and grave courtesy he said:

"Peace be with thee."

With a polite movement of his hand, he indicated to me my seat and I sat down.

[276] After we had settled in our places, Sheykh Tai' rolled a cigarette and lighted it between his own lips before he handed it to me.

622 Our host was a man nearly as tall as Ali, but very slender and small-boned. Rarely have I seen such refined

* [Sheykh Tai' of the Tai' Bedouins -- Analyst]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins W154

hands and feet in a man,—in fact, his whole appearance was arresting. 622

For a Bedouin, he had an unusually pale complexion, set off by a brilliantly black beard and raven locks. He preferred to dress almost entirely in black. His Arab head-cloth, sandals, and soft camel-hair cloak were black, as well as the wide shawl wound round his waist. Even his mare was black, a rare thing, for most Bedouins hold black horses in disfavour. Headstalls, halter, saddle, and saddle-cloth—all were black, relieved only by delicate silver embroidery and a few silver ornaments. His silver-hilted sword, too, was carried in a black scabbard. 622 291 [825]

Sheykh Tai' was vain. He loved arms and horses, but above all he adored his little son, Farhan. According to Ali, he had not much affection for his wives, who were reputed to be beauties; but he was proud of them as he was of all his possessions—his great herds and extensive lands. 622 157

The Tai's Bedouins kept relatively few camels, but large numbers of sheep and goat, which suffer much from the depredations of wolves in winter and spring. Sheykh Tai' told me that these nimble-footed robbers from the inaccessible retreats of the Turkish Mountains had come down again into the snow-free lowlands. They had already attacked exposed Bedouin camps and caused great damage, although the watchful herdsmen had been continually on guard. 233

Sheykh Tai' was, like Nimrod, a "great hunter before the Lord", and liked nothing better than to be riding abroad. On the eighth evening after our arrival, he 224

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Ml 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

000 of Arabia lead makes for religion, and instils into the heart of man the greater virtues that make life worth living.

THE TRIBAL DÎRAH

619 Every Badawin tribe in Arabia has its *dîrah* or tribal country,
[22] through which it roams with its camels in the autumn, winter and
312 spring, and in which lie its permanent wells, the jealously treasured
361 possessions of various sections of the tribe, on which these sections camp in summer.*

Let us take, for example, the great Mutair tribe ('Ilwa and Wasil) of North-East Arabia. Its *dîrah* is roughly enclosed by the following boundaries:

On the north—By the Iraq Neutral Zone (Tawîl al Dhafir) and the Kuwait frontier as far east as the Shaqq.
On the east—By the Shaqq depression and a line running south of same to Jariya al Sifla, Tarabi and al Khafaisat.
On the south—A rough line from the town of 'Arauza, Zilfi, Majma'a to al Khafaisat including the town of Artawiyah.
On the west—A rough line from the Tawîl al Dhafir (Iraq Neutral Zone) through Thamami (south end of Bâtin) to Buraida and 'Arauza.

In chief group of wells which need be mentioned are:

(a) Hafar al Bâtin, the property of ibn Ashwan (Brain group of the Wasil Mutair).
(b) Sifli, the property of ibn Lami (Jibrin).
(c) Jariya Ilya, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(d) Jariya Sifla, the property of Al Fugum (Al Subaihin).
(e) Habd, the property of Al Mâjid (Dushan).
(f) Qura'a, the property of Al Shuqair (Dushan).
(g) Wahra, the property of the Dushan.
(h) Qaiyah, the property of Al Faisal (Dushan).
(i) Dîjani, the property of Al Bura'an (Muaiba).

[422] The Dushan being the ruling clan, with its Shaikh Al Dawish,
361 controls also the tribal capital, or head village of Artawiyah.
619 This latter is an 'Ikhwan centre, and the creation of the present Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, who for political reasons placed in each tribal

* A reference to the tribal map at the end of this book will be found convenient.

Rôle of the Shaikh

617 (*shaik*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves
224 on fresh *laben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war,
262 then of course this utopian existence is at once changed, and the tribe
722 moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared
for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining
[202] and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come
into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks
before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were
able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and
622 assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on
its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp.
His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

622 No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was
157 the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not neces-
183 sarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the
family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-
paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the
shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan
or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father
and become shaikh after him must prove:

that he has the necessary courage;
that he has powers of leadership;
that he has *hadh* or luck.

777 The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership
622 in plenty if *hadh* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman
167 wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in
peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is
bound up in this word *hadh*. The great Ibn Sa'ud, the present Lord
of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with
a large quantity of *hadh*, or so says and believes every Badawin of
Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot
be compared with the all-embracing Luck.

622 The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

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proposes to wage war on So-and-So, and on such and such a date. 622
This would not be tolerated. He must carry the public opinion of the tribe with him. Hence, before anything is undertaken, secret meetings and daily talks are held with the tribal greybeards and men of experience. Once a decision has been come to, however, and the battle joined, the leadership lies with the shaikh, and his orders must be obeyed.

To maintain his influence in the piping times of peace, the shaikh must prove himself literally the "father of his people". He must [692]
know the family troubles of every man and must give good and fair decisions when cases are brought to him for settlement. Above all, he must not be miserly, and must keep open house. No name has a [374]
more unworthy meaning, or leaves a nastier taste in the mouth of the Badawin than the epithet *bakhil*, or "stingy one". Once this name *bakhil* sticks to a chief, his influence is at an end. Hence a successful shaikh must always have coffee going in his tent, pestle must ring on mortar from morn to night. Even this is not enough; for his hungry tribesmen, the majority of whom would scarcely taste meat from year's end to year's end, expect from their shaikh an occasional feast and the slaying of a camel, that all may eat their fill. The shaikh can reasonably stage a feast on the arrival of an important guest, to celebrate a wedding, or circumcision ceremony, or the like.

A great shaikh will go even further and will regularly send presents 622
of frocks and material for dresses to the wives of the less fortunate 481
members of his tribe. This keeps the women happy, and indirectly their husbands also. The shaikh's chief lady also has herself a lot to do in keeping up her husband's prestige, and the wives of the junior members of the clan are for ever calling on her and explaining their difficulties, in the unexpressed hope that assistance to the wardrobe or kitchen will be forthcoming. The great Faisal al Duwish was a master at keeping the women of the tribe happy, and in-paid: the same must also be said of His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud.

HARD LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL BADAWIN

The average Badawin has a hard and difficult existence, and may 511
be said to be always hungry and ill-clad. The main hardship he is at all times faced with is lack of money and inability to make any, by

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Leadership of Shaikh

SHAIKHS

A vital element in the stability of Badawin society is the tribal leadership exercised by the shaikh. 672

The position of a shaikh of a ruling house or tribe is hereditary, to the extent that he must be a member of a definite family or house. It is, however, by no means essential that the shaikh's eldest son should succeed his father. When a shaikh dies, the question arises: who is the best and most suitable man of that particular house to lead the tribe? It is usual to recognise as chief that member who possesses marked experience or outstanding physical and mental qualities.

Hadh, or good fortune as a leader, most often secures the Shaikhship. If he has led the tribe on one or more raids, and has shown that he possesses qualities of "luck" as well as "leadership", the Shaikhship is his of right: It is most important to realise this point, especially in principalities like Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait which are under British protection. It would be wrong and useless, were Government to try during the lifetime of a Ruler, to get him to nominate his son as the next heir. It simply is not done, and an attempt to impose our principles of primogeniture would cause offence and lead to misunderstandings. 672 643

Ibn Sa'ud in 1930 nominated his heir apparent, and each year since has tried to get his tribal leaders and brethren to swear fealty to his nominee. Some do so with their tongue in their cheek, others, notably Muhammad al Sa'ud, the King's brother, steadfastly refuse to obey. All know it to be a grave error on the part of the King. The King himself knows he has been mistaken, but the move was doubtless made to impress the European Ministers and Consuls residing at Jiddah. It pleases the Chancelleries of Europe. In private the King has said over and over again to the members of his family, "After my death, let the best man win". And this is what will no doubt happen in the end.

A shaikh's fighting force or tribe as a whole is known as *Gaum*, e.g. Gaum al Dowish, Gaum Ibn Sa'ud, Gaum Al Sha'alan (in literary Arabic the word is *Qaum*). 619

A shaikh will say *Ya Jama'a* or *Ya Rab'a* when addressing his followers.

him to make his escape to safety, if necessary calling in all his own family for the purpose. Or if the *gaid* says he will pay blood money in settlement, then the protector must protect him until the negotiations are put through.

If a *gaid's* tribe declares war on his protector's tribe, and later the *gaid's* camels are captured by raiders belonging to the protector's tribe, then the latter is absolved from returning the camels and vice versa, unless both protector and his *gaid* make public declaration before their respective shaikhs that they are tent-neighbours (*gawa*) and each will make good any damage suffered by the other party. If, then, the tribe of either party accidentally or purposely captures camels or mares from either of the men, they must return the loot when asked to do so.

The protector must make this public declaration to his own shaikh in person, and if the *gaid* cannot get through himself he must send neutral messengers to his own shaikh and people and do likewise.

Should the protector have in his employ a strange Badawin to herd his camels or sheep, and raiders of the herdsman's tribe suddenly appear and carry off the herd, then because the man in charge is their own fellow-villagerman the raiders must restore three she-camels to the herdsman, one for riding on and two for milking.

Certain desert tribes, notably the Dhafir, are particularly proud of the name they have won for protecting their tent-neighbours. They have become famous in this respect, as the following incident will show. (The chief actors in both cases were well known to me, though Hamud al Sowait has now been dead some years.)

The uncle of Hamud al Sowait, the Shaikh of all the Dhafir tribe, once threatened in public *majlis*, to impale himself on his sword which he had drawn for the purpose, unless *his own son* were brought before him and slain in his presence, because the son had killed his tent-neighbour in the heat of a foolish quarrel. The various members of the family tried hard to shield the youth, but realizing that the old shaikh was in deadly earnest, Hamud al Sowait (he became shaikh after his uncle's death two years later) himself seized the boy and with his own hand cut him down before the eyes of his father. Thus was tribal honour satisfied. This incident happened in 1911, and was told

664 me by Shaikh Hamud himself, and later vouched for by the Shaikh
619 of Kuwait on 9th September, 1931.

● 622 Shaikh Jada'an al Sowait, who succeeded to the Shaikhship of the
628 Dhafir after the death of Hamud, was camped near Adhaila and
577 Rubail on the Kuwait-Iraq border in 1931. Hearing that one of his own tribesmen had fired at and wounded a Mutair tribesman who was his *guest* at the time, even though the Mutair tribe and the Dhafir tribe were open enemies, Shaikh Jada'an had the offending tribesman brought before him, and with his own hand slashed him over the head with his sword.

The deed flashed through the Badawin world like lightning at the time, and Jada'an's name, as the upholder of Badawin honour,
[482] became almost as famous as that of his forbear. Unfortunately the Iraq authorities, with that folly which has frequently characterised them in dealing with the high-spirited tribesmen of the desert, imprisoned Shaikh Jada'an for several weeks, before they saw that they were making a martyr of a desert hero. This act cost them his allegiance. Shortly after, Shaikh Jada'an went over to Ibn Sa'ud, taking half the tribe with him.

Shaikh Jada'an told me the story himself, saying that he only acted as he did in order to keep the vital Badawin law clean and unsullied.

So greatly have the Dhafir tribe preserved and guarded their good name in the above respect, that it is said of Mana, another famous Shaikh of the Dhafir, that the immediate cause of his death was the news (which was brought to him as he was riding home from a raid), that a certain well-known guest of the tribe had, in his absence, been attacked and slain. Certain is it that on being told what had happened, his heart seemed to stop beating and he fell forward on to his camel's neck and rolled to the ground a dead man. His daughter, whom I met in 1935, told me that the old man had literally died of a broken heart, and her words were vouched for by her husband, Shaikh Hamzah al Sowait, cousin of Jada'an.

621 I myself have only once been opposed to by a person who was
671 my *guest*. I am glad to say that the results were eminently satisfactory.
677 It happened on this wise. I was in Kuwait, and it was in the last month of July 1931, when everyone was sleeping on the roof at night. I was sleeping outside the old Agency dining-room, over the cook's quarters.

Arab Chivalry

609 machine for Hasan. He did not possess it long, for when full independence was granted to Iraq, the leaders of the new Arab Government deprived Hasan Agha of his pump.

(NOTE.—The above story was told me in this form by Hasan Agha himself. It differs very considerably from the account published in *Blackwood's Magazine* of August 1921 by the chief actor in the drama.)

Before closing this chapter I must quote one more example of Arab chivalry. It was told me on 10th March, 1937, by Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah and next day confirmed by the hero of it, ibn Khazar himself, who later became a great friend of mine.

622 About thirty years before, when 'Abdul Muhsin ibn Khazar,
623 Shaikh of the Bani Khalid, was a young man, he was famed far and
577 wide as a raider. Many and great were his deeds of endurance and bravery. One day he carried out a distant foray against the U'taiba, in course of which he killed a well-known shaikh, galloping after him and single-handed shooting him in the back with his carbine. On his return from the raid he was sitting round his camp-fire regaling his friends with the story when there entered the son of the Shaikh of the Za'ab tribe (*bani 'am* to the 'Adwan). He must be told the story over again, and coming to the part of how he dropped the 'Utaiba leader from his horse with one flying shot, 'Abdul Muhsin pointed his weapon at the Za'ab lad and fired. He never dreamed that his carbine was loaded as it unfortunately was. The son of the Za'ab Shaikh was killed.

In horror, he was for a time at a loss what to do. His Bani Khalid people tried to persuade him to report that the youth had been killed in a nearby raid, but ibn Khazar held that this would be contrary to Arab honour. He rode off to the boy's father and told him exactly what had happened. At the end of his recital he loaded his carbine handed it to the Shaikh of the Za'ab and begged him to avenge his son's blood. The shaikh generously refused. Not to be outdone, 'Abdul Muhsin declared that he would be a second son to the bereaved father till he died. He kept his word, giving his adopted father half of his sheep and camels, half of any loot (*ghazu*) which he ever gained in a raid, and half of any presents that he ever received from ibn Sa'ud or the Shaikhs of Bahrain. He continued to do this until the old man died.

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CHAPTER XIII

Morality

587 There is no immorality, as we know it, among the desert tribes. There is, of course, plenty of marrying and giving in marriage, and as I have said, divorce is so easy that a woman often has six or seven husbands in her lifetime, and a man always as many wives as he can
548 afford, provided he confines himself to four at a time. Prostitutes are
137 unknown among the Badawin, and adultery is punishable with death.

572 Friendships between men and women, on the other hand, exist, and are recognised, especially if the parties are of the same tribe and are related, for example my friend Shaikh Thurwairan Abu Sifra of the Mu'aha section of the Mutair, was a friend of Muthi, wife of Falah bin
369 'A'amir, also of the Mu'aha. Every Badawin, of course, is aware that
548 immorality exists in the big towns, and this is one of the main reasons why he despises the townsman.

Unfortunately a Badawin man up from the distant desert sometimes finds his way to the prostitute quarters when he visits towns
[164] such as Mecca and Madina, Jiddah, and Kuwait. This has resulted in the spread of syphilis and venereal disease among the tribes.

In Wahhabi-land proper (i.e. Sa'udi Arabia, excluding the Hijaz), no prostitute is tolerated even in the towns, let alone among the tribes, but I am told that there is nevertheless a good deal of clandestine immorality.

931 It is curious but true that if you discuss the question of morals with
672 well-informed Najd Badawin, they will always tell you that certain great shaikhly families of the desert, especially in the north, have always had rather loose morals, while certain others stand out for their good morals and generally high tone. For instance, the well-known shaikhly house of Al Sha'alan (Ruwala) as well as that of the Hawaitat, Bani Sakhr (both Trans-Jordan), and Shammar Jarba (Iraq), are all said to be pretty lax where women are concerned, and conversely Al Hadhal (Amarat), the Dushan (Mutair) and the Hamidda ('Utaiba)

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins

further east and south, very strict. The whole desert world will certainly agree that the shaikhs of the tribes of Najd proper are far superior in moral behaviour to their brothers of Iraq and Syria, and for that matter of the north generally, and they never cease to deplore and at the same time boast of the fact. This is of course all good propaganda for the Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia and for Wahhabi-ism, and justifies up to the hilt His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz's policy of keeping strangers as far as possible out of his country, and in particular out of Central Arabia.

Undoubtedly the proximity to Damascus and Baghdad of the Northern 'Aniizah and Shammar is slowly but surely demoralising the leaders, though not yet the rank and file. The coming of the motor car is also hastening the process. To their great credit Al Hadhal (Amarat) and notably their great chief Shaikh Mahruth have and are still keeping themselves free from the poison of the towns, but how long they will keep themselves and their people uncontaminated by the great cities is a question.

MORALITY IN THE TOWNS

Mecca is recognised as one of the most immoral towns in Arabia. If one can believe the Badawin, every form of foul vice prevails there.

In Kuwait for a woman to lapse and be found out, usually means death. Her brothers or cousins are her executioners. The husband is more tolerant.

If an unmarried girl goes astray, her lapse is punishable with stoning or "walling up" in a small room, where only one coffee-cup of water and a few dates are given her through a hole in the ceiling per day. If she survives this starvation treatment for forty days, God is supposed to have intervened and she is set free.

A man may without much disgrace indulge in strange women, provided they are public ones, and work for hire. The condition is that he behave so discreetly as not to let the world know. This is most important.

Nice Arab women have on occasion suggested to me that in the absence of my family in England it would be permissible if I occasionally patronised a gay lady's establishment of good standing,

721 renowned warrior will also be coming up against you". The shaikh
726 of the challenged tribe then calls together his warriors and elders and gives them the news of the declaration of war. He then fills a cup of coffee and calls out, "This cup stands for such and such warrior on the other side, who of you will drink it? Who will take him on in single combat?" A local brave who thinks to win his spurs will call out, "I am ready", and the cup is passed to him to drink. Similarly champions are found for every other well-known enemy warrior named as coming up against them.

Eventually when the battle is about to be joined, the opposing champions of each side come out, and after caracolling about and showing off on their horses' paces, will engage in single combat with their opposite numbers.

Hāji 'Abdullah Fathil* told me that he saw such an incident among the Dhafir (from whom he took his present wife) some years ago. The Shammar and 'Aniizah, like the Dhafir, are also fond of issuing challenges to their enemy to single combat before battle.

CONCENTRATING FOR WAR OR A BIG RAID

622 Firstly it should be remembered that, as I have already explained,
777 though every tribe admits the paramountcy of a certain section or *hamula* of the tribe as the one that always provides the shaikh (such as the Hithlain, Dushan or Suwait), it will only agree to follow that particular shaikh who possesses what they term the necessary "Luck" or "Good Fortune" in war. For instance, the Mutair always followed Faisal al Duwish in the past, because he proved himself times without number to be a "lucky" general. Had he not had this reputation the tribe would have selected another member of the Dushan clan and disgarded Faisal.

622 Secondly, the chieftain of a tribe cannot simply send messages to
721 the various sections of the tribe and order them to concentrate preparatory to his leading them on some distant raid or expedition. They would not obey. In practice he sends for the leaders of the tribe and discusses his plans with them in secret for a week, fifteen days or even a month, while the pros and cons of the proposed operations

* Mr. Williamson, the well-known English Muslim intelligence officer of World War I—now residing in Basra.

are examined from every angle. If a majority of the leaders are con- 422
vinced of the soundness of the plan, the matter is settled, and a con- 721
centration of all fighting men, takes place at a prearranged rendezvous, to carry out the plan agreed upon. Only the old and very young remain behind to guard the tents and camels.

A tribal army or force is called a *Qaum* (pronounced *Gaum*), e.g. 704
"Gaum Ibn Sa'ud"—Ibn Sa'ud's army.

The actual force that raids or attacks is known as a *Ghazzu*.

The term *hurbiyah* is unknown among the Badawin of Najd, though it is commonly used in Iraq.

If Ibn Sa'u' as king were in command of war operations in Najd, the tribes would be moved about at will, until launched to the attack, and at the point decided on by him. The actual method of attack would be probably left to the tribal leaders.

In warfare between the tribes as opposed to states, the main object 721
is to round up and seize camels, and if you cannot capture stock, to inflict as much damage as possible on the enemy's young men.

During winter few raids take place,

(a) Because there is grazing everywhere and strong tribes concentrate where their camels and sheep are actually feeding, and successful surprise is therefore almost impossible.

(b) The movements of the tribes are not dictated by the question of water, which is generally found everywhere (rain pans, shallow pools, etc.).

(c) If a tribe is small and weak it can avoid its known enemies and likely attacks, by continually moving about and evacuating areas which may be dangerous.

In summer all Badawin are peculiarly vulnerable, for they must 721
camp with tents closely concentrated over perennial wells, while their 561
camels must of necessity go some distance away for their grazing. This vulnerability increases as summer progresses, for the grazing gets further and further away from the main camp. Nor can the tribe or community camped on water maintain its full armed forces with the camels, as food and water difficulties arise. They are compelled to leave the custody of their stock to patrols, a very unsatisfactory protection, for if the patrol cannot hold the raiders in their first rush, the latter simply round up the whole or part of the flocks and drive

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THE LATE FAISAL BIN SULTÁN AL DUWÍSH

Paramount Shaikh of the Mutair and greatest of Arabia's Ikhwan leaders, Conqueror of Medina. Rebelled against H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud in 1929-30. Died in captivity.

From a sketch made by the late Squdn.-Leader H. Sawyer, R.A.F., shortly after his surrender to the British at Jahrah

page 352 b.

CHAPTER XXVII

Desert Guides and Trackers

622 619 On 27th November, 1935, I visited and had a long talk with Shaikh Mutluq al Mutailim, the paramount chief of the Rashaida, in his camp. Among other things he admitted that his tribe was related to the great Hutaim group lying east of Madina. This is the powerful group whose paramount shaikhs are Ibn Barik and Ibn Naurmas, and which as a whole is an "inferior" tribe.

485 He maintained that his people, the Rashaida, possessed without exception the finest guides throughout Arabia. He had men, he said, who could guide a stranger without any preparation from Kuwait to

(a) Damascus
(b) Amman
(c) Wejh
(d) Madina
(e) Mecca
(f) Ebha
(g) Najran
(h) Wadi Dawasir
(i) Riyadh and its environs
(j) Hasa and Qatar

485 The best guide in all Arabia was, in his opinion, Ibn Hadhabba of 728 his tribe, now employed by Bin Sa'ud on his permanent staff. Ibn 151 Hadhabba was one of a family of that name, all of whom, even the women, seemed to be endowed with the same skill. The gift was born in these men, he said, not acquired in any way, and was akin to the sort of fifth sense an animal possessed. It mattered not if the sun shone or not by day, or if the sky was overcast at night, the Rashaidi could find his way anywhere. He never forgot a desert feature once seen, however small and insignificant.

On the other hand, Shaikh Mutluq admitted freely that his own tribe were not trackers. The palm in this science went easily to the Al Murra tribe of South Hasa and Jabrin. Tracking, or *ma'arifat al jarra* as it was called, was entirely different from the science of guiding or *ma'arifat al dalala*. The latter implied perfect knowledge of ground with a perfect eye for country, stars, etc., the former was more un-

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Speaking generally, however, bought slaves are the rule. 567

A desert shaikh will keep a certain number of *'abid* whom he has received as a gift from some prince or fellow-shaikh, or has himself bought in Mecca when on the Haj. A woman slave is called a *járiah* among the tribes, and not an *'abda*, which is the term used in the towns.

The Najd and Northern Badawin treat their bought slaves far better than the slave-owning fraternity generally. Being a born gentleman, and as a rule far more religious than his town brother, the desert man has a natural inclination to treat his slave well. The latter has, of course, to work and take his full share in drawing water for sheep and camels, and cutting brushwood for the use of the tent. Since he can stand the summer heat better than the Arab, he does a lot of the work connected with the care and tending of camels when his master and mistress are camped on water during the hot season.

As Mr. Rutter so forcibly puts it, the shaikh of a tribe is above all 622
things patriarchal, he loves to feel that he is the head of the tribe, 567
the father and mother of his own particular *hamula*. He gets satis- 554
faction from feeling that members of his family, and especially his servants and slaves, are for ever dancing attendance on him, and depend on him for a thousand and one things connected with the daily round of life. He likes to think that at the two annual *'Ids* or festivals it will be he who will disburse largesse in the shape of presents of clothing (*kiswah*), foodstuffs (*ta'am*) and so forth, to those depending on him. Just as he is always out to gain a following and increase it, because it gives him prestige, power and honour among his fellows, so he increases the number of his slaves where he can, as they give him definitely added strength in the eyes of his fellow Arabs.

According to Shaikh Hillal bin Faja'an of the Mutair (7th January, 1935) this is the code of the desert man where slaves are concerned:

(*a*) Slaves are good *ghanimah* (*hasil*) or spoil when tribes are at war. In this sense they are counted as camels.

(*b*) Normally a body of riders on a camel-lifting expedition will not worry to carry off a single slave man found in charge of grazing camels. The raiders will merely bind and leave him, as he would hinder rapid movement.

(*c*) It is lawful, if you are at enmity with another tribe, to steal slave children and make them yours. Unwritten law insists, however, that such children be over ten years of age. Of course the owner

Origin of the Sulubba

565 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-
619 Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter.
[142] In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a
[361] large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

512 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his
575 people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

422 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are
565 in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs,
619 some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shemmar is the Shaikh of the Murair Sulubba.
Shaikh Mumlij al Sa6 is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aibid is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

291 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

535 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of
619 the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba
174 are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

Muntafiq

CHAPTER XLV

The Muntafiq Shepherd Tribes

This book would not be complete without a short reference to the great southerly annual migration of the shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq Confederation situate between Samawa and the Hamar Lake.

These shepherd tribes, which are known under the generic term of Sharetyah or Sharetwi in Iraq, and that of Hukra in Kuwait and Najd, consist of the sheep-rearing sections of the three great groups of the Muntafiq, namely the Albu Salah, the 'Ajwad and the Bani Malik, as well as the Bani Hachaim tribe which have their habitat south-east of Samawa, adjoining the Muntafiq.

The names of most of these Euphrates shepherd tribes are given below, and each has a definite shaikh or leader, though some of them come under the protection of one or other of the more powerful riverain tribes of the lower Euphrates.

(1) Bani Malik Group:

Al Wada'ai. Al Majid.
Al Taagiyah. Al Diwan.
Al Mazafda.
(all known under name Al Jumai'an)

(2) Albu Salah Group:

Al Shamia. Al 'Arathib.
Al Safifi's Al 'Abada.

(3) 'Ajwad Group:

Al Juarin. Al Sharaifa.
*Al Budur. Al Ghazzi.

(4) Bani Hachaim Group:

Al Zaiyad. Al Ghazalat.
Bani Salamah.

(5) Shammar (elements claiming descent from main Shammar of Najd):

†Ah 'Aawan. Al Rufai'at.
Al Zaabe.

* Budur tribal sections who visit Kuwait are the Al Hamad and the Al Faowaz (Shaikh Mana). These are at enmity with the rest of the Budur (paramount Shaikh Shirshab al Sahan). Shammar shepherd tribes who in summer reside at Zubair or at Hartha (10 miles north of Basra) and annually visit Kuwait are Al Rufai'at and Al Zaabe.

† Al 'Aawan are of Shammar extraction. They reside near Suq al Shuyukh.

I. Darkness G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Reference MSS
Microfilm

Wa'ab tracks to passers-by. Their moral code, however, is high, and quite different in this respect from some of their Iraq riverain neighbours, the settled Ma'adan or marsh tribes.

HISTORY OF THE MUNTAFIQ*

174 The tribal league, which may be said roughly to occupy the Euphrates
619 from Chabaish to Darraji and the Shatt al Gharraf as far north as
(622) Kut al Hai, is known as the Muntafiq. The link between the units of which it is composed is of the loosest kind, being no more than a common recognition of the paramount authority of the Sa'adun. This family, which claims descent from the Prophet and is therefore related to the Sharif of Mecca, emigrated from the Hijaz to Mesopotamia in the early part of the sixteenth century. According to local tradition, the southern borders of the 'Iraq were held towards the close of the 'Abbasid period by two large tribal groups, the Bani Malik (in the dialect pronunciation Bani Malich) in the Shamiyah, under Ibn Khumaibah and the 'Ajwad further north on the Gharraf, under the Al Washal. The name of the first ancestor of the Sa'adun who approached their territories is generally given as Shabib. It is said that his son Mani, took to wife a daughter of the ruling house of the Bani Malik and was presently involved in a feud between that tribe and the 'Ajwad. The scale turned in favour of the latter. The Bani Malik were defeated with considerable loss in a battle in which Mani was himself killed, and forced to make their escape into Najd, taking with them Mani's son, Shabib, who was the grandson of their own shaikh. After three years of exile, they were reinforced by some sections of the 'Utaiba, one of the most powerful tribes of Central Arabia, and felt themselves strong enough to take revenge upon their rivals. Legend relates that Shabib ibn Mani came up to spy upon the camping grounds of the 'Ajwad, whom he found at the wells of Safwan, a well-known watering-place on the borders of what is now Kuwait territory. On his way back he took note of the stages of his journey and returned to Najd with a careful report of every halting-place, Wird, 'Atib, Fallahah, Qirb al Ma (water; waterless, sown land, near

* The word is correctly written with a *qaf*; Muntafiq [not Muntafik], from *'intifaq*, agreement. Pronounced *Mintafiq*.

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Bedouin-3434
Muntafiq

villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use 69
donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of 101
donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as 233
is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. [492]
By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt,
and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting
men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been
dubbed facetiously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of con- 69
federacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to 622
define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though
when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed
part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik.
In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more com-
pletely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter
appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves,
as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is
sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to
be of Arab stock, still occupy a similar position as chiefs. If a capable
member of the family happened to be available he would be the
natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil
al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest
place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The
Al Wahid, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen
into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are 69
more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, 101
Hawashah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, [241]
by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as 326
Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al 231
Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are 285
not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a
strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real [622]
authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there
are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the
Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates.
It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

dismemberment, accompanied by regrouping, is the process which governs all Arab tribal evolution. Within the Banu Malik are two ancient and powerful federations which have from time immemorial been at strife, the Banu Khaiqan and the Mujarrah. There is some doubt as to whether either is of Banu Malik stock, which may account for the secular feud which exists between them.* The Banu Khaiqan are at present gathered under the hold of the Al Mughashghash, a clan of one of their largest sub-tribes, but the Mujarrah are split into a number of inferior groups and have no common head.

The history of the Muntafiq league is inseparably linked with that of the Sa'adun. The very name of Muntafiq, as used in 'Iraq, refers only to the ruling family and to its slaves and dependants who are reckoned to be an integral part of it. No tribesman in 'Iraq would call himself Muntafiq though he might use the word if he were in Mecca or Damascus where his own small tribe would be unknown, while the fame of the Muntafiq would be familiar to every Arabic-speaking community. The position of the Sa'adun, a matter of considerable importance in Southern Mesopotamian politics, has been determined partly by their origins and partly by Turkish official ignorance or intentional misunderstanding of their relation to the tribes. It must be borne in mind that the Sa'adun belong to the social order of the desert and have not succumbed to the local influences which have affected the tribal population of 'Iraq, who are, like themselves, immigrants from Arabia, but usually immigrants of an earlier period, and as settlers on the soil have been brought into more intimate contact with Mesopotamian traditions. The Sa'adun have preserved the characteristics of Badawin Arabia. They are Sunnis and Ahl al Baiyir, people of the camel; their *diraks* are in the Hammad west of the Hai or south of the Euphrates, where they have dug or re-opened wells in their accustomed camping grounds. Here they repair after the early rains, and here they assume their natural part as independent chieftains of the desert. The 'Iraq tribes, who have acknowledged them as overlords, differ from them in every particular. They are Shi'ahs, settled or half-settled cultivators and marshmen, whose link with the desert people has long been broken; socially inferior,

* The Banu Khaiqan are said to be originally 'Ajwad and the Mujarrah to be Banu Sa'id.

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but strong numerically, and stronger still in their hereditary hold upon the land they occupy.

The Muntafiq league under the Sa'adun remained until the time of Mid-hat Pasha, in 1871, almost independent of Turkish rule. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, however, they seem to have paid tribute to the Turks. The first mention of this tribute is in 1747, when the Resident at Basra reported that the Muntafiq were in rebellion against the Turks because of the tribute imposed on them. In 1769 they again rebelled under their shaikh 'Abdullah on account of arrears of the tribute which the Turks had attempted to exact. In 1776 the Muntafiq helped the Turks to defend Basra against the Persians under Karim Khan, but were defeated and presumably submitted to the Persians during the three years of the Persian occupation, which ended in 1779. In May 1787 the Sa'adun Shaikh Thuwaini entered Basra with a large force, took possession of the town and the Turkish fleet and imprisoned the Mustlim, but was expelled from Basra by the Pasha of Baghdad in October 1787.

Between 1797 and 1801 the Muntafiq formed the chief bulwark of Basra against the Wahhabis. In 1798 they marched with the Turks into Hasa against the Wahhabis, and in 1801 the Shaikh Thuwaini, already mentioned, led an expedition against the Wahhabi capital, but was murdered not far from Kuwait.

Between 1810 and 1817 the Muntafiq seem to have been in open rebellion against the Pasha of Baghdad. In 1813 'Abdullah Pasha of Baghdad marched against the Muntafiq chief, Humud al Thamir, but was defeated near Basra, captured and put to death. Upon this the Sa'adun greatly extended their power and ruled up to Samawah. Da'ud Pasha of Baghdad attempted about 1817 to break up the tribe by nominating a rival chief in opposition to Humud, but the intrigue failed, and after the deposition of Da'ud Pasha in 1831 Humud's son, Majid, regained the old independence and ascendancy of the Sa'adun. In 1850 the Muntafiq districts were torn by feuds in which the Turks feebly interfered, Faris ibn 'Ajil being finally recognised as the principal chief.

From this time onward the Turks began getting a firmer hold over the Muntafiq by constantly changing the shaikhs and setting them one against the other, increasing on the occasion of each change the tribute

APPENDIX I

DIVISIONS OF MUTAIR, 'AJMAN, 'AWAZIM, RASHAIDA, SHAMMAR AND 'ANIZAH TRIBES

TOGETHER WITH THEIR SHAKHS, NUMBER OF TENTS, STRENGTH, AND CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

MUTAIR (Singular MUTAIRI)

The Tribe is divided into three main groups:

(A) AL DUHAN (Ruling or Shakhly Clan).
(B) AL 'ILWAN.
(C) AL SURAIH.

Paramount Shaikh—AL DUWISH (from Shakhly Clan of AL DUHAN).
Present incumbent (1937)—SANDAR BIN FAISAL BIN SULTAN AL DUWISH.
Fighting strength—May be taken at 6,000, though inner Najd figures are very doubtful.

Habitat—In winter the Duhan Mutair 'Ilwa and Aulad Wasil sections of the Suraih as opposed to Aulad 'Ali and Bani 'Abdilla (who are purely inner Najd sections) range from the Dahana sand belt *in the south* up to Kuwait *in the north*, and more or less keep to the eastern side of the Bâtin. They avoid the 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribal country in the coastal region of Hasa province, and claim that the great well areas of Subaihiyah, Tawil and the environs of Kuwait fall within their grazing areas and have done so from time immemorial. In summer above-mentioned groups camp on the well-known wells at Artawiyah, Qaya, Hafar al Bâtin, Safa, Qara'a, Wahra, Jariya Ilya, Jariya Sifla.
Religion—Sunni MALIKI (late 'Ikhwan).

(A) The DUHAN or Ruling Clan, has no subdivisions but only certain leading families.

(B) The 'ILWAN MUTAIR group, subdivided into the—
(1) AL MUWAHA and their subsections.
(2) AL THAWIAIN and their subsections.
(3) AL JIRLAN and their subsections.

(C) The SURAIH MUTAIR group is likewise subdivided into the—
(4) 'AULAD WASIL and their subsections.
(5) 'AULAD 'ALI and their subsections.
(6) BANI 'ABDILLA and their subsections.

Appendix I

609 101 (5) AULAD 'ALI (SUBAIH group).—Paramount Sheikh IBN MURAIYIB (MUSHAIR) (Claims to be of 'ANZAH stock);

The following are the subsections:

AL BA'ARAH—Sheikh IBN MURAIYIB (300 tents).
AL ABADIN—Sheikh IBN JAMMIAN (80 tents).
AL MAMADIN—Sheikh AL MUSAIDHAN (150 tents).
AL BA'ADIN—Sheikh AL THIJAWI (100 tents).
AL MUALID—Sheikh AL MAUT (25 tents).
AL MUTHALAT—Sheikh AL BIRI (Falah) (300 tents).
MUWAHARIB—Sheikh AL MARWHANI (Nasir) (40 tents).
AL MUTHLAN—Sheikh IBN TIRAN (Ata'allah) (30 tents).

Number of tents at very rough computation, 1,700.

Note.—Very little is known of the above subsections as regards numbers and leaders, as they mostly roam in Qasim and towards Hijaz, i.e. south of the Dahana and to westward.

(6) BANI 'ABDILLA (SUBAIH group)—divided into the following subsections:

AL MADHIN—Sheikh IBN JIRIAN.
IBN SHARAR.
IBN FIDAGHIN (800 tents).
AL BA'ARA—Sheikh IBN THAMNA (600 tents).
AL THI'ADIN—Sheikh IBN SHAFYAN.
IBN JIRIAN (300 tents).

Note.—Very little is known of the above and many other subsections or their numbers or leaders. The whole tribe has its habitat in inner Najd. They are reported to be numerically very strong and to have 4,000 tents at least.

Corrected up to 20.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

The number of this tribe's tents, fighting men, camels, etc., are variable; quantities and figures given must be taken as approximate only, especially as regards the Buraih sub-groups of the Aulad 'Ali and the Bani 'Abdilla, who roam between Qasim and the Hijaz.

The tribe has a great tradition behind it, and being a "Sharif" one is considered among the great and honoured ones of Arabia.

[627] The Duwish is looked upon as head of the whole of the Dushan, Ilwah and Buraih groups. Actually his control of the distant Bani 'Abdilla division of inner Najd is not very strong. (See Genealogical Tree No. V.)

600 About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Sa'ud in

Appendix I

Half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Ibn Saud in 1929-30 under Faisal al Dewish. The other half remained loyal under the Musaiyin, ibn Shagair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Ibn Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Ibn Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929-30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be worse, but this is because it is Ibn Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Ibn Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Ibn Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Ibn Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929-30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(a) The imprisonment of Faisal al Dewish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.

(b) The confiscation by Ibn Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Sharaf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They own the famous breed of *Kruch* horses, and up to the 1929-30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929-30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'Ajman (Singular 'Ajmi)

Paramount Shaikh—IBN HITHLAIN* (from Shaikhly Clan AL MA'IDH, subsection NAJAM).

* Is also pronounced Hathlain.

Appendix I

619 *Present leadership* (1937)—KHALID AL HUTLAIN (Ibn Sa'ud's nominee, nicknamed IBN KAMMAN). NAHAN AL HUTLAIN (tribal nominee).

101 *Fighting strength*—May be taken as approximately 5,000.

[22] *Habitat*—In winter the tribe camps whole Province of Hasa from the Kuwait border as far south as Hofuf. In summer they camp along the whole length of the Wadi al Miyah in Hasa where water is plentiful, their headquarter camps being 'Ain, Ghawwa, Mahaija, Sarra and Awaiza in Mid Hasa. The Southern 'Ajman largely camp in summer round Hofuf town. The Al Hajraf section and some of the Al Hadi, who have for many years been vassals of the Dhaibin of Kuwait, return Kuwait and camp at Jahrah in summer.

[21] The tribe is closely related to the powerful Al Murra in the south, and so are in close alliance. Also they marry with the Beni Yam of Najran, who claim the same ancestry. They profess the Sunni Hanbali creed of Islam, and were hardly all Ikhwan.

The various sections of the tribe with their shaikhs and number of tents are as follows:

AL ARJAN—under Shaikh IBN SUMAIR (210 tents).

Subsections:

ARJAN. SHIQ.
MARJAN.

AIDH DHAFIR—Shaikh IBN JUMA'A (Murra), AD DAWIS ('Abdalla) (130 tents).

Subsections:

'AMIR. HAMDHAN.
DHAFIR.

AL HAIDH—Shaikh AL MUTALAQQIM ('Uheid) (130 tents).

Subsections:

AL HAIDH. AL WAIL.

AL MAJJIN (pronounced MAITAN)—Shaikh MUHAMMAD AS SUHAIM (30 tents).

AL HUTLAIN—Shaikh IBN SA'ADA and IBN ZIMAMAN (160 tents).

Subsections:

ZIMAMMAN. HAMRAN.
JAHIL. SHUWAITIR.
MATAQ.

AL HABAISH—Shaikh IBN 'ILWAF (100 tents).

AL KHUWAITIR—Shaikh AD DAMMAM IBN 'ADHAN (50 tents).

Appendix I

be brought under Kuwait. Were authority to collapse in Najd, the 'Ajmans would be the first to desert.

'Awazim (Singular 'Azmi)

Paramount Shaikh—Shaikh (Amir) ibn jama of the AL BU'AIN camel division (senior) of the tribe—section AL HADALIN, which is the Shaikhly Clan.

Present incumbent—AMIR 'AID IBN JAMA.

Strength—Approximately 4,000 fighting men.*

Location.—The tribal range is the north-east corner of Arabia (Kuwait and Hasa), from Kuwait town as far south as Ras Bidiya. In winter Kuwait State is visited west and north-west of Jahrah as far as the Bitin depression. In summer the various sections camp on water in the Kuwait Neutral Zone and in the Sudu region to the south of it where water and grazing is plentiful. Ark and Ingair are favourite camps.

Religion.—Sunni MALIKI.

The following comprise the sections of this powerful tribe, including their shaikhs and number of tents:

AL BUHAIRAT—Shaikh RAI AL FAHAMA (50 tents).
AL HADALIN—Shaikh IBN JAMA (90 tents).
AL HAQWAN—Shaikh AL SAFAR (70 tents).
AL ARAMIYAT—Shaikh IBN DELAMIYAN (60 tents).
AL ALAIWAT—Shaikh IBN DHAILAN (50 tents).
AL ATHARIMAN—Shaikh IBN IMATRIM (40 tents).
AL FAGU—Shaikh IBN GHIYATHI (40 tents).
AL JAWASIRAH—Shaikh IBN KHAFRAN (50 tents).
AL MATAIRA—Shaikh IBN 'MANA (150 tents).
AL MUHALIBA—Shaikh ABN SHITLI (90 tents).
AL MURAHIMAN—Shaikh IBN IBRAINA (120 tents)
AL MUWAIJIRAH—Shaikh IBN DHAR (70 tents).
AL QURRASHAN—Shaikh IBN JANDAL (100 tents).
AL SUWARIN—Shaikh IBN DRAI (160 tents).
AL SUWAWIKH—Shaikh AL SAWAGH (40 tents).
AL TUMA—Shaikh IBN IRMAIN (140 tents).

also

DHUWAIRAT
AGHRUNA
HASANIYAH
JA'AWIRAH

} No recognised shaikh, settled in Kuwait as fisherfolk, etc.

* Excluding those domiciled in Kuwait and environs.

Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

B 231 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 ('Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 679 The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 619 641 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of

B 619 641 Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929–30 'Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the 'Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B 863 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MÁNA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAMI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 713 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MUSAILIM.

101 *Present incumbents*—'ASI IBN MUSAILIM (Senior) and MUTLUQ IBN MUSAILIM.

221 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[622] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

Appendix XVII

APPENDIX XVII

HUTAIM TRIBE

(DOMICILE BETWEEN HAIL AND TAIMA)

619
622

Shaikhs Ibn Barak	
Paramount Shaikh	Nasir ibn Samauth ibn Barak*
Cousin and Assistant	Nahis ibn Fadaigham
Cousin and Assistant	Awadh ibn Barak

Shaikhs	*Name of Section*
1. Ibn Hádi	Al Hádi
2. Ibn Shumailán	Galaidán
3. Ibn Gaabub	Al Gaabib
4. Ibn Simra	Al Dhiba
5. Ibn Naumas	Al Naumsa
6. Ibn Shuwaila	Al Shuwala
7. Ibn Marif	Al Khaiarat
8. Ibn Zabna	Al Zabun
9. Ibn Adla	Al Awamura
10. Hadaibán ibn Awad	Al Mahaimizat
11. Ibn Furaidia	Faradśa
12. Ibn Rufadán	Namdiyán
13. Ibn Damúk	Duamik
14. Ibn Araiir	Araiieh
15. Ibn Hun	Huwainna
16. Ibn Buwaidi	Al Buwaidi
17. Ibn Hamúd	Al Hamúd
18. Ibn Sumair	Al Rafia
19. Ibn Jaulán	Al Muthabira
20. Ibn Araiija	Ruwaiithat
21. Ibn Ajwain	Ajáwina
22. Ibn Mishaal	Mishailah

Shaikh Nasir said Shararat are of the same stock as Hutaim but run an independent tribe.

To North of Hutaim are Wulud Sulaiman.

To South of Hutaim are Bani Abdulla, Qahtan, Ataiba, etc.

To East of Hutaim are Shammar.

To West of Hutaim are Harb.

* Given by Ibn Barak himself on March 10, 1941.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1
BEDOUINS MJ4

J 122 followers. I took with me only a single servant and we bought two inferior riding camels for £15 each from a tribal encampment near Ramadi. My expenses were limited to the purchase of these two camels and a cheap suit of Arab clothing.

B 181 The most striking attribute of the bedouin of twenty-five years ago was his bold frankness and democracy. Perhaps because he lived in a great open country, he more often than not spoke in a rather loud voice. He was no respecter of ranks or dignities, and addressed everybody by his first name. If he did not know it, he would accost the stranger in stentorian tones with the greeting, "Peace be upon you, O man!" In 1921, when King Feisal of Iraq paid his first visit to Ramadi, a number of tribesmen introduced to him greeted him without ceremony but with perfect urbanity as "O Feisal!"

This absence of ceremony held nothing of unseemly familiarity or bad taste. It was purely naïve. It had never occurred to the Arab tribesman that classes existed. A barefooted bedouin in a ragged cloak would walk up to a king, shake him by the hand and wish him good morning, completely disregarding the merriment or horror of the whispering courtiers.

B 181 622 Before the days of governments, the tribal chiefs fulfilled some of the tasks of administration. They made war and peace on behalf of their tribes; usually, it is true, preferring war. But to the defenceless traveller they provided protection from the depredations of their followers.

B 101 131 The Syrian desert between the Euphrates and the Wadi as Sirhan in Trans-Jordan is entirely occupied by Aneizah. So numerous is this tribe that it has itself split into several subdivisions under independent chiefs, who in those days were not infrequently at war with one another. Of these subdivisions, the Amarat occupied the eastern half of the desert and owed allegiance to Iraq. But the second half of our journey would take us across the area of the Ruwallah, who were subjects of Syria.

B 622 I decided to go first to the tent of Fahad ibn Hadhdhal, the great shaikh of the Amarat division of the Aneizah. So noble was Ibn Hadhdhal by descent that he was sometimes called the father of the Arabs. The great tribes of Aneizah had been in occupation of the Syrian desert for less than 200 years, having

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ4

migrated from Central Arabia. Before Ibn Hadhdhal, the greatest 622
shaikh in the Syrian desert had been Ibn Jesham, who now lives in poverty on the Lower Euphrates.

It was, indeed, related that an Arab petitioner had once 181
accosted His Majesty King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud by the title of Chief of the Arabs, but that the latter had protested: "I take refuge with God, my son! The Chief of the Arabs is Ibn Hadhdhal." With less than 200 years of rule to their credit, the Sauds were a new family to the Arabs.

When this story was repeated to Ibn Hadhdhal, he interrupted the narrator to object: "I take refuge with God, my son!" said the old chieftain. "The chief of the Arabs is Ibn Jesham." Such was the modest chivalry of these old chiefs, although all of them were at war with one another.

From Ibn Hadhdhal I obtained a letter to Al Nuri ibn Shaalan, 122
chief of the Ruwallah. A retainer of Fahad's, Burjas al Dhafiri, was 628
detailed to accompany us on our journey, to save us from molesta- 485
tion by the Amarat. He could not, of course, protect us from raiders from other tribes. Burjas came from the Dhafir tribe, not the Amarat. He had been obliged to flee from his relatives owing to a blood feud, and had taken refuge with Ibn Hadhdhal, whose trusted retainer he had become. Burjas was so short-sighted that he was almost blind, but he knew the desert perfectly for hundreds of miles. As we rode along, he would cross-question us as to what we could see. "To the north-west, there should soon appear two low round hills each surmounted by a heap of stones, like a woman's breasts." "Can you see on the south a tall grey peak? It is Feridat al Wa'ar."

Burjas, half-blind, carried 200,000 square miles of desert in his 485
mind's eye, and could estimate when every distant landmark would come into view.

We made for the water-holes at Al Molussi, in the hope of 485
hearing news of Ibn Shaalan. The water-holes were in a narrow 609
valley at the foot of a rocky cliff. There was nobody camped on the water. We stopped to drink, when suddenly we were startled by a voice calling: "What are you, O camel riders?"

High above us on the rocky cliff face sat three men, each holding a rifle. Burjas argued with them without revealing our identity,

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ 4

desert country, full of tribes which recognized the authority of no government. Without the assistance of this old man, it might be impossible to proceed. Even so, I felt that I could with dignity wait no longer, and I signalled to my two companions. We rose, walked out of the tent to our camels, and began to adjust the saddles and prepare to mount. But a slave ran out to us and, pulling Ibn Hadhdhal's man by the sleeve, he led him back to the tent. Apparently he persuaded the shaikh that we were harmless, for we were invited back, and Al Nuri himself so far unbent as to say, "You are welcome! We are always glad to see the English!" This appeared to use up his available conversation, and he soon afterwards disappeared. We spent the rest of the day strolling about, talking to the slaves and tribesmen, or sitting amongst bales of cloth and tobacco in the tiny tent of an itinerant merchant from the Iraq desert oasis of Kubaisa. 609

Al Nuri was a tremendous personality who maintained despotic control over his tribe. His authority was notorious, and the Ruwallah were frequently laughed at by other tribes for their tame submission to such autocracy. One such story related how a man of the tribe, summoned in the tomb by the recording angels to give an account of his actions on earth, replied, " I am only a dead Ruweili, and all claims are settled by Ibn Shaalan." But although a redoubtable champion in action (he had murdered his elder brother in order to make himself shaikh of the tribe), he did not, like most Arabs, possess the gift of conversation. 622 538 181

The authority which Ibn Shaalan wielded over the Ruwallah was probably unique amongst bedouins, and was due to personal fear of this formidable old man. The Arab tribesman will accord theoretical and verbal respect to the old families of chiefs, but he will rarely accord them obedience in practice. He constantly opposes and argues against his shaikh. Not infrequently he loses his temper, creates a violent scene and hastens to strike his tent and move away to join the following of some other chief who will treat him with more consideration. Amongst bedouins freedom always tended to degenerate into anarchy—but free they were—freer perhaps than any other race in the world. 622 554 181

In happy England we have come, for centuries past, to identify our personal liberties with the political independence of our 181

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

powerful of all the purely nomad confederations from the borders of 'Irak to the eastern frontiers of Syria.[7] 619 101

(1) The Southern 'Anazah, comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab al-Hayl, Eben Sabah, Ebn Sa'ûd, and various clans of the Kahṭan and the Muntifeš (al-Aškar, etc.). (2) The Northern 'Anazah are subdivided into (a) the Dana Muslim, and (b) the Dana Bišr. The Dana Bišr include the Wuld 'Ali[8] and the ar-Rwala,[9] who are also known as the Al-Glâs.[10] 619

THE NORTHERN BRANCH

The Northern Branch of the 'Anazah are subdivided, as we have mentioned, into two branches: (a) Dana Bišr and (b) Dana Muslim. 619 622

According to Gertrude Bell,

The Anizah are divided roughly, into three groups. The Amarat, who claim descent from a legendary ancestor called Bishr, occupy, under Fahad Beg ibn Hadhdhal, the south-east angle of the Syrian desert and spend the summer near the Euphrates. The

7 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia* (India Office, 3rd December 1920: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, London, 1920 [Cmd. 1061]), pp. 39-40; Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins;* Max Fr. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* (Leipzig, 1939), vol. 1: "Die Beduinenstämme in Mesoptamien und Syrien," pp. 62-130; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 15-33; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins,* "Les tribus du desert," pp. 41-45, 113-123; Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia,* pp. 110-112; *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Beyrouth, 1922), p. 6; *The Military Handbook of Palestine and Syria* (Cairo, 1918), pp. 53-55; J. C. Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq* (Journal, Royal Central Asian Society, vol. 22, part 1, 1935), p. 15; E. Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung der Arabischen Beduinenstämme* (Islamica, vol. 6, part 1, Leipzig, 1933), p. 89; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, pp. 497-499; *Report of the Commission Entrusted by the Council with the Study of the Frontier between Syria and Iraq* (League of Nations, Mandates: Official No. C. 578, M. 285, 1932), vi, p. 27. 113

8 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 26-28; Musil, *Arabia Deserta,* p. 84; Raswan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines, etc.*, p. 499, map, "Tribal Areas of the 'Anezz Tribes."

9 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.; idem, Arabia Deserta,* pp. 14-16; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-25; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins,* pp. 113, 123; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen,* vol. 1, pp. 62-130; *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53; Lady Bell, ed., *The Letters of Gertrude Bell* (New York, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 332, 351; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* vol. 1, pp. 234, 271, 358, 376, 388, 565; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert* (New York, 1927), pp. 58-59, 95, 111, 244, 249, 260, 268, 274, 296, 299, 302, 310, 315, 320, 324; *Report, Iraq for the Year 1929* (Colonial no. 55, 1930), pp. 35-36.

10 Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* vol. 1, p. 271. Doughty remarks further "Incorporate of old with the Ruwàlla, are the ancient Annezy Aarab, el-Jellâs; of whom a wady of Kheybar, their former possession long forsaken by them, is yet named" (vol. 1, p. 377). And further he notes: "We came through palm-groves in a valley bottom, W. Jellâs, named after the old division of Annezy, which having long since forsaken Kheybar, are at this day—we have seen—with the Ruwàlla in the north" (vol. 2, p. 92; also pp. 134, 205).

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

619 Rwala under Nuri Ebn Shalan, are opposite neighbours of the Amarat on the Syrian
622 side, and just as the Amarat turn to Karbala and Najaf for supplies, so the Rwala turn to Damascus. The third group is composite and consists of the Fedan and Sbaa, both descended, like the Amarat, from Bishr. The Fedan follow the Mheyd family; among the Sbaa, Eben Murshid and Ebn Kuayšiš are the leading saikhs.[10a]

Dana Bišr

The Dana Bišr consist of a number of independent groups of families: el-Fed'ân, Khorsa, as-Sba'a 'Ebede, and as-Sba'a Kmusa. Each of these groups, properly speaking, is a tribe.

According to Burckhardt, the Dana Bišr

divide themselves into two great branches: (1) The Tana Madjed Arabs to whom belong as minor tribes, the Fedan and the Seba; (2) The Selga Arabs. Of these the greater part occupy the district of El Hasa on the Persian Gulf, belonging to the Wahabys. Of these Selgas there are three ramifications, the Medheyan, Metarafe, and the considerable tribe called Oulad Soleyman. The Selga Sheikh is Ibn Haddal, a strenuous supporter of the Wahabys. He was present in almost every battle fought from the year 1812 to 1815 in Hedjaz against the army of Muhammad Aly; and it was chiefly through his exertions that Tousoun Pasha was kept completely in check on his progress in spring 1815, from Medinah towards Kasym.[11]

And further he states.

El Besher, the most numerous of the Aeneze tribes. Their great chief is ibn Haddal, who encamps with his tribe in the Nedjed where most the Besher tribe have taken up their abode. Ibn Haddal is at the same time one of the principal men at the court of Derayeh, if so may be styled the seat of Ibn Saoud. . . . The Besher are divided into the following powerful tribes—el Fedhaan, Ibn Imhyd, Ibn Ghehein (who conducted me to Palmyra in 1810), Ibn Kay Shyshe, Ibn Ghedzour, el Zebaa. In my way from Hanah to Tedmor. I found all the watering-places occupied by Arabs of this tribe: the greater part of them are in Nedjed; el Mauddje, el Metarafe, whose brethren are likewise in Nedjed; el Seleymat, el Hosseny (not to be mistaken for the Hessene) el Medheyan. Thus far extends my knowledge of the greater Aeneze tribes.[12]

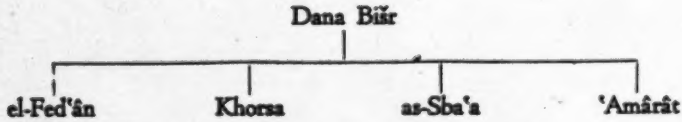
619 The term Dana Bišr is equally used to denote the tribes of northern Syria as well as those of 'Irak. According to Raswan, who lived for many years among the 'Anazah tribes, "the Bishri [include] the three federated clans of the Anaza: the Fid'an, Sba and Amarat. . . ."[13] Bišr is the name of Abd's ancestor whose

10a *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p. 41.
11 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 2, pp. 4-6.
12 *Idem*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.
13 Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, p. 28.

Z1:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

progeny branches into two: 'Abd and 'Amârât.[14] The el-Fed'ân and as-Sba'a are brother tribes, of the same blood as the 'Amârât, and all three unite when one is attacked by outsiders.[15] 619

TABLE 1



DANA MUSLIM

The Dana Muslim consist of the Beni Wahab and the Al-Glâs, the ar-Rwala being a subdivision of the latter. The Beni Wahab are divided thus: (1) al-Hsene;[16] (2) Wuld 'Ali: consisting of Dana Mifreg, head chief from the family of Eben Smeyr; al-Mašta, head chief from the family of Eben Tayyar; al-Maṣâlîh, head chief from the family of Eben Ga'iš. The Al-Glâs are divided into al-Mihlef and ar-Rwala. 619 622

The ar-Rwala traditions explain that originally the Dana Muslim divisions were encamped in the vicinity of Heybâr,[17] where in the valley of Al-Glâs they still have their hlal, palms. From there they are said to have moved towards the north.[18]

The first tribe to migrate was al-Hsene, whose chief was descended from the kin of Eben Melhem. To him was entrusted the control of the Pilgrim Road

14 This is one chapter in Arab genealogy which it would be interesting to explore. Cf. *Les tribus arabes de Syrie* (Haut Commissariat de la République Française, Direction du Service des Renseignements du Levant, Beyrouth, May 1922), p. 56. Müller gives a different spelling: Obeid and Amor *(En Syrie avec les Bédouins,* p. 122). A French document gives Amer (Amarat and Obeid) (*Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.,* p. 15: "Généalogie des Anézés"). See also Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* vol. 1, p. 376.

15 Doughty cites the relation between the three: "Sbá, Feddân, Ammarât" (*Travels in Arabia Deserta,* vol. 1, p. 376).

16 Their head chief is from the family of Eben Mezyed. On the al-Hsene consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.,* pp. 31-33, and Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins,* pp. 113-114.

17 Heybâr: 130 km north of Medina; Arabic *E.* Doughty calls that neighborhood "Kheybar the patrimony of Annezy" (*Travels in Arabia Deserta,* vol. 1, p. 314); Hitti, *History of the Arabs,* pp. 117, 169; Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia,* pp. 21, 30, 36, 68, 169, 184, 267, 272, 273, 282 ff., 289 ff., 317, 340; William Muir, *The Life of Mohammed from Original Sources* (T. H. Weir, ed., Edinburgh, 1912), pp. lxxii, cv, 87, 113 n., 222 n., 283, 310 n., 320 n., 343, 348, 361 n., 374, 375-383, 386 n., 394, 399 n., 419, 425, 481, 503, 513, 528, 536; conquest of, p. 374 ff.

18 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.,* p. 89.

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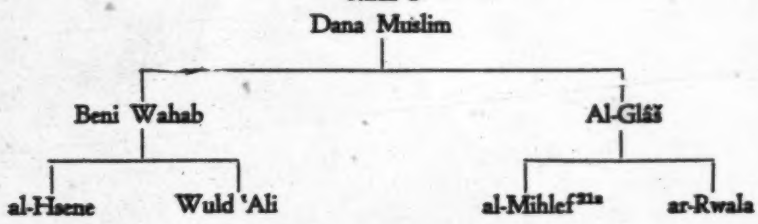
619 from Damascus as far as al-'Ela',[19] in return for which he received a large sum
622 of money from the Turkish Government. In the oasis of Heybâr several families of Wuld Sleyman and the Wuld 'Ali still have their palms. The Serahin, who belong to the as-Sba'a tribe and obey the chief of the kin of Abu-Sama, have their fellahin there.[20]

The house of Sa'ûd is a descendant from the 'Anazah branch, who further belong to the Maṣâlîh. King 'Abd el-'Azîz Eben Sa'ûd honors and appreciates the feelings of these 'Anazah, and especially those belonging to the Maṣâlîh. According to Hafiz Wahbe,

> in the year 850 of the Hegira came Rabî'a, son of Man'a, from their ancient abode, called Dar'a near Katif to 'Ali Eben Dar'a master of Hagr and Gaz'a near ar-Riad, member of the Rabî'a Eben Man'as tribe. Eben Dar'a gave the latter Mulayid and Guzayba, famous places in Dar'a. They settled down and built there these places, he, and his descendants after him. Man'a was the father of Rab'a who became famous and powerful all around his place. His son Musa was even more famous than his father. Musa was father of Ibrahîm, grand father of Mukran and Sa'ûd. Sa'ûd is the father of the House of Sa'ûd.[21]

TABLE 2



THE SOUTHERN BRANCH

To the Southern Branch of the 'Anazah belong: (1) Ab al-Hayl, (2) Ebn Sabah, (3) Ebn Sa'ûd, (4) Kahaṭan—various clans, (5) Muntifeẓ, (6) Al-Aẓkar, chief of the Muntifeẓ tribe are also descendants from the 'Anazah.

CHIEFTANSHIP

622 The word ḳowm indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible
104 to say: "Kowm eben Sa'lân, he is of the ḳowm of Eben Sa'lân"; "the ḳowm of

19 Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, pp. 182, 183, 184, 271.

20 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, p. 58.

21 Hafiz Wahbe, *Gezîratu-l-'Arab fi-l-karni-l-'Irin* [The Arabic Peninsula in the Twentieth Century] (Cairo, 1354:1935), pp. 106-107. Cf. K. S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia, with an Account of the Development of its Natural Resources* (with Edward J. Jurji, 1947), p. 88.

21a Also called Muhallaf.

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104 622 Eben Me'gel are encamped here"; "the ḳowm of Eben Gandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as "That is the ḳowm of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the ḳowm of the Frege," will never be heard. When the late Prince Eben Sa'lân spoke of gemâ'ati, he was thinking of the various tribes who obeyed his orders and who would hasten to his assistance. Gemâ'a is almost the same as ḳowm.[26] The rank of chief[27] is hereditary in a definite house, âl.[28] It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualites; nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses may persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted, either of their own free will or under compulsion, and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes, is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as Seyh al-bâb, while affairs of war are left to a man from a different kin. Such a leader is known as Seyh aš-šdâd or Seyh al-harb. If he succeeds in subduing the enemy and concluding a favorable peace, several clans may become attached to him. They obey him in peace. There ensue wars in which the hereditary head chief generally succumbs and his house acknowledges the supremacy of the previous military commander, who then becomes Seyh al-bâb as well.[29]

619 622 173 According to tradition the head chief of all the Rwala was originally descended

26 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 50-51.

27 The ar-Rwala give the name of Šeyh and also Šuyuh to their head chief. The head chief declares war and concludes peace. Cf. *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 7-9; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 202-208; Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, *The New Iraq: its Problem of Bedouin Education* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), pp. 27-29; Leo Haefeli, *Die Beduinen von Beerseba: ihre Rechtsverhältnisse Sitten und Gebräuch, aus dem Arabischen Übersetzt* (Luzern, 1938), pp. 29-31: "Eine Buch des Gouverneurs 'Aref el-'Aref in Beersaba"; Touvia Ashkenazi, *Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du nord* (Paris, 1938), pp. 51-53.

601 28 Generally the word âl denotes the same as beni or eben, its meaning being wider than that of ahl. Ferîž is the name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor. A Ferîž is also wider than an ahl. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word âl, which is often interchanged with the article al, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwayli, a member of the ar-Rwala tribe. Cf. Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 47-50; Ign. Goldziher, in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft, vol. 50, pp. 11-117; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 248; Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung, etc.*, part 1, pp. 68-111; part 2, pp. 182-229.

29 Musil, *Manners and Customs, etc.*, pp. 50-51.

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from the kin of the Ka'ḳa'a. Sa'lân was the son of worthy parents. Although he had no property of his own, he had charge of the camel herdsmen of the al-Mur'âz kin in the capacity of a fedâwi, free born servant. The herds grazed in the environs of a certain settlement in Negd. The Ka'ḳa'a once stole flocks of sheep and goats from the settlers and drove their camels into their fields. The settlers rushed out, captured the herds of camels, and hid them in the enclosed palm gardens. The Rwala surrounded the settlement, but they could not break down the defence, and the settlers threatened that the captured camels would die of hunger if the Rwala did not abandon the blockade. Accordingly the head chief of the Rwala made an offer of peace to the elder of the settlers. The elder declared that he would not negotiate except with his acquaintance Sa'lân and that he would not give up the camels except to him. The representatives of the Frege and Ribiŝân pleaded with the chief to give Sa'lân the seal ring, and this was done. Sa'lân went to the elder and came to terms with him. The settlers [illegible] the captured camels. All praised Sa'lân and said that he was a gentleman. Sa'lân remained in the settlement and did not return the ring to the head chief. The settlers, the Frege, and the Ribiŝân supported him, and after four years he overthrew the head chief and himself guided the destinies of all the Rwala. A struggle for priority ensued between the head chief Eben Sa'lân with his Rwala and chief aš-Sreyfi of the Kwačbe. The latter belonged to the Kahaṭan division of the 'Anazah. Originally they camped in Negd. Under their chief aš-Sreyfi they advanced to the territory of the Rwala and encamped to the east of al-Gowf.[30] They wished to act and rule in complete independence, but the Rwala declared that they must acknowledge the Rwala supremacy or else withdraw. Thereupon the Kwačbe joined with the Sammâr and Zefîr[31] and undertook a great raid upon the tribes obeying Eben Sa'lân. They were led by the seven sons of aš-Sreyfi. The Kwačbe and Sammâr wished to avenge their great

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30 al-Gowf: oasis, northern Negd; Arabic *F* or *G* – Gowf al-'Amir. Gowf al-'Amir, the ancient Dûmat el-Gendel, a great oasis and suburbs in the south of the Syrian Desert and on the border of the Nefûd. Gowf signifies a hollow or low ground. The Sunn'a of Gowf are greatly esteemed in all northwestern Arabia and in the lands beyond the Jordan for their skill in metal- and marble-working (coffee mortars and pestles). There is a salt traffic from the neighborhood of Gowf to the Hawrân, whither there come every year many poor Gowfies to labor for the Druses. Cf. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*: Gowf (North), pp. 18, 36, 116, 157 ff., 162 ff., 170, 173, 247, 250 ff., 256, 266 ff.; Gowf (South), pp. 31, 56, 198, 200, 201, 210, 334. On the occupation of Gowf by Eben Sa'ûd and the abandonment of the oasis by the ar-Rwala consult *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 19. Gowf is mentioned by T. E. Lawrence in the First World War as Nuri Eben Sa'lân's capital (*Revolt in the Desert*, p. 59).

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31 On the tribe of Az-Zefîr consult Alois Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 24; *idem*, *Northern Negd*, p. 169; Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, p. 15.

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619 defeat, and in the following year marched against the Rwala. This time it was
● 622 to be finally decided who should command, and therefore the Kwaĕbe marched
173 with their families, tents, and flocks, and established a war camp, manah, and Haw'a (or al-Hawa) to the east of the settlement of Skâka.[32] The Rwala had previously occupied all the wells for a considerable distance around. The Kwaĕbe, together with the Sammâr, made several attacks on the encampment of the
[721] Rwala, but each time they were repulsed. The Rwala, who were commanded by a war-chief ('azid al-harb) Fheyd eben Ma'abbel, never attacked but so pressed their adversaries closer and closer that they were unable to obtain water anywhere. Then the elders of Kwaĕbe sent a messenger to Fheyd with a request for peace, and offered the Rwala half their herds. Fheyd agreed and peace was concluded. This harsh war is known as Manah az-Zren, "Battle-camp of the Two Starvations." The Sammâr, the allies of the Kwaĕbe, did not accept the peace and threatened them with war. Al-Seyfi then decided that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Rwala and would join them entirely. His daughter Kut married Fheyd and his Kwaĕbe encamped together with the Rwala.[33]

Still it is important to note what Burckhardt says of the Seyh of Wuld 'Ali, who in his time had their winter quarters on the Hagg road as far as Kal'at Zerkâ;[34] according to him "their sheikh, is named el Teyar: he occupies the first rank among their chiefs, and is therefore styled Abou el Aeneze, or 'Father of the Aenezes'."[35] According to Lawrence, "Nuri Shaalan, the great Emir of the Rwala, who after the Sherif[36] and Ibn Saud[36a] and Ibn Rashid[37] was the fourth figure among the precarious princes of the desert."[38]

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32 Sakâka: 30 km northeast of Gowf; Arabic: H.

33 On the tribe of ar-Rwala consult Musil, *Manners and Customs etc.*; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, pp. 294, 271, 358, 376, 388, 569; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-24; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 14-16; Millot, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 113; *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. 1, pp. 62-130.

34 Kal'at az-Zerkâ, close to the spring of that name (Trans-Jordan).

35 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

36 Hussein Ibnu 'Ali (1856-1931): first king of the Hegâz (1916-1924) and founder of the modern Arab Hâshimite dynasty; Grand Sherif of Mecca (1908-1916) as a result of the Young Turk movement. In the World War he first sided with the Turks; later, on advice of his son Feisal and of Colonel T. E. Lawrence, he joined the Allied cause.

36a 'Abd-al-'Azîz ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmân al-Faisal ibn-Sa'ûd (b. 1880?): King of Saudi Arabia (from 1932); born Riyadh, son of 'Abd-ar-Rahmân; Wahabi sultan of Nagd. In World War I he sided with the British against the Turks; invaded and conquered (1924-1925) the Hegâz, forcing abdication of King Hussein and his son 'Ali; proclaimed himself King of Hegâz (1926); changed his title from Sultan of Nagd to King of the Hegâz and Nagd; by decree (1932) he proclaimed the official name of Hegâz and Nagd as Kingdom of Saudi

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The paramount chief of the 'Amârât is Fahad Beg Ebn Haddal who is nominally the ultimate lord of all 'Anazah, though, in fact, his western neighbor, Ebn Sa'lân, who commands the Syrian side of the desert, was more a notable personage. Unlike the Amîr of Gebel Sammâr and the ruler of Negd, Fahad Beg has no fixed abiding place. He lives with his tribe, true people of the camel, who follow where their grazing herds lead them. Yet the strong castles of Ebn Sa'ûd and Ebn Rashîd are not more impressive to the imagination than Fahad's encampment. In spring you may find him in the grassy steppes of the Syrian desert, with a couple of hundred tents round him, widely scattered in complete security from attack, and during many hours before you reach him you ride through his camel herds, for the 'Anazah are the greatest of all breeders. The old Seyh, seated on fine carpets in his guest tent, with his hawk and his greyhound behind him, offers a picture of tribal dignity which walled cities and the lofty halls of the central Arabian princes and their troops of armed slaves cannot rival.[39] In 1920, Fahad Beg claimed to be paramount chief of all 'Anazah (Syria and 'Irak), but whatever his *de jure* rights may be, *de facto* he has no shadow of authority over the Rwala and the chief Nuri Ebn Sa'lân. The Fed'ân and the Sba'a give Fahad scarcely definable recognition, which never, or very rarely, amounts to obedience; and even his 'Amârât Seyhs obey or turn a deaf ear to him as suits their convenience. Overlordship among the Bedouins is a loose term. Nevertheless, Ebn Haddal is the greatest nomad potentate on the western borders of 'Irak. The Turks endeavored to incorporate him into their administrative scheme by making Fahad's father Kaimakam of the desert between the Sitatah oasis and Karbala,[40] where (at the end of a canal running out from the Euphrates) he

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Arabia. For a short account of the rise of the Wahabis under Ebn Sa'ûd and the latter's conquest of Hegâz see *The Statesman's Year-Book* (1929), pp. 645-647.

37 Gertrude Bell writes on May 4, 1916: "I am now engaged in getting into communication with Ibn Rashid, whom it is rather important to preserve as a neutral if we can do no more. He is only about 4 days off and Sir Percy Cox has approved warmly of my sending him a letter. A curious game, isn't it, but you can understand that it is exciting to have a hand in it" (*Letters of Gertrude Bell*, vol. 1, p. 376). Dr David Hogarth, President of the Royal Geographical Society, gave an account on April 14, 1927, before the Society, of Gertrude Bell's adventurous expedition to Hayil, the capital of Gebel Sammâr: province, northern Negd; Arabic *I*.

Members of the ruling house are captives at the court of Ebn Sa'ûd at er-Riyadh in Negd. The province of Gebel Sammâr was annexed to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

38 Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, p. 173.

39 *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, p. 41. Cf. Robert Montagne, *Notes sur la vie sociale et politique de l'Arabie du nord* (extract, Revue des Études Islamiques, année 1932, Paris, 1932); Glubb, *The Bedouins of Northern Iraq*, pp. 19-21; Hakim Rustum, *Slavery in Arabia* (Journal, Royal Central Asian Society, vol. 20, part 3, 1933), pp. 315-332.

40 Karbalâ: pr. Karbalâ, 80 km southwest of Baghdad; Arabic *J*. an-Najaf: pr. An Najaf, 145 km. south of Baghdad; Arabic *K*.

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619 owned a few acres of arable land, tilled by riverain fellahîn. These his son in-
622 herited, together with the Turkish title. It was one of the boldest strokes of Ottoman make-believe, but it could not give the nomad Seyh the remotest resemblance to a Turkish Effendi.[41]

We have to conclude that there is no one paramount chief among the 'Anazah tribes. The two most important 'Anazah chieftains are Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân and Fahad Ebn Haddal on the borders of 'Irak and the Syrian desert respectively.[42]

STATISTICS

161 We have little knowledge about their numbers in ancient times. We may relate what Burckhardt says when he travelled amongst them:

> From some Damascus pedlars, who had passed their whole lives among the Bedouins, I learned particulars which induce me to state the force of the Aeneze tribes alone mentioned (viz: El Besher) (their brethren in Nedjed not included) at about ten thousand horsemen, and perhaps ninety or one hundred thousand camel-riders; a number rather over than under rated.[43]

And elsewhere he states:

> To detail all their minor branches or yowayehs, would be to give an index of all their families, every large family with its relations constituting a small tribe in itself. It is difficult to ascertain the numbers of each tribe, from a prejudice which forbids them to count the horsemen; as they believe like the eastern merchants, that whoever knows the exact amount of his wealth may soon expect to lose part of it.[44]

Modern travellers have checked and left us more particulars with regard to statistics of the 'Anazah tribes. The whole tribe was estimated by Lady Anne Blunt, in 1879, as follows: 1. Fedáan—4,000 tents; 2. Sebáa—4,000 tents; 3. Ibn Háddal—4,000 tents; 4. Hesénneh—500 tents; 5. Roála or Jeláas—12,000 tents; 6. Wélled Ali—3,000 tents; 7. Sirhán—?; 8 and 9. Erfuddi and Towf—?.[45] Habib Chiha estimated them at 97,000 tents.[46] During the First World War (1914-1918) the 'Anazah of Syria were estimated by the Intel-

41 *Letters of Gertrude Bell*, p. 41.

42 Cf. Rawan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, pp. 115-116. Fawwâz Ebn Sa'lân became head chief of the ar-Rwala tribe and its satellites at the death of the Emir Nuri Eben Sa'lân, his grandfather, which occurred July 1, 1942 (*Palestine Post*, July 3, 1942).

43 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

44 *Ibid.*

113 45 Anne Blunt, *The Bedouins of the Euphrates*, pp. 190-192; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 346.

46 Habib Chiha, *La province de Baghdad; son passé, son présent, son avenir . . . et une étude inédite sur les tribus nomades de la Mésopotamie* (Caire, 1908), p. 243.

101 Hadhramaut we had crossed the Sa'ar plateau From the
619 to this last well upon the desert's edge, where
622 we had heard that Bin Maiqal and his Bin Ma'aruf section of the Sa'ar were camped. Normally he and his clan lived in the desert around Najran, and of recent years they had acknowledged Ibn Saud as their overlord; but they had been involved in a raid upon the Yam and had fled south to seek refuge among their kinsmen from the animosity of that great tribe and the wrath of Ibn Saud. The desert was full of fear and everywhere the talk was of raids and counter-raids, of deaths and of looted stock.

233 In the sharp cold of the winter's morning we rode down the valley beyond the well, past the milch herds of the Bin Ma'aruf. The herdboys had just driven them forth to graze from their couching-place around the tents, and my companions spoke appreciatively of their condition, calling each other's attention
514 to their finer points. The Sa'ar had news of our approach, for a party of them had ridden

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Abdallah Bin Nura, Sheikh of the Bin Ma'aruf, plaits a rope for use at Manwakh well. Bedu sheiks do not think it beneath their dignity to help with watering and other everyday tasks

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CHAPTER III

THE BEDOUIN TRIBES

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THIS chapter is designed to give an account of those tribal constituents of present-day Arabian society which are essentially nomadic—those, in short, to which Arabs themselves concede the name Bedu. The Bedouin (*Bedāwi*) type of society is the product of desert and steppe conditions, and cannot survive long under others. A tribe which has left such conditions to settle in an oasis or other permanently arable land does not necessarily cease to be a tribe, but it does cease to be a nomad or Bedouin tribe. Therefore all those tribes of which most members now inhabit continuously fertile lands or tracts of oasis character will be excluded from the following consideration—such, for example, as the tribes of Asir, Yemen and hinterland, the Aden Protectorate, Hadhramaut and the South Littoral, Oman, and the Trucial Coast (see Chapters XIV and XV).

On the other hand, Bedouin constituents of Arabian society which have passed wholly or in part northwards out of the peninsula are included. Not having changed the essential conditions of their life, but still ranging deserts and steppes, they have remained Bedu. It would be unsatisfactory not to take account here of the tribes of the Syrian Hamād and the Mesopotamian Jezīrah. They are regarded by the peninsular Bedouins as forming one great social block with themselves, and some, e. g. certain constituents of the great Anazah group, still pass at regular seasons southward into the peninsula, while others have their own home ranges in the peninsula itself. Moreover, many, like the Ruweilah, Dhafīr, and Huweitāt, move habitually from one side to the other of the border-line, and some, e.g. the Mesopotamian Shammar, though they stay to the north of it, are integral parts of larger tribal units still at home in the south.

For convenience, we adopt a geographical division of Bedouin tribes into Northern, Central (Western and Eastern), and Southern.

At the outset, a tree of tribal descent from the Arch-Patriarch, Abraham, will show what Arabs consider to be the true Bedouin stock. To know this pedigree is of practical value to any one who has to deal with Arab nomads, owing to the value which they themselves attach to genealogy, the social distinctions which they base upon it, and the estimation in which they hold those expert in its intricacies.

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A. Northern Tribes

1. *The Anazah*

The great group of the **ANAZAH** (*'Anazah*), numerically probably the largest group of nomad Arab tribes, occupies the triangle of the Syrian Desert, the Hamād, which has its base on the Nefūd, about lat. 30°, and its apex near Aleppo, about lat. 36°. On the east bank of the Euphrates the pasture lands N. of Deir ez-Zōr and along the Khābūr are also Anazah country; while a smaller group of kindred tribes is seated round Teima, between the Hejaz Railway and the SW. borders of the Nefūd. Ibn Sa'ūd is said to come of the same stock (Hasanah). 101 619 622

The Anazah belong to the people of the North, Ahl esh-Shimāl. Historians give their descent from 'Anazah, son of Asad, who sprang from Rabī'ah, one of the two great branches of Nizār. The modern Anazah tribesman will always claim descent from Wā'il, who belonged to a younger branch of the Asad group, and relate that it is his son 'Anz or 'Anaz who is the eponymous founder of the tribe. They are not, however, united under one head, but are divided into several large sections which maintain towards one another an attitude generally friendly, though it does not exclude marauding expeditions and private feuds among the smaller Sheikhs. The hereditary foes of the Anazah are the Shammar; indeed the history of nomad Arabia is dominated for the last 150 years by the rivalry between these two.

The original seat of the Shammar seems to have been to the N. of the Wādi er-Rummah, on the pilgrim road from Basra to Medina, or even farther south towards Yemen. One of those mysterious impulses which, from the beginning of historic times, have set the inhabitants of the peninsula migrating northwards—influences which may spring from an almost imperceptible change in climatic conditions coupled with slow increase of population in a land incapable of supporting more than very small numbers—began to disturb the Anazah in the second half of the eighteenth century. They followed on the heels of the Shammar into the Syrian Desert. The Fed'ān and the Hasanah pushed the Shammar before them across the Euphrates, and established themselves in the northern steppes, which are less arid, enjoying a greater rainfall, than the wastes of Central Arabia. The 'Amārāt, Sibā', and Wuld 'Ali seem to have come next, and, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Ruweilah.

Their herds have flourished and increased in a climate more

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beneficent than that which they had left. The most famous stocks of horses are found among the northern Anazah, and the greatest numbers of camels. Bedu of the purest blood and tradition, they have remained entirely beyond the control of the Ottoman Government; and except for a few palm gardens on the Lower Euphrates, a little cultivation on the Khābūr, and a village near Damascus, their Sheikhs have given no pledge to established order by the acquisition of settled lands, nor is any part of the Syrian Desert ploughed or harvested. Their geographical position gives them command over some of the main trade-routes of Turkish Arabia. The Hamād is a bridge rather than a barrier between Syria and Mesopotamia. Until 1911, the camel post from Damascus to Baghdad passed over it once a fortnight, and regularly during the winter and spring the agents of the Damascene sheep merchants cross it, paying dues to the Anazah for safe conduct, while the camel herds of the latter supply the markets both of Syria and of Egypt; indeed, it is not too much to say that the greater part of the camel trade is in their hands. Moreover, the road down the Euphrates from Aleppo to Baghdad is largely at their mercy, as well as the first half of a frequented carriage-road from Deir, *via* the Sinjar, to Mosul. The Anazah are thus the first of the great independent tribes with whom administrators of the settled lands must come into contact, and upon their goodwill depends freedom of intercourse between Syria and Mesopotamia. Last century they played a large part in Syrian politics, and have still a zest for the game. Their own dependence on the Syrian markets must always make it a matter of the first importance to them to maintain friendly terms with those who control the province commercially; but it must be remembered that commercial control of Syria is not, and never has been, in the hands of the Turks.

The western side of the Syrian Desert is occupied by the **Ruweilah** (Ruwalla). With their powerful confederates the Wuld 'Ali and the Muhallaf, who are in the closest relations with them, and also their allies, the Hasanah, they number about 7,000 tents. They wander over the desert from Homs and Hamāh in the north, where the Hasanah have their summer pasturages and are beginning to settle down as cultivators, to Qasr el-Azraq, south of Jebel Durūz (where the Ruweilah dīra touches that of their foes, the Beni Sakhr) and down the Wādi Sirhān to the oasis of Jauf el-'Amr, which the Ruweilah took from Ibn Rashīd some five years ago. In summer they occupy the pasture grounds S. of Damascus and push as far west as the Jaulān. To the east the limits of the Ruweilah do

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not extend far beyond Jebel 'Amūd and the sources of the Wādi Haurān.

The loose confederation of tribes of which the **Wuld 'Ali** are composed holds the steppe east and south-east of Damascus and along the first part of the old post-road to Baghdad. Ibn Sumeir owns the village of 'Ain Dhikr at Tell el-Faras, some 12 hours from Damascus, with the cultivation round it. A detached group round Teima, the **Fuqara** and the **B. Wahhāb,** are also to be reckoned among the sub-tribes of the Wuld 'Ali, but they have no political connexion with them, and fall under the authority of Ibn Rashīd whenever he is strong enough to exercise it. The Fuqara are a small, poor tribe, with few camels, which depends for its livelihood partly on the payment it receives from the Ottoman Government for protecting the Hejaz Railway from Dār el-Hamra to Medā'in Sālih, and partly on a little cultivated land which it possesses in the rocky Harrah of Kheibar. The Billi and the Huweitāt, with their close allies the B. 'Atīyah, are their enemies. The **Aida,** who are the sheikhly clan of the southern Wuld 'Ali, have charge of a section of the Hejaz Railway south of Medā'in Sālih.

In summer the Ruweilah draw into the Wādi Sirhān or go with the Wuld 'Ali towards the fertile Matkh plain, watered by the Barada; but the volcanic Harrahs east of Jebel Durūz are inhabited by tribes hostile to the Anazah, the Serdīyah, a branch of the Beni Sakhr, and the Jebelīyah, composed of Ghiyādh, Beni Hasan, Masā'īd and others, all allied with the Druzes. With these and with the Druzes themselves the Anazah have always been at enmity.

The paramount chief of the **Ruweilah** is of the house of Sha'lān and the sub-tribe of Mur'idh. The present representative is Nūri esh-Sha'lān. His own sub-tribe, the Sha'lān, together with the Nuseir, who come directly under him, consists of about 1,000 tents, but over all the Ruweilah he is unquestioned autocrat, and his authority is recognized by the Wuld 'Ali and the Muhallaf. He is probably the most powerful of all purely nomad chiefs, and, since his capture of Jauf, has shown himself a successful rival of the Shammar. His son, Nawwāf, a convinced adherent of the pan-Arab party, is his representative at Jauf. Though more colourless than his father, he is better educated and is considered by the Arab Unionist party in Damascus, among whom he is well known, to be the most advanced political thinker in the desert. He has the inherited interest in the Turkish question which those of his house can scarcely escape, since it touches their own future so closely. Nūri himself bears a bitter grudge against the Ottoman Government by reason of his having been invited to Damascus by

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Sāmi Pasha in 1911, and there held a prisoner for almost a year. The grievance was aggravated by the fact that he had previously offered his assistance to Sāmi Pasha for the subjugation of the Druzes. He dreads any extension of Turkish authority towards the desert, and strongly opposed a scheme set on foot in 1913 to carry a branch of the Hejaz Railway from Jīzah to Qasr el-Azraq, and thence down the W. Sirhān to Kāf. In 1914 he refused to collect camels for the Ottoman Government, who were in need of transport animals for the Egyptian campaign, thereby greatly enhancing their difficulties. He removed his people into their eastern pasturages, where the Turks had no hold over them, and he is said to have acted similarly a year later and, in 1916, to have joined the Sherif of Mecca.

E. of the Ruweilah and the Wuld 'Ali, the Syrian Desert up to the Euphrates is held by the **'Amārāt** and by the two great subdivisions of the **Bishr**, the **Fed'ān** and the **Sibā'** (Sba), who claim descent from various mythical heroes of whom Wā'il was the progenitor. The 'Amārāt country is the SE. corner of the Syrian Desert bordering on the Euphrates from Kerbela to above Hīt. The tribesmen touch the N. edge of the Nefūd and go down SE. into Shammar territory if pasturage is lacking elsewhere, maintaining a truce with the Sheikhs of that dīra. The early spring finds them in a wide depression, the Qa'rah (Ga'rah), two days' journey W. of Hīt, while in summer they come back to the Euphrates or cluster about the springs in the Haurān valley, round Māt.

The Fed'ān range from Aleppo to Deir on both sides of the Euphrates and up the Khābūr valley almost to the Sinjar. The Sibā', famous breeders of camels, are seated on the middle sections of the Palmyra road. They go up towards Homs and Hamāh on the west, to Resāfah on the east, and north almost to Aleppo. If pasture is lacking on the Syrian side of the desert, they seek it in the Fed'ān country and in winter their Sheikhs come down, with those of the 'Amārāt and the Fed'ān, to Māt and the Wādi Sirhān. The 'Amārāt also cross the Euphrates on occasion, and camp with the Fed'ān along the Khābūr. The Wuld Suleimān, who roam between Teima and the Nefūd, are of Fed'ān lineage and a part of Bishr, but they stand politically outside the confederacy; for, like their allies and neighbours the Fuqara, they pay tribute to Ibn Rashīd. They have not many camels, but own a few patches of palm-growing lands in the Harrah Kheibar, which are cultivated, on their behalf, by the Huteim.

The paramount chief of the **'Amārāt** is of the house of Hadhdhāl, Fahd Bey being the present sheikh. His tents number about 3,000.

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He is wealthy, and owns palm gardens at Ghazāzah near Kerbela, at Baghdādīyah above Hīt, and elsewhere on the Euphrates. Although his wisdom and skill in tribal diplomacy are much vaunted, he is now an old man and not so active as Nūri of the Ruweilah; nor does he concern himself with external politics. He has suffered imprisonment at the hand of the Turks and cordially dislikes them, but his closest link with affairs outside the desert is his landed property on the Euphrates. He fears that if the Hindīyah escape, a part of Sir W. Willcocks's scheme of Mesopotamian irrigation, were to be put into execution, his gardens at Ghazāzah might be partly submerged, and he was inclined to blame the English for their share in that project. He could only with difficulty be reassured on this head, and shown that the better distribution of the water would be of benefit to himself in common with all other landowners. 622 101 619

A more striking personality is Hākim (Hāchim) ibn Muheid, who with Hākim ibn Qeishīsh rules over the **Fed'ān,** some 3,500 tents in all. Ibn Muheid is possibly second only to Nūri esh-Sha'lān in the Anazah federation. He is a man of about 40, vain, money-loving, and strongly pan-Arab. His position on the middle reaches of the Euphrates enables him to close the riverain road to traffic whenever he pleases. Until the Baghdad Railway is completed, this road is the customary, and by far the shortest, means of communication between Aleppo and Baghdad, and is now connected with Constantinople by a railway, broken only by a short interruption on the Taurus. The **Sibā'** are less numerous, some 1,800 tents all told; their ruling families are the Beni Murshid and the Beni Hudeib (Hadeib).

Upon all the Anazah the Ottoman Government levies, so far as it is able, a sheep-tax and a camel-tax. The great sheikhs receive Ottoman subsidies, paid with something less than regularity. The sums are not large. A man like Nūri may be given about £20 a month, paid to his agent in Damascus, who uses the money for the purchase of necessary supplies which he sends out to his chief in the desert. The Ruweilah, who raise no crops, are entirely dependent on Damascus for provisions. 651 433 622

The paramount Anazah sheikhs, Ibn Sha'lān, Ibn Hadhdhāl, Ibn Sumeir, and Ibn Muheid, could each of them put into the field from 1,500 to 2,000 men, armed and mounted on camels, with a small proportion of horses. The Sibā' sheikhs could muster another 1,000. The united Anazah forces would therefore number about 9,000 men, if it were conceivable that they could ever be 622 619 701

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701 gathered together at the same time—an exceedingly improbable
619 contingency in regions where there are no adequate means of
communication, and none but a loose tribal organization. Nor are
• 622 the conditions of pasturage and water-supply prevailing in the
Hamād suitable to large concentrations of men and animals. The
[231] total number of camels among the Ruweilah, 'Amārāt, Fed'ān,
and Sibā' must be greater than in any other part of Arabia. They
cannot, all told, be reckoned at much less than an average of 50 to
a tent. The Wuld 'Ali are not so well supplied, but they may
own about 20 to a tent. At this estimate the camel-herds of the
northern Anazah would touch a very large figure—some 600,000
animals.

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ANAZAH

DHANA MUSLIM

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Ruweilah. 3,500 tents Sh. Nūri esh-Sha'lān	*Mur'idh*, 500 tents Nūri esh-Sha'lān el-Mur'idh	*Nā'if* Nūri's tribe *Zeid* 'Arsān Abu Jizlah *Mijwal* *Meshūr* *Mu'abhil*
	Nuseir, 500 tents Ibn Nuseir	
	Nāsir, 300 tents Munāhi ibn Nāsir	*Radhān*
	Dur'ān, 300 tents Sālim ibn Maslat	
	Furjah, 500 tents 'Asaf el-Fureij	*Khudh'ān Filitta* Ghāzi el-Fuleita
	Dughmān 'Arsān ibn Dughmi	
	Manāyi' Māni' el-Khidhr	
	Ka'ka', 800 tents Hayyān el-Ka'ka' ibn Ghoshm	
	Kawākibah, 400 tents Māni' el-Kuweikib	*Woklān*
	Mshitta, 150 tents Ibn Musheit	
Muhallaf. 1,500 tents Ibn Ma'jil Ibn Majīd Ibn Jandal	*Ashja'*, 450 tents Qasīm ibn Ma'jil	*Mahayub* *Bala'is*
	'Abdillah, 400 tents Mughāthi ibn Majīd	
	Suwalma, 400 tents Fayyādh ibn Jandal	
	Budūr, 2–300 tents Ibn Ma'jil	

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Wuld 'Ali. 1,800 tents Rashīd ibn Sumeir has about 1,000 tents Mohammed et-Tayyār Sa'ūd ibn Milhem Shahāb el-Faqīr	*'Ateifāt*, 200 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Mesālikh, 300 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Hammāmīd, 300 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Hajjāj, 300 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Tulāh, 150 tents Ibn Sumeir	
	Saqra Ibn Sumeir	
	Mashādiqah, 500 tents Mohammed ibn Sālih et-Tayyār	*Tayyār* *Mureikhāt* *Wuleikah*
	Hasanah, 600 tents[1] Sa'ūd ibn Milhem	
	Fuqara, 300 tents[1] Shahāb el-Faqīr	*Sālih* *Kuleib* *Khamālah* *Hamdān* *Mughassib* *Zuwārah* *Hujr* *'Aināt* *Suqūrah*
	Southern Wuld 'Ali El-Aida[1]	*Aida* *Tuwalla* *Thuweibah* *Jebārah* *Erbeilāt* *Khālid*

DHANA WĀ'IL

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
'Amārāt. 1. Jibāl. 3,000 tents Fahd Bey ibn Hadhdhāl	*Hablān*, 500 tents Fahd ibn Dugheim el-Hadhdhāl (nephew of Fahd Bey)
	Suqūr, 500 tents 'Āmish ibn Dhal'ān
2. Dahāmishah. 1,200 tents Mohammed ibn Tūrki ibn Mijlad	*Suweilimāt* Jaza' ibn Mish'ān ibn Bekr
	Zebīnah Jaza' ibn Rakkan ibn Mijlad
	Salātīn Maalat ibn Quneifidh
	'Ali Hais ibn Mijlad

[1] Given by Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 229.

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'Amārāt (*continued*):

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
	Dubei'ān
	Dhāri ibn Dhubyān
	Jumeishāt
	Shilash el-Ureiyidh
	Muheināt
	Mohammed abu Rūs
	'Ayyāsh
	Dhāri
	Jaleid
	Hamīd ibn Quweit
	Fuweizah
	Haza' ibn Muthib
	Surumah
	Burjās
	Juwāsim
	Bedr ibn Jasīm
	Qa'bān
	Mu'aidi ibn Fāhis
	Suleilāt
	Ibdi Huleihil Seyyah

DHANA 'UBEID

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Fed'ān. 3,500 tents	*Wuld*	
(Dhana Kuheil), 2,000 tents	Mohammed and Mud-him ibn Tūrki	
Hākim ibn Muheid ibn Nawwāf	*Rūs*	
Hākim ibn Qeishīsh	Jedu' el-Kira	
	'Ajajra	
	Zeid ibn Hureimis	
	Shumeilāt	
	Ibn Lubeidān	
	Sāri	
	Feihān ibn Qā'id	
	Hanātiyah	
	Qudeim ibn Jubeil	
(Dhana Majīd), 1,500 tents	*Kharasa*	
Hākim ibn Qeishīsh	'Askar abu Sunūn	
	Ghabīn	
	Sālih ibn Ghabīn	
	Jida'	
	'Eibān ibn 'Arnān	
	Amāmarāt	
	Suleimān el-Awāmir	
	Mikathera	
	Haza' ibn Bugheiz	
	'Awwād	
	Rudein ibn 'Ali	
	Wuld Suleimān, 400 tents	*'Awājah*
	Mash'ān el-'Awājah	Mash'ān el-'Awājah
		Ji'āferah Murtā'id
		Seyyāh el-Murtā'id

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SIBĀ'

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
1,800 tents	*Qumussa*, 800 tents Githwān ibn Murshid	*Ressālīn* Hamad ibn Aida *Khumsān* Sagr ibn Museirib *'Anūrah* Shinān ibn Sheteiwi *Rahammah* Mohammed ibn Sa'īd *Musika* Mubārak ibn Qiladān *Muwā'iqah* Fādhil ibn Muweini' *Duwwām* 'Uqeil el-Fiqīqi
	'Ubida, 1,000 tents Burjās ibn Hudeib	

SELQA

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
800 tents Sājir er-Rafadi	*Shimlān* *Madhyān* 'Uqeil ibn Madhyān *Metarafah* Buneyyah ibn Wuteif

2. *The Duleim.*

The **DULEIM** are of mixed blood. According to their own tradition they came out of Nejd into the Syrian Desert. They say that Thāmir, *jidd* of the Duleim, and his brother Jabbār, *jidd* of the Jubūr, guided by a man of the Sulubba, occupied the wells of Muheiwir in the Wādi Haurān.

They wander over the desert on either side of the Euphrates from Fellūjah almost to Ānah, sharing the Eastern Shāmīyah, the Syrian Desert, with the 'Amārāt, with whom they are in close alliance. They have cultivated ground in the Euphrates valley, and rear large flocks of sheep which supply the Damascus market. Every winter the dealers come out across the Hamād, and, staying each with his own Sheikh, purchase the season's lambs, and drive them home across the grassy steppe in the spring. The Duleim are not camel-breeders; their supply is little more than sufficient for their own needs. The Shammar of the Jezīrah are their enemies, and there is constant feud between them and the Shiah tribes of 'Irāq, such as the Beni Hasan, who pasture their sheep in the desert round Kerbela. They are noted thieves, and have always given trouble on the Euphrates high road, where they hold up every unprotected caravan. In 1910 Nāzim Pasha repressed them with a stern hand, and during his brief administration at Baghdad travellers and merchants journeyed in security. 'Ali Suleimān, the paramount Sheikh of the Duleim, was on terms of friendship with Jemāl Pasha, who succeeded Nāzim, and he has continued to court the favour of the Ottoman Government. He owns a house and

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palm gardens at Rumādi, and can, therefore, be coerced into good behaviour. He is not a man of much intelligence, and prefers, to any active share in politics, a quiet life and the peaceful enjoyment of the position left him by his father, Suleimān esh-Sharqi, who was a commanding figure in the 'Irāq. Ibn Qu'ād camps mostly on the east bank of the Euphrates.

DULEIM

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
3,000 tents	'Ali Suleimān esh-Sharqi Ibn Qu'ād	*Mahāmidah* *Abu 'Īsa* *Qureit* *Abu Alwān* *Abu Fahd* *Abu Redmi* *Abu 'Ubeyyah* *Abu Nemis*

3. *The Jebelīyah* (or *Zobeid*).

The **JEBELĪYAH** are a loose confederation of independent tribes acknowledging no common Sheikh, but united by common interests and conditions. They are known either as the Jebelīyah or by the older name of **Zobeid** (Zubeid). They inhabit the volcanic districts to east and south of the Jebel Haurān and the Lejāh between the Haurān hills and Damascus. They own a little cultivated land, mainly in the Ruhbah, and flocks of sheep, but few camels. They are, as a whole, poor and of bad reputation; like all tribes on the frontier of the desert they rob and pillage their neighbours, the settled inhabitants, but they usually escape unpunished; for the Sulṭan's writ fails a few miles out of Damascus, and the stony camping grounds of the Jebelīyah are difficult of approach.

The **Ghiyādh** used to plunder the desert post when it travelled fortnightly across the desert to Baghdad. Since its cessation, in 1912, they have occupied the outlying Turkish station, the *qishlah* east of Dhumeir, which was abandoned by the gendarmerie. The Jebelīyah are close allies of the Druzes, of whom they stand in awe. They pasture the Druze flocks in the low-lying Safa during the winter, and in summer come up into the foot-hills of the Jebel Haurān. They are usually on bad terms with the Anazah, and steal the sheep and camels of the Wuld 'Ali and Hasanah whenever an opportunity offers; and they are always at feud with the Beni Sakhr, who are the foes of the Druzes.

The **Masā'id** are said to be the most numerous of the Jebelīyah tribes; the Ghiyādh are next in importance.

The **'Īsa**, though they range Jebel Durūz and are classed vulgarly as Zobeid, are of Sakhr stock and acknowledge the kinship. The tribes of Jebel Durūz and the Lejāh are only a part of the Zobeid. Another large group is found east of the Tigris and is Shiah. The

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Aqeidāt, Duleim, and Jubūr all claim Zobeid origin. All Zobeid tribes claim a common Qahtān ancestor and therefore are Ahl Qibli.

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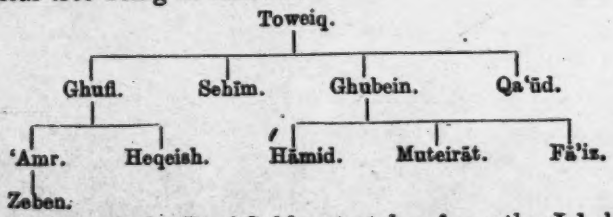
JEBELĪYAH (ZOBEID)

Masā'īd 500–600 tents.	E. part of J. Durūz Ibn 'Ayyāsh en-Na'air and Ibn Lāfi	*Adhamāt.* 500 tents.	J. Durūz
Ghiyādh. 500–600 tents.	In the Ruhbah and Safa	*Sherāfāt.* 500 tents.	,,
		Hadīyah. 400 tents.	,,
		Sulūt. 400–500 tents.	In the Lejāh
		Hasan. 400 tents.	Ibn Mutla', Ibn Khudeir. Jebel Durūz
		'Īsa. 400–500 tents.	Rat'ān ibn Mad-hi. Jebel Durūz

4. *Beni Sakhr.*

The **BENI SAKHR,** usually known as Ahl esh-Shimāl, 'People of the North', are of the northern Arabian stock, and reckon their descent from Mudhar, either through 'Abs or through Tamīm. Legend gives varied accounts of their origin, one being that the eponymous founder of the tribe was a certain Sakhr who came from the east; another that their ancestor was a child abandoned in the desert; he was adopted by a Bedouin called Dahāmsh, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and was nicknamed Toweiq (Tuweiq) on account of a small ring which he wore round his neck; for this reason the whole tribe is sometimes known as the Tauqah. It is also occasionally named, after the foster-father of its founder, the Dahāmshah. All traditions agree, however, that the Beni Sakhr spring from a common ancestor whose tomb is venerated at Bir Bā'ir. This cenotaph, built in an ancient caravan-station on the road from Damascus to Teima, which fell into disuse in the early Abbasid period, is covered with small votive offerings, and the great Sheikhs of the tribe, when they move down to summer quarters here, would not venture to enter the Wādi Bā'ir without sacrificing a camel in honour of the *jidd.*

The sub-tribes of the Sukhūr are all descendants of Toweiq, the genealogical tree being as follows:



The territory of the Beni Sakhr stretches from the Jebel Durūz in the north to the depression of Jafar, near Ma'ān, in the south; it is bounded on the east by the Wādi Sirhān, and on the west by the Jordan. It is a rolling country, sparsely covered with grass,

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619 and intersected by deep valleys which are rich in vegetation. In
101 the spring the Sukhūr go down as far south as the Jebel Tubeiq,
622 when they are on good terms with the Huweitāt; but relations between the two tribes are usually somewhat strained, and more than one pitched battle has been fought in the rocky Tubeiq hills. In the summer the wells of Bā'ir give abundant water, and the deep valley is never bare of pasturage; but the greater part of the tribe withdraws to the country round Mādeba and the northern Belqa, though the gradual extension of cultivation along the line of the Hejaz Railway has restricted their pasture-grounds. Some of the Fā'iz sub-tribe hold cultivated lands round Jīzah, and Fawwāz, eldest son of the paramount Sheikh Telāl ibn Fā'iz, has built himself a house on the ruins of the Roman fortress of Qastal.

The completion of the Hejaz Railway has undoubtedly strengthened the hold of the Ottoman Government upon the independent tribes who range along its northern sections. The Sukhūr, for example, do not enjoy the full measure of their former autonomy; for though they are unassailable when they retire into the desert, retribution falls upon them when the summer droughts force them back into the pastures west of the railway, and their cornfields at Jīzah, Duleilah, Netel, and elsewhere along the line enable the Turks to put a further turn on the screw. Fawwāz has become an Ottoman official, being Kaimmakam of Jīzah; but he is too close to Damascus to have escaped the political movement which has its centre in the capital of Syria, and Arab Unionists speak of him as a firm adherent of the Nationalist party. He is about 35, fairly intelligent, energetic, secretive, and untrustworthy. The Sukhūr are responsible for the Hejaz Railway, as they used to be responsible for the pilgrim road; they guard the line from Jīzah to Kerak, and receive a yearly subsidy in return for their services.

Jaussen[1] reckons the united strength of the tribe at from 700 to 800 tents, including in this estimate the three principal tribal divisions, the **Aghbein**, the **Ghufl** (with the two big sub-tribes, the **Zeben** and the **Heqeish**), and the **Khadhīr**. To these, however, must be added the **Khurshān** and the **Jubūr**, originally constituents of the **Ka'abnah**, a tribe once powerful, but now almost non-existent as a tribal unit. The Khurshān, formerly known as the Hammād, under their Sheikh Hadīthah, are politically inseparable from the Beni Sakhr, though a wholly different tribe-mark bears witness to their different origin. They are a warlike people, breeders of horses and camels; their pasture-grounds are near the Jebel Haurān. The Jubūr are sheep owners, and only half-nomadic.

The **Saleitah**, with a total of about 100 tents, are clients of the Sukhūr and live among them. The **Jahawashah**, though they are

[1] *Coutumes des Arabes au Pays de Moab*, p. 400.

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reckoned as a clan of the Fā'iz, are not of Beni Sakhr stock. They are a fraction of the **Useidah,** who, after a bloody quarrel, abandoned the Belqa, and took refuge with the Fā'iz. They do not intermarry with the Sukhūr, though in all other respects they form part of the tribe. On the other hand, the small but valiant tribe of the **Serdīyah,** an offshoot of the Sukhūr, are politically independent of the latter, and not infrequently at feud with them. They inhabit the eastern edge of the volcanic country to the east of the Jebel Haurān, and owe their position in the desert to the reputation of their late paramount Sheikh, Mit'ab el-Qanj, said to have been the strongest of living men. His son Ghālib, the present Sheikh, is about 30, not so noted a raider as Mit'ab, less ambitious than his father, and of mediocre intelligence. He is in close touch with Damascus, and counted by the younger Nationalist politicians as a friend and ally; but he is not sufficiently powerful to dispense with any protection which he can obtain from the Ottoman Government, and in 1911 he successfully invoked the aid of Sāmi Pasha against his hereditary foes, the Ruweilah.

The Beni Sakhr are almost always at war with the Anazah confederation on their east frontier; with the Huweitāt their relations are doubtful, with a general tendency to hostility, and the same applies to their north-western neighbours, the 'Adwān. The Druzes to the north are their sworn enemies, and the Zobeid confederation (the Jebelīyah), who roam the slopes of the Jebel Haurān, usually throw in their lot with the Druzes against the Sukhūr, though they are on fairly good terms with the Serdīyah. The cultivators from Mādeba and Salt, mainly Christians, who own most of the ploughed lands on the Hejaz Railway, are obliged to maintain friendly relations with the Beni Sakhr, since the Ottoman Government offers them little or no protection. They keep open house for the tribesmen, who profit largely by their hospitality, and hold them in commensurate esteem. Such families as the Ibn Jābir and the Bisharra are much respected, and enjoy a considerable influence in the desert. The cultivated land does not extend far beyond the railway, east of which the soil is too thin and the rainfall too scanty for successful corn-growing.

The latest information is, that after the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey in the winter of 1914, when the attack on the Canal was developing, the Beni Sakhr, fearing that the Ottoman Government would seize their camels for transport purposes, withdrew across the Sirhān. Having been for the past year at peace with the Ruweilah, they took refuge in their country. They were last heard of between 'Amūd and Māt, in the Wadyān district, and had even pushed as far east as the 'Amārāt pastures.

The Sukhūr are not among the great camel-owning tribes, but their herds can scarcely amount to less than some 12,000 to 15,000 head.

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.	Military Value. Horsemen.	Camel-riders.	Armed men.
Beni Sakhr. Telāl ibn Fā'iz. (Not recognized by all the clans as paramount).	*Aghbein*	*Fā'iz* Telāl	90	150	
		Hāmid Ibn Quftān	95	20	
		Jahawashah 'Ajāj	7		180
		Dahāmshah	4		40
		Muteirāt Fanhūr	20		70
700–800 tents	*Ghufl* *Zeben'* Falāh	*'Athmān* Shaubash *'Abd el-Qādir* Hamd ibn Qam-'ān	110	200	
	Heqeish	*Zeidān* Fahad ez-Zeidān *Beshīr* 'Aqīlah ibn 'Eitān *Sālim* Fahhād ibn Ma-'eishah *Mōr*	80	250	
	Khadhīr Qablān ibn Dakhthāni	Clans and numbers not known			
(Ka'abnah) 120 tents	*Khurshān*, 120 tents Hadīthah el-Khu-reishah		60		300
320 tents	*Jubūr*, 320 tents Sālim ibn Izheir Fureij	*Fureij* *A'qamah* *Dīkah* *Ghayālīn*			
1,140–1,240 tents			466	620	590
	Serdīyah, 150 tents Ghālib ibn Mit-'ab el-Qanj		40		250[1]
Saleitah. 100 tents	*Rusheid* Ghathuyān	*Radhāya* (at Lej-jūn and Umm er-Rusās)			
	Abu er-Rujeilah Jau'id				

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5. *The Humeidah.*

The dīra of the **HUMEIDAH** lies round Dhibān. It is bounded on the south-west by Khirbat Sarfa and the Wādi Beni Hammād; on the west by the Dead Sea; on the north by the Zerqa valley, Mareijimah and Duleilah, and on the east by Umm Shureif, 'Arā'ir, and the Wādi Mojib. It extends, therefore, from 7 miles north of Kerak to 4 miles south of Mādeba, a distance of about 28 miles, and is about 17 miles from west to east. The tribe, which had an evil reputation for unruliness and violence, has, since the occupation of Kerak by the Ottoman Government some twenty years ago, been reduced to complete submission and almost ruined by exactions. It pays £T 3,000 in taxes. The mudir of Wālah was specially appointed to take charge of the Humeidah. They number about 700 tents, and claim descent from a common ancestor called Fādhil, who came into the Dead Sea region with Sakhr, the *jidd* of the Sukhūr. For this reason they recognize a distant kinship between themselves and the Beni Sakhr. They are sheep-breeders, and grow crops in the fertile Kūrah district. Some of the Beni Tarīf are to be found at Kerak, and there are about 30 houses of Humeidah at Buseirah, east of Tāfilah, under Sheikh Sālim ibn Masyūghah.

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HUMEIDAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Abu Ruheihah. 170 tents	*Suweilim* at Kūrah (Dhibān)	*Wansah* *Su'ādah* *Hawāwshah* *Sarārhah* *Hawātimah*
Beni Tarīf. 300 tents	*Mansūr,* at Zeqeibah, W. of Shihān	*Ruwāhanah* *Dhurab'ah* *Heisah* *Shihānbah* *Falāhāt* *Shuqūr* *Hamādīn*
Abu Bureiz. 230 tents	*Mohammed,* at Mekāwir, NW. of Dhibān	*Diyārnah* *Jawafi'ī* *Qubeilāt* *Faqaha* *Rubūtah* *Hurūt* *Tawālibah* *Qa'aidah* *Muteilah* *Hāshim*

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B. Tribes of the Central West

1. *The Huweitāt*

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The **HUWEITĀT** are a stout and warlike tribe whose country extends from near Teima in the south to Kerak in the north, and on the east to the Nefūd and the Wādi Sirhān. On the west it is scattered down the Gulf of Akaba and through Sinai into Egypt. Huweitāt are nomads in the desert north-east of Cairo, and settled as cultivators round Tanta. The Huweitāt of Akaba, Sinai, and Egypt have no political link with the Sheikhs whose head-quarters are at or near Ma'ān; but they recognize certain claims of kinship, and if a Huweiti of the Tawāyah or Beni Jāzi got into difficulties with the Ottoman Government, he would seek refuge, if he could escape, in Sinai or in Egypt. The Huweitāt have, however, an exceptionally bad name for treachery. They are divided among themselves, and do not respect their own blood-ties. One clan will set upon a caravan under the convoy of a *rafiq* of another clan, shoot the *rafiq*, and rob and murder the merchants.

On the Syrian side the leading sub-tribe is the **Beni Jāzi,** and 'Arār ibn Jāzi is nominally the paramount Sheikh; but he is not recognized by the **Abu Tayy,** and the two groups are frequently at feud. The Tayy are an offshoot of the Jāzi, and owe their position to the restless energy of their Sheikhs. The late chief, 'Audah, was one of the most famous raiders of his time, and did not hesitate to carry his expeditions across the Hamād to the Euphrates, where he raided Ibn Hadhdhāl of the 'Amārāt. On one occasion, when he was out against the Sibā', he pushed almost as far north as Aleppo.

The Huweitāt are on close terms of friendship with the Beni 'Atīyah, and are at liberty to camp through all the 'Atīyah country. The Sheikh Ahmed ibn Tuqeiqah occupies the Red Sea coast between Muweilah and Dhaba, with his head-quarters at Dhaba. They are at war with the Shammar, except the clan of the Rammāl, which is connected by marriage with the Tayy; and they are usually on bad terms with the Wuld Suleimān and the Fuqara. With the Sukhūr relations are always delicate, and the two tribes often break into sharp conflict. In 1914 the jealousy between Ibn Jāzi and Abu Tayy led to continuous raids between the sub-tribes. Ibn Jāzi took refuge with the Sukhūr, and the Tayy with the Ruweilah. But the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey filled the tribes with a common fear that their camels might be requisitioned by the Ottoman Government for transport purposes; the Huweitāt made up their differences, and together with the Sukhūr retired east into the Anazah dīra, where the Government could not reach

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them. They are charged with the protection of the Hejaz Railway from Kerak to Ma'ān, and receive a yearly subsidy. Since Sāmi Pasha's expedition into the desert in 1910 they have regarded Ottoman authority with a certain amount of respect. 'Audah's cousin, Mohammed abu Tayy, was imprisoned for several months in Damascus, and upon his release was made responsible for the payment of the sheep- and camel-tax of his tribe—a lucrative position which he would be unwilling to forfeit.

In the spring the Tayy pasture over the north and east of the Jebel Tubeiq; the Jāzi camp to the south and south-west. In the summer the tribe draws in to Ma'ān, where it owns a little cultivation, and to Jafar, a depression east of Ma'ān. Ma'ān is the northern limit of the sandstone desert. Here the grassy downs of the Beni Sakhr country give place to forbidding leagues of rock weathered into fantastic shapes and diversified by sand-hills. Wells are few; nevertheless, in the sandstone bottoms there is a sufficiency of small shrubs and succulent weeds after the scanty rain.

The Huweitāt are not among the great camel-owners; probably the whole of the Syrian branch has not more than 5,000 to 8,000 animals.

The Huweitāt claim to be Ashrāf, i.e., descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fātimah; but it has been conjectured that they have a history which is ethnologically of far greater interest. They may be the descendants of the Nabataeans, who held the caravan road to Yemen—the old spice road—and had their capital at Petra, a few hours west of Ma'ān.

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Sheikh.*
Huweitāt. 400 tents 'Arār ibn Jāzi	*Beni Jāzi*, 100 tents	'Arār ibn Jāzi
	Dhiyābāt, 15 tents	Sālim ibn Dhi'āb
	Tawāyah, 150 tents	
	Demāni, 40 tents	Sālim ibn 'Aleyān
	Rukeibāt, 80 tents	Sālim abu Rukeib
Huweitāt of Akaba Hasan ibn Jād	*'Amrān*	
	'Alawīn	Hasan ibn Jād
Huweitāt of Sinai 1,200 camels	*Sarei'īn*	Sa'd abu Nār
	Ghanamīn	
	Dubūr	Suweilim abu Dhuhūr

2. *Beni 'Atīyah*

The **BENI 'ATĪYAH** are an old tribe closely akin to the Anazah. They claim descent from Ma'z, who is said to have been brother of 'Anz, the ancestor of the Anazah. A part of the tribe in the Hisma plain, east of Akaba, is known as the Ma'zi. Some authorities

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state that the 'Atīyah tribe was the origin of the Huweitāt, the Heiwāt, the Terabīn, Ma'zi, and Tiyāhah. Whether or no this be the true explanation of the relation between the 'Atīyah and the Huweitāt, it is certain that their connexion is exceedingly close. The two tribes camp in each other's country, and aid each other against common enemies.

The 'Atīyah occupy the northern half of the 'Aweiridh Harrah, and are separated from the Mawāhib Harrah by the hollow plain of the Jau, through which there is a road from Wejh to Tebūk. The Jau is reckoned to be the dividing line between the Ahl esh-Shimāl and the Ahl Qibli, the northern and the southern Arabs. The 'Atīyah are held responsible for the Hejaz line from Ma'ān to Dār el-Hamra. The coast from Sheikh 'Antar up to the Gulf of Akaba is in their hands (or those of the Huweitāt, their allies), as well as the high barren hills between the *harrah* and the sea. Their rugged mountain district is unsuitable for camel-breeding. Of the sub-tribes, the **Sidenyīn** and the **Khutheirah** inhabit the 'Aweiridh *harrah*, the Sidenyīn being at the northern end with the **Subūt** to the west of them. The **'Uqeilāt** (Ageylat) used to be carriers of goods between Ma'ān and Tebūk, but the railway must have taken some of their trade.

The 'Atīyah are stout in arms. Their foes are the Shammar and the allies of Shammar, the Fuqara and Wuld Suleimān. With the Fuqara the 'Atīyah maintain an inextinguishable feud. They raid the Harb and the central clans of the Huteim.

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
Beni 'Atīyah	*Rabilāt*
Mohammed ibn 'Atīyah	*'Uqeilāt*
	Sidenyīn
	Khutheirah
	Subūt

3, 4, 5. *The Billi, Mawāhib, and Juheinah*

To the south of the plain of the Jau lie the Mawāhib, who, though they are of Anazah descent, being a tribe of the Sibā', are Billi by adoption. The Billi and their southern neighbours, the Juheinah, are both of the Himyar stock, and therefore rightly described as Ahl Qibli. The **MAWĀHIB** (Moahib) inhabit the southern part of the 'Aweiridh, a rugged mass of volcanic rock upon a platform of sandstone. They are sheep-breeders, and are reduced to small numbers, though they were once powerful enough to drive the Beni Sakhr from the 'Aweiridh. Scattered clans are to be found among their kinsmen, the Sibā', and with the Beni Sakhr in the Belqa. There is besides

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an ancient colony of Mawāhib husbandmen, keepers of cattle, in the Hasa. Their dīra marches with the Hejaz Railway line from a little above El-Akhdhar to Medā'in Sālih; in the west they go down to the country of the Sehāmah, a clan of the Billi, and in summer the Sehāmah come up with their flocks into the *harrah*.

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The **BILLI** (Bali) and the **JUHEINAH** (Jeheina), both probably settled from very ancient times in the Tihāmah or coast region, extend from Na'mān Island to south of Yambo'. Both are charged with the protection of sections of the Hejaz Railway, and both are part cultivators and part Bedouins. The Billi are rice-carriers to the Arabs for the Wejh merchants and Turkish subjects, as are also the Juheinah, though neither are subject to much control. They are at feud with the Fuqara and the Wuld Suleimān, and the Juheinah are always at enmity with the Harb. The paramount sheikh of the Juheinah, the Sherif 'Ali ibn 'Abdullah, is a relation of the Grand Sherif, and lives at Yambo' en-Nakhl. The Juheinah Yambo' are the **'Arfu'a.**

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	
Billi. 600 tents Suleimān ibn Rafādah, at Wejh	*Hurūf*	
	Sehāmah	
	Quweyyin	
	Zubala	
	Aradāt	
	Wābisah	
	Sara'btah	(All these sub-tribes very doubtful)
	Qureyyah	
	Hareiri	
	Qrauti	
	Suweimli	
	Fuweihi	
	Jemān	
Mawāhib. 80 fighting men	*Serāhīn*	

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Juheinah. 500 tents Sherif 'Ali ibn 'Abdullah of Yambo' en-Nakhl	*Ghaneim.* E. and N. of Umlejh	Ghaneim, Hamdāni, Tharfāni, Mattutti, Mehādi
	Mohammed Sālih of Umlejh	
I. Mūsa	*Hamādi.* Gowaq	Seidāni, Shetheiwān, Arshadi, Hazīmi, Fiheidi
	Rāshid Salāmah	
	Elatti. Habl and mountains	Hamdāni, B. Mad-hi
	Kreyem 'Abd el-Kerim	
	Sināni. Habl and mountains	Bōrān, Ru'ūs el-Bil
	'Audah 'Abdullah	

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.
	Feidi. Qōra N. of Umlejh Eid Birki	B Marsūq, B. Rubeikah, Mat'ān, Shuweitah, Dhawi Huleyyil, Ladhah
	Samīri. E. of Umlejh 'Abdullah Salāmah	
	Hibeishi. E. of Samīri	
	Alwāni. Nabdh between Umlejh and Yambo' Ibrāhīm Fineighish	
	Hajari. Near Hibeishi	
	Enāmi. Wādi el-'Eis, E. of Umlejh	
	Eneini. Wādi el-'Eis	
II. MĀLIK	*Nazzah.* Umlejh	
	Thobyāni	
	Refa'i (*'Arfu'a*)	Haswāni, Nashūri, Wahbāni
	Erwi	Abu Wāmi, Suweilhi, Sheleibhi, Jammāli, Wadyāni, Amīri, Dhaf'āni, Labdāni.

6. *The Harb*

The **HARB** are Ahl esh-Shimāl. They are a powerful and warlike tribe of the Hejaz and of Nejd, occupying the coast of the Red Sea from Yambo' to Qunfudah, the mountain country between Medina and Mecca, and the desert to the north-east up to Jebel Abānāt. Inland, their country extends just across the Wādi er-Rummah. On the south they push down to the Sha'īb el-'Useibiyāt and the Harrat Qishb, i. e. the vicinity of the caravan road from Boreidah to Mecca, if the Ateibah are in their southern pastures; but this country is really the dīra of the latter.

In the days of the Emir Mohammed of Hā'il, the eastern Harb paid tribute to the Rashīd; but they are now independent. The clans in the Hejaz come under the influence of the Sherif, though they pay him tribute only when it suits them. They are responsible for the safety of the southernmost section of the Hejaz Railway, but their connexion with the pilgrim traffic is chiefly of a less respectable kind; for they rob caravans on the Mecca road, kill and plunder stragglers, and extort money at every opportunity. Their **'Auf** and **Lehābah** clans are noted highwaymen, much dreaded by the Pilgrimage. The Harb of the Hejaz (Beni Sālim and Masrūh) are mostly cultivators, fishermen, and carriers. The Beni Sālim are also camel-breeders, and so are the Nejd clans of the Beni 'Amr; but none of the Harb are specially rich in camel herds.

They are divided into three (or two?) big sub-tribes. The **Beni Sālim** live in the Hejaz, though there is a small branch of the **Muzeināt** in the

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south-east parts of Sinai. The **Subh**, one of their sub-tribes, are almost entirely nomad and have a reputation for bravery and valour. The other sub tribes are half settled, half pastoral, with the exception of the Quwwād, a tribe of menials, camel-drivers, and negroes, divided between the Beni Sālim and the Masrūh. The chief Sheikhs of the Subh are Khalīl el-Ahmed, who is 25 years old, and Sherīf ibn Nāmi, a man of 60.

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The **Beni 'Amr** own the date-growing district of Fur' near Medina, but their principal Sheikh, Ez-Zuweibi, is generally in Nejd. He is about 18 or 20 years of age, a strong partisan of the Sherif. The sub-tribe of the **Jahm** are Shiahs.

The **Masrūh** have charge of the caravan road and hold Rābugh. A big sub-tribe, the **Zobeid** (Zubeid), are fishermen and sailors along the coast from Jiddah to Yambo'. Mostly settled in villages, they are of a stock despised by purely nomadic Arabs. Their paramount Sheikh, Husein ibn Mubeirik, lives at Rābugh. His territory extends from Mastūrah in the north to Qulīyah in the south.

A large group of the Zobeid is established in Mesopotamia, where they are cultivators and herdsmen. The **Beni 'Ali**, at Medina, are a turbulent confederation, bitterly hostile to the Turks. They are at present strongly influenced by the Sherif, and before the recent revolt were used by him to keep the town in a state of unrest and disorder. They are a much rougher people than any of the Beni Sālim, and are sometimes said not to be of the Harb race.

HARB[1]

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Beni Sālim. 2,000 tents or more Khalīl ibn Khalīfah el-Ahmadi; Sherīf ibn Nāmi; Muhsin ibn 'Abbās, in Wādi Safra	*Ahamda*, 500 men Khalīl el-Ahmadi, in Jebel Fiqra between Medina and Yambo'. *Subh*, 1,500 men Sherīf ibn Nāmi, in Jebel Subh and Bedr Hunein *Rahalah*, 500 men From Bir 'Abbās to Bir Ibn Hasāni *Hunatiyāt* Khalaf ibn Nahal *'Azīmāt* *Jimālah* Dhiyāb ibn Mudheyyin *Hawāzin*, 200 men or more Wādi el-Kheif, near Fiqra	

[1] This scheme is not put forward as authoritative, but as subject to considerable revision. Authorities differ much about the organization of the Harb.

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Beni Sālim (*continued*):	*Qu'ād* Some belong to the Masrūh *Dhuwāhir*, 200 men Safra, near Medina *Ruwāthah*, 50 men Safra, near Medina *Muzeināt* Talab el-Muzeini, Eastern Hejaz	
Beni 'Amr. 2,000 tents or more Dheifallah ez-Zuweibi, in Nejd	*Beledīyah*, 400 men Between Rābugh and Fur' *Mu'abbed*, 1,000 men Near Mecca *Humrān*, 100 men Between Mecca and Jiddah *B. Jābir*, 500 men Near the Humrān *Bishr*, 200 men Wādi Fātimah *'Ibidah* Jebel Thubra *Rubaqa* At Fur', near Medina *Manash* West of Madhīq, near Fur' *Jahm* Between Mecca and Medina in the Fur' *B. Mohammed* Khureibah, a day N. of Rābugh *Beidhān* Nahidh ibn Mūjid *Wohūb* 'Aqab ibn Rasādah *Jerājirah* *Ghayadīn* *Jibārah*.	
3,000 men or more Husein ibn Mubeirik, Sh. of Rābugh. Ibn Muslat.	*Beni 'Ali* Mohammed ibn Ruweiti Ibn Muslat, near Medina *Zobeid* Husein ibn Mubeirik Yambo' to Jiddah	*Bedarīn* Mufadhdhal el-Bedrāni *Khidharah* Nāfi' el-Khadīr *Firidah* Mehsin el-Fird *Sahāf*, 500 men In Jebel Gharān *'Usum*, 80 men, at Khuleis *Mughāribah*, 50 men. Between Jiddah and Rābugh *Sa'āyadah*, 50 men. Between Jiddah and Rābugh

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Mazrûh (*continued*):		*Wifyân*
		Jaghâthîlah, in Qadeid
		Jid'ân, Thahabân to Jiddah
		Hunûd
		Jerâjirah, 80 men Near Khuleis
		'Izarah, 80 men Near Khuleis
		Wildîyah. Near Khuleis
		Jahâdha, 100 men In Towal
		'Uslân, 100 men. From Râbugh to Thahabân
	Zobeid in Mesopotamia. Between Museyyib and 'Alâq, 9 hrs. E. of Hillah	*Abu Sulân*
		Shamamitah
		Abu Mohammed
		Abu Husein
		Jeish
		Abu 'Abdullah
	Wuld Salîm Madwakh ibn Salîm	
	'Auf	*Suwâ'id*
		Sehlîyah
		Lehâbah, 80 men Jebel Gharân
		Beni Sifrân, 2,000 men Jiddah
		Haib. In Lebanon
		Kanâdirah
	Sa'dîn Above Medina on Darb el-Hajj	
	Quwâd (half are Beni Salîm)	

7. *The Ateibah*

The **ATEIBAH** (*'Uteibah*) are the most powerful tribe in Central Arabia, strong in arms and great camel-breeders. Among all the nomads they are second in importance only to the Anazah. They occupy the eastern side of the Hejaz with the volcanic *harrahs* between the Hajj road and the Central Arabian steppes. Their pasturages run east to Qasîm and Woshm, and south to the dîras of the Qahtân, of the Buqûm and Shalâwah, and of the Sebei'. This country abounds in wells; it has a regular if small rainfall in winter, and is not wholly dry in early autumn, when it receives the end of the monsoon rains. It supports large herds of sheep and camels, and in places the grass grows so richly that the Bedouins gather a hay-crop; everywhere there is a low growth of acacias, and game is plentiful.

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The clans in the Hejaz, such as the Helissah, Meraukhah, Kurzān, Sebbahah, Marāshidah, and Semarrah, are small in numbers and breed sheep only. There is little cultivation in the *harrahs*, no more than palm-groves and small Ateibah villages.

The two great divisions of the tribe are the **Rūqah** and the **Berqah**. The Rūqah are chiefly in the Hejaz, the Berqah in the eastern desert. The paramount Sheikh of the Berqah, Mohammed ibn Hindi, used to be a close friend and ally of Ibn Sa'ūd, rode with him in raiding expeditions and aided him with fighting men. But the relation of the Ateibah to the Sherif and Ibn Sa'ūd respectively has been somewhat modified of late. The tribe used to belong to Ibn Sa'ūd's confederation, only those clans which actually inhabited the Hejaz coming under the Sherif: but at the same time Ateibah sympathies were on the whole with the Sherif, possibly because he was farther away and exercised a less direct control. In 1910 his second son, 'Abdullah, raided Qasīm, nominally on behalf of the Ateibah Sheikhs. He captured Sa'd, the brother of 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd; but the support which he expected from Ibn Rashīd was not forthcoming, and when the Emir 'Abd el-'Azīz appeared in force he made terms with him and retired. Ibn Sa'ūd undertook that the Ateibah should be tax-free, and that the Qasīm should pay the Sherif £4,000 a year. The first part of this arrangement was not observed by Ibn Sa'ūd (and in all probability the second part met with as little respect). No sooner had 'Abdullah gone back to the Hejaz than the Emir raided the Ateibah on the ground that they had harboured the rebellious Aulād Sa'ūd, the grandsons of his uncle, who had tried to raise Kharj and Hariq against him. In 1915 'Abdullah returned to the charge. He carried an expedition as far as the province of Sedeir in Nejd, levied taxes from the eastern Ateibah, and had a successful encounter with the Barrīyah, who are allies of the Muteir and subjects of Ibn Sa'ūd.

The Ateibah are foes of the Harb, than whom they are more powerful; they are generally on good terms with the two small tribes on their southern frontier, the Buqūm and Shalāwah, and at feud with the Qahtān.

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ATEIBAH

Paramount Sheikh	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Tūrki ibn Rubei'ān	*Rūqah*, 2,500 tents Tūrki ibn Rubei'ān	*Dhawi Thubeit* Nāsir ibn Muheyya
		Hanātīsh Dhawi 'Ātīyah Nejm ibn Shuleiwikh ibn Zureibah
		Dhawi Mazrū' Talhah Sineitān edh-Dheit
		Mezāhimah Thu'eil el-Kharrās ibn Huleyyil
		Mizham Ja'ilān
		Khufāt
		Helissah
		Meraukhah
		Kurzān
		Sebbahah
		Sheyābīn
Mohammed ibn Hindi ibn Maslat	*Bergah*, 3,000 tents Mohammed ibn Hindi	*Maqātah* Meqîtah ibn Hindi
		Khanāfir Shālih el-Humuqi
		Ghazā'ilah Shāfi ibn Dāli
		Qumizah Mehāhi ibn Thuweimir
		Rausān 'Ubeid ibn Jāmi'
		Da'jīn (or *Da'ājīl*) Menāhi el-Heidhal
		Dhawi Khuyūt Nāsir ibn 'Aqeyyil
		Sheyābīn Hadhdhāl ibn Fahīd esh-Shibāni
		Dhawi 'Abdillah Menāhi ibn Museifir
		Dhawi Khalīfah Beyyin el-Jalāwi
		Nafa' Dhawi Ziyād Mohammed abu Ruquba
		Dhawi Mufarrij Shebīb ibn Hajjena
		Filītah Es-Sultān
		Daghālibah Mohammed el-Mihari
		'Asumah Abu el-'Ala
		Hiddaf Aleitha el-'Ameidi
		Marāshidah
		Semarrah

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8. *Minor Tribes of Southern Hejaz.*

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Several small independent tribes share the south part of Hejaz with the two greater tribes, Harb and Ateibah, of which the first lies along the coast, the second inland from Tā'if. They are all, in part, settled or half-settled, and all acknowledge the authority of the Sherif.

(*a*) The **Hudheil** (Hatheil) are divided into two main sections, a northerly and a southerly. The first ranges east and south of Mecca, and especially along the road between that city and Tā'if, the second beyond Tā'if. No. I is said to have seven clans: Mutārafah (Wādi Fātimah), Mas'ūd (Rī' es-Seil), Sowahar (Rī' es-Seil), B. 'Amr, **Met'ān** (from Mecca to Jiddah), Lahiyān (east of Mecca), Janābir (El-Kōr). No. II has eight clans: Garhīyah, Marzūqīyah, Sarwāni, **Kabkabi**, B. Fahm, Nadwīyah, Dadīyah, and 'Abdīyah.

(*b*) **Beni Faham**, a small tribe living in Wādi Waghar, to the east of the Juhadlah and between them and the Beni Thaqīf. They are entirely nomadic and are noted for their skill in tracking. They are friendly with the Beni Thaqīf and Juhadlah, and are still faithful to Sherif 'Ali, the deposed Sherif of Mecca. The Chief Sheikh is Ismā'īl ibn **Dahyān**. They number about 1,000 men. Related to the Qoreish.

(*c*) The **Juhadlah** are an entirely nomad tribe with no defined limits, but such boundaries as they have may be said to start just south of Serūm (Serom), the southern limit of the Harb, and run thence almost to Līth, covering all the coast and taking a wide sweep inland to the east of Jebel Abu Shauk and Jebel Sa'dīyah. Their neighbours on the south are the Āl Mahdi and Dhawi Barakāt and, to the north-east of Līth, the Beni Faham.

They also mingle with the Dhawi Surur and Shenabrah to the south of Mecca, and are generally to be found along the road from Mecca to Jebel 'Arafāt and east to Shaddād and Jebel Mohram. From Serūm to Līth, however, is their original district, the chief centre being round Sa'dīyah. They number about 4,000 men and, although good fighters, are not quarrelsome. Their country is a poor one, and affords scanty pasturage to their herds of camels, in which they are fairly rich. In times of drought they go south to Wādi Dōkhah in the Dhawi Barakāt country. They do not cultivate, but buy all their grain from Tā'if or Līth, in return for the *semn* which they sell. They all carry spears and knives, and, those who can afford them, rifles.

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For purposes of internal administration the tribe is divided into two parts, the one under Mohammed ibn Sa'īd, the other under Mohammed ibn Hanesh. The former is faithful to the Sherif of Mecca. Sheikh Mohammed ibn Hanash, who rules over the Āl Munīf or Munīfīyah, dislikes the Sherif, owing to his habit of commandeering camels whenever his followers go to Mecca, and therefore keeps chiefly to Sa'dīyah and the coast. He has made overtures to Idrīsi, but is too far off and too weak to do more than sympathize with him. He was neutral during the Turco-Sherifian expedition in 1910, and removed his tribe into the inaccessible mountains.

The two chief Sheikhs are on good terms with each other and the sub-tribes freely intermingle. They are friendly towards the Dhawi Hasan and Beni Faham, but inimical to the Harb. The Ateibah, though distant, raid them when they stray too far east. The Hudheil and they are of one origin and are on terms of the closest friendship.

The Juhadlah are hospitable to strangers, but they have little religion and seldom go on the Pilgrimage. In person they are taller than most Arabs, wear their hair short, and are dressed in a red 'tob' (*thūb*) which reaches from the waist to the knee, the end being thrown over the left shoulder.

(i) Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Sa'īd.

Sub-tribes: 'Alyānīyah, Sheinīyah, Hershīyah, Jamshīyah, Tha'bānīyah, Hasnānīyah, Jirshīyah.

(ii) Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Hanash.

(1) Āl Munīf, of which the chief subdivisions are:

Āl es-Sihim.	Mohammed es-Sultān.
Āl Madāthir.	Husein ibn Huneish.
Beni Bur.	Mas'ūd ibn Mohammed.
Āl Yām.	Mohammed ibn Muhsin
Āl Zahein.	Mizhar ibn Sihmān.

(2) Hijrīyah, of which the chief subdivision is:

Āl Faham.	Haidar ibn Huneish.

(*d*) The **Āl Mahdi** are a small semi-nomad tribe near Līth, who make their living chiefly as fishermen. They are a poor and down-trodden people, thoroughly awed by their powerful neighbours the Dhawi Hasan. They do not number more than 200 souls.

Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Qasīm.

Chief Clans:

El-Mujeishah.	Ahmed ibn Mas'ūdah.
Āl Hasan.	Ibn Ahmed er-Rideini.

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(*e*) The **Beni Mālik** of the Hejaz are a small tribe numbering not more than 2,000 men, who live in the mountains inland of Līth. The adjoining tribes are the Beni Sa'd on the north, the Shalāwah nomads on the east, the Zahrān on the south, and the Juhadlah on the west. The Beni Mālik are not a fighting tribe, but they are hospitable and industrious, and cultivate figs and grapes in the wādis, as well as wheat, barley, and *dhura*. During the Pilgrimage season most of them go to Mecca and Jiddah and act as porters. They thus come more into contact with the outside world than most tribes and are more civilized. They are devoted to the Sherif and pay him taxes.

Nāsir ibn Rawwāf is their chief Sheikh.

They live at peace with their neighbours, except the Shalāwah, who occasionally raid them. Most of their villages are clustered in Wādi Lūz and Wādi Rummān.

(*f*) The **Shenabrah** are a small nomad tribe to the south of Mecca, numbering not more than 150 men. They are one of the 21 Ashrāf clans (see pp. 406 ff.), and, being nearly related to the 'Abādilah, support the Sherif of Mecca. Sherif Judallah is their head. The Shenabrah are brave and lawless, and are generally at loggerheads with the Dhawi Surur.

(*g*) The **Dhawi Surur** number about 200 men and wander over the country to the south of Mecca, being entirely nomadic. They are one of the 21 Ashrāf clans, and are connected with the Dhawi Zeid. They are opposed to the Shenabrah. Sherif Dukhān is their chief Sheikh. Clans are Aulād El-Hasan and Āl 'Azīz. They all obey the Sherif.

(*h*) The **Beni Thaqīf**, a tribe descended from Himyar in the highlands to the south of Tā'if. They are bounded on the north by the northern section of Juhadlah, on the south by the Beni Nasri, east by the Shalāwah, and west by the Beni Faham. They are almost entirely settled and agricultural, and grow cereals, grapes, and other fruits for the Tā'if market. For water they depend partly on the summer rains, but chiefly on well water. Nāsir ibn Ghuzeil is their chief Sheikh, a firm adherent of the Sherif of Mecca. He commands about 2,000 fighting men. In times of crisis they combine with the Beni Mālik, Beni Sa'd, and Beni Nasri. They are always at feud with the Beni Faham and are not cordial to the Juhadlah. They possess very few camels. A certain proportion of the tribs lives permanently in Tā'if. The chief sub-tribes are Sufyān, Mu'adhdher, and Rabī'ah.

(*i*) The **Beni Sa'd**, a tribe which traces its descent to Himyar.

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It is bounded on the north by the Nasri, on the south by the Beni Mālik, east by the Shalāwah, and west by the Beni Faham and southern Juhadlah. Their country is more fertile than that of their northern neighbours, wells being plentiful, and they raise cereals and fruits. There are no nomads amongst them. They favour the Emir of Mecca and can provide him with about 1,000 men.

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Hamsa ibn Mohammed is their chief Sheikh.

There is enmity between them and the Shalāwah, and with the Juhadlah they are by no means friendly. They combine with the Beni Thaqīf, Beni Mālik, and Nasri in times of danger.

9. *Tribes of the NE. Asir Borderland.*

Certain tribes which inhabit the region between Northern Asir and Southern Nejd (so far as this is not occupied by the Ateibah) must be mentioned, although it is very doubtful if any of them can be regarded as predominantly nomadic. It is certain, in any case, that a large proportion of their members are partly settled, either in the upper valleys of the inland Asiri wādis or in the Nejd oases; and it is probable that enough of them are now permanent cultivators to deprive the tribes of the Bedouin character they once had. Comparatively little, however, is known about them.

The most numerous and important tribe is the **SEBEI'**, whose home-land is the ill-known region of Wādi Sebei', which lies between N. Asir and Woshm and appears to include the lower basins of two of the great Asiri wādis, Turabah and Ranyah. Not only, however, are settled Sebei' found also in towns and villages of almost all the Nejd districts, but nomad members wander even east of these into Summān, and over many parts of Eastern Toweiq. The nomad element of the tribe numbers at least 1,000 tents, and is divided in allegiance, the Sebei' of Wādi Turabah being tributary to the Sherif, while the rest (the larger part) acknowledge Ibn Sa'ūd. The whole tribe is either Wahabite or Hanbali Sunnite.

The names of some seventeen sub-tribes are known, but almost all in connexion with settled Sebei'.

Connected with the Sebei' and possibly constituting a sub-tribe only are the **SAHUL** (or Shaul), of which nomad members range S. Nejd and into Hasa. If identical with the **SHALĀWAH**, their home-land is Wādi Sebei'. But it is practically certain that they are now more settled than nomadic and have become only less a permanent element of the Nejd population than the Fadhūl. They

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619 have probably not above 300 tents, and in religious colour and political allegiance follow the Sebei'.

101 The **BUQŪM** are intimately connected with the two foregoing
622 tribes, but are both more predominantly nomadic and less scattered abroad. They are found in the basins of all the inland Asiri wādis, including Wādi Bīshah, and appear to be accepted equally by the Ateibah on the north and the Qahtān on the south, and to divide their allegiance in the same manner as the Sebei'. They are said to have about 500 tents.

C. Tribes of the Central South

1. *The Qahtān*

The **QAHTĀN** are almost the only very ancient Arabian people which still maintains its importance as a tribal unit. They are, according to Arab tradition, the mother-stock of the Ahl Qibli, and it is not improbable that for a very long period of time they may have occupied their present district near the southern limits of the habitable desert. No travellers have penetrated into their country and little is known about them. Strange, and seemingly quite baseless, accounts of their customs are repeated among the northern tribes; for, like all distant and unknown peoples, they are a peg on which to hang marvels. Their country lies to the west of Hautah and is divided into three districts, Hasāt, Areiji, and Tathlīth, the last being near Asir. The Shahrān and the Sebei' lie to the west, the Dawāsir to the south and south-west, the Buqūm and Shalāwah to the north. Somewhere north of Bīshah is the Bilād Qahtān, with a group of villages known as the Qahtānīyah (Tarīd, 'Azīm, and Kir'ān are among their number), and the Beni Wahhāb villages inhabited by a small tribe of that name.

The Qahtān acknowledge the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd and join him in his raiding expeditions. So far as they are Moslems at all, they are Hanbali Sunnites or Wahabites. They come up to Shaqrah in the Woshm for dates, and when they are camping in the southern parts of their country they buy dates from the Dawāsir villagers, but they themselves have no lands in the valley and are not cultivators. They are very rich in camels, which are sold to the Qasīm buyers when the herds come north, towards Nejd. The settled section of the Qahtān, which includes six autonomous tribes and owns the paramount authority of Mohammed ibn Dhuleim, is dealt with later (pp. 132, 441 ff.).

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2. *The Dawāsir.*

The nomadic **DAWĀSIR** are Wahabite and more or less under Ibn Sa'ūd. Half-settled, they have villages in the Wādi Dawāsir, which they inhabit during the summer. They breed camels, though not in such large quantities as the Qahtān. The Qasīm dealers do not come as far south as the Dawāsir, but the latter bring their camels into the Hasa and dispose of them there to the Qusmān. 619 101 622

The Dawāsir have overflowed into the easterly provinces of Southern Nejd, and now form a considerable settled element in Aflāj, where they are the chief owners of land, worked by men of the *fellāh* tribe of Beni Khadhīr. To a less extent they are found also in Harīq and 'Āridh, where they contribute a proportion of the village and even the town population. Small parties of their nomads wander between Nejd and Hasa and trouble the routes. A considerable body is settled in Bahrein. Indeed, so small a proportion of the Dawāsir is in any sense Bedouin, that the tribe hardly comes within our purview here; for the settled clans see Chap. XVI, pp. 604 ff.

D. Tribes of the Central East

1. *The Shammar*

The **SHAMMAR** are northern Arabs. They do not spring from a single ancestor, but account for themselves by saying that they are a mixture of Taghlib, 'Abs, and Hawāzin, the first a constituent of Rabī'ah, the two last of Mudhar. The Ja'far, to which the ruling family of the Rashīd belongs, is a sub-tribe of 'Abdah, and the 'Abdah claim descent from the 'Abidah, a part of the settled Qahtān: they could, therefore, be Yemenites. Beyond these vague traditions, the Shammar are ignorant of their own history before they established themselves in Jebel Shammar, 'the two mountains of Tayy' frequently mentioned in pre-Mohammedan literature, where they displaced (and probably partly incorporated) the ancient Tayy nation, a branch of the Qahtān. About the middle of the seventeenth century they began to stretch their frontiers into the Syrian Desert, where they encountered, and, after a brief struggle, defeated, the

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Mawāli, then the most powerful tribe in the northern steppe, driving them into the north-east borders of Syria.

Early in the nineteenth century the Anazah forced the Shammar northwards across the Euphrates, and split the tribe into two parts, interposing themselves between these two in the Syrian Desert. Thus the Shammar of Jebel Shammar and those of the Jezīrah (Mesopotamia) came to be geographically and politically distinct. The southern group follows Ibn Rashīd, the northern Ibn Jerba. But ethnologically they are one; the same sub-tribes are found in either group, and though they do not offer united resistance to their common enemy, the Anazah, they are always on terms of friendship with one another. Any small sheikh of the Jezīrah may bring down his tents and flocks to Jebel Shammar for a year's pasturage, if he be so minded.

The **SOUTHERN SHAMMAR** must be considered, not only as a powerful nomad tribe, but also as the masters of the oases in J. Shammar. The settled population of the latter is mostly of the Beni Tamīm, an ancient branch of Mudhar which once inhabited all North-East Arabia, but now has relinquished the nomadic life (see p. 81). The Shammar, for their part, are nomads, though they come down to the oases during the summer drought. The Emir of J. Shammar plays a double part. He is Paramount Chief of his own tribal confederation; but also he is ruler of a settled country, of which Hā'il is the capital, a prince with a fixed habitation, exercising authority over other Bedouins whose connexion with him is not tribal but political. The Shammar tribal frontiers remain more or less unchanged, but the sphere of the Emir's influence varies with the vicissitudes of his dynastic fortunes.

The Shammar tribe ranges the south-east Nefūd and the country to the north almost up to Nejef. To the east its limits have been somewhat restricted by the Dhafīr, who are always at feud with it and encroach upon its dīra. Since the old eastern pilgrim road, the Darb Zobeidah, is seldom safe from Dhafīr raids, it has been abandoned by the Emir's caravans in favour of a more westerly track past the fortified wells of Hayyānīyah; but the proper Shammar pasture-grounds extend up to it and across it. To the north, the loss of Jauf el-'Amr has shut the Shammar into the Nefūd. They do not wander far beyond J. 'Irnān on the west, nor southwards beyond Mustajiddah; while the summer camping-ground of Beidha Nethīl is occupied sometimes by Shammar, but mostly by the Anazah of the Teima district.

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The political influence of Hā'il has decreased notably since the death of the Emir Mohammed, in 1897. At the height of his power he ruled over Riyādh and the Qasīm, and levied tribute from the Northern Harb, the Huteim, Fuqara, Wuld Suleimān, and Beni Wahhāb. The Southern Shammar tribes, great breeders of sheep and camels, number something under 4,000 tents. The villages of J. Shammar contain probably not much over 20,000 souls. Both tribesmen and villagers are devotedly loyal to the Emir. The subject tribes from whom he might be able, on occasion, to raise fighting men number at most 1,200 tents. Teima, which is subject to him, must have a population of from 1,500 to 2,000. 619 101 622

At a rough estimate Ibn Rashīd could probably raise from 500 to 800 fighting men from the villages, and 2,000 from the Shammar tribes. He might obtain another 500 or 600 from the tribes between Jebel Shammar and Teima, though their support would always be doubtful. The tribesmen would bring their own camels, but they would depend on the Emir for food and ammunition. The villagers he would have to mount and arm as well as feed. His own camel herds, seriously reduced in numbers since the days of the Emir Mohammed, may now amount to about 1,000 camels, including those which are not yet fit for service. The Shammar tribes are not as rich in camels as the Anazah, but they must average some 20–30 camels to a tent, which would bring the numbers up to 80,000 or rather more, including breeding camels and calves. 619 101 622 701

The relations between the Shammar and the Muteir are usually hostile. With the Dhafīr the Shammar are always at feud, but the Muntefiq were recently on good terms with Ibn Rashīd. The Huteim are out of hand and raid Shammar territories when the Emir is occupied with distant expeditions against the Ruweilah or the Dhafīr. On the western borders, the Huweitāt are the foes of all Shammar, except the sub-tribe of Rammāl, with whom one of their Paramount Sheikhs is connected by marriage. The B. 'Atīyah are hereditary enemies, and the Juheinah and Billi raid both the Wuld Suleimān and the Shammar.

Arab tribal federations or states, however, are held together only by an autocratic ruler, and their strength increases or diminishes in exact ratio to his weight and capacity. The Southern Shammar had their day under the Emir Mohammed. Since his death they have been handicapped by the violence and folly of their leaders. But, nevertheless, their numbers, their great tradition, and the support of the Ottoman Government make them still one of the chief factors in Central Arabian politics.

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The **NORTHERN SHAMMAR** of the Jezīrah are variously estimated. Probably a total of 2,000 tents is not far from the true figure; but they have been put as high as 10,000 tents. Their pasture-grounds are between the Tigris and the Euphrates, though occasionally they cross the Tigris in the region of the Lesser Zāb. They come down to Baghdad and even south of Baghdad as far as Zobār. To the west they extend to Deir ez-Zōr, which is a head-quarters of the tribe; thence north up the Khābūr and to near Nisībīn they wander over the fertile desert which is watered by the Jaghjagh and its affluents. They are at feud with their Anazah neighbours, both Fed'ān and 'Amārāt, and usually on bad terms with the Kurdish tribes to the north and north-east. Traditional rebels against Ottoman authority, they slip between the fingers of the Mutesarrif of Deir and the Vali of Mosul, paying taxes to neither. They exact dues from the caravans on the Tigris road and not infrequently hold up the traffic along this important link between Asia Minor and Baghdad, forcing travellers, and sometimes even the Government post, to take the longer route by Irbil and Kerkūk. The *keleks* on the river are subject to their exactions also. In 1911, the cup of their iniquities having overflowed, Nāzim Pasha, then Vali of the 'Irāq, sent an expedition against them under his chief of staff, Hasan Riza Bey (murdered during the siege of Scutari in the following year). He conducted matters very skilfully. The Shammar came in without resistance, camel- and sheep-dues, many years in arrear, were collected at a great camp formed at Hatrah, and the rights of the tribe over the Mosul road were defined. But the fall of Nāzim immediately afterwards, and the resignation of Hasan Riza, took the heart out of this agreement.

The Shammar of the Jezīrah are all under the sheikhly family of the Jerbān, who sprang into political importance about 1830 with Sheikh Sufūq ibn Jerba, a bitter enemy of the Turks. His eldest son, Ferhān, was a lover of peace and kept on good terms with the Government; but the contest was continued by Ferhān's brothers, of whom the youngest, Fāris, took refuge in J. Shammar with Ibn Rashīd. He returned to the Jezīrah in the seventies, and from that time shared the position of Paramount Sheikh with Ferhān. He took the camping-grounds on the Khābūr, while Ferhān held those round Mosul, with his head-quarters at Hatrah, and on the brackish springs of the Wādi Tharthar. In 1911 'Āsi, the eldest of Ferhān's sixteen sons, was appointed by Hasan Riza Bey Paramount Sheikh and made responsible to the Government for all Mesopotamian Shammar. He is a man advanced in years, peaceable and upright.

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He keeps to the Mosul district, while two of his cousins, 'Abd el-Muhsin and Mohammed, sons of 'Abd el-Kerīm, roam the Khābūr country. The sons of Fāris are young and not of much account. The eldest now living, Mish'al, is nephew, through his mother, of Noweidis et-Timyāt of the **Tūmān** (Shammar of the Jebel). Some of the many sons of Ferhān own cultivated land on the southern reaches of the Tigris, and one, Humeidi, has almost dropped nomad habits and passes much of his time in a house which he has built in Baghdad.

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Between 'Amārah and Baghdad there is a group of small tribes, the **Tauqah** (Toga), who call themselves Shammar, though they are of mixed blood. They are half-nomadic, going out into the desert west of the Euphrates in spring with their sheep and donkeys, and coming back into their Jezīrah villages in the summer. The chief of these tribes are the **Mas'ūd** (Mes'ūd), between Museyyib and Kerbela, the **Zagārit**, round Kerbela, and the **Zauba'** (Zoba), five hours west of Baghdad. They are Shiah, and, like all settled Arabs, fairly numerous.

SHAMMAR OF NEJD

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
'Abdah. 1,500 tents	*Mufadhdhal*	*Bureik*
Ibn Jebrīn	Mitni ibn Jebrīn	Ibn Bureik
Ibn 'Ajil	*Fadhl*	
Ibn 'Ali	'Aqab ibn 'Ajil (maternal uncle of Emir 'Abd el-'Azīz)	
	Ja'far	
	Wādi ibn 'Ali	
	Weibār	
	Ibn Shureim	
	Jeniddah	
	Hāmid el-Hihi	
	'Amūd	
	Slash ibn Feisāl	
	Deghairāt (small)	
Aslam. 1,200 tents	*Juheish*	
Dhāri et-Tawālah	*Mas'ūd* (*Mes'ūd*)	
	'Adhib ibn El-Gheisim	
	Firidah (*Fruddah*)	
	'Amash el-Ferīd	
	Wureik	
	'Aqab ibn Wureik	

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Aslam (*continued*):	*Rumāh*	
	Mutlaq er-Rumāhi	
	Tūmān	*Hadbah* (*Hidbah*)
	Noweidis et-Timyāt	Mutlaq ibn 'Aish
	Munāhi ibn 'Ayyāsh	*Wudhāh* (*Widhāh*)
	Wahab	
	Toweirib ibn Munabbih	
	Raba' (or *Ruba'ah*)	
	Samad er-Raba'i	
	Husein	
	Qwei (small)	
	Dhawīyah (small)	
Sinjārah. 1,000 tents	*Zumeil*	
	Qasīm ibn Rakhīs	
	Salmān	
	Fallāj ibn 'Ardān	
	Ghufeilah	
	'Ayāda ibn Zuweimil	
	Ghi'ithah (or *Ghīthah*)	
	Suweid	
	Ibn Duweihi	
	Rammāl	*Namsān* (*Nimsān*)
	Ghadhbān ibn Rammāl (daughter married to 'Audah Abu Tayy of the Huweitat, with whom he is friends)	*Jirdhān*
	Shilqān	
	Ibn Duheilān	

SHAMMAR OF JEZĪRAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Shammar. 2,000 tents	*Khārisah* (*Khrussah*)	
'Āsi ibn Ferhān	'Āsi ibn Ferhān	
'Abd el-Muhsin ibn 'Abd el-Kerīm		
Mohammed ibn 'Abd el-Kerīm	*'Abdah*	*Bureik*
	Menāwir ibn Suqi	
	Sinjārah	
	'Abd el-Muhsin Mohammed	
	(Sinjārah) *Thābit*	
	Mit'ab el-Hadab el-Qu'eit	
	('Abdah) *'Amūd*	
	(Tūmān) *Sā'ih*	
	Jed'ān ibn Hasan	
	Ferhān es-Sudeid	
	('Abdah) *Fedāghah*	*'Aleyyān*
	Bandar ibn 'Ayādah	

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SHAMMAR OF 'IRĀQ

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Tauqah.	*Mas'ūd (Mes'ūd)*	
	Zagārit	
	Zauba'	
	Dhāhi Mohammed	

2. *Beni Tamīm*

The **BENI TAMĪM** are a famous stock of the northern people, who played an important part in Arabian history before the age of the Prophet, when they extended from the Syrian Desert to Yemāmah. They maintain their ancient seat, for they still form a large proportion of the settled population of Nejd and Jebel Shammar; the oases of the Qasīm are almost exclusively inhabited by them and by the B. Khālid. But they are no longer an independent tribe; they acknowledge the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd or of Ibn Rashīd. At a very early date, probably before the Mohammedan invasion, they began to come up into Mesopotamia, where they are still to be found near Tārmīyah (some 1,500 families). All these are shepherds, and while the Tamīm of Nejd are strict Wahabites, their kinsmen of Mesopotamia are Shiahs.

3. *The Dhafīr (or Dhufīr)*

The **DHAFĪR** form an important tribe whose district extends south of the Shatt el-'Arab and Euphrates from near Zobeir to Samāwah. From Samāwah a line drawn almost due south to the vicinity of Hafar in the Bātin would mark their frontier, and the depression of the Bātin forms the SE. side of the triangle which encloses their territory. Their neighbours are the Muntefiq confederation to the NE., the Shammar to the W., the Muteir and 'Ajmān to the E., while to the south they are in touch with the Sebei', one of the tribes which acknowledges the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd. The Samīd section, and more particularly the Juwāsim (or Jawāsim, orig. Qawāsim), are accustomed to cross the Euphrates in the summer and pasture their flocks in the 'Irāq.

The Dhafīr are foes of the Muteir and are almost always on bad terms with the Shammar, whom they raid when they are in their spring pasturages east of the Nefūd. They harry the Darb Zobeidah and hold up the Emir's caravans from Hā'il to Nejef; indeed the Darb Zobeidah has become so unsafe that the western pilgrimage road is now almost always chosen by caravans in preference to it.

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619 For the past year, however, the paramount Sheikh, Hamūd ibn Suweit, has been at peace with Ibn Rashīd, though he is said to
101 have rejected the latter's proposal that he should join him in aiding 'Ajeimi ibn Sa'dūn and the Turks against the British. The
622 Shammar sub-tribe of the 'Ajil are still hostile to the Dhafīr. With the Anazah they are always at feud, and though the Anazah sheikhs seldom approach within four or five days' journey of their country, the Dhafīr carry their raids as far north as Shifāthah, and west into the Anazah pastures. They are on good terms with some of the Muntefiq group, of whom the Budūr camp habitually under their protection in the spring, when the latter go out with their sheep into the desert. But with the Sa'dūn themselves their relations have been anything but cordial, and since 1915 Hamūd has definitely sided against 'Ajeimi; but he has not succeeded in carrying his whole tribe with him, and the Husein and Dhar'ān sections, as well as other smaller sheikhs of the Samīd, have followed 'Ajeimi's lead against us.

The Dhafīr are composed of two main sub-tribes, the Butūn and the Samīd, of which the Butūn is the more numerous. It is not a homogeneous tribal unit, but has been formed from sections of other tribes which have been welded together. The various constituents have preserved the memory of their origin; the Suweit and the Beni Husein are Ashrāf of the Hejaz; the Sa'īd, 'Areif, and Beni Khālid, with the Kathīr who are an offshoot of the Beni Khālid, are Qahtān; the 'Adwān are Ahl esh-Shimāl, descended from Rabī'ah or Mudhar; the Misāmīr and the small Tulūh clans are Anazah; the Rasimi are Shammar, the Mu'āleim are Beni Tamīm, and the Juwāsim are from the neighbouring Sebei'. The important Dhar'ān section are 'Abīd, that is to say, they spring from the slaves of some nomad group.

The Dhafīr are wholly nomadic and do not engage in any trade. Their country is sufficiently supplied with wells, and they own large flocks of sheep, besides being breeders of camels. In religion they are Sunnis of the Maliki sect. They are well armed with modern rifles and may number some 3,000 fighting men. They maintain good relations with the Sultan of Koweit and come into Koweit for needful provisions and utensils. Sections of the tribe near the Koweit territory have occasionally paid the Sultan tribute; while in the days of Mohammed er-Rashīd the western sections of the Dhafīr yielded tribute to the Shammar. The paramount Sheikh, Hamūd ibn Suweit, is a man of about 45, intelligent, and reckoned a fairly good politician and tribal administrator. His son, Barghash, is a boy of 17.

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DHAFĪR

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*		
Butūn. Hamūd ibn Suweit.	*Suweit.*	Hamūd ibn Suweit.	2,000 tents.
	Sulān.	Hamūd ibn Suweit.	
	Miz'ar.		
	Haulah.		
	Battah.		
	Ma'ālib.		
	Tulūh.		
	'Afnān.	Haza' ibn Aqrab.	
	Dhuweihi.	'Ali edh-Dhuweihi.	
	Rasimi.	Shuwei.	
	Sa'īd.	Mutni ibn Khallāf.	
	Husein.	Khallāf ibn Jā'id.	
	Beni Khālid.	Zeil ibn Mandīl.	
	'Adwān.	Mandīl ibn Kāmil.	
	'Awāzim.	Ibn Hadbah.	
	Kathīr.	Jali ibn Jureid.	
Samīd. Lizām abu Dharā'. 1,500 tents.	*Dhar'ān.*	Lizām abu Dharā'.	
	Mu'āleim.	Tumeish el-Boreisi.	
	Misāmīr.	'Ajīl ibn Huzein.	
	'Areif.	Fad'us el-Aslib.	
	'Askar.	Munawwakh ibn Quheisān.	
	Juwāsim (Jawāsim).	Haleis ibn 'Ufeisān.	

4. *The Muteir and the Barrīyah*

The **MUTEIR,** closely akin to their western neighbours, the Harb and the Ateibah, are people of the north, claiming descent through Mudhar from Ma'add. Their territory touches the Persian Gulf round Koweit, and runs down the Bātin till it reaches Ibn Sa'ūd's district near Zilfi. The Beni Khālid and the 'Ajmān lie to the south. A turbulent tribe, some 1,500 tents strong, the Muteir stand in close relations with the Sultan of Koweit; but with Ibn Rashīd they are perpetually at feud, and no year passes without raiding expeditions from one dīra to the other. It was a Muteiri who in 1908 killed the Emir 'Abd el-'Azīz, father of the present Emir of Hā'il, at Raudhat el-Mahanna, near Boreidah. The Muteir harry the outlying settlements of Qasīm, and not infrequently interrupt the caravan traffic to the Gulf. Their principal Sheikh, Feisāl ed-Derwīsh, pastures in the Koweit area, and is lord over some 800 tents. All the Muteir belong to the confederation of Ibn Sa'ūd, and contribute fighting men to his raiding expeditions. They are camel-breeders and essentially nomadic; for their reported settlements in Nejd and Hasa see Chap. XVI, p. 609.

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619 The **BARRĪYAH** are an independent tribe, but so closely allied with the Muteir that they are often held to be of the same stock. In all 101 political relations they are at one with the Muteir, and, like them, they come under the authority of Ibn Sa'ūd. Their pasturages are 622 in Qasīm. The last report concerning them is that they opposed 'Abdullah, the second son of the Sherif, when he raided Sedeir at the end of 1914 in order to collect overdue taxes from the eastern Ateibah, and that after some fighting they were defeated.

MUTEIR AND BARRĪYAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*
Muteir. 1,500 tents.	*'Alwi.*
Feisāl ibn Sultān ed-Derwīsh.	Feisāl ibn Sultān.
Ghaza ibn Shuqeir.	*Jiblān.*
	Sahūd ibn Lāmi.
	Rakhmān.
	Muhsin ibn Zureibān.
	Sahabah.
	Ghaneim ibn Shiblān.
	Malā'ibah.
	Khilf el-Fighm.
Barrīyah. 1,200 tents.	*'Abayāt.*
Nā'if ibn Masīs.	Munāhi ibn 'Ashwān.
	Deyāhīn.
	Shabab el-Qureifah.
	Barzān.
	'Aqab abu Shuweibāt.
	Tha'lah.
	Jermān el-Humeidān.
	'Abdillah.
	Ibn Saqīyān.
	Wāsil.
	Ibn Thamnah.

5. *Beni Khālid*

The **BENI KHĀLID** are an ancient tribe of irreproachable lineage, greatly fallen in estate. Stranded witnesses to its former wide range are to be found in a Khālid element of the settled population of Qasīm (especially at Aneizah), of Zilfi in Sedeir, of Malham in 'Āridh, and elsewhere in Nejd. The main remnant, however, is the Bedouin tribe of the name which ranges north of the 'Ajmān on the Gulf shore between the Wādi Maqta' on the north and the middle of the Bayādh district on the south. Inland they wander into the Summān plateau. Scattered communities have settled in various outside localities, e.g. Oman, Musallamīyah Island, Qatīf, the Hasa Oasis, Bahrein, and Koweit, where the tribesmen have become pearl-fishers, &c. The nomads own considerable date-groves.

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Up to 1830 the Beni Khālid ruled the Hasa; but they had long been at war with the Wahabites, to whom, being themselves Maliki Sunnites, they are unsympathetic, and they finally succumbed to the Emir Tūrki of Riyādh. Latterly, after recognizing Turkish suzerainty, more or less, for forty odd years, they have come again under Riyādh. They are great breeders of horses and cattle, and cultivate more than most Bedouins. Their tents are noted for their great size; and in dress (they wear the fine Hasa abbas), deportment, physiognomy, and coloration, these nomads are more like oasis-dwellers than Bedouins. They number about 14,000 souls, and claim to send out 4,000 fighting men.

They are in alliance with the 'Ajmān and share dīras with that tribe, but maintain feuds with the Muteir and the Ahl Murrah. A small, isolated section ranges north of Koweit with the Dhafīr. The tribe is well armed and more trustworthy than the 'Ajmān. Its Paramount Chief is the Sheikh of a settled clan, Āl Khālid, of the 'Amā'ir sub-tribe, who lives on the island of Musallamīyah. For the settled Beni Khālid see below, pp. 572, 608.

BENI KHĀLID

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*	
'Amā'ir.	*Dawāwdah*	'Amā'ir has other settled clans.
	Āl Hasan	
Āl Subeih	*Āl Hayyah*	Subeih has other settled clans.
	Makhāsim	
	Āl Zaban	
Beni Nahad		Mainly nomad.
Āl Miqdām		Mainly nomad.
Muhāshīr		Mainly nomad.
Āl Jabūr		Half-settled.
Āl Humeid		Small and decayed.

6. *The 'Ajmān*

The **'AJMĀN**, who range south of the Beni Khālid, trace their descent to Qahtān through Nafura of Nejrān; but this pedigree is not accepted by Arab genealogists in general.

They are, however, an important Bedouin tribe, which is the strongest nomad unit on the Gulf Coast, although its claim to turn out 10,000 fighting men is excessive. It is singularly at one within itself, its different sub-tribes and clans not having distinct dīras, or falling into sectional groups. 'Ajmi tribesmen of all sections may be found in any camp in any part of the range of the tribe. It also appears to have unusual instinct for federation with its weaker neighbours, thus securing more elbow-room. Under ordinary conditions both the Beni Khālid and the Beni Hajar are its allies,

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619 and the 'Ajmān have free range in their dīras. The whole tribe is well provided with breech-loading firearms, and being Sunnite of
101 the Hanbali school, it is sympathetic to Wahabism and has some
622 of its dour spirit.

Its proper summer range is the Gulf lowlands from Taff down to 'Oqair, enveloping the Hasa oasis on north and east. Inland it ranges back over the Summān plateau, where its herdsmen wander in winter as far west as the confines of Sedeir; and at the same season 'Ajmān push even into Kharj. On the littoral they straggle sometimes into El-Qatar, and habitually wander north up to Koweit, relying on their agreement with the Beni Khālid, whose proper dīra they thus invade. They are to be found, therefore, at one season or another, over an area of not less than 20,000 square miles.

Very few 'Ajmi tribesmen have ever adopted settled life, though they own some date-groves in Hasa. Their wealth lies in horses, camels, and the smaller cattle. In particular they are horse-breeders. They may total between 4,000 and 5,000 tents.

During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatīf the 'Ajmān were consistently recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their sheikhs and the screw which could be put upon the tribe when, according to its custom, it camped near Hofūf, and wished to dispose of live stock, &c., in the local markets. They maintained the while relations of old standing with the Emirs of Riyādh, and welcomed 'Abd el-'Azīz es-Sa'ūd when he invaded Hasa in 1913. But when his became the established government the 'Ajmān liked him and his taxes little better than the Turks, and he had to organize drastic punishment of their raiding in the summer of 1915, finally driving great part of them north into Shammar country. Their traditional foe is the Ahl Murrah tribe, and of late they have added Ibn Rashīd and the Shammar. With the Sultan of Koweit and the Paramount Sheikh of El-Qatar they have generally, though not invariably, kept on terms.

The Paramount Chieftainship is in the Ibn Hithlein family of the **Ma'idh** sub-tribe (Nāja' clan). On the murder of Mohammed ibn Hazm ibn Hithlein in 1910, the chieftainship was put in commission; Sheikh Fahd, the elder brother of the late chief, had most support for the sole succession, but he appears to have given way later to Sheikh Theidān, who submitted to Riyādh at the end of 1915. The Nāja' clan is said to be in close alliance with the **Sifrān** sub-tribe, which, though not numerous, contains the most formidable of all the 'Ajmi fighting-men. According to Lorimer (*Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*) the Jiblān section of the Muteir (q.v.) joined forces with the 'Ajmān before 1908.

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'AJMĀN

Sub-Tribe.	*Fighting Strength.*
Ma'īdh	2,700
Suleimān	1,270
Mahfūdh	1,200
Hūlān	1,150
'Arjah	650
Shāmir	600
Hādi	500
Dhā'in	400
Sifrān	300
Hammād ibn Rāshid	300
Rusheid	200
Misra'	200
Miflih	100
Saleifi	100
Salūm	100
Sureih	100
Heiraf	100
Hayyān	100
Shawāwlah	80
Khuweitir	50
Total	10,200

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7. *Beni Hajar*

The **BENI HAJAR** (or Hājir, often pronounced by Bedouins Hāyir) are nomads of bad reputation, ranging Hasa and part of El-Qatar, south of the 'Ajmān, with whom they have an agreement allowing them to use the 'Ajmi dīra, if provided with authorized *rafīqs*. They were always troublesome to the Turks, and are so now to both Ibn Sa'ūd and the Sheikhs of El-Qatar.

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They are pastoral and breeders, but are said also to make excursions into piracy. They allow their women great liberty. Their extreme range is from 'Odeid to the 'Ajmān limit in Hasa; but by consent they wander as far north as Koweit. They have no one Paramount Chief. Their total strength is about 6,000 souls, and they claim to have 1,500 fighting men; the two sub-tribes are at feud. For their small settlements in Nejd see Chap. XVI, p. 606.

BENI HAJAR

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*
Makhadhabah (mainly in El-Qatar).	*Dibisah.*
	Faheid.
	Hamrah.
	Haseyyin.
	Jarārkah.
	Khayyārin.
	Madhāfirah.

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Sub-Tribe.	Clan.	
Makhadhabah (*continued*):	*Mâna'.*	
	Mashkimah.	
	Qumzah.	
	Sa'ayyid.	
	Shabâ'ir.	(Sheikh is chief of whole sub-tribe.)
	Shahuda.	
	Shara'ûn.	
	Sharâhîn.	
	Sultân.	
	Taurwa.	
	Zabar.	
	Zakhânîn.	
Ahl Mohammed (mainly in Hasa).	*'Amirah.*	
	Filahah.	
	Kidâdât.	
	Kilabah.	
	Mizâzir.	
	Qarâf.	
	Sha'âmil.	(Sheikh is chief of whole sub-tribe.)
	Simâhîn.	
	Tâya'.	

8. *The Ahl Murrah*

The **AHL MURRAH** (Ahl Morra), a savage and ill-known tribe, wholly nomadic, range to the south of Hasa, into the Jâfûrah Desert, and down to the wild oasis of Jabrîn which lies beyond on the confines of the great South Desert. On the north they come up to near 'Oqair, while inland they lie south of the Hofûf–Riyâdh routes (which they harry) as far as the borders of Kharj. In most of this inhospitable tract they wander alone, and neither the Turks nor the Ibn Sa'ûds (whose feudatories they nominally are) have ever been able to follow them far enough to subdue them. In 1915–16 they gave the Emir of Riyâdh a great deal of trouble. Their savagery and treachery are due mainly to the wild character of their dira, but perhaps their evil reputation is due also in some degree to the small knowledge of them possessed by the outside world.

They have, however, physical and linguistic peculiarities, which make it possible that they are survivors of the pre-Arab population of the peninsula, like the inhabitants of Ras Musandam and the Southern Mahrah. They are virtually pagans, but profess, on occasion, Islam of the Hanbali school, which is akin to Wahabism. They are as ill armed as they are ill provided with any domestic apparatus or clothing in advance of the Stone Age; but they are brave fighters, who have twice in recent years made short work of Turkish punitive detachments. They own many camels.

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They are said to number about 7,000 souls, and to turn out 2,000 fighting men. Their Paramount Chief is the Sheikh of the Fuheidah clan of the **Shahîb** (or Bishr) sub-tribe, which is notorious for outrages committed on travellers, fishermen, and Turks. The whole tribe is unashamedly predatory, recognizing no code but its own. It maintains perpetual feud with the 'Ajmân and the Beni Khâlid.

AHL MURRAH

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*
Shahîb (or Bishr).	*'Adîbah.*
	Buheih.
	Bureid.
	Dîwi.
	Fuheidah.
	Ghafrân.
	Hâdi.
	Hasan.
	Juhrish.
	Shahîb.
	Zuhrimah.
	Zôbân.
'Alî ibn Murrah.	*Ghiptâhîn.*
	Jarîba'ah.
	Nâbit.
Jâbir.	*Ghadîbân.*
	Ahl Ibn-Na'îm.

9. *The Manâsîr*

The **MANÂSÎR** are a small independent tribe in the ill-known Dhafrah district, bordering on the domain of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, to whom, if to any one, they owe a vague allegiance, having for a generation or so been free of tribute to Ibn Sa'ûd. They are the last predominantly nomadic tribe towards the south, the Great Desert and the Jâfûrah Desert enclosing their dîra S. and W., and the mainly settled and friendly Beni Yâs of the Trucial Coast lying E. North lies the dîra of the Ahl Murrah, with whom the Manâsîr seem to be on better terms than any one else is. In winter the whole tribe moves into or near El-Qatar. In summer part of it may be found as far south as the Bireimi oasis in NW. Oman. Mainly pastoral, the Manâsîr possess arable land and summer settlements in Dhafrah (Liwah district), and are much in advance of the Ahl Murrah in civilization.

Both in religious tenets and political connexions they pertain to Oman. There seems to be no Paramount Manâsîri Chief. The tribe does not number above 1,500 souls.

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MANĀSĪR

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*
Mundhir.	*Ka'ōbarah.*
	Mānī'.
	Marāshīd.
	Metāwa'ah.
	Medāhimah.
Rahamah.	*Khail.*
	Tareif (or *Janūb*).
	Tarārifah.
	Wabrān.
Sha'ar.	*Ghuweinam.*
	Rasheyyid.
	Thuweibit.

SUPPLEMENT

NON-BEDOUIN NOMADS

1. *The Sherārāt*

The **SHERĀRĀT** are not reckoned among the Arabs as Bedu, that is to say, they do not spring from either of the great nomad families, Qahtān or Nizār. They are said to be of one stock with the Huteim who, like the Sherārāt, are not *asīl*, of known race, and the true Bedouins will not intermarry with them.[1] Nor is there any definite area over which they exercise acknowledged rights of possession; they have not their own dīra, but camp with other tribes. Their tents are scattered from Jebel Durūz in the north to Teima in the south, and east from Kerak to Jebel Shammar. They are to be found among the Sukhūr, the Huweitāt, the Ruweilah, and the Shammar, either in the encampments of the big Sheikhs, or by preference *khalāwi*, i.e. solitary, in the wilderness. In summer small numbers of Sherārāt gather round the fast-drying water-holes and the permanent wells, when the big tribes have moved off with their herds towards the Hejaz Railway and the Jordan valley, or out into the depths of the Hamād. At Hausa in the Jebel Tubeiq, and at Imleih and 'Obeid on the edges of the Nefūd, they find enough water for their slender needs, and the hard surface of the desert is covered with the circular marks of their threshing floors where in August they harvest the wild *semh*.

The Sherārāt honour an ancestor called Suleim, who is buried in the Wādi Mūjib, but they seldom visit his tomb. They have a cult for 'Āqil Weled 'Azzām, whose tomb is in the Jebel Tubeiq. They

[1] They are sometimes reckoned, however, as descendants of the Beni Hilāl.

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regard the Jebel Tubeiq as their own special dīra, while the Sukhūr and the Huweitāt are intruders.

In Ibn Rashīd's country the Sherārāt will pay tribute to him; in Moab they pay tribute to the Ottoman Government. Wherever they may be, they must buy the goodwill of the Paramount Sheikh of that region. They are skilled hunters, and their camels are said to be the best in Western Arabia, especially as freight-carriers. Although their small tents are almost destitute of furniture and their coffee-hearths are bare, many of the Sherārāt are well-to-do. A man clothed in rags may be the owner of 20 camels, and a Sherāri sheikh is a rich man in the desert. But a hunter wandering solitary for a year or more, with his tiny tent, his wife, his single camel and little flock of goats, living mainly on such animals as he can trap, content with black cakes of *semh* seed in place of bread, and chewing the green weeds of early spring like one of his own goats, has brought the amenities of existence to the irreducible minimum. The men take service with the cultivators of the Jīzah district, and often settle down among them; but their former trade of supplying the Hajj camels with grass from the Nefūd has vanished with the opening of the railway.

2. *The Huteim*

Closely related to the Sherārāt are the **HUTEIM** (Heteym), and they are even more widely scattered. They are to be found on the Persian Gulf, in Yemen, on the Red Sea, and in Egypt; but their main range is in Central Arabia, from near Medina, north-east to Jebel Shammar. The name Huteim is used roughly by the Arabs as a synonym for any base-born, half-settled tribe. They are rich and numerous; those of the Kheibar and Medina districts pay taxes to the Government, while those of Jebel Shammar used to be taxed by Ibn Rashīd, but are now out of hand and raid his villages when he is away with his fighting men. The Huteim breed excellent riding-camels, and own large flocks of sheep and goats. Their women are renowned for beauty, but would not be taken in marriage by any Bedouin of good stock. The men are reputed to be timid and of no value as fighters.

3. *The Sulubba*

The **SULUBBA** (Solubba) are an interesting tribe about whose origin nothing certain is known. Probably they are the dispersed remnants of some old stock; but legend has been busy with their ancestry, and has given them as forbears the Indian dancers of Hārūn

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er-Rashīd's court at Baghdad. They are sprinkled over the whole of nomad Arabia, but the various groups under their separate sheikhs keep to their own regions, where they ply their trades as smiths, tinkers, carpenters, and cattle-surgeons among the Bedouins and the oasis-dwellers. Their skill in hunting has passed into fable with the Arabs; and in fact they are so expert that they live well, even in the most barren wilderness, from the fruits of the chase. They are well-to-do, earning an ample livelihood by their craftsmanship, and they travel without fear throughout all the desert, where no thief would rob them and no raider harry them. Their knowledge of the country is unsurpassed. They have no camels; their beasts of burden are donkeys, the best breed being a large white ass almost as powerful as a mule. They rear herds of sheep and goats in the Hamād, and their tents are well stocked with every kind of nomad gear. A northern Sulubbi will wear in winter a warm robe of gazelle-skins. The Bedouins accuse them of eating carrion and beasts that have died of themselves, as well as vermin; and there would seem to be truth in the first charge as far as the Suleib (Soleyb) and Ghaneimi are concerned, and in the second if it is limited to locusts and hedgehogs (the locust, however, is a delicacy much prized not only by the Sulubba, but by all nomads). It is impossible to estimate the numbers of the tribe, since they never assemble in any one place.

4. *The Sunnā'*

The **SUNNĀ'** are the smiths' caste, sometimes settled in the villages and sometimes wandering with the tribes (*Sunnā'* is plural of *Sāni'* = artisan, smith). They are braziers, farriers, tinners, blacksmiths, and workers in wood and stone among the tribes and in the oases. Thus they are both villagers and nomads. They may marry with the Huteim but with no Bedouins. They are probably a different race from the Arabs, and are distinguished from them by their features.

5. *The Nawār*

The **NAWĀR** are gipsies, found in Arabia as in other parts of the universe, but not in great numbers. Their habits and activities are the same there as elsewhere.

6. *The Hawāzin*

The **HAWĀZIN** (**HAWĀZIM** or **'AWĀZIM**) are a nomad tribe which is not admitted to marriage and fellowship by true Arabs. As a considerable tribal unit it is found only in and about the principality of Koweit, ranging from the outskirts of the town

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itself (where some 250 Hawāzin families are settled), down the coast nearly to Musallamīyah, and for some distance inland. They must be the 'Koweit nomads' who, Raunkiaer says, graze their herds south of the town in winter and resort in summer northwards to the districts round Zobeir, and also control the wells of Tawīl. There are also, however, Hawāzin elsewhere, who have the same sort of status, but are members of Huteim or Harb (e.g. in Jauf el-'Amr, Teima, Sedeir, &c.); and there is a distinct Harb clan of the name at Wādi el-Kheif near J. Fiqra (see **Harb**). The Koweit Hawāzin are partly pastoral, partly follow marine occupations—pearl-diving and fishing. They are great breeders of camels, often taking service (e.g. at Qatīf) under alien masters for stud-labour. They are subjects of Koweit, and form the bulk of the Sultan's fighting forces: it is due also to their activities that he is able to claim Būbiyān Island, to which some of their herdsmen resort. They are allied with the 'Ajmān, and number some 4,000 souls. It appears that they are comparatively newcomers into Koweit territory, and their tradition is that they were formerly with the Harb in East Hejaz. The one thing certain is that they are regarded by Bedouins as of the same standing as Huteim or Sulubba, and credited with secret non-Islamic beliefs. In fact, however, they are Maliki Sunnites.

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NON-BEDOUIN NOMADS

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Sherārāt. 800 tents	*Fuleihān*	
Ibn Hāwi	Ibn Hāwi	
Ibn Wardah	*Huleisah*	
	Ibn Duweiji	
	'Azzām	
	Ibn Wardah	
	Dhubein	
	Ibn Shushān	
	Khayyāli	
	Suweifli	
Huteim	*Beni Rashīd.* 1,000 tents	*Nuwāmisah*
	Duleim ibn Barak	*Ibn Nuwās*
	Sālim ibn Simra	*Ibn Barak*
	Nr. Hā'il	*Ibn Jelladān*
		Ibn Dammūk
		Ibn Simri or *Thiyabbah*
		Mothābarah
		Feradissa
		Heizān
		Khiyārāt
		Qabīd
		Suweidir

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.
619 **Huteim** (*continued*):	*Beni Rashīd* (*continued*):	*Fehjāt*
		Bedaunah
101	*Jerābia.* Nr. Wejh	
622 **Sulubba**	*Seidān.* In Nejd	
	Ghaneimi. In Nejd	
	Suleib Ibn Mālik. In 'Irāq and the Hamād	
Hawāzin No Paramount Sheikh of their own tribe, that authority having passed to the Sultan of Koweit	*Kū'ah*	
		Hadhālīn
		Bureikāt
		Shaqufah
	Ghiyādh	
		Malā'ibah
		Musāhimah
		Musā'idah
		Adhyeibāt
		Jawāsirah
		Muhālibah
		Muweijīyah
		Aghrubah
		Karāshah
		Sawābir
Sunnā'. Smiths		
Nawār. Gipsies		

7. *The 'Uqeil*

485 575 The **'UQEIL** (Ageyl) are the guides and conductors of caravans in Arabia. They are not a tribe but an organization partaking of the nature of a club or society or a masonic lodge. They have no connexion with the ancient 'Uqeil tribe of the Ahl esh-Shimāl, from whom the Muntefiq claim descent; this seems to have disappeared and left no trace. The modern 'Uqeil are all Nejd Arabs, townsfolk or nomads of any tribe from Hasa, 'Āridh, Qasīm or Jebel Shammar; but men of Sedeir and the Wādi Dawāsir are not admitted; nor are members admitted from any of the big tribes, such as the Harb and Ateibah, who are engaged in interminable blood feuds, the object being to keep the 'Uqeil society neutral. Settled Beni Tamīm and Beni Khālid of Nejd and Qasīm are most suitable for its purposes. The head-quarters of the society are at Baghdad, and its president, who is always a native of Boreidah, lives at Baghdad and there enrols the members.

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101 named after them, and were ejected from it by the Anazah. They
619 are now sheep-breeders, like the rest of the Ghawāmah, and reduced to small numbers.

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BELQAWĪYAH

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
'ADWĀN. 400 tents Sultān ibn 'Ali Dhi'āb, Heshbān	*Sālih*, 140 tents Sultān ibn 'Ali Dhi'āb, at Heshbān *Nimr*, 60 tents Fahd ibn Qablān, nephew of Sultān ibn 'Ali at Zabūd near Heshbān *'Assāf*, 70 tents Qablān, east of Salt *Kā'id*, 90 tents Fā'iz ibn Abu 'Arabi, in the Beq'a *Thawābīyah*, 40 tents Rumeilah, in the Ghōr *Juhrān el-'Ābid* Suleimān Hamdān at Masūh Cultivators, vassals of Sultān ibn 'Ali, paying him tribute and giving military service	
'ABBĀD, 600 tents Nahār el-Bukheit, Wādi Sīr	*Manāsīr* Nahār el-Bukheit, near 'Arāqīl Amīr *Ifqaha*, 70 tents Falāh esh-Shaddād at Jerī'ah *Nu'eimāt*, 200 tents Sālim, NW. of Salt *Duweikāt*, 120 tents Duweik, at Bahāth, W. of Wādi Sīr	
'AJĀRMAH. 300 tents Nā'if ibn Shahawān, near Heshbān and down to the Ghōr	*Muteiri'īn*, 70 tents 'Aqīl el-'Āqil, at Suwānīyah and Mushaqqar *Isifah*, 40 tents Sā'il esh-Shahawān, at El-'Āl, near Heshbān *Sawā'ir*, 30 tents Fanash, at Sāmek *'Ifeishāt*, 25–30 tents 'Abd el-Azīz, at Nā'ūr, near Heshbān *Harāfis*, 30 tents Ihris, plain of Mahālah *Sheneiqiyīn*, 20 tents Rashīd el-Hasan, at Heshbān *Sahuwān*, 60 tents Ibn Mustafa	*Halāhalah* *Manā'isah*
BENI HASAN, 800 tents 'Awwād ibn Kallāb, Zerqa	*Izīra*, 50 tents 'Awwād esh-Shahhādah, at Rummānah and Kamsa, S. of Zerqa *Khawāldah*, 150 tents 'Ali, at 'Aluq	

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BELQAWĪYAH (*continued*)

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
BENI HASAN (*continued*)	*Khalā'ilah*, 40 tents 'Ali Suleimān, S. of Zerqa *Ghaziyālah*, 120 tents Falāh ibn Rusheid, at Sarrūt, S.of Zerqa *Beni 'Aleim*, 100 tents Hammād el-Hārhashi, at Qafqafa, N. of Zerqa *'Amūsh*, 300 tents 'Awwād ibn Kallāb *Rusheidāt*, 100 tents Ahmed abu Rusheidah, at Mutawwi	
GHAWĀMAH (Arabs of the Ghōr, independent tribes)	*Mashālkha*, 60 tents 'Ali Sa'd, at 'Abu 'Ubeidah in the Ghōr *Balāwanah*, 40–60 tents 'Ali Sa'ūd, at Rajeb, N. of Zerqa *Ghazāwīyah*, 100 tents Mohammed el-Mijwal, at Sheikh Abīl *Sukhūr el-Ghōr*, 90–100 tents Rajah abu el-Leben, at Zār el-Bāsha *Bashātwah*, 150 tents Hasan, at Majama' *Saqr*, 260–300 tents 'Ursān ibn Mulāk, at Beisān *Duleikah*, 350 tents Fadhīl el-'Īsa, at Zuheir el-Qiddis *Masā'īd*, 80 tents Dhāmin el-Mas'ūdah, Wādi Fārah, W. of Jordan *Riyāhanah*, 100 tents Fahd, at Jericho *Beni Khālid*, 300 tents 'Othmān el-Qādhi, at Zawīyah, W. of Sheikh Sa'd *Sirhān*, 200 tents Sālim abu el-Rāfi', from the Ghōr to the Jebel Haurān	
SHAWĀBKAH 'Abdullah el-Metā'ibah, W. of Heshbān	*Metā'ibah*, 100 tents 'Abdullah *Munā'ihah* *Dhawāt* *Harā'id* *Hawāzin*, 700 tents 'Ali abu Wandi, at Mā'in *Nijādah* 'Ali abu Wandi *Humeimāt* 'Ali abu Wandi	

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BELQAWĪYAH (*continued*)

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
SHAWĀKRAH, 50–60 tents Bāshir el-Farūj, at Kufeir abu Ghina	*Shakhātrah* *Khalbalāt* *'Abīd* At Kufeir abu Sarbūt	
YAZĀ'IDA. 70 tents Bāshir el-Turmān, at Judeid. Allies of Ghanamāt	*Sharūqiyīn* Bāshir el-Turmān *Qureiniyīn* Mohammed el-Khawātra	
GHANAMĀT. 90 tents Sālim abu el-Manāwir el-Husein, at Mount Nebo	*Masāndah*, 3 tents *Harāwi*, 4 tents *Sha'ra*, 2 tents *Wakhyān*, 40 tents *'Atawīn*, 2 tents And other small clans.	
MARĀSHDAH Sa'd Raqād, 16 tents at Kufeir near Mādeba. Some of the tribe are near 'Ammān	*Butnān* *Siyūf* *Dahām* servants of Siyūf *Ghaleilāt* *'Abīd* *Shakhatrah*, 5 tents 'Eid	
ARABS OF 'ĀMMĀN Independent tribes	*Dhiyīb*, 65 tents Shebāka, N. of 'Ammān *Sawārbah* *Jawāmis*, 60 tents Muheimir, at Markah, NE. of 'Ammān *Da'ja*, 100 tents Muheimir, at Markah *Ayhsalāt*, 30 tents Suleimān el-Qureir, at Umm Quseir *Ahnītīn* Rashīd, at Abu 'Alinda *Ibn Hadīd*, 50 tents Ishtiwi ibn Hadīd, at Umm el-Heirān *Debībah*, 20 tents Marj Debībah, at Itbuqa	
ARABS OF MĀDEBA Independent tribes	*'Azeizāt*, 47 tents Ya'qūb *Ma'āyah*, 34 tents 'Udetallah *Karādshah*, 37 tents Salāmah ibn 'Azārah	

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KERAK AND SHŌBAK

The Arabs of the Kerak–Shōbak district were long the bane of all travellers and entirely beyond official control. They are noted robbers, cruel, faithless, and intractable. Since the establishment of a Turkish Mutesarrif at Kerak and a Kaimmakam at Shōbak, they have been reduced to some sort of order; but in the autumn of 1910 the Majālīyah of Kerak revolted, tore up the Hejaz Railway in several places, killed the employés, held up the trains, and stripped the passengers. They were severely repressed by Sāmi Pasha, who called all the Bedouins as far as Ma'ān to account, including the Huweitāt. His energetic action has not yet faded entirely from memory. 101 619 6220

All the tribes of this group are cultivators and sheep-breeders. Those who have houses in Kerak or Shōbak send out their flocks into the desert in spring. The Shōbak Arabs exact tribute from the Kerak people. The list here given is taken from Jaussen, who explains that the word *house*, used as a unit in his computation, implies the patriarchal family, including the married sons with their wives and families.

TRIBES OF KERAK AND SHŌBAK

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
ARABS OF KERAK. Sālih el-Mujalli	*Majālīyah*, 140 houses Sālih	*'Ashīrah Yūsuf* Sālih
		'Ashīrah Suleimān Khalīl
		'Ashīrah Ghabūn Khalīl ibn Dā'ūd
		'Ashīrah Dā'ūd 'Awwād
	Ma'ā'ilah, 240 houses Yūsuf Saher	*'Ashīrah Rashā'idah* Sāhir
		'Ashīrāh Zaqā'ilah. Yūsuf
		'Ashīrah Beyā'idah Ja'far
		'Ashīrah Jalāmdah
		'Ashīrah Laqhawāt
	Sarā'irah, 160 houses Yahya	*'Ashīrah 'Ai* Yahya
		'Ashīrah Aqā'ilah Sālim ibn 'Īsa
		'Ashīrah Dā'ūd Salīm ibn 'Ayyād

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TRIBES OF KERAK AND SHŌBAK (*continued*)

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
ARABS OF KERAK (*continued*)	*Tarāwinah*, 200 houses Husein ibn Mohammed	*'Ashīrah Tarāwinah* Husein ibn Mohammed
		'Ashīrah Qatā'unei Yūsuf
		'Ashīrah Nawā'isah Mushawwah
	Dhumūr, 160 houses Mahmūd ibn Tāha	*'Ashīrah Dhumūr* Mahmūd ibn Tāha
		'Ashīrah 'Uqūl Ahmed
		'Ashīrah Sa'ūb Hattāb
		'Ashīrah Mubeidhīn Yūsuf ibn Fālih
		'Ashīrah Suheimāt Suleimān
	Qedha, 40 houses Muqbil ibn 'Īsa	
	Bashā'ishah, 20 houses Husein	
	Habā'ishah, 130 houses Derwīsh	*'Ashīrah Habāshah* Derwīsh
		'Ashīrat Arūd Buseibas
		'Ashīrah Rehā'ifah 'Abd el-Mu'ti
		'Ashīrah 'Asāsfah Hammād
		'Ashīrah Ramādhīn Mohammed
		'Ashīrah Zuneibāt Fāris
		'Ashīrah Kefāwīn Hāmid
	'Amr, 50 houses Ghāfil ibn Tubeiti	
	'Arab el-Batūs, 50 houses in Wādi Khanzīrah Musallim el-Mājūdi	
	'Arab el-'Irāq 3 hours from Kerak Mohammed ibn Hasan	
	'Arab el-Brārshi, 200 houses At Kafr Rabba, S. of Kerak	
	Hadāyāt, 120 houses, E. of Dhāt Ras Sālim	

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TRIBES OF KERAK AND SHŌBAK (*continued*)

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
CHRISTIAN TRIBES. 200 houses	*Halasa* 'Īsa el-Qaus *Zereiqāt* Mezzi Jirjis *Madānāt* Suleimān ibn 'Īsa *Hejāzīn* Yūsuf *Beqā'īn* Suleimān *'Akasha* Selmān en-Nesrāwīn *Mara'āya* or *Sunna* Butrus *Haddādīn* Khalīl ibn Ibrāhīm	
MOSLEMS OUTSIDE KERAK	*Mahmūdiyīn*, 100 tents Khallāf ibn Sa'īd In the Ruweih; they go up to Kerak *Manā'īn*. N. of Shōbak and E. of the Jebāl *Sa'ūdiyīn*, 60 tents Between Shōbak and the Jebāl	 *'Āqir*, 100 tents 'Alī *Rudeisi*, 60 tents Sālim
ARABS OF SHŌBAK	*Rashā'idah* Za'l ibn Saqr SSW. of Shōbak *Ghāwāflah*, 40–50 tents Salmān ibn Hasan, in Esh-Shera', S of Petra *'Amārīn* Sālim	
ARABS OF TAFĪLAH	*'Awarān*, 600 houses Dhi'āb	

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CHAPTER XIV

SETTLED TRIBES OF THE WEST

A. Ashrāf

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The **Ashrāf** (Sherifial clansmen) in general are the descendants of Hasan, who was son of 'Ali and Fātimah, and, through the latter, grandson of the Prophet. There are said to be twenty-one clans of this descent scattered over Arabia, of which fifteen live wholly or in part in Hejaz or North-West Asir, and chiefly in and near Mecca. For the most part numerically small, they derive importance from the consideration which their individual members enjoy throughout Arabia. Theoretically, the Emirs (Grand Sherifs) of Mecca might be chosen from any clan of the Ashrāf: but, in fact, they have belonged to one or another branch of the descendants of Abu Numej (who was of the Qatadah stock) for so many centuries that nowadays succession to this office is, in practice, as much confined by prescription to two or three clans only as the Sultanate of Turkey is to the house of 'Othmān.

The mutual affinities, the interconnexion, and the present condition of the Ashrāf clans are not well known; and many of them are mere names to us.

(*a*) *'Abādilah* is the ruling clan at present, being that to which the Emir (Grand Sherif) and his house belong. It is descended from Sherif 'Abdullah, grandson of Mohammed Abu Numej (1631). It was raised to power by Mohammed 'Alī of Egypt in 1827 during his occupation of Hejaz, in place of the Dhawi Zeid who had held the throne since the latter part of the eighteenth century and also at an earlier epoch. In the earlier eighteenth century the Emirate had been with the Dhawi Barakāt. The 'Abādilah clan of Hejaz is entirely settled, the bulk of it living outside Mecca south of the Jiddah road. Many of its members hold office under the Emir. There is another branch in Asir (see p. 407) and scattered families are found in other parts of Arabia.

(*b*) *Dhawi Zeid.* The Dhawi Zeid clan, which descends from Zeid, great-great-grandson of Mohammed Abu Numej, is settled in

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Mecca. The houses of 'Abd el-Mutallib and Ghālib are of the Dhawi Zeid clan, and there is rivalry and bad feeling between it and the 'Abādilah. 101 619

The only members of the clan who live at Mecca are Sherif Zeid, son of Feisāl, a young man of about twenty, and the Sherifah Azza, daughter (?) of Sherif 'Aun er-Rafīq. The latter appears to be a woman of considerable character with a keen interest in politics and some power over the Harb. She is unmarried and about sixty years old. The Dhawi Zeid own a large amount of property in Mecca and Jiddah and possess many slaves. 6212

(c) *Shenabrah.* The Shenabrah descend from an eponymous Sherif, Shanbar, not of a ruling house. They are nomadic, and are dealt with on p. 72.

(d) *Dhawi Surur.* The Dhawi Surur are descendants of Sherif Surur, who ruled as Emir in the latter part of the eighteenth century. They are nomadic, and are treated on p. 72.

(e) *Dhawi Barakāt.* The Dhawi Barakāt, descendants of Barakāt, third son of Mohammed Abu Numej, are no longer in Hejaz proper, where they held the supreme power up to the latter part of the eighteenth century and, at a slightly later period, were robbers in Wādi Fātimah. They are said by Burckhardt to have been exhausted by family wars of succession. They are now found in North-Western Asir organized as a tribe.

(f) *Dhawi Hasan.* Descendants of Hasan, second son of Mohammed Abu Numej, are also no longer in Hejaz, but in North-Western Asir organized as a tribe (see p. 426).

Other Ashrāf clans of Hejaz, e. g. *Hirāz, Dhawi 'Abd el-Kerīm, Hurith, Menema, Dhawi Jizān, Dhawi Judallah, Manādil, Dhawi Ibrāhīm,* and *Dhawi 'Amr,* are, apparently, not of actual political importance. For the Ja'āfirah of Asir see p. 429.

Ashrāf are numerous and powerful in Yemen, in the districts of Māreb and Harib, and in Wadyān Dawāsir; but, as is natural, they are most conspicuous and best known in Hejaz.

B. Asir

1. *'Abādilah*

One of the twenty-one clans of Ashrāf.

1. By far the more important section is that settled in Mecca, on which see previous section.

2. There is a small colony of them which has been settled for

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101 many generations in the Beni Qutābah country of the Rijāl el-M'a.
619 Their influence is local and unimportant. Sherif 'Abd ibn 'Abdullah is their leading representative.
•622 3. Another small colony has lived for many years with the Dhawi Barakāt, about four hours east of Shakkat el-Yemenīyah. They are allied with the Dhawi Barakāt and friendly with the Zobeid. Their chief Sheikh is Sherif Tālib ibn Qasīm.

2. *Beni 'Abs*

The Beni 'Abs inhabit the country between Wādi Habl on the north and Wādis 'Ain and Wārith on the south. Their territory extends from the sea to the first foot-hills some 25 miles inland, and is bounded on the north by the Beni Hasan, on the east by Beni Aslam, and on the south by the Wa'zāt. They are from the people of the north and trace their descent from 'Adnān through 'Abs the son of Ghatafān, the son of Qeis, the son of Mudhar. They say that they originally came from the Hejaz, and after moving south at some unknown period to Beit el-Faqīh, they again passed north about 500 years ago till they came to their present territory. There is still a small remnant of the tribe, whose present Sheikh is Sheikh Bekhat, near Beit el-Faqīh, immediately to the north of the powerful tribe of Zaranik. The northern 'Abs can put into the field about 3,000 good fighting men well armed with Mausers and Martinis, and are enthusiastic adherents of Idrīsi. In 1915 Yahya 'Ali ibn Thawāb, their paramount Sheikh, was joint commander of Idrīsi's second army opposed to the Turkish forces near Loheia. With Ahmed ibn El-Heij, the chief of the Wa'zāt and the main local supporter of the Turks, the 'Abs have a long-standing feud. Between them and the Beni Aslam there is an enmity which leads to frequent fighting when the rest of the world is at peace, but which is laid aside when the interests of their common lord, Idrīsi, demand. With the Beni Zeid, who are the allies of the Beni Aslam, their relations are the same. They stand to the Beni Hasan as protectors and friends and range freely over their country up to Wādi Heirān. They are partly nomad and partly settled and trading, and though less in number than the Wa'zāt, they are richer. They sow enough grain for their needs and trade with the tribesmen from the hills, taking from them skins and coffee, and selling to them articles of clothing and the like which in times of peace they bring from Loheia and Hodeidah. Their two chief villages are Sūq el-Himāri and Sūq 'Abs, where every Friday and Sunday respectively are held markets

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to which the neighbouring tribesmen come. Sheikh Yahya ibn 'Ali Thawāb is responsible that peace is kept at Sūq el-Himāri. The Sheikhs of the Qu'tābah and Bitarīyah see to the security of Sūq 'Abs.

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Chief Sheikhs: Yahya 'Ali ibn Ahmed Hādi Thawāb, and Hasan 'Ali Thawwāb his brother.

3,000 fighting men.

Sub-Tribes.	*Sheikh.*	*Place.*
METWALA	'Ali Hasan Quwah Hādi Ahmed	W. of Sūq Himāri.
MANĀZIR GUWEIRA	Geilān Dawiyah	N. of Sūq Himāri.
QAFRA	'Ureiq Ahmed	E. of Sūq Himāri.
RANF	Suweid 'Ali	S. of Sūq Himāri.
SHAFAR	'Ali Saghair	Between Sūq Himāri and Sūq 'Abs.
KHARAZAH	Harib Ayya	To the E. in the hills up to W. Ghadir the Beni Aslam boundary.
QUTĀBAH	Ahmed 'Ali	Sūq 'Abs and W. to the sea.
BITARĪYAH	'Īsa	With the Qutābah.
MUDANI'I	Hādi Ahmed ibn 'Abdu	Isolated colony in the mountains near Rufā'ah, 4 hours E. of Sūq 'Abs.

3. *'Alqam el-Hūl* (*Haul*)

The 'Alqam el-Hūl occupy a narrow strip of country beginning about 2 miles north of Ibha and running out to the west for about 20 miles. The Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah adjoin them on the north, the Beni Mālik on the east, the Beni Mugheid on the south, and the Rijāl el-M'a on the west.

They are divided into two sections, 'Alqam es-Sahil near Ibha and 'Alqam el-'Alein to the west. Each of these numbers about 2,000 men. The chief Sheikh of the 'Alqam es-Sahil is Ahmed ibn Hamīd, a prosperous man of about 45, who is a member of the 'Mejlis Beledi' at Ibha. The Āl Yūsuf are noted for the beauty of their women, many of whom are married to Turks. The 'Alqam el-'Alein are not on good terms with the 'Alqam es-Sahil, and their Sheikh, Abu Matīr, a man of 65, is said to have pro-Idrīsi tendencies. The tribe is, however, thoroughly under the control of the Turks and pays its taxes regularly. It is generally on bad terms with the Beni Mālik and Beni Mugheid, although there can be no actual fighting, and is friendly with the Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, the Beni Qeis, and the Beni Zeidīn section of the Rijāl el-M'a. It has a good reputation for bravery. It traces its descent to Qahtān.

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101 (a) *'Alqam es-Sahil.* Settled. 2,000 men.
619 Paramount Chief : Ahmed ibn Hamīd.
Chief Muftis : 'Abdullah ibn Hujahri and ibn 'Abbās.

•622 Chief villages :—

'Ain Ibn Musāfi	Murei Abu Zu.
Hamārah	Mushabbab ibn Ta'yīn.
Umm Makmar	Nāsir ibn Mushabbab.
Umm Shatt 'Ā'idh	'Ā'idh ibn Mushabbab.
Āl Umm Ghaidah	'Ali ibn Mushabbab.
Wādi el-Beih	'Ali ibn Jurāwi.
Āl Yūsuf	Hinbis.
Qarādah	'Abdullah ibn 'Uqrān.
Dein Sunum	Sa'īd Shaghlah.
Mahsān	Mohammed Abu Hanash.
Āl Wādi Mutah	Yahya Tāhir es-Stambūli.

(b) *'Alqam el-'Alein.* 2,000 men.
Beni Ma'āzin.
Chief Sheikh : Abu Matīr.

Chief villages :—

Jau Umm Nejeim	Mohammed ibn Muhsin.
Jebel Kotheiri	Mufarrih ibn 'Ā'idh.
Juhān	Ibn Duseiri.
Ghaina	Sha'bān.
Umm Mujādhah	Ahmed ibn Fa'ai.
Sūda Āl Thawwābi	Mohammed ibn Zeid.
Āl Umm Gaseir	Ibn Daumān.

4. *Beni 'Amr*

The Beni 'Amr are a small settled tribe in the highland country through which the Ibha–Tā'if road passes. Their northern boundary adjoins the Bulqarn and on all other sides they are surrounded by the Beni Shihir, the nomadic Neid being to their east and the settled Ka'b to their south and west. Their country is well watered and productive, wooded except where the ground has been cleared for cultivation. The chief Sheikh is Sa'īd ibn 'Othmān, who lives at Shij, and is said to be a good tribal chief. The Beni 'Amr number about 2,000 men and are hospitable and a fine

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fighting tribe. They have always been violently anti-Turk and about ten years ago, under Sa'īd ibn 'Othmān, defeated a strong Turkish column led by Mohammed Amīn Pasha which was sent to subdue them. They pay allegiance to Idrīsi, but not to the extent of allowing him to levy taxes. They are allied with the Bulqarn and have an old feud with the Ka'b, Beni Kerīm, and Neid sections of the Beni Shihir. 101 619 622.

The tribe traces its descent to the Rijāl el-Hajar.

Paramount Sheikh : Sa'īd ibn 'Othmān esh-Shij. 2,000 men.

Clans :—

Āl Suleimān	Mukhāsir ibn Mohammed.
Udheidāt	'Abd ibn Talhah.
Beni Rāfi'	Dhuleim ibn Bukheikh.
Āl esh-Sheikh	Sa'īd ibn Rahmah.
Ahl Jebel el-Mutla	Dalīr ibn Mohammed.

5. *Bahr Ibn Sekeinah*

The Bahr Ibn Sekeinah live along the Muhā'il–Birk road from about 9 miles south-west of Muhā'il to within 18 miles of Birk, a distance of approximately 29 miles. They are bounded on the north by the Āl Mūsa, on the east first by the Beni Thuwwah and then by the Rijāl el-M'a, on the south by the Rijāl el-M'a, and on the west by the Beni Hilāl.

They number 1,000 men, of whom 600 are settled and the rest, the Latīm and the Makhlūtah, nomad. They share with the Beni Hilāl the reputation of being one of the most unregenerate and irresponsible tribes of Asir, and the nomads are still Moslems merely in name, though the influence of Idrīsi during the past few years has done something to reform them. They have never acknowledged the sway of the Turk nor have the latter been able to subdue them. Their country in the highlands of Asir is thickly forested, abounding in running streams, but only a little has been cleared for cultivation.

Their paramount Sheikh is Seyyid Mustafa, a man of 35 years of age, and one of the most prominent figures in Asir. He belongs to a family of Seyyids and not to the tribe itself. In 1912 Idrīsi placed him in supreme command of the forces opposing the Turks and the Sherif of Mecca. When the fighting was over, the Rijāl el-M'a, who will suffer no outsider, complained to Idrīsi against his being put over them and even went so far as to try to murder him. He has his own tribesmen thoroughly under control and is

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looked up to as a stern but just ruler. He is responsible for collecting tribute for Idrīsi and, reserving for himself a quarter of all he receives, has grown rich and lives in some state in Jannah.

The most serious engagement in the war of 1912 took place at 'Ayā[illegible]n his country, resulting in a check for Idrīsi.

The Bahr Ibn Sekeinah claim kinship with the Rijāl el-M'a and are usually on good terms with them. They reckon the Beni Thuwwah amongst their friends, but are always at feud with the Beni Hilāl and Āl Mūsa.

Chief Sheikh : Seyyid Mustafa.

Villages : 600 men.

El-Bahr	Mohammed esh-Shar.
Jannah	Mohammed ibn Ahmed.
Mayādi	Ibn Kheir.
Khamīs el-Bahr	Mohammed ibn 'Abdullah.

Nomads : 400 men.

Latīm	Abu Zoa.
Makhlūtah	Mohammed Abu Hanash
Aulād Islām	

6. *Balahmar*

The Balahmar live in the rich highland country to the north of Ibha, their southern boundary coming to within 10 miles of that town. The tribes which adjoin them are on the north the Balasmar, on the east the Shahrān, on the south the Beni Mālik, and on the west the Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah. The tribe is a strong one and numbers about 7,000 men, of whom 4,000 are settled, the rest nomad. Their country is well watered and produces fruits as well as cereals. The paramount Sheikh of the settled portion is 'Abdullah ibn Milhem, a young man of 25, who is liked by the tribe both for his justice and the open house which he keeps. He is a warm supporter of Idrīsi and collects taxes for him.

'Ali ibn 'Abshān, or 'Ali Ghālib Bey as the Turks call him, is the nominal head of all the nomads, but for the last few years he has only had the Āl 'Asla under his control. In his younger days he went to Constantinople and received a military training for five years. On his return to Asir with the rank of Bimbashi he was appointed by the Turks chief tax-collector for the whole district. When Idrīsi revolted he stood by the Government, but was not supported by the Balahmar who, with the exception of the Āl 'Asla,

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all went over to Idrīsi. For the last few years he has lived entirely at Ibha, fearing to go back to his country. He had a house in the village of Melāhah in the Beni Mālik district, which was razed to the ground a few years ago by Sheikh Seyyid Mustafa of the Bahr Ibn Sekeinah, the chief general of Idrīsi in Asir. His son 'Ali was one of the first to be chosen to sit in the Ottoman Parliament, but on his return from Constantinople was captured between Qunfudah and Ibha by the Idrīsi's men and died in captivity at Sabia about six years ago. 'Ali ibn 'Abshan himself is now about 55 years of age and is said to be brave and capable.

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The Balahmar say that they are descended from the Rijāl el-Hajar; but they are probably from some other stock, since they are fairer than other Arabs and most of them have red hair, which they wear short, and light eyelashes. The villagers have a reputation for cowardice, but the nomads are stout fighters. The whole tribe, however, has an evil name for treachery and theft and are known amongst other tribes as 'Kilāb en-Na'al', intimating that as a dog in the night they will steal the shoes from their sleeping guests.

The Balahmar are friends with the Balasmar, Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, and Beni Mālik, but are enemies of the Shahrān.

(*a*) Settled. 4,000 men. Paramount Sheikh: 'Abdullah ibn Milhem.

Chief villages :—

Beihān	Mushabbab ibn Yūsuf.
Āl A'mer	Mohammed ibn Musheit.
Sabah	Sheikh Himri.
Shijr	Hamūd ibn Mohammed.
Mowein	Sheikh Abu Hanki.
Āl Husein	Sheikh Abu Sha'rah.
Āl Meshad	'Othmān ibn Rifā'ah.
Āl Mohammed es-Sahīl	'Amr ibn 'Ali.
Āl Qasīm	Sa'ūd ibn Sa'd.
Wādi Ibl	Mahmūd ibn Mohammed.
Āl Umm Sha'īr	Sultān ibn Ahmed.
Misfarah	Sheikh Abu Hakam.

(*b*) Nomads. 3,000 men. Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali ibn 'Abshān.

Chief divisions :—

Āl 'Asla	Himri.
Bahāshah	'Abdullah Ferthān.
Beni Tha'labah	Safar ibn Dūh.

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7. *Bal'aryān*

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The Bal'aryān or 'Sons of nakedness' have received their name from the poor and savage conditions under which they live. They appear to be mostly of African extraction and, save for a few miserable villages, they are nomads. Their exact boundaries have not been ascertained, but it is known that they have the Ghāmid on the north, the Bulqarn et-Tihāmah on their east, the Beni Shihir on their south, and the Zobeid on their west.

They are divided into four sections, the Bal'aryān, Beni 'Īsa, Beni Suleim, and Beni Suheim, and are said to number 6,000 men. In normal times they quarrel amongst themselves, but unite when danger from outside threatens.

They reckon all their neighbours as foes, but have been known to help the Shamrān against the Ghāmid. The Beni 'Īsa pay a nominal allegiance to Idrīsi, which means that they help him in war if there is a prospect of loot, and in peace refuse to pay him taxes. The other sub-tribes are completely independent and refuse to recognize the authority of any one. There are many of these tribesmen scattered all over the country as far as Muhā'il and Birk, plying the trade of butchers. Although respected for their bravery, they are despised by all true Arabs for their mixed blood and their lack of religion, which almost amounts to paganism.

Sub-tribes :—

Bal'aryān, 2,500 men, mostly nomad.
Beni 'Īsa, 1,200 men, mostly settled.
Beni Suleim, 2,000 men, mostly nomad.
Beni Suheim, 600 men, mostly nomad.

8. *Balasmar*

The Balasmar are a strong tribe, reported to number some 9,000 men, and situated due east of Muhā'il, from which they are divided by the Reish. The adjoining tribes are the Beni Shihir on the north, the Shahrān on the east, the Balahmar on the south, and the Reish on the west. They are said to be descended from the Rijāl el-Hajar, and are of the same stock as the Beni Shihir. They dwell on the fertile slopes of the hills and up to the long ascent known as the 'Aqabah Sajein to the top of the main ridge of Asir, and are known accordingly as people of the mountains or people of the Tihāmah. Much coffee is grown on the hill terraces, and wheat and other cereals round the villages.

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Jebel Hadhah is the chief centre of the tribe and the most productive. The Ibha–Ta'if road runs through their territory for about seven miles between Madfa'ah and Tanûmah. 101 619 622

The paramount Sheikh of the whole tribe is 'Ali ibn Mohammed, a man of 50, tall and powerful, with a scar over the right eyebrow. He lives at Madfa'ah and is a firm adherent of Idrisi, as are the rest of the tribe. Idrisi takes taxes from them. In former days Turkish influence reached them, but since Idrisi's rise to power they have been left alone.

The Balasmar are friendly with the Balahmar and the Beni Shihir; with the Reish and Shahrân they are at enmity. Their reputation for hospitality and prowess in war is good.

'Ali ibn Ra'ih is the mufti of the tribe, a dark-skinned man of about 55 with a long flowing beard. He is said to have Turkish leanings, and is on bad terms with 'Ali ibn Mohammed, but he is sound in his judgements and generous, and is liked by the tribe.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Mohammed of Madfa'ah. 9,000 men.

(a) *Ahl el-Jibil.* 4,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Sadwân	'Ali ibn Hasan.
Hudhwah	Yahya ibn 'Allâmah.
Âl Ikhrein	Mohammed ibn Sâdiq.
Madfa'ah	'Ali ibn Mohammed.
La'bân	'Ali ibn Sa'id.

(b) *Ahl et-Tihâmah.* 5,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Ahl Jebel Haddah	'Abd er-Rahmân.
Umm Zerîbah	Mohammed ibn Salîm.
Khamis Makhâdah	Zabân Abu Sudr.
Umm Hajju	Ghurmallah.
Ahl Sâq el-Ithnein	'Ali ibn Shehâb.
Hadar	Barakât ibn Husein.

9. *Âhl Barak*

The four tribes of Humeidah, Âl Mûsa ibn 'Ali, Âl Isba'i, and Âl Jebâli are known collectively in Asir as the Ahl Barak, and it will therefore be convenient to class them together, although they

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do not form a confederation or trace their descent to the same ancestors.

The district of Barak begins about 15 miles north of Muhā'il, and covers an area of about 20 miles from north to south and 30 miles from east to west. It is a fertile country with plentiful rains and is largely cultivated, simsim being the principal crop. It is bounded on the north and east by the Beni Shihir, on the south by the Reish, Āl Dureib, and Rabī'at et-Tahāhin, and on the west by the Rabī'ah Mujātirah. The most important tribe is the Humeidah, numbering 7,000 men, of whom 4,000 are nomads. They occupy the western part of the district, and the Muhā'il–Qunfudah road from Dhahab to Ghār el-Hindi is in their territory. They quarrel with the Āl Isba'i and are divided amongst themselves, the villagers favouring the Turks, the nomads Idrīsi. Mohammed ibn Hayāzah is their Sheikh, and the paramount Sheikh of the whole district by the nomination of Idrīsi. He is a man of about 45, and has the reputation of using his position with wisdom and moderation.

The Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali occupy the south-eastern portion of the district along the first stages of the Barak–Tanūmah road, and number about 3,000 men. They are entirely sedentary and agricultural, and disagree with the Āl Jebāli. They are friendly with the Reish and the pro-Idrīsi section of the Āl Mūsa.

The Āl Isba'i are between the Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali and the Humeidah and north of the Āl Jebāli.

Both the Āl Isba'i and Āl Jebāli are entirely settled in villages.

Taken as a whole the tribes support Idrīsi, with the exception of the settled Humeidah, and pay him taxes. They are peaceful and pleasure-loving, and by no means fond of war. At the same time they are not above harrying small Turkish convoys. The road from Muhā'il to Qunfudah, however, is so beset with unfriendly tribes that the Turks seldom pass over it except in numbers sufficiently large to repel any ordinary attack.

Humeidah. Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Hayāzah. 7,000 men.

Chief villages, 3,000 men.

A'jamah	Zāhir Akhu Talah.
Rabu' el-A'jamah	Mohammed ibn Zāhir.
Jidhreimah	Ahmed ibn Hayāzah.
Basham	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Khabt Āl Hajri	Abu Dōsah.

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Nomads, Chief Sheikh : Fa'i ibn Hasan. 4,000 men.

Umm Mahshakah	Fa'i ibn Hasan.
Mishghalah.	
Marābah.	
Āl Jemīl.	
Āl Sa'īdah.	
Āl 'Ablah.	
Āl Mohammed.	

Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali. Chief Sheikh : Mohammed Abu Tarash. 3,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Jureihah	Abu Dōsah.
Bashamah.	

Āl Isba'i. Chief Sheikh : Hayāzah ibn Hasan. 1,500 men.

Chief villages :—

Sahil	Zabān.
Khamīs Sahil	Milbis.
Umm Ma'āsh	Ibn Umm 'Arīyah.
Sa'dah	Sa'īd Mohammed ibn Nebīyah (well-known merchant).

Āl Jebāli. Chief Sheikh : Hawāsh. 800 men.

Chief villages :—

Mifah.
Uthrub.

10. *Dhawi Barakāt*

The Dhawi Barakāt are one of the tribes of Ashrāf related to the Qoreish. They occupy a barren stretch of the sea-coast from Shakkat esh-Shāmīyah and about 25 miles south, and extend inland for about 14 miles. The Wādi Dōkhah runs through their country and provides water for their annual crop of *dukhn* and *dhura*. They number only 400 men, but make up for their paucity of numbers by their reckless daring.

Coastal dhows give their shores a wide berth, for they live chiefly on what they can make by piracy, and in their swift vessels take toll of all who come their way. Their chief is Sherif Hasan Abu Mandīl, a man about 45 years old, who recognizes the authority of neither the Sherif, the Turks, nor the Idrisi. His right-hand

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man and the one most noted in raiding is Sherif Mohammed ibn Sa'idah.

They maintain a perpetual feud with their piratical rivals the Dhawi Hasan, but are on friendly terms with the Zahrān, their eastern neighbours, and with the Zobeid to their south. There is a small colony of 'Abādilah Ashrāf in their country, which is allied to them.

An offshoot of the tribe lives at Manādil in the Belā'ir country.

Paramount Sheikh : Sherif Hasan Abu Mandil. 400 men.

Clans :—

Manādil	Sherif Zein ibn Qasīm.
Hawātimah	Sherif Hāshim ibn 'Ubeid.
Ruwājihah	Sherif Dahshān ibn Khudherr.

Section of Manādil in Belā'ir country. 300 men.

Chief Sheikh : Abu Tālib.

'Abīd el-Manādil	Sheikh Jāmūs.

11. *Belā'ir*

The Belā'ir are a strong and truculent tribe inhabiting the country roughly from between Khabt el-'Umr and Jum'at Rabī'ah to Habil and Jōz Belā'ir, on the Qunfudah–Barak road. They are bounded on the north and north-east by the Zobeid, east by the Rabī'ah Mujātirah, south-east by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn, south by the Aulād el-'Alaunah, and west by the Marāhibah section of the Beni Zeid.

They are divided into main divisions, the Nawāshirah, 3,000 men, and the 'Umr, 4,000, the former partly settled, the latter entirely nomad, and ranging the country to the south of their borders. Their situation astride the two main roads from Qunfudah to Muhā'il is an excellent one for raiding, and they take full advantage of it. They hate the Turks, who can only pass through their country in force. The chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Medīni, a man of 50, who was formerly paramount Sheikh of the whole tribe. He was bought over by the Sherif of Mecca in 1912, and his desertion of the Idrīsi lost him the support of all the 'Umr and of the Nawāshirah with the exception of the Firshah and Sa'dah clans and the inhabitants of the village of Jōz Belā'ir. The tribe is still split in two, and Sheikh Ibn Kheirah of the Nawāshirah has gathered most of the power into his hands, and is reckoned amongst the Idrīsi adherents.

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Their country includes both plain and hills, and is rich enough to give pasture for large herds of camels, goats, and cattle, and to grow cereals in the rainy season. They are allied with the Zobeid, but are generally at loggerheads with their other neighbours. The most extreme section and the one most feared by travellers is a colony of about 300 of the Dhawi Barakāt, called the Ashrāf Manādil, living at Manādil, just to the west of Jōz Belā'ir, on the main road to Qunfudah. They have lived there for many years and have severed all connexion with their parent tribe, but they have retained the tribal reputation for lawlessness. Their chief is Sherif Abu Tālib, who pays allegiance to 'Ali ibn Medīni. The colony, however, keeps to itself and does not intermarry with the Belā'ir, nor does it adopt the local custom of allowing its women to go unveiled. The Belā'ir Arabs are lax in their marriage customs, but they do not marry outside their own tribe. Although truculent and quarrelsome, they have a reputation for clean fighting, and are hospitable to those with whom they are not at feud.

Paramount Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Medīni of Jōz Belā'ir.

(*a*) *Naudshirah*. 3,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Ibn Kheirah.

Clans :—

Shawāridah	Abu Tommah.
Firshah	Sa'd.
Mujā'adah	'Ali ibn Ma'addi.
Heil el-Mujā'adah	Mohammed Munjar.
Habil	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Sa'dah	Mohammed ibn 'Abdu.

(*b*) *'Umr*. 4,000 men.

Mohammed ibn Ahmed.

Clan :—

She'i el-'Umr	Mohammed ibn Musāfir.

12. *Bulqarn*

The Bulqarn are divided into the Bulqarn esh-Shām or es-Serrah and the Bulqarn el-Yemen or et-Tihāmah, and stretch in a south-westerly direction from near Bīshah across the tangled mass of mountains which form the backbone of the Asir range, and down towards the seaward slopes. They are bounded on the north by the Shamrān and Khath'am, on the east by the Shahrān and

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nomads of Beni Shihir, on the south by the Beni 'Amr and Beni Shihir, and on the west by the Bel'aryān and Ghāmid.

The Bulqarn es-Serrah are two-thirds settled and one-third nomad, the Sheikh over all being Mash'ad ibn Bahrān, who lives at 'Alāyah, a large village about eight hours west of Qal'ah Bīshah. He is a rich landowner and also possesses date-groves in Bīshah. The country appears to be fertile and well wooded, and supports large herds of camels, goats, and cattle. The nomads draw in to the cultivation during its season, and when it has been harvested take flour to Bīshah, which they exchange for dates. There is a general truce with the Shahrān amongst all the tribes during the date season at Bīshah, which lasts about four months. At other times the Bulqarn are at feud with the Shahrān, Beni Shihir, Ghāmid, and Shamrān. They are friendly to the Khath'am and Beni 'Amr.

The Bulqarn el-Yemen occupy the lowland district of 'Urdīyah and are wholly given up to farming. Their chief Sheikh is Mujarri ibn Sa'īd.

The two sections of the tribe are friendly and help each other in war. They are not remarkable for their courage, but can render a good account of themselves. In politics they all favour the Idrīsi and pay him taxes. They are hospitable in character, and passage through their country is generally safe.

A. *Bulqarn esh-Shām* or *es-Serrah*. 6,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Mash'ad ibn Bahrān of 'Alāyah.

1. Settled. 4,000 men. Villages :—

Āl Sihil	'Abdullah ibn Nāsir.
Āl Barqūq	Hanash ibn Jarāwish.
Sahwah	'Abdullah ibn 'Abd.
Nakhlah	Merzūq ibn Mohammed.
Wajrān	'Abdullah ibn Salim.

2. Nomad. 2,000 men.

Āl 'Itfāfah	Ibrāhīm ibn Masad
Āl Hirīr	Mūsa ibn Ya'qūb.
Āl Dahshān	Mohammed ibn Hasan

B. *Bulqarn el-Yemen* or *et-Tihāmah*. 1,000 men

'Urdīyah	Mujarri ibn Sa'īd.
Āl Mabnah	Ma'addī ibn Suweih.
Āl Dhirwah	Safar ibn Mohammed.
Āl Atīm	'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Kheir
Beni Suheim	Mohammed ibn Nāsir.

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Clans :—

Āl esh-Sha'eir.
Āl Shahbah.
Beni Tala'.
Āl el-Mudeifir.
Āl Mizhim.

13. *Āl ed-Dureib*

The Āl ed-Dureib are a small tribe numbering some 800 men, to the north-west of Muhā'il. They occupy about ten miles of the Sikkat el-Helāwīyah from Muhā'il to Qunfudah between the villages of Turqush and Ma'mal Āl Ikhleif, and stretch up along the Barak road for about five miles north of Musabbah, which is in their territory. They are bounded on the north by the Āl Mūsa, west by the Reih, south-east by the Āl Mūsa, south by the Beni Hilāl, and west by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn. They are a good fighting race, but are not naturally quarrelsome or bellicose. The Idrīsi, however, frequently incites them to cut Turkish communications. Their country is fertile, and they possess many flocks and herds. The Āl Misa and Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn are friendly to them, the Āl Jebāli, Reih, and Beni Hilāl as a rule inimical. They have the reputation of being hospitable beyond the ordinary, and travellers can journey without fear in their country.

There is a small offshoot of their nomad subsection, the Āl Ikhleif, situated in the Rabī'ah Mujātirah country near Ghār el-Hindi, who have cut themselves adrift from the main tribe.

Mohamned ibn 'Amr Akhu 'Abdīyah, a man of 35, is the chief Sheikh. He has been to Mecca several times, and frequently goes to Sabia. During his absence the tribe is governed by his sister 'Abdīyah, who married a Turkish officer, now dead, named 'Ali Bey Rida.

Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn 'Amr Akhu 'Abdīyah. 800 men.

Villages :—

Turqush	Mohammed ibn el-'Allāmah.
Musabbah	Mohammed ibn Hedeyyah.
Ghizān	Rājih.
Vādi Musabbah	Mushātir.
Vādi el-Ushir	Ma'addi.
Bāhah	Mohammed ibn Bārūd.
'Ain ed-Dureib	Mohammed ibn Kheir.

Nomad :—

Āl Ikhleif.

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14. *Ghāmid*

101 619 622 The Ghāmid own a wide stretch of territory in the highlands of Southern Hejaz and Northern Asir, roughly from latitude 19° 30′ to 20° 15′ and longitude 41° 30′ to 42°. The tribes which adjoin them are, on the north the Shalāwah, east Shamrān, south Bulqarn and Bel'aryān, and west Zobeid and Zahrān. It is difficult to estimate their numbers, reports varying from Burckhardt's estimate of 5,000 to 10,000 fighting men, to a native estimate of 60,000 men. The first is probably as wrong as the last, but there seems no doubt that they are considerably more numerous than any of their neighbours.

The inland road from Ibha to Tā'if runs through the midst of their country, which is well watered and fertile. The tribe is divided into two portions, the nomad and settled, who are always at odds with one another. The nomads are Āl Seyah, a tall race of fine fighters who live to the north of the settled portion and roam far afield to the Shalāwah country round Turabah, to Ranyah, Tathlīth, and Wādi Dawāsir. They are rich in horses, camels, and goats, and recognize no authority. Their chief is Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān, a man of about 45, and a noted warrior. He is entirely independent of outside influences.

The chief of the settled Arabs is 'Azīz ibn Musheit, a young man of 25 years of age, who follows the Sherif of Mecca and frequently visits him. He is at enmity with Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān. A large number of his men go yearly to Mecca, Jiddah, and Taif and act as porters during the pilgrim season. They remain there for about four months, and return with supplies for the rest of the year. Many invest their savings in rifles, which they buy at one of the two chief markets, Ru'eis near Jiddah or Nuzūlah Beni Mālik. They also buy rifles from the Rijāl el-M'a. Although not noted for their fighting skill they yet are frequently at war, their chief foes being the Zahrān, and after them the Bel'aryān, Bulqarn, Shamrān, and Shahrān. The Āl Seyah, who are the better fighters, combine with them when trouble with the Zahrān arises. Their friends are the Zobeid and Beni Mālik of Hejaz.

Their women occupy a much more important position than in most tribes, and take an equal share in all harder forms of manual labour, and even have a say in the tribal councils. The tribe is still nicknamed the Khādimīn ed-Derwīshah, after a woman who died about fifty years ago, having ruled them for nearly 40 years. The women also weave camel's-hair garments and blankets. Owing

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to the annual migration to the Hajj, the tribe is more civilized than most and has a good reputation for hospitality. 101

In May 1915 some of their Sheikhs, whose names are not known, wrote to the Idrīsi proposing to join him. The Idrīsi advised them to keep quiet until a more favourable moment arrived, but sent a Qādhi to collect money from them. At the beginning of 1916 he was still in communication with them. 619 622

A man of importance in the tribe is Sālih ibn 'Ajalah. He is the richest merchant and controls most of the trade between Mecca and the Ghāmid. The export of tobacco, of which a considerable amount is grown, is entirely in his hands.

Another man of influence is Mohammed ibn 'Ali of the Beni Kebīr. He was chosen as one of the representatives of Asir in the Ottoman Parliament ten years ago, and went to Constantinople for one session. Not liking the life, he resigned his seat, but still keeps up his Turkish connexions.

Paramount Chief: 'Azīz ibn Musheit.

(*a*) Settled:

Beni Dhubyān	Mohammed ibn Ati.
Beni Kebīr	Ismā'īl ibn Mohammed.
Beni Kebīr	Mohammed ibn Ibrāhīm.
Bal Jurashi	Hizām ibn Ismā'īl.
Humrān	Sa'īd ibn Mohammed.
Āl edh-Dhafīr	Sālih ibn Yāsīn.
Āl Ramādah	Sa'īd ibn Habīb.
Āl Za'lah	Dhiyāb ibn Nāsir.
Beni Sandal	'Abd er-Rahmān el-Merzūq.
Āl Bahdān	Mubārak ibn Muwalla.
Āl Bāh	Dhāfir ibn Sa'īd.
Ahl Wādi Shibriqah	Salīm ibn Mohammed.
Āl Ferza'ah	Hizām ibn Husein.
Beni Munababah	Fā'iz ibn Mohammed.
Beni 'Omar	Mubārak ibn Muwalla (different from above).
Ahl Wādi Batat	Mohammed ibn Mukhāsir.
Beni Lām	Sa'īd ibn 'Abdullah.
Āl Lahdah	Mohammed ibn Dhubyān
Beni Muntazar	Haneish ibn 'Ablah.
Beni Talaq	Mohammed ibn Sa'īd.
Beni Khutheim	
Beni Jābūs	'Atīyat Allah.

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Beni 'Abdillah	Mohammed ibn Ferhat.
Beni Mintisher	'Ali Jamah.
Beni Balsham	
Beni Nāshir	
Bal Hirsh	Mohammed ibn 'Atīyah.

(*b*) Nomad.

Āl Seyah	Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān.

15. *Ahl Hali*

The Ahl Hali consist of four tribes, which may conveniently be considered together, since, although of different origin, they are politically one, sharing the same country, uniting against common enemies, and being ruled over by one chief. Their country embraces the coastal village of Hali and the district round of the same name. The boundary starts from the coast about five miles north of Hali, runs north-east along the Beni Ya'lah territory, and thence follows a line parallel to the Hali–Jum'ah Rabī'ah road and about four miles to the west, up to Kidwah, which is 18 miles NNE. from Hali and close to the boundary of the 'Umr section of the Belā'ir. Thence it goes south-east for about ten miles along the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn and Beni Dhi'b territory to Kiyāh, which is 21 miles NE. of Hali. Here it reaches the Beni Hilāl and follows their line towards the coast, which it touches about 12 miles south of Hāli.

The four tribes are the 'Abīd el-Emīr, Ghawānimah, Aulād el-'Alaunah, and Kinānah, who are all settled with the exception of the Salālimah clan of the 'Abīd el-Emīr and the Fellāhah clan of the Aulād 'Alaunah, both small and unimportant units.

The largest tribe is the Aulād el-'Alaunah, who number 3,000 men and are strung out along the Jum'ah Rabī'ah road from Kidwah to Minjīyah.

Next in importance are the Ghawānimah (1,500) from Radha to Khā'i along the Muhā'il road, then Kinānah from the Beni Hilāl to Minjiyah, and finally the 'Abīd el-Emīr (600 men) on the Beni Dhi'b frontier.

The paramount Sheikh over all is Ibn 'Aji, a man of about 55, who in the past was a friend of the Turks, but seceded to the Idrīsi when the latter began to grow powerful. The Turks used to occupy Hali, but they were driven out sixteen years ago, and have been unable to regain a footing. The confederation is a rich one, having

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sufficient water for its agricultural needs and possessing large herds of cattle. 101

They are noted warriors and maintain feuds with all their neighbours. The Rijāl el-M'a are the only tribe whom they regard with friendly eyes. Their relations towards each other are at times strained, but they unite for common defence and when the Idrīsi calls them out. 619 622

The 'Abīd el-Emīr were originally slaves of Sudanese stock, but have long since gained their emancipation and now rank on an equality with the Arabs. A number of them go every year on the Pilgrimage to Mecca, where they have an evil reputation for robbery and theft.

The Kinānah are an ancient and famous tribe, who probably came into being about A. D. 100, and are descended from the Mudhar branch of Nizār. The Qoreish are a branch of them. They were at first settled near Mecca, and took a prominent part against Mohammed the Prophet, by whom they were subdued. When Africa was invaded part of the tribe went to the Sudan, where they are still found in Kordofan, while others went to Egypt and from there pushed as far west as Morocco. The Arabian remnant had meantime taken up their residence near Hali, where they were reported to be by Ibn Batūtah in 1353.

Some severe fighting took place in the Hali country during the campaign of the Sherif of Mecca and the Turks, in 1910, in which the Āhl Hali, who were fighting for the Idrīsi, gave a good account of themselves.

Paramount Sheikh : Ibn 'Aji of Aulād el-'Alaunah.

(*a*) *'Abid el-Emīr.* 600 men. Ibn Saghīr.

Villages :—

Kiyād	Ibn Zemīm.
Sabt el-Kiyād	Hasan ibn Ahmed.

Bedouin :—

Salālimah.

(*b*) *Ghawānimah.* 1,500 men. Khalīl el-Ghānim.

Villages :—

Khā'i	Ibn Shabīb.
Kidwat el-Ghawānimah	Hasan Ghebeish.
Radha	Mohammed ibn 'Ajil.

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(c) *Aulād el-'Alaunah.* 3,000 men. Hasan Shijeifi.

Villages :—

Minjīyah	'Ali Shumeih.
Bei'shi	Ghabeish.
Ferīq	Hasan Sūh.
Fiqāhah	Medīni.
Mashā'ikh	'Ali Sheikh.
Salāmah	'Ali Serūwi.
'Ajam Je'eirah	Ahmari.

Bedouin :—

Fellāhah.

(d) *Kinānah.* Subdivided into :—

1. Shawārah. 1,000 men. Mohammed ibn 'Abd.

Villages :—

Kidwat el-'Ābid	Merzūq.
Beidein	Abu 'Alam.
Sheikh 'Ali	Mubārak ibn Hasan.
Makhshūsh	Shāmi ibn 'Abbās.
Sūq el-Ithnein Makhshūsh	Ahmed ibn 'Abbās.
Qadab	Ibn Zaghlūl.

2. Beni Yahya. 400 men. Sheikh : Abu Radīyah.

Villages :—

Sulb	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Ma'āshīyah	'Ali Dellāq.
Āl Khirshān	Sa'īd 'Abdullah ibn Khirshah.
Melhah.	

16. *Dhawi Hasan*

The Dhawi Hasan occupy the coast-line from just north of Līth down to Shakkat esh-Shāmīyah, a distance of about 45 miles, and inland to the beginning of the mountains, which are here only a few miles from the sea. They are of Sherifial stock and connected with the Qoreish, but they do not reflect credit on the tribe, for they pay small attention to religion and concentrate all their energies on piracy, being the most notorious band of freebooters and sea-robbers along the whole coast. The Turks have a garrison about two hours inland from their main town of Līth, and exercise a certain restraint

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over them; but the Dhawi Hasan hate both the Turks and the Sherif, and what little deference they show to any one is paid to the Idrīsi, who is sufficiently far away to be attractive. Sherif Mustur represents the Sherif at Lith, and collects a certain amount of taxes. 101 619 622

The chief of the tribe is Sherif Mohammed ibn Hasan ibn el-'Aud, whose name is known with dread by every sailor along the coast. Almost equally feared are his followers, Sherif Ismā'īl Abu Khurfān, Sherif Rājib ibn Dajhid, and Murzut ibn Bekhīt, a Sudanese slave who won his freedom by his skill in raiding. They are friendly with the Zahrān and Juhadlah, their eastern and northern neighbours, but have a long-standing feud with the Dhawi Barakāt, who lie to their south.

The Dhawi Hasan possess many slaves, and the cruelty with which they are treated is notorious in the Hejaz. Blacks captured at sea are invariably enslaved and hamstrung to minimize their chance of escape.

Chief Sheikh: Sherif Mohammed ibn Hasan ibn el-'Aud. 3,000 men.

Āl Āsaf	Sherif Hasan ibn Husein.
Khumjān	Sherif Mahjūb ibn Barakāt.
Āl Hasan ibn Ahmed	Sherif Haza' ibn Fuzān.
Āl Jisās	Sherif Bureik ibn Ahmed.

17. *Beni Hasan*

The Beni Hasan inhabit the country between Wādis Heirān and Habl from the sea to about 20 miles inland and are bounded on the north by the Beni Marwān, on the south by the Beni 'Abs, and on the east by the Beni Zeid. They are firm friends of the Beni 'Abs, who protect them and range over their country, and they keep on good terms both with the Beni Zeid, whom they fear, and with the Beni Marwān. In number about 2,000 souls, they can put 500 fighting men into the field. Manjūr is their chief village, about 20 miles ESE. of Mīdi; Hasan es-Sa'īd and Mūsa Hasan their chief Sheikhs

18. *Beni Hilāl*

The Beni Hilāl occupy a broad expanse of country stretching from the Sikkat esh-Sherāf between Hali and Muhā'il to Birk on the sea-shore.

Their exact boundary starts at Sabt es-Sawālah, about 23 miles from Hali, and runs just north of the Sikkat esh-Sherāf and Wādi

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Dofa' up to within 4 miles of Muhā'il, a total distance of about 34 miles. On the north they are bounded by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn and Āl ed-Dureib. From Sirr the boundary goes south-west to Birk, marching first with the Āl Mūsa, and finally near the coast with the Munjahah. The coast is theirs for about 18 miles north of Birk, and then the boundary goes inland and so up to Sabt es-Sawālah along the Hali border. The country is densely wooded and provides pasturage for large herds of camels and goats. The tribe is divided into the Ahl Birk, the Āl Ikhtarsh, who live in the direction of Muḥā'il, and are subdivided into the Āl Misjar and Āl Umm Jam'ah, and the Arabs of the western parts whose subdivisions have not been ascertained. The Āl Ikhtarsh are said to number 5,000 men, and the remainder, including the Ahl Birk, 7,000.

The Ahl Birk and the Arabs inhabiting the villages along the sea-coast, such as Nakhl el-Birk, Nahūd, and Sobākhah, form the only respectable portion of the tribe. They cultivate a little, grow date-trees in some of the villages, and supplement this by collecting salt near Birk, which they sell to their neighbouring tribes. Mohammed ibn 'Abdu is the chief Sheikh, a man of 35 years of age and a staunch adherent of the Idrīsi. He is nominal chief over the whole tribe, and does in fact have considerable influence over them. But to keep them entirely in check is almost an impossibility, for they have the well-earned reputation of being one of the wildest and most intractable tribes of the Asir.

Almost pagan, they lead an entirely nomadic life, subsisting on meat and milk and buying what little they need from outside. They have closed the Sikkat esh-Sherāf to the Turks, who are obliged to travel by the more northern roads, the Sikkat el-Helāwīyah or the Barak road, and even ordinary travellers do not dare to pass through their country except in large armed parties. As far as they may be said to have any politics, they are pro-Idrīsi, but they are far too out of hand to be of value as allies. They are at daggers drawn with all the neighbouring tribes with the exception of the Rijāl el-M'a, whose hand they fear.

'Ali ibn 'Abdu, the Sheikh of Birk, was recently reported to be in the pay of the Turks, and to be smuggling mails up to Ibha, but the well-known attitude of the tribe renders this improbable. In 1910 the Sherif tried to suborn him with the offer of £3,000. 'Ali ibn 'Abdu's only reply was to send him a Mauser cartridge.

Mohammed ibn Hasan, chief of the Āl Ikhtarsh, is a notorious highwayman, and has a most unsavoury reputation for treachery and cunning.

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1. *Ahl Birk.* Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn 'Abdu, of Birk. 101
Other prominent Sheikhs :—
'Ali ibn 'Abdu (Sheikh of Birk). 619
'Ali ibn Muqdi (merchant).
Sha'bān. 622
Mohammed ibn Fayy.

2. *Western Arabs.*

3. *Āl Ikhtarsh.* Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Āl Misjar.
Āl Umm Jam'ah.

19. *Ja'dah*

A small Sunni tribe between the Beni Marwān and Masārihah, just south of Wādi Ta'ashar, about 10 miles north of Mīdi. Their chief Sheikhs are Mohammed Ahmed and Sheikh Maqbūl, both of whom have been fighting for the Idrīsi.

20. *Ja'āfirah*

One of the 20 tribes of Ashrāf. They are settled in and round Jōz el-Ja'āfirah to the north of Jeizān. Sherif Mohammed 'Ali is their chief Sheikh. He is said to be secretly disaffected to the Idrīsi, but openly is on good terms with him. The tribe numbers about 600 men.

21. *Khamīsīn*

A tribe, rather smaller than the Beni 'Abs, inhabiting the hills east of Haradh. They are allies of their western neighbours, the Beni Marwān, and adherents of the Idrīsi. Their chief village is Sūq el-Mughāsil, where a market is held every Sunday.

22. *Khath'am*

The Khath'am are a small settled tribe on the Ibha–Tā'if road, with the Shamrān to their north and west and the Bulqarn to their east and south. They do not muster more than 1,500 men and are partly nomadic. The chief village of the settled portion is Lasfar, where lives their chief Sheikh, Juheish ibn 'Aqad, an old man of 60. The nomads are camel-owners, and are almost all engaged in the carrying trade to Bīshah and Namas. They excel in fighting, and are allied with the Bulqarn and Shamrān.

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Their chief menace comes from the Ghāmid, and the Khath'am, Bulqarn, Beni 'Amr, and Shamrān all unite against that powerful tribe when it threatens any one of them. In politics they favour the Idrīsi. The tribe traces its descent back to the Rijāl el-Hajar.

Paramount Sheikh : Juheish ibn 'Aqad of Lasfar.

(*a*) Settled sections :—

Āl Murrah	Thawwāb ibn Nāsir.
Āl Serdān	Mohammed ibn 'Alam.

(*b*) Nomad sections :—

Mazāriqah	Juheish ibn 'Aqad.
Āl Selmān	Shuweib ibn Mohammed.

23. *Beni Mālik*

The Beni Mālik live to the north of Ibha, their southern boundary being only 2 miles away. The adjoining tribes are: on the north the Balahmar, east the Shahrān, south the Beni Mugheid, and west the 'Alqam el-Hūl and Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah.

They are of Qahtān stock, and with the Beni Mugheid, Rufeidat el-Yemen, and 'Alqam el-Hūl form what is, strictly speaking, Asir. The tribe numbers about 5,000 men, of whom 2,000 are nomads.

The villagers are under Sheikh 'Ali ibn Ma'addi, and are divided into the three chief clans of Āl el-Mujemmil, Beni Rizām, and Beni Rabī'ah. They are Turkish in sympathy with the exception of the Beni Rizām, whose Sheikh, Tāhir Abu Hashar, was imprisoned for a year at Ibha for attempting a revolt. They all pay taxes, and are peaceful and unwarlike people, looked down on by all the neighbouring tribes, who have named them in derision 'Jauba' or donkeys.

The nomads are good fighters, and pay only a nominal allegiance to the Turks. They come into the villages during the harvest, and for the rest of the year wander to the east round Jinfur, an isolated village of theirs in the Shahrān country, or go down to the 'Alqam el-Hūl or Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah. They are at enmity with the Beni Tha'labah section of the Balahmar.

The country is fertile, and largely supplies Ibha with fruits.

'Ali ibn Ma'addi, the chief Sheikh, is an old man of 60, and is a member of the Ibha town council. He is reported to be mean and avaricious.

Sa'd ibn Dhuh, the chief of the nomads, is a brave old warrior of over 70, and is anti-Turk. He is supported by his seven sons.

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(*a*) Settled. 3,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Ma'addi.

His sons { Ahmed Ibn 'Ali.
Mansūr ibn Ma'addi.

Chief religious Sheikh : Mufti ibn Khudra.

1. *Āl el-Mujemmil.*	Mūsa ibn Mushāfi.
Chief villages :—	
Āl Atana	Sheikh Humeidi.
Serūr	Sheikh Malaf.
Shāb	Abu Shamil ibn Ghatīyah
Āl Umm Ruwi	Mohammed Abu Qahas.
2. *Beni Rizām.*	Tāhir Abu Hashar.
Chief village :—	
Āl Umm Ruweidi	Abu Aftān.
3. *Beni Rabī'ah.*	
Chief villages :—	
Āl Ya'lah	Walad Abu Dhibah.
Mahālah 'Alīyah	Mohammed ibn Shuweil.
Mahālah Sifla	Ahmed 'Ali Dhibah.
'Aij	Yahya ibn 'Audah.
Wādi 'Atf	Mohammed ibn Jerān.
Āl Tabīb	'Abdullah ibn Na'sah.
Nejlah	Mohammed ibn Na'sah, his brother.
Āl Ghalīdh	Walad Ibn Dufrān.
Āl La'sān	Mohammed ibn Ahmed.
Āl Felāt	Nāsir ibn Muzallifah.
Āl Jerja	Sheikh Qadan.
Āl Lashrān	Yahya ibn Lashrān.
Dārah	Ahmed ibn Muftih.
4. *Other villages.*	
Muslit	Ibn eth-Thibeit.
Meiza'a	'Ali ibn Sūdān.
Feyah	'Ali ibn Shahr.
Melāhah	Misfar ibn Humrah.
Seyyad	'Ali Ghareifah.

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(b) Nomads. 2,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Sa'd ibn Dhuh.

Clans :—

Āl Habashi	Sa'd ibn Dhuh.
Āl Rumei'ān	Sheikh Sofar.
Beni Minbah	Sheikh Sālikhah.
	Sheikh Mujerri of Junfar.

24. *Beni Marwān*

A Sunni tribe numbering about 1,000 fighting men and inhabiting the country from Wādi Heirān on the south almost to Wādi Ta'ashar on the north. They are bounded on the north by the Masārihah, on the east by the Ahl Haradh and Khamisīn, and on the south by the Beni Hasan. The port of Mīdi is in their country, and their chief village is Sūq el-Keirān. Formerly they were partisans of the Idrīsi, but they rebelled against him when he accepted help from the Italians. They are evidently still disloyal, for the Idrīsi is reported to have sent a punitive expedition against Ibn Bakri, their chief Sheikh, in November 1915. Sheikh Tāhir 'Ali is the Sh'ikh of Mīdi.

25. *Masārihah*

A Sunni tribe supporting the Idrīsi, who occupy the country from Wādi Ta'ashar almost up to Abu 'Arīsh and Jeizān on the north and east to the first foot-hills. They are bounded on the north by the Reish, on the south by the Ja'dah and Beni Marwān, and on the east by the Beni Mohammed. Their chief village is Samtah, and they are said to muster 1,000 fighting men. The chief Sheikhs are Ahmed Masāwah, 'Othmān Siwādi, Abu Halīm, and Yahya Mihah.

26. *Beni Mohammed*

A tribe east of the Masārihah in the hills south-east of Jeizān. They support the Idrīsi.

27. *Beni Mugheid*

The Beni Mugheid are a fine fighting tribe dwelling in the steep hill country which leads up to Ibha from the south and in and around Ibha itself. The adjoining tribes are: on the north the 'Alqam el-Hūl and Beni Mālik, on the east the Shahrān, on the

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south the Sha'af Rashah and Āl Yinfa'ah sections of the Shahrān and the Rabī'at el-Yemen, and on the west the Rijāl el-M'a. 101

Their southern limit is the Wādi Shahlah, which flows into the Wādi Dhilah (or Dhil'a) at Heidat et-Tihāmīyah. The tribe numbers about 7,000 men, of whom more than 5,000 are firm adherents of the Turks, and as their fortresses are practically impregnable in Arab warfare, they are a valuable asset to the Ottoman Government. 619 622

The tribe is divided into seven divisions, the Āl Yazīd, Āl Nājih, Āl el-Wāzi, Āl Umm Sherāf, Āl Umm Jerei'at, Āl Umm Wādi Malah, and Āl Weimān. Their country is fertile, with running streams, and produces coffee and fruits.

The Āl Yazīd are the ruling clan and are subdivided into the families of Ibn Mufarrih, Āl Abu Sārah, and Aulād el-Emīr Mohammed ibn 'Ā'idh, who ruled supreme over all Asir before the days of the Turks and the Idrīsi.

The Idrīsi's rise to power has split up many a tribe in Asir which was formerly united, and the Āl Yazīd have not escaped the general feeling of discord. The head of the Aulād el-Emīr Mohammed ibn 'Aidh is Hasan ibn 'Ali, a young man of 26, who has already distinguished himself in battle. He was at one time with the Idrīsi, but in 1910 was bribed by the Sherif of Mecca and seceded to the Turks, who made him Vali of Asir, which strictly speaking only includes the tribes of Beni Mālik, 'Alqam, Rufeidat el-Yemen, and Beni Mugheid, who are all descended from Qahtān, but is used loosely to include all the tribes from Wada'ah to Zahrān. In practice he only rules those tribes who recognize Turkish authority. The Turks, as is their custom with local chiefs whom they wish to keep in good humour, have made him a Bey. His own house is divided against him, for while his cousins Nāsir and Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmān support him and occupy positions under the Turks, the rest of his family, including his brother 'Ali, a young man of 20, have Idrīsi sympathies and refuse to countenance the Government. The family lives at Reidah and Harmalah, about 15 miles to the south-west of Ibha, Hasan ibn 'Ali himself occupying the strong fortress of Qasr 'Ali ibn Mohammed.

The Aulād ibn Mufarrih live at Sijah, three miles north of Reidah, and are descendants of Sheikh Mufarrih, who ruled over Asir until he was ousted by the house of Ā'idh. On this account there has always been ill-feeling between the two families, which has developed into open hatred in the present generation owing to the murder of Ahmed ibn Mufarrih, father of 'Abdullah ibn Mufarrih, by the father of Hasan ibn 'Ali some years ago.

The Aulād ibn Mufarrih rebelled against the Turks when the

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Idrīsi arose, and under 'Abdullah ibn Mughethil defeated a force sent against them. 'Abdullah ibn Mufarrih is their chief, a man of 45, who holds the title of Bey from the Turks, and on account of his large estate and his landed property in Ibha is outwardly on good terms with them, but secretly in communication with the Idrīsi.

Of the Āl Abu Sārah, whose head-quarters are at Dhohyah, just to the north of Sijah, 'Ali ibn Lāhiq and his son Husein were formerly with the Turks, but have seceded and allied themselves with the Aulād ibn Mufarrih. Mohammed Abu Dūsah has long been a noted opponent of the Turks.

The Āl Nājih are just to the west of Ibha and are divided in their sympathy. Their Sheikh, Yahya ibn Salim, was taken captive and imprisoned by the Idrīsi five years ago for refusing to pay taxes to him.

The Āl el-Wāzi live near the 'Alqam el-Hāl boundary, and are especially noted for their bravery, which has earned their nickname of Tūrk el-'Arab. They are all pro-Turk.

The Āl Umm Sherāf are all settled along the Āl Sirhān (Shahrān) boundary and are entirely out of hand, being at open enmity with the Turks and all their neighbours, as well as their own tribe. Their country is the focus of all the thieves and highwaymen of the district, and they continually hold up the roads and rob innocent travellers. They also go up to the Wādi Tayyah in the Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah district, and help the Āl Hārith in their war against society. The most notorious amongst them are 'Abdullah ibn Mifdhil, Nāsir and Mūsa ibn Sherein, and Gharām ibn Rābih.

The Āl Umm Jerei'āt and Āl Umm Wādi Malah are both settled in and round Ibha, and are with the Government.

The Āl Weimān, a small section of 400 men who live near the Rabī'ah border to the south, are under the influence of the Idrīsi.

The Beni Mugheid are not a quarrelsome race and live at peace with all their neighbours, except the Rijāl el-M'a, with whom they have a hereditary feud. They take a considerable part in the local government, occupying many of the smaller posts, such as clerkships and the like, and a few have been chosen to represent Asīr in the Ottoman Parliament. Amongst these are Ahmed ibn Umm Shibah of the Āl Umm Mufarrih, a man of 50, fat, dark, and of average height. He is an eloquent speaker, a keen politician, and very pro-Turk with a strong hatred of the Sa'dah. When at Ibha he sits on the 'Mejlis Beledi'. He is a rich landowner, but is unpopular on account of his meanness.

'Ali ibn Khanfur is another deputy, and belongs to the Āl Umm Wādi Malah. He belongs to a middle-class family, his people being

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traders in hides in a small way. He used to be Bashkâtib of accounts in Ibha, having worked his way up from a small clerkship. He is a small man of about 40; his face is pitted with small-pox. He is very intelligent, and used to be religious, but has latterly taken to drink. He is not liked by the tribe. 101 619 622

Mohammed ibn 'Aziz, of the Âl Umm Manâdhir, is another man of importance. He married a sister of Hussein Eff. weled Muzeiqah Julas, a deputy for Asir and the Finance Minister (Sandûq Amini), and is accustomed to act for the latter during his absence abroad. He is also responsible for assessing the taxes in all the Turkish districts. A man of 25 years of age, small and dark, he is clever and has a good reputation. His brother, Manzûr ibn 'Aziz, was sent to Constantinople three years ago to represent certain grievances of the people of Ibha, and succeeded in securing the dismissal of several Turkish officials.

Mohammed ibn Musallat, who is Sheikh of the Âl Umm Wâdi Malah, is also president of the town council, or Mejlis Beledi, at Ibha. A man of 30 years of age; he is not liked by the tribe, but is capable and has a fine fighting record. He is also a rich landowner.

(a) *Âl Yazîd.* (Mugheid el-Khotah). 300 men.

1. Aulâd el-Emîr Mohammed ibn 'Â'idh.
   Hasan ibn 'Ali, paramount chief.
   'Abdullah ibn 'Ali, his brother.
   Nâsir ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh
   Mohammed ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh } brothers.
   'Â'idh ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh
   'Abdullah ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Â'idh } are cousins of the above.
   Sa'd ibn Nâsir.

2. Aulâd ibn Mufarrih.
   'Abdullah ibn Mufarrih.
   Sa'd ibn Mufarrih.
   'Abd er-Rahmân ibn Mufarrih.
   'Abdullah ibn Mujethil.

3. Âl Abu Sârah.
   'Ali ibn Lâbiq.
   Hussein ibn 'Ali, his son.
   Lâbiq ibn Hian.
   Hussein ibn Merzin.
   Mohammed Abu Dîsah.
   'Abd er-Rahmân ibn el-Qâdhi Mufti.
   Ahmed ibn El-Qâdhi.

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(b) *Āl Nājih.* 1,500 men.

Chief Sheikh : Yahya ibn Salim

Chief villages :—

'Ithrabān	Mohammed ibn Sālim.
'Alāyah	Ahmed ibn Mirai.
'Azīzah	'Ā'idh el-Felwalli.
Āl Jerr el-Wādi	Mohammed Dalih.
Jōz	Ahmed ibn 'Ali.
Imsiqah	Mohammed ibn Delbūh.
Āl Umm Hanak	Mohammed ibn Sa'id.
Āl Umm Shi'bah	Umm Saghair.
Umm Misrāb	Mishar ibn 'Ali.
Āl Tamām	Mohammed et-Tamām.
Āl Sakrān	Mohammed ibn 'Ā'idh.
Āl el-Jabel'i	Mohammed ibn Sultān.

(c) *Āl el-Wāri.* 1,800 men.

Paramount Sheikh : Mohammed ibn 'Awad.

Chief villages :—

Badlah	Mohammed ibn 'Abdullah.
Umm Shahrah	Ahmed ibn 'Ali.
Shebārijah	Ahmed edh-Dhi'b.
Āl Zeidi	'Ali Hejāzi.
Āl Umm Zenwah	Mushāh ibn Sa'id.

Bedouin :—

Umm Naghālah	'Ali ibn Salāmah.

(d) *Āl Umm Sherif.* 600 men.

Chief Sheikh : Ahmed ibn Shiblān.

Chief villages :—

El-Husn el-Ā'la	'Abdullah ibn Nāzih.
El-Husn el-Asfal	Mohammed ibn Nāzih.
Āl Bel Fellāh	Sa'd ibn Mufarrih.
'Umārāt	'Abdullah Abu Lahbah.
Āl Umm Nesfin	'Abdullah ibn 'Ali esh-Shā'ir.
Beni Jura'i	'Ali ibn Jurfileish.
Khadbah Beni Jura'i	Ahmed el-Juthradi.
Mugheid el-Wata	'Abdullah ibn Nimshah.

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(e) *Āl Umm Jerei'āt.* 1,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : 'Abdullah ibn Nimshah.

Chief villages :—

Rudāf	Mohammed ibn Mūsa.
Busrah	Sebeih.
Musheyy	Nāsir ibn 'Areidān.
Merjat	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Heilah	Mohammed el-'Asmi.
'Arīn	Sa'īd ibn 'Abdullah Humrān.
Ja'ad	Mohammed ibn 'Abūt.
Jitāt Ferhān	Ibn Serūr.

(f) *Āl Umm Wādi Malah of Ibha.* 1,500 men

Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn Musallat.

Chief villages :—

Miftāhah	'Ā'idh ibn Darāsh.
Qara	Mubārak Mirwa.
Manādhir	Mohammed ibn Feza'.
Na'mān ('Ābid el-'Ā'idh)	Sa'īd ibn Faraj.
Rabu'	'Ali Dibah.
Makhlūtah	Merzūq ibn Delmakh.
Khūshi	Nāsir ibn Meri.
Umm Nusāb	Humeid ibn Nimshah.
Muqābil	Shai Abu Na'mah.

(g) *Āl Weimān.* 400 men.

Mohammed ibn Musā'idi.

Chief villages :—

Dafan	Abu Shenlah.
Wādi Kheishah	Abu Hanash.

Nomads :—

Āl Weilah	Mohammed ibn Mushāri.

Āl Yazīd esh-Sha'af. 150 men living in Shahrān country.
Yahya ibn Hādir.

Clans :—

Āl M'alaf	Sa'd ibn Tāli.
Āl Hamām	Mohammed Abu Hamāmah.
Āl Ba'wal	Sheikh Sūdān.

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28. *Munjahah*

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The Munjahah occupy the sea-coast and a few miles inland from just south of Birk almost to Shuqaiq, and are bounded on the north by the Beni Hilāl, east by the Rijāl el-M'a and south by the tribes of Mikhlāf el-Yemen. They muster about 6,000 men, of whom five-sixths are nomads. The villagers live in the small ports of Wasm, Wahlah, and Khasa'ah. They have a little cultivation, a few date-trees, and eke out their existence by acting as porters in their own villages and at Birk. These places, though small, are important as being the chief inlets for arms and ammunition, a trade which is chiefly in the hands of the Rijāl el-M'a. The Idrisi stations his port officers at them, but the Rijāl el-M'a, who treat with him as equals rather than subjects, refuse to recognize his right to tax them, and he does not press the point. The Munjahah, however, all pay him taxes, Sheikh Hasan Faslkh being deputed to collect them.

The nomads are fairly well off in sheep and camels. They are fishermen and sell dried fish in the interior. They also export *dōm* nuts to Musawwa'.

Their reputation is very evil and even their guests sleep with their rifles by their sides. Their solemn oath has no meaning for them and they are notorious for their treachery. Before the Idrisi reduced them to order they were slave-dealers and kidnappers, highwaymen and sea-pirates, and used to raid right up to Muhā'il and Barak.

They do not dare now to commit more than an occasional robbery or murder, for the Idrisi's police are always stationed in their country and punish severely any attempt to return to the old way of living.

They are disliked by all the surrounding tribes, but in ordinary times they wander out of their country to the Bahr ibn Sekeinah and Beni Hilāl. They do not go south of Shuqaiq at all, having no wish to come into closer contact with the Idrisi than is necessary.

Their chief Sheikh, 'Ali ibn Fayy, is a man of 45 years of age, and helps the Idrisi to maintain law and order. His house is in Wasm, where he owns considerable property. He has seen much fighting and always leads his tribe in battle.

Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Fayy. 6,000 men.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men.

Chief villages :—

Qahmah.	'Ā'idh ibn 'Isa.
Wasm	Mohammed ibn Fayy.

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Rehaza'ah	Mohammed ibn Tāli'.	101
Raqabah	'Omar ibn Mohammed.	
Wahlah	Mohammed ibn Gharāmah.	619

(b) Nomad : *Mohammed ibn Zeid.* 5,000 men. 622

Chief clans :—

Āl Umm Khareis	Mohammed ibn Zeid.
Āl 'Abdīyah.	
Āl Zeid.	
Āl Umm Hadīah.	
Āl Sarīyah.	
Āl esh-Shihbi.	
Walad Islām.	

29. *Āl Mūsa*

The Āl Mūsa own the town of Muhā'il and the country round within a radius of from 5 to 10 miles. They are mostly settled, but the clans of Umm Jirbān and Beni Yazīd are nomad. The tribe is a mixed one, the nomads and a few of the townsmen being of pure Arab blood, the rest being blacks, originally of some African strain. No doubt they were at one time slaves, but they have long since earned their emancipation by their courage, and are now on an equality with the Arab portion of the tribe, although no intermarriage takes place. The tribe is fairly rich in flocks and herds, and although their country, which stands comparatively low, cannot rival the fertility of the highlands, it nevertheless produces good crops in the rainy seasons.

The enmity between the Turks and Idrīsi has disorganized the tribe, and divided it into two opposing factions Sheikh Suleimān ibn 'Ali, who is by right of inheritance the paramount chief, has thrown in his lot with the Turks, and has behind him the Umm Jirbān and about half the villagers.

The remainder have broken loose under the leadership of Dhakir ibn Sha'r, and many of them have retired to live at Jannah in the Bahr ibn Sekeinah country, refusing to live at Muhā'il so long as there is a Turkish post there. From Jannah they carry on a guerrilla warfare, closing the roads and cutting off Turkish convoys whenever they can.

The tribe is bounded on the north by the Āl ed-Dureib and Reish, on the east by the Reish and Beni Thuwwah, on the south by the Beni Thuwwah and Bahr ibn Sekeinah, and on the west by the Beni Hilāl. Against the Beni Hilāl and Beni Thuwwah the whole tribe has had a feud for many generations. Their other neighbours,

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101 who are all pro-Idrisi, look askance at those who sympathize with the enemy, but maintain friendly relations with Dhakir ibn Sha'r
619 and his followers.

• 622 There are two nomad Arab offshoots of the tribe, called Beni Shi'b (or Dhi'b) and Sawālihah, who occupy a small portion of the Sikkat el-Helāwīyah near Kiyād, about 20 miles from Hali. They are of no political importance, and being separated from the rest of the tribe by the wild Beni Hilāl country, do not maintain very close relations with it.

Chief Sheikh: Suleimān ibn 'Ali.

(a) *Clans of Mukā'il.* 2,500 men.

Umm Shehāri	Suleimān ibn 'Ali
Āl 'Ajil	Dhakir ibn Sha'r.
Āl Amir	Ibrāhim ibn Jābir.
Āl Sha'r	Mohammed ibn Farz.
Āl Z'ebah	Mohammed abu Zoa.
Āl Sherifah	'Ali Saghir.
Qurūn	Zein.
Āl Umm Khālid	Suleimān ibn 'Ali.

(b) *Quarters of Mukā'il.*

Rabu'	Ahmed Jatān.
Sabt Āl Makhluta	Abu Rasein.
Sabt Āl Mōsa	Mohammed abu Rādi.
Jebel Shaza'.	

(c) *Settled clans round Mukā'il.* 400 men.

Umm Hamālah	'Abdullah abu 'Alāmah.
Umm Hajaf	El-Qādimi.
Umm 'Allamah	Ibn Wuda'ah.
Umm Ma'āsh	Mohammed ibn Zeqa.
Umm Dhira'	Mohammed abu Thommah
Āl Fahimah	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Aulād el-Mashāyikh	Sa'id Benān.

(d) *Nomads round Mukā'il.* 400 men.

Chief Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Sha'r.

Umm Jirbān	Mohammed ibn Ma'addi.
Beni Yazid	Ahmed ibn Sha'r.

(e) *Nomads near Hāli.* 500 men.

Beni Shi'b (or Dhi'b).
Sawālihah.

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30. *Naj'u*

The Naj'u are an entirely nomadic tribe, numbering about 6,000 men, inhabiting the portion of the district of Mikhlāf el-Yemen between Sabia and Darb. They possess small herds of camels and goats, but, although numerous, are of little political importance, since they are poor fighters and there is little cohesion amongst their clans. They earn their living chiefly by selling milk and *semn* in Sabia. Sheikh Mohammed ibn Musa'i is their chief. The tribe pays taxes regularly to the Idrisi.

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Chief subdivisions are the Beni Mohammed (not connected with the Beni Mohammed farther south), the Hajawi or Haju, and Beni Mufarrih.

31. *Beni Nashar*

A small tribe in the mountains east of the Wa'zāt and to the south of the Beni Aslam. Their chief village is Sūq Beni Nashar, where a market is held every Wednesday. They do not number more than 1,000 souls, but afford what help they can to the Beni 'Abs and Idrisi against the Wa'zāt. Sheikh Yahya Saghir is the principal Sheikh, others being 'Ali el-Qahm (who was originally with Ibn el-Heij of the Wa'zāt, but submitted to the Idrisi two years ago), and Ahmed Janāh.

32. *Qahtān*

The Qahtān of Asir are the Rufeidat el-Yemen, Beni Bishr, Senhān el-Hibāb, 'Abidah, Wadā'ah, and Shereif. They are known in Asir generically as the Qahtān, and Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim of the Shereif is Emir over them all by appointment of the Idrisi, as was his father by appointment of the Turks, but they are in fact six separate tribes, each living within its own boundaries, having its own particular ambitions, its special likes and dislikes, its peculiar customs, and forming by itself a completely independent unit. Part of the Rufeidat el-Yemen *are under Turkish influence.*

It is only in times of great crisis, as when the Shahrān rose in a body against them about a hundred years ago, that they answer to the call of their common blood, or nowadays when the Idrisi calls on them to rally to his standard under their tribal leader. In normal times some are at enmity with others, and although Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim may be called in to settle tribal disputes and is responsible to the Idrisi for their good order, he has nothing to do with their tribal administration. They are in fact a loose confederation, who will only combine for defence in face of a danger

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which threatens to extinguish all, and for offence at the bidding of the Idrīsi.

On this account they are dealt with one by one, but are grouped together under the heading of Qahtān for convenience of reference. They are far too removed from the northern Qahtān to keep in touch with them, and never go near their country. Sometimes in times of drought a few of the former come down south and are always well received, but the connexion ends at that.

The southern Qahtān tribes are for the most part, and with the exception of certain nomad sub-tribes, well conducted and prosperous, and interested in trade or agriculture. The different sections vary considerably in military skill and few of them appear to have inherited the characteristics which have earned for their northern relations such an unsavoury reputation.

33. *'Abidah*

The 'Abidah appear to be the bravest as well as the most prosperous and enterprising section of the Qahtān. Their boundary in the south, where they have their villages, is well defined, but to the north their nomads wander over a vast stretch of country, and for almost 150 miles their western boundary adjoins that of the Shahrān. To the east lies Tathlīth and the Yām tribes, to the south the Beni Ishr, and to the south-west the Rufeidat el-Yemen.

The 'Abidah will follow Mohammed ibn Dhuleim in battle, but they do not like the Shereif in normal times, and look to their own chief Sheikh, Sa'd ibn Suleim, in tribal matters. The latter is a man of about 40, and lives at Khamīs 'Abidah, the principal village and market-place of the tribe. He is a rich man, and owns a large estate, and is much liked by his tribesmen, both for his justice and fairness and because he always is in the forefront of every fight. His sister married one of the sons of 'Abd el-Azīz Musheit, chief of the Shahrān, about 20 years ago, and a truce was made between the two tribes. Shortly afterwards he had the misfortune to kill another of 'Abd el-'Azīz's sons in a petty tribal dispute, and war again broke out and continued until the Idrīsi pacified the country. There is still a bitter hatred between the two, which shows itself in periodical outbreaks. So deep is the enmity that in the case of a murder of an 'Abidah by a Shahrān no question of blood money is entertained, and the murdered man's relations do not rest until they have killed a Shahrān in return. Sheikh Sa'd ibn Suleim was formerly with the Turks, but he joined the Idrīsi in his first revolt and has been one of his most faithful

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followers ever since. The Idrīsi has a representative at Khamis 'Abidah, who collects taxes from all the tribe. 101

The 'Abidah engage largely in trading, and buy up much of the coffee which comes from the district round Jebel Razah through Wada', subsequently selling it throughout Asir. Some of them live permanently in Rijāl, Ibha, and Namas, and others are engaged in the Jiddah trade. They are a very industrious race, always on the look-out for making money, and their villages are numerous and well built. They also specialize as masons and ply their trade throughout Asir. They do not agree with the Shereif or Beni Bishr in peace time, but are friendly with the Rufeidat el-Yemen and Senhān el-Hibāb. 619 622

Unlike a great many tribes, the 'Abidah are entirely united and the nomads are guided in their policy by the villagers. They are rich in dark-haired camels and black sheep, and take great pride in their pedigree horses. They will sell their poorer animals in the market, but they take great care of their finer beasts, feeding them on milk and only parting with them on special occasions, such as when they make a present to the Idrīsi. The Āl Hamdān and Hurjān, who number about 3,000 men and 2,000 men respectively, are the two largest sections of the nomads. They come down to Khamīs 'Abidah for the harvest and afterwards go up to Bīshah with the other nomads for the date season. They also wander out to Tathlīth, where they meet other Qahtān Arabs and those of the Yām tribes, and where are to be found succulent grasses on which to fatten their herds. Their country abounds in gum, which they collect and sell in Khamīs 'Abidah.

In war they fight on camel- or horse-back, and carry rifles, lances, and long curved *jenābih*. For a long time the Āl Rusheid and Āl Ghamar of the Shahrān used to pay them money in order to escape being raided, but Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Musheit refused to countenance this.

They are always at odds with the northern nomads of the Shahrān, and sometimes cut across and raid the Bishah-Ibha road, round Bir Umm Sarar.

The 'Abidah do not seem to have inherited the bad qualities of the northern Qahtān. The whole tribe has a reputation for hospitality, and the nomads, though wild and rough, are not reckoned treacherous.

Paramount Sheikh: Sa'd ibn Suleim.

(a) Settled. 6,000 men. Clans:—

Āl Ejreish	Nāsir ibn Qidim.
Āl Bassam	Sha'eil.

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Āl es-Sadr (Saqr ?)	'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Jalāl.
Āl Umm 'Ammir	Sa'īd ibn el-Ghamas.
Āl ez-Zuheir	Mohammed Abu Lughud.
Beni Talaq	Sa'd Abu Hadīyah
Wahabah	Abu Raqabah.
Āl Ferdān	Mohammed ibn Sihmān.
Āl 'Abis	'Ā'idh ibn Khamzah.
Turib	Mubārak ibn Mohammed.
'Arīn	Mohammed ibn Rashīd.

(*b*) Nomads. 7,000 men. Clans :—

Āl Hamdān	Ibn Mujit.
Hurjān	Sa'īd ibn Dhi'b.
Fahar	El-Wuteid.
Āl Kera'an	Mubārak Silih.
Jerābih	Sa'd Abu Hakam.
Jahatein	Mohammed ibn Khazmah.
Sifālah	Mohammed Abu Hakam.

34. *Beni Bishr*

The Beni Bishr stretch from the down country of the central plateau to the mountainous slopes leading down to the district of Mikhlāf el-Yemen, their nearest point to Sabia being about 30 miles away. Their country is barren in the east, but productive and well forested near the sea. The adjoining tribes are the 'Abidah on the north, Yām, Shereif, and Senhān el-Hibāb on the east, Beni Jum'ah on the south, and the Naj'u and Rufeidat el-Yemen on the west. The tribe numbers about 1,000 settled men and 3,000 nomads. 'Abd el-Hādi is the chief Sheikh, but his influence over the nomads is only nominal. He deserted the Turks some years ago, and all the tribes pay taxes to the Idrīsi now. The settled portion is hospitable and prosperous; the nomads wild and intractable, almost without religion and with no marriage laws. They roam chiefly about the Tihāmah and are rich in a breed of large black sheep. The tribe is friendly with the 'Abidah and Rufeidat el-Yemen, and generally at odds with the Naj'u, Senhān, and Yām.

Chief Sheikh : 'Abd el-Hādi. 4,000 men.

(*a*) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Usrān	Mohammed ibn 'Abd.
Shaqb	Meidh.
'Abidīyah	Selmān.

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Āl Umm 'Ā'idh	Shai ibn Mohammed.
Mufarrij	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Āl Ferhat	Sa'd ibn Hasan.

(*b*) Nomads. 3,000 men. Āl 'Urfān is the chief division, clans being :—

Āl Heyal.
Tihmān.
Āl Umm Mohammed
Āl Ferhān.
Āl Ar'ab.

35. *Rufeidat el-Yemen*

The Rufeidat el-Yemen is a large tribe, numbering some 15,000 men, to the south-east of Ibha, extending up the main mountain ridge and on to the plateau to beyond the source of the Wādi Shahrān.

The tribe is divided into four main divisions, the Āl el-Jihāl, Bishat Ibn Salīm, Beni Qeis, and Sha'af Yarīmah wa Khutab.

The chief Sheikh over all the tribe is Husein ibn Heif, a man of 40, who lives at Mudhiq, where he is a large and prosperous landowner. His father was a mudīr under the Turks, and died in the Ghāmid country fighting for them, but Husein ibn Heif joined the Idrīsi when he first revolted, and fought for him in 1910. His tribe shares his dislike of the Turks and respects and obeys him.

The Āl el-Jihāl have for generations been separated from the rest of the tribe, and live a few miles to the west with the Sha'af Rashhah and Āl Sirhān sections of the Shahrān. They have not, however, intermarried with the latter, and are obedient to Husein ibn Heif, although they do not join in any of the quarrels which constantly occur between their own tribe and their hereditary enemies the Shahrān. They are strongly in favour of the Idrīsi and have fought for him on several occasions.

The chief of the Bishat ibn Salīm is Mohammed ibn 'Ali Weled 'Ali ibn Murā'i, a shifty and cowardly man of about 45, who supports the Turks and is paid by them. This section pays taxes to the Government.

The Beni Qeis lie to the east of the Bishat Ibn Salīm, and also pay taxes to the Turks. Their Sheikh, Abu Salām, is now an old man of 75 and deaf. He has always had the reputation of siding with the strongest party.

The nomad portion of this section, the Ā Shuwat, are independent of him and the Turks.

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The Sha'af Yarīmah wa Khutab who live to the south are likewise free, and the allegiance which they pay to the Idrīsi is only nominal. They are a wild and suspicious people, and though they have no objection to entertaining guests, they will not suffer them to sleep in their tents.

The country of the Rufeidat el-Yemen is for the most part fertile and densely wooded on the slopes of the hills, and the tribe is a prosperous one. They are not noted for their martial ardour, though the Āl el-Jihāl and the nomads can fight well. They are nicknamed by the other tribes the 'Muhaniyatein el-Murrah', owing to their habit of staining their women with henna.

All that portion of the tribe which is against the Turks recognize the overlordship of Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim of the Shereif. The sister of Husein ibn Heif is married to Sheikh Mohammed, and the two chiefs are close friends.

Paramount Sheikh : Husein ibn Heif. 15,000 men.

(a) *Āl el-Jihāl.* 4,000 men. Mohammed ibn Shuweil.

All settled. Chief clan :—

Beni Jabrah.	Mohammed ibn Umm Bishr.

Chief villages :—

Dhibat Āl el-Jihāl	Sa'd ibn Shuweil.
Mahjar	Mohammed ibn 'Aun.
Qelt	Efeir.
Jārr	Muhfar.
Umm Rahwah	Mohammed Hibābah.
Jara	Ibn Dheifah.
Mahshūsh	Abu Ghazwān.
Āl Ramadhān	Mohammed ibn 'Ā'idh.

(b) *Bishat Ibn Salīm.* Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn 'Ali weled 'Ali ibn Murā'i. Settled. 5,000 men.

Chief clans :—

Beni Thābit	Muri ibn Dehsān.
Beni Wahhāb	Mohammed ibn 'Aun.

Chief villages :—

Dha'i	Sa'id ibn 'Ali.
Bōthah	Mansūr ibn 'Ali.
Āl Hideilah	Husein ibn Dirri.
Āl Umm Hayyah	Abu Zirbān.

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Āl Hetrush	Mohammed ibn Dosri.
Āl Hayyah	Mohammed ibn Shelti.
Waqashah	Mohammed ibn Rashīd.
Āl Mushabbab	Mohammed ibn Safar.
Shi'b	'Ali ibn Dhubbi.

(c) *Beni Qeis.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed Abu Salām. 3,000 men.

1. *Settled.* 2,400 men. Chief can :—

Beni Tamīm	Hussein ibn 'Abūd.

Chief villages :—

Āl Mudhīq	Mohammed ibn Heif.
Āl Abu Midrih	Mohammed ibn Hādi.
Āl Mudīr	'Abdullah ibn Shahil.
Fara'ain	'Ā'dh ibn Mishif.
Āl Jafei	Hafash.
Āl Farawān	'Ali ibn Sa'd.
Jarāhah	'Alūd Hareish.
Āl Lūt	Hussein ibn 'Omar.
Āl Meisarah	Sa'ir ibn Mohammed.

2. *Bedouins.* Āl Shuwāt. Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Hashāsh. 600 men.

(d) *Sha'af Yarimah wa Khutab.* Chief Sheikh: Jeleid.

1. *Settled.* 1,000 men. Beni Burrah.
2. *Āl Jelīhah Nomads.* 1,000 men.

Beni Meleik.
Āl Hilami.

36. *Senhān el-Hibāb*

The Senhān el-Hibāb inhabit the Asir plateau, and are bounded on the north by the Shereif and Yām, east by the Wadā'ah, and west by the Beni Bishr.

The tribe numbers about 4,000 men, of whom three-quarters are nomads. The villagers have a good reputation with the travellers but the nomads are wild and savage, frequently cutting the roads and sparing neither man, woman, nor child when on the raid. The nomads do not cultivate, but they are rich in a dark breed of camels and collect gum which they sell chiefly in Khamīs 'Abidah. They wear long black garments.

They are a warlike tribe and are well led by Sheikh Ferdān ibn

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Dhuleim, a man of about 35, who lives in Rāhat Senhān. The villagers pay taxes to the Idrīsi, but the nomads will not do more than help him in war. Their friends are the 'Abidah and Beni Bishr; their foes the Shereif, Wadā'ah, and Yām. When the Idrīsi calls on them to fight they unite under Mohammed ibn Dhuleim of the Shereif, but in normal times they pay him only a nominal allegiance.

Chief Sheikh: Ferdān ibn Dhuleim. 4,000 men.

(*a*) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages:—

Rāhah Senhān.
Hadhb.
Khadd.
Āl Ferwān.
'Irq.

(*b*) Nomads. 3,000 men. Chief Sheikh: Jilūd. Chief divisions:—

Āl Zerbah.
Āl Ghāzi.
Āl esh-Sherīf.
Āl Selmān.
Āl Shōqān.

37. *Shereif*

The Shereif inhabit the down country to the west of the Yām tribes, and are bounded on the north by the Beni Bishr and Yām, on the east by the Yām, on the south by the Senhān el-Hibāb, and on the west by the Beni Bishr.

Their country is flat and treeless, and most of their cultivation is from well water. They are traders rather than agriculturists, and are well conducted and unwarlike. Their number does not exceed 800 men, of whom a quarter are nomads. They are chiefly known on account of their leader, Sheikh Mohammed ibn Dhuleim. His father, Dhuleim ibn Sha'r, who died about 16 years ago, was a famous man in Asir, and for many years was the Mudir of all Qahtān tribes. His head-quarters were at Harajah, in Shereif, where there was also a Turkish garrison. Mohammed ibn Dhuleim succeeded him at a monthly salary of £25, but seceded to the Idrīsi when the latter raised his standard of revolt. The Turks thereupon sent an expedition against him and burnt his fortress in Harajah, but were ultimately forced to retire and have not penetrated to his country since. The Idrīsi made him one of his Muqdamis or generals, and he was in command of the Qahtān tribes in the fighting

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against the Turks and the Sherif of Mecca in 1910. Afterwards he and Seyyid 'Arār ibn Nāsir led the Idrīsi's army against the Imam's forces under Mohammed Abu Nuweibah, in the Sahar country, about three years ago. He is still a young man about 35 years of age, rich according to the standards of the country, and with an excellent reputation both as a leader in war and a tribal administrator.

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Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn Dhuleim. 800 men.

(*a*) Settled. 600 men.

Chief villages :—

Āl Dhuleim	Nāsir ibn Dhuleim.
Āl 'Ajlah	Mohammed ibn Jabbān.
Harajah	'Awad ibn Mihmas.
Hamra	Sa'īd ibn Benāyah.
Beidha	Mas'ūd.

(*b*) Nomads. 200 men.

Āl Seri	Dhuleim ibn Shayy.

38. *Wadā'ah*

The Wadā'ah are a small mercantile tribe numbering about 600 men, living in the district of the same name near the Yām tribes of Nejrān. They are bounded on the north and east by the Yām and on the west by the Senhān el-Hibāb. Their country is not naturally productive, but they have a large number of wells and grow grapes which they convert into raisins and sell as far as Ibha and Rijāl. They also import coffee from Jebel Razah and Khaulān esh-Shām, and sell it in Asir or to the merchants of the Rufeidat el-Yemen. They are generally on bad terms with the Yām tribes, but are not a quarrelsome or pugnacious tribe. The Idrīsi has his police and tax-gatherers amongst them, as he has amongst the other Qahtān tribes.

'Ali ibn Rukwān, their chief Sheikh, goes on pilgrimage nearly every year, and acts as Emīr el-Hajj for all the southern Qahtān tribes.

Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Rukwān. 600 men. Chief villages :—

Dhahrān.
Safwān.
Beida.
'Irj Wadā'ah.

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39. *Rabī'ah Mujātirah*

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The Rabī'ah Mujātirah are a wild nomad tribe numbering about 5,000 men. The Barak–Qunfudah road runs through the middle of their territory for about 20 miles between the villages of Ghār el-Hindi and Jumā'ah Rabī'ah. They are bounded on the north by the Beni Shihir, on the east by the Humeidah, on the south by the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn, and on the west by the Belā'ir. They are said to be fairer of face than most Arabs, with blue eyes, and to wear their hair well down over the shoulders. They are almost pagan, and at odds with all the world except the Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn, who are as savage as themselves. The Idrīsi sometimes succeeds in levying taxes on them, but his influence is only nominal. Passage through their country is dangerous both to the Turks and ordinary wayfarers. They are rich in camels and cattle.

A small clan of the Āl Ikhleif section of the Āl ed-Dureib lives in the north-east corner of their territory with their consent.

40. *Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn*

The Rabī'at et-Tahāhīn hold the country on either side of the Sikkat el-Helāwīyah (Muhā'il–Qunfudah road) between the villages of Ma'mal Āl Ikhleif and Markh, a distance of about 30 miles.

They are bounded on the west by the Belā'ir, on the north by the Belā'ir, Rabī'ah Mujātirah, and Humeidah, on the east by the Āl Jebāli and Āl ed-Dureib, and on the south by the Beni Hilāl and the Hali tribes. Their country is mountainous and well wooded, and they are rich in camels, goats, and cattle. About 2,000 in number of fighting men, they are entirely nomad, despise all forms of husbandry, and are a terror to travellers on the road. They are allied with the Rabī'ah Mujātirah and Āl ed-Dureib, and generally on fair terms with the Hali tribes. With the Beni Hilāl, Belā'ir, Humeidah, and Āl Jebāli they keep up incessant feuds. The Turks have never been able to do anything with them, but the Idrīsi is able to tax them to a certain extent, and what outside sympathies they have are for him.

41. *Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah*

The Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah stretch from a few miles NNW. of Ibha to within about 15 miles of Muhā'il, their country being about 35 miles from north to south, and 20 miles from east to west on the average, though it tapers to a point in the north. The tribes

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which adjoin them are: on the north the Reish, on the east the Balahmar and Beni Mālik, on the south the 'Alqam el-Hūl, and on the west the Rijāl el-M'a and Beni Thuwwah. The tribe is divided into four main divisions, the Rabī'at esh-Shām, Āl 'Asimah, Rufeidat esh-Shām, and Āl Hārith. The Rabī'at esh-Shām and Rufeidat esh-Shām have no relationship or connexion with the Rabī'at el-Yemen and Rufeidat el-Yemen, as might be supposed. 101 619 622

The Rabī'at esh-Shām occupy the southern portion of the territory, being entirely settled in villages along the Ibha–Athālif road.

They have no Chief Sheikh, having expelled 'Ā'idh ibn Hasan, their former Sheikh, on account of his desertion to the Turks.

The Āl 'Asimah are partly settled and partly nomad, chiefly along the Beni Thuwwah boundary.

Their Chief Sheikh, 'Ali ibn Hamūd, fought for the Idrīsi in 1910, was captured by the Turks, and after a year's imprisonment was released and reinstated.

The Āl Hārith, who are both settled and nomad, live in the Wādi Tayyah, along which is the main road from Ibha to Muhā'il, and for years have given a great deal of trouble to the Government. The Wādi Tayyah is the head-quarters of all the bad characters in the neighbouring country, and a caravan has to be very strong to pass through without paying toll. The Āl Hārith are notoriously treacherous, and their hand is against the whole world, including their own tribe. They engage in the camel-carrying trade to a certain extent between Muhā'il and the Rijāl el-M'a, but they seldom venture near Ibha, nor can the Turks levy taxes from them, as they sometimes do from the rest of the tribe. Their Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Shāhir, has a very bad reputation.

The tribe as a whole favours the Idrīsi, chiefly because it is discontented with the Government. It is, however, notoriously fickle and unreliable, and goes with the side which pays it best. It maintains a hereditary feud with the Rijāl el-M'a. It is descended from Qahtān.

(*a*) *Rabī'at esh-Shām.* Settled, 1,500 men.

Chief clan is Beni Ghanmi. Sheikh: El-Fejīh.

Chief villages:—

Teihān	'Amir ibn 'Abdullah.
Umm Sherāf	'Abdullah ibn 'Abdillah.

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Umm Sauli	Ahmed ibn Ghanmi.
Wādi Zebnah	Mohammed ibn 'Abdu.
Bahah Rabī'ah	Mohammed ibn Sultān.
Umm Mesjawi	'Abdullah ibn Misfir.
Rahbān	'Abdullah ibn Fejīh.

Sheikh Misfir ibn Ma'sir is Mufti.

(*b*) *Āl 'Asimah.* 2,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Hamūd.

(i) Settled, 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Umm Rahwah	Ibn Māni'.
Jau ibn Sheibān	Ibn Haza'.

(ii) Nomad, 1,000 men. Chief clans :—

Āl Umm Haneish Tihāmah	Māni' ibn Hanash.
Āl Jeheishah	Abu Kerāthah.
Āl 'Aqabah	Musaffir.
Sahar Āl 'Āsim	Jābir.

(*c*) *Rufeidat esh-Shām.*

Chief Sheikh : 'Abdullah ibn Muzerqah, 600 men.

Chief villages :—

Wādi Tabab	Sa'īd ibn Sultān.
Āl Umm Jeish	Sha'r ibn Muzerqah.
Āl Bāsha	Zuheir.
Āl Mahmūd	Sa'īd ibn Mohammed.
Āl Jemāl	Mahshi
Āl Umm Hadan	Ibn Suleim.
Āl Bayād	Ibn 'Abūt.
Āl Shadād	Yahya ibn Sultān.
Sharāmah	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Āl Umm Jalūli	Yahya ibn 'Audah.
Āl Bundar	Simm ibn Sā'il.
Āl Umm Ghāl	Ahmed ibn Sā'il.
Talhah	Mohammed ibn 'Awad.

(*d*) *Āl Hārith.* 1,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Mohammed ibn Shāhir.

(i) Settled. Chief villages :—

Umm Jizah	'Amr ibn Jelfa'ah.
Umm Zahra'ah	'Ali ibn Shāhir.

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Umm Muqza'ah	Lāhiq ez-Zeidāni.	101
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(ii) Nomad. Chief clans :—

Āl Dhi'b	Ahmed ibn Dhāfir.
Āl Nahyah	Hidha'ah.
Āl 'Aqabah	Mughra'ah.

42. *Rabī'at el-Yemen*

The Rabī'at el-Yemen are a nomadic tribe keeping chiefly to Wādi Dhil'a (Dhulah) and Wādi Shahlah, and sometimes going down to Shuqaiq or up to the Beni Mugheid country. The adjoining tribes are the Beni Mugheid on the north and north-east, the Shahrān on the south-east, the Beni Shi'bah and other nomads of Mikhlāf el-Yemen on the south, and the Rijāl el-M'a on the west. They are rich in camels, donkeys, and flocks, and make a good living by selling *semn* in Ibha. They are well armed with the type of French rifle which they call 'Abu Bukrah', and carry shields, as well as long curved knives (*jenābih*). They are noted for their bravery and deem it a disgrace to die in their beds.

Though wild and rough and with such a contempt for marriage that as a rule they have to be known by the names of their mothers, they are nevertheless hospitable, and clean in their fighting, and have the reputation of never going back on their word once given. In person they are very tall and fairer than most Arabs, with blue eyes. They say they are descended from the Ashrāf el-Huseinīyah, but their enemies name the Sulubba, or wandering gipsy tinkers, as their forefathers. They pay [illegible] little attention to religion, and on the first day of Rama[illegible] thirty young men, whom they dress in white and co[illegible] for one day at some appointed place, on behalf of [illegible] tribe. Having done this they have a feast, and taun[illegible] neighbouring nomads for their inability to rise to such heights of self-sacrifice

They are a united and conservative tribe, condemning those who smoke, and in their contempt for foreign luxuries eating only milk and meat. They live in straw-plaited tents.

Their friends are the Beni Mugheid: their enemies, the Rijāl el-M'a, Shahrān, Beni Shi'bah, and Naj'u. The Turks have never been able to keep them in order, and their attitude to the Idrīsi depends entirely on his power to make them obey. 'Ali ibn Jabbār is their chief Sheikh, a man of 45 and a noted warrior. He is said

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to have the tribe well in hand: he pays a nominal allegiance to the Idrīsi, but will not allow him to collect taxes.

(*Aulād Āl Umm Husein*).

Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Jabbār.

All nomads. 5,000 men. Clans:—

Āl Bawāh	Mohammed ibn Sa'd Buqjān.
Umm Farahnah	Mufarrih ibn Museibakh.
'Ali Fellāh	Mufarrih Mashāf.
Āl Shūkah	Mufarrih ibn Gharāmah.
Āl Museibakh	Mūsa ibn Ghazāmah.
Darājīn	Mohammed ibn Jarawash.
Mugheidīyīn	Mufarrih ibn Mohammed.
Umm Sherīfīyīn	Hasan Abu Zahrah.
Āl Mughīdhah	Sa'd ibn Mīhi.
Āl Mas'ūd	Yahya Abu Hayyah.
Āl Mushni	Mohammed ibn Juwei'id.
Āl 'Arafīn	Sa'd ibn 'Abdullah.
Āl Sālim	Hasan ibn Mas'ūd.

43. *Reish*

The Reish are to the north and north-east of Muhā'il, and are bounded on the north by the Āl Mūsa ibn 'Ali and the Shahari section of the Beni Shihir, on the east by the Balasmar, on the south by the Beni Thuwwah and Āl Mūsa, and on the west by the Āl ed-Dureib. Their southern boundary comes to within 5 miles of Muhā'il.

They are divided into two sections of Reish and Āl Meahwal, and number about 2,500 men. But although fairly numerous, they are cowardly and unwarlike, and are classed in contempt with the Beni Mālik by the fighting tribes round. They all favour the Idrīsi and pay him taxes. They tried to make a stand in 1912 against the Sherif of Mecca, but were badly worsted and their country laid waste. They are entirely sedentary and engaged in farming. The country is fairly level, thickly wooded and productive, with running streams in places. Their enemies are Balasmar, Beni Shihir, and Balahmar; their allies, the Barak tribes, the Āl Mūsa, Beni Thuwwah, and the Beni Qutābah and Beni Dhālim of the Rijāl el-M'a. An isolated colony own the village of Mandar in the Balasmar country and hold aloof from any hostilities which take place between the two tribes. Their Sheikh,

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Mohammed ibn Muzhar, has no cause to love the Turks, who killed his son in 1910. 101

Chief Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Muzhar. 1,500 men. 619

Chief villages :— 622.

Mandar	Ibn Dhiheib.
Qurn el-M'a	Rājih.
Umm Quddūs	Sa'id Abu 'Allāmah.
Munsidhir	'Amr ibn Hādim.
Hadhān	Mohammed ibn Tāli'.
Āl Umm Sha'tha'	

Āl Meshwal. 1,000 men. Chief Sheikh : 'Ali ibn Tāli'.

Chief villages :—

Umm Hajju	Mohammed Abu 'Allāmah.
Madba'	Sahfān.
Sakkan er-Reish	Ibn Salāmah.

44. *Rijāl el-M'a*

The Rijāl el-M'a, though not so numerous as some of the Asir tribes—it can at most put 17,000 men in the field—is nevertheless one of the most renowned for its courage and dash in war, its internal unity, and its pride of independence. Its country lies between Ibha and the sea, and is roughly a stretch of 50 miles from NW. to SE., and 25 miles from NE. to SW. Its neighbours are the Bahr ibn Sekeinah and Beni Thuwwah on the north, Rabi'ah wa Rufeidah, 'Alqam, Beni Mugheid and Rabi'at el-Yemen on the east, Beni Shi'bah on the south, and Munjahah and Beni Hilāl on the west.

The tribe is divided into seven subdivisions : the Beni Qutābah, Beni Dhālim, Beni Jūnah, Jeis ibn Mas'ūdi, Beni Zeidān, Shahāb, and Umm Bina.

The chief Sheikh of the whole tribe is Ibrāhim ibn Muta'āli of Julla, a man much respected for his prowess in war and his wisdom in tribal matters. He is now over 70 years of age, and for some time most of the administration has devolved on his son, Ahmed ibn Muta'āli. The latter is a tall man of about 30, with a fair skin, who first made his name as a fighter when the Rijāl el-M'a overran Mikhlāf el-Yemen just before the rise of the Idrisi. He fought the Sherif in 1910 at Muhā'il and in the Balahmar country, but withdrew his forces at a critical moment owing to the appointment of Seyyid Mustafa, of the Bahr ibn Sekeinah, as general of the whole Asir army. So greatly did the Rijāl el-M'a resent having an

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outsider placed over them, that soon after one of their minor Sheikhs, Seyyid Yahya walad Esh-Sheiri, with the full approval of the tribe, attempted to murder him. The Idrisi gave way on the matter, but the mischief had been done, and the Rijâl el-M's took no further part in the campaign.

Of the sub-tribes, the Beni Qutâbah live in the fertile valley of Wâdi 'Ûa, which rises near Suda, and joining the Wâdi Ahâbesh near Athâlif, eventually flows into the Wâdi Dhofa' by Muhâ'il. The Beni Qutâbah stretch from near its source to beyond Athâlif in a succession of villages surrounded by cultivation. The slopes of the hills and the valleys, except where cleared, are here, as elsewhere in the Rijâl el-M's country, deeply forested. The Beni Qutâbah, though dwelling in villages, are of a wandering temperament, and are the chief camel carriers on all the trade routes of Asir, going to Sabia, Qunfudah, Birk, and sometimes as far as Bishah and Mecca. There is a small colony of 'Abâdilah Ashrâf who live with them and wield a certain amount of influence.

The Sheikh of Athâlif, Ibrâhim el-Hufdhi, is a man of some notoriety. His father was made a Kaimmakam by the Turks and granted a pension of £15 a month, which was paid to his family until the tribe revolted. Ibrâhim el-Hufdhi went to Constantinople in 1914 to assert his loyalty to the Turks and ask that the pension should continue to be paid to him. His influence in the tribe is not great.

The Beni Dhâlim lie to the south of the Wâdi 'Ûa and are entirely settled. They are the largest section, numbering 4,000 men, and also by far the richest. They have most of the trade of Asir in their hands and bring petroleum, sugar, tea, clothing, &c., from Aden and Musawwa', which they sell chiefly in the large village of Rijâl. They have been the foremost pioneers in the importation of fire-arms from Jibuti, which has increased so largely during the last few years and which the Turks have found it impossible to check. Rijâl is the focus of all local products and skins; gum and *sena* are brought from as far as the Shahrân country, bought by the Beni Dhâlim merchants, and exported to Aden. The village next in importance is Sha'bain, the chief rifle market.

The Rijâl el-M's never marry outside their own country, but as they have grown rich they have bought much land in the neighbouring districts of 'Ahgam el-Hôl and Rahf'at el-Yemen. Amongst the most wealthy of them is a family of Seyyids, known as the Sa'dat en-Na'âmiyah, who have lived amongst them for many generations, and whose head, Seyyid Hussein en-Na'âmi, is the most important leader in war after Ahmed el-Mata'âli and Ahmed el-Hayyâni.

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The Beni Jûnah are partly settled in villages and partly nomad, and inhabit the country towards the Munjahah. They, too, engage in trade to a certain extent, and one of their Sheikhs, Ayuh, was the first man to start the gun-running venture. The village of Jabêt was the chief centre, and received its name from Jibuti. They are also occupied with home industries, and both men and women are employed in making straw-woven articles, such as matting, baskets, and hats, which they call *toffuah*, and which are largely worn by the women of Asir. 101 619 622

The most important man of the Beni Dhâlim and one of the best known in Asir is Zein el-'Âbidîn, chief Mufti of Asir, and greatly trusted by the Idrisi. Educated at Zebid, he had already become a force in Asir before the rise of the Idrisi, by reason of his learning and the justice of his decisions. He has now powers of life and death, and is the chief judge of appeals from the judgements of the tribal Qâdhis and Muftis wherever the power of the Idrisi runs. He is also frequently called in to arbitrate in the more important tribal disputes, and as the Rijâl el-M'a have implicit confidence in him and are willing to back it by force of arms, his influence is very great. He is now a man of about 40 years of age, and has houses in Sabia and Rijâl.

The Jeis ibn Mas'ûdi live near the 'Alqam el-Hâl border and are the aristocrats of the tribe. The paramount family belongs to them, and they consider it beneath their dignity to engage in trade of any sort. They live for fighting alone, and have as high a reputation for courage as any tribe in the country. Their integrity, too, is unchallenged, and in most of the tribal disputes in neighbouring friendly tribes they are called in to arbitrate.

In the south are the Beni Zeidîn along the Beni Mugheid and Beni Shi'bah boundaries. They, too, are noted fighters. They grow much coffee on the slopes of the hills and their nomad clans are rich in flocks. Their chief Sheikh is Ahmed el-Hayyâni, who lives at *Hiewah*. *He is a man of about 45 and, after Ahmed* ibn Muta'âli, he is the most important man in the tribe. An enemy of the Turks since childhood, he eagerly supported the Idrisi, and is said to have almost as much influence with him as Mohammed Yahya Ba Sâhi. He is a great friend of Seyyid Mustafa, and keeps on good, though at times jealous, terms with Ahmed ibn Muta'âli.

The Shahâb and Umm Bina share the country in the Wâdi Ahâbeh to the north.

They are entirely agricultural and pastoral, and seldom leave their borders except to fight.

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101 The Rijāl el-M'a are foes with the Beni Hilāl, Beni Mugheid, Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, Āl Mūsa, and Munjahah. With the Beni
619 Thuwwah, 'Alqam, and Beni Shi'bah they are allies. They were once good friends of the Bahr Ibn Sekeinah, but relations have
• 622 been strained since the Seyyid Mustafa episode. Before the Idrīsi arose they were under the domination of the Turks, but since his revolt they have entirely thrown off their yoke. During the last few years the road to Muhā'il from Ibha, *via* Athālif, has been closed to the Turks, and frequent dashes are made to the main Muhā'il–Ibha road when news is received that a Turkish convoy is passing through.

They support the Idrīsi as equals, rather than as subjects, and will neither consent to pay him taxes nor suffer his officers to rule them.

They have a code of justice amongst themselves which is fairly rough and ready, but is rigidly enforced. Murder is severely punished, sometimes by death, sometimes by the payment of blood-money; theft, after two warnings and when proved by witnesses on oath, by the loss of a hand. There is a fixed dowry, both for rich and poor, of ₱ 120, and plurality of wives is the exception. There is a strong feeling against divorce without adequate reason. A man is considered justified in taking a second wife if the first fails to bear him children, but such a failure is not a sufficient excuse for a divorce.

Paramount Sheikh: Ibrāhīm ibn Muta'āli and his son, Ahmed ibn Muta'āli. 17,000 men.

1: *Beni Qutābah*. Chief Sheikh: Ahmed ibn Mufraj. 2,500 men in Wādi 'Ūs.

Chief villages:—.

Beit Shāji'	Mohammed ibn Shāji'.
Āl Umm Shābi	Mohammed ibn Musallat.
Āl Umm Mas'am	'Ali ibn 'Amr.
Āl 'Amr	'Amr ibn 'Ali.
Ghanmah	Ahmed ibn 'Amr.
Umm Jizā'	Mohammed Abu Rubāh.
Umm Dhaharah	Mohammed el-'Askari.
Beni 'Ābidīn	Ibrāhīm Abu Rubāh.
Sha'bein	Sherif 'Abdillah.
Athālif	Ibrāhīm el-Hufdhi.
Ashrāf	Sherif 'Abd ibn 'Abdullah.

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2. *Beni Dhâlim el-Hâshir.* 4,000 men.

In Rijâl. Mohammed ibn Ahmed el-Jahwashi.

Chief villages :—

Umm Qadahah	Ibrâhim ibn Fa'i.
Âl 'Othmân	Fa'i ibn Ibrâhim.
Umm Nusûb	Fa'i Judeimi.
Manâdhir	Mohammed ibn Sâlim.
Umm Barkyah	Ibn Zuleil.
'Asalah	Seyyid Husein en-Ni'mi.
Sa'dat en-Na'âmiyah	Seyyid Hasan en-Ni'mi.
Ghamârah	Ibrâhim Rijni.
Âl Ja'eidah	Qasim Ja'eidi.
Âl Umm Selâmi	Mohammed ibn Zeid.
'Amja	'Abd er-Rahmân ibn Ghala.
Umm Shurafa	Walad Abu 'Â'idh.
Shaza'	Abu Merjûk.
Umm Jerf	Mohammed ibn Sultân Abu Hâmid.
Na'jah	Ahmed el-Hufdhi.
Âl Mahûb	Zeid ibn Gharâmah.

3. *Beni Jûnah.* Chief Sheikh : 'Ali Midkom. 2,000 men.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Betilah	Ayyûb.
Kisân	Mohammed ibn Nasilah.
Khamis Kisân	Ibrâhim ibn 'Abdullah.
Jabôt	Ya'qûb.
Âl Umm Roweyyi	Ibn Jabrân.

(b) Nomads. 1,000 men. Clans :—

Âl Mahliyah	Gharâm ibn Heif.
Sawâjah	Mohammed Abu Hanash.
Naj'a	Abu Ghabeish.

4. *Jeis ibn Ma'ûdi.* 1,500 men. Mohammed ibn Muta'âli.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Umm Jallah	Hasan ibn Muta'âli.
Âl Umm Mukhlli	Mohammed ibn Mâni'.
Wâdi el-Mirâr	Ahmed Makbôt.
Waadnîb	Murâ'i ibn Mukhâli.
Jebel Jeis	Mohammed ibn Mukhâli.

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(b) Nomads. 500 men. Clans :—

Umm Jarawiyah	'Amr ibn Mohammed.
Umm Muqlabah	Hâdi Abu Hadiyah.
Âl Hanash	Abu Sultân.
Beni Shibli	Abu Mashûf.

5. *Beni Zeidân.* 3,000 men. Chief Sheikh: Ahmed el-Hayyâni.

(a) Settled. 1,000 men. Chief villages :—

Salab	Hanash ibn Mas'ûd.
Hiswah	Thawâbi.
Âl Zahwân	Ibn Khatmah.
Wâdi Hiswah	Abu Zenâdah.
Maqtal es-Sa'îd	Mohammed ibn Musâfir.
Wâdi Hamâmah	'Izz ed-Dîn.
Umm Radilah	Mohammed Tamrân.

(b) Nomads. 2,000 men. Clans :—

Âl Dâkir	Ahmed ibn Gharâmah.
Âl Wâjih	'Alî ibn Heidhah.
Âl Umm Haddi	Ahmed ibn Mohammed.
Âl Umm Zâri	Mohammed ibn Sultân.

6. *Shahâb.* 1,500 men. Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Mûsa.

(a) Settled. 5,000 men. Chief villages :—

Natan	'Abdullah Abu Miskah.
Wâdi Nimr	Mohammed ibn Qasim.
Wâdi Natrân	Mohammed edh-Dhi'b.
Sherî	El-Khilâf.

(b) Nomads. 1,000 men. Clans :—

Âl 'Ashar	Abu Hâdi.
Âl Abu Sha'rah	Mohammed ibn Ma'eddi.
Umm Nujâ'ah	Mohammed ibn Hasan.
Âl Ithelilah	Talhân.

7. *Umm Bina.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn Hanash. 2,500 men.

(a) Settled. Chief villages :—

Sahar Umm Bina	Mohammed ibn Mâni'.
Sherî'ah	Abu 'Alîmah.

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Jebel Jadrân	Mohammed ibn Hasan.	101
Ja'ja	Abu Sahmân.	619
(b) Nomads. Clans :—		622
Âl Behetijân	Musaffir.	
Beni Isarah	Abu Ramnah.	
Âl Umm Fâdhil	Mohammed Abu Husein.	

45. *Ahl Sabia*

The term Ahl Sabia is vaguely used in Asir to include the people of Sabia itself and the villages round within a considerable radius. They are in no sense a tribe, and should therefore properly be excluded from this handbook, but as mention of them is sometimes made in reports, and they are closely connected with the Idrisi, whose head-quarters are at Sabia, a brief description is included. Before the Idrisi's rise to power these villages were a succession of small independent units, each a law to itself and generally at odds with its neighbour. The Turks never attempted a proper administration of the country, and violence was rife to such a degree that only large armed parties could travel with safety. Only when the hillmen descended on them was there any degree of cohesion, and in the last attack of the Rijâl el-M's, which took place about thirteen years ago, the villagers all combined to save their homes.

The first task of the Idrisi was to conciliate the different warring elements and to promote peace, and to-day the district is thoroughly under control and law abiding.

The largest element of the population is of Sudanese blood, partly unemancipated slaves, but chiefly those who have gained their freedom. With these are the Muwallads, Sudanese with an Arab strain, and over them the Arabs of pure blood and the Sa'dah and Ashrâf. Sabia itself, of course, contains merchants from other Mohammedan countries, the strongest element coming from the Hadhramaut. Mohammed Yahya Es Sâbi, the chief adviser of the Idrisi, and the Emir of all Mikhlâf el-Yemen, which of course includes Sabia, is from that country.

The Idrisi's standing army of about 500 men is entirely recruited from amongst the Sudanese round Sabia, and they can muster about 10,000 men when the general rally is sounded.

The following is a list of the chief villages and their approximate number of fighting men.

Sabia. Chief sections :—

Ashrâf el-Khawâji	Sherif Idam	300
Sa'dah	Seyyid el-Hasan	400

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101 Al 'Arûr	Seyyid 'Abd er-Rahmân ibn 'Arûr	400
619 Huseinîyah	Sheikh 'Othmân	300
Ma'âsir	Ahmed 'Ali	400
• 622 Villages round Sabia :—		
Adeyyah	Mohammed ibn Nâsir	200
Muhalla	Husein Abu Shu'ôbi	1,500
Dahna	Seyyid el-Husein	600
Melhah	Seyyid Husein el-Mekki	800
Qadah		200
Shahâlah		100
Wâdi Musliyah		600
Wâdi 'Isaiyah		200
Wâdi Beish		400
Ta'shar		50
Jebel Feifa		500
Umm el-Khashah		400
Salâmah		1,000
Dhamîd		600
Khulab		100
Hammah		120
Jebel el-Milh		50
Wâdi Beidh		200
Jebel en-Nadhir		200
Madhâyah		200

46. Shahrân

The Shahrân cover a greater stretch of country than any other tribe in Asîr, and are the largest numerically. The country round Bîshah is theirs and they follow the Wâdi Shahrân to its source and thence to within 20 miles of Sabia, a distance from north to south of more than 200 miles. Their boundary from east to west of the Wâdi Shahrân is undefined and constantly changing, as one or the other of the neighbouring nomad tribes gains the upper hand. Farther south it is fixed and varies from 5 to 50 miles in breadth. Their neighbours on the north are the wandering Shalîwah and Sebel', on the east the 'Abîdah and Rufeidat el-Yemen, on the south the Naj'u, and on the west starting near the sea and working north, the Beni Shi'bah, Beni Magheid, where they come to within four miles of Ibha, Beni Mâlik, Balahmar, Balamar, Beni Shihir, Bulqarn, and Shamrân. The Shahrân, like the Beni Shihir,

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Shamrān, and other tribes of Asir, trace their descent to the Rijāl el-Hajar. The tribe is divided into nine main divisions, the Āl Musheit, Āl Rusheid, Āl Ghamar, Nahās, Qa'īd, Beni Bijad, Beni Wahhāb, Sha'af Rashhah, and Āl Yinfa'ah. 101 619 622

The Āl Musheit are numerically the smallest, but politically the most important sub-tribe, since they contain the ruling tribal family. In former days its influence over the whole tribe was unquestioned, but since the Idrīsi's rise to fame some sections have joined him, while others have remained faithful to the Turks, and discord has crept in and weakened its power. It is still, however, very powerful, and in purely tribal matters has the ultimate word over the majority. The paramount chief is 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Musheit, now an old man of 60, who lives in considerable state at Dhahbān, and also owns a house in Khamis Musheit, the largest and most important trading centre in Asir. Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz is a rich man, since he levies his own taxes in this town, taking a piastre for every donkey sold, 2 piastres for each camel, and 5 piastres for a skin of *semn*, &c. The Turks do not interfere with him in this, but content themselves with taking *'ushūr* from the local cultivators. He is, however, expected to entertain freely members of the outlying sub-tribes who visit him, and always keeps an open house. In his old age he has taken to drink, and leaves all the active management of the tribe to his son, Sa'īd ibn 'Abd. The latter, like his father, supported the Turks, but he is also said to be in correspondence with the Idrīsi. He is now about 32 years old, and is popular with the tribe and, as a leader, famous in war. The only other man of importance in the family is Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz's nephew, Sa'd ibn Husein, who has been won over by the Idrīsi with the promise of the chief Sheikhship if he can oust his uncle and cousin. His appointment, however, would not be popular with the tribe, for he is reputed to be mean and overbearing. His two brothers, 'Abd ibn Ibrāhim and Husein ibn 'Abd, are with him, but have not much influence.

The Āl Rusheid live round Khamis Musheit and towards Ibha and number about 4,000 men. 'Ali ibn 'Iteij is their chief Sheikh, a fighter of repute.

They all support the Turks, but they refuse to pay them taxes, nor do they join the local gendarmerie. They are a prosperous community and their nomads are rich in a breed of large white sheep. They also own many horses. They have not a good reputation in war.

The Āl Ghamar are braver than the Āl Rusheid and quarrel with them. They live along the Beni Mālik boundary, and muster about

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101 1,000 men, of whom 600 are nomads. Mohammed ibn 'Urûr, their chief Sheikh, dislikes Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz and supports the Idrîsi.
619 His followers, however, keep very much to their own country and do not meddle in politics.

The Nahâs are a purely nomad section and are rich in horses and
• 622 sheep. They live out to the east along the 'Abidah boundary, and are of all the Shahrân the most famous in war. They do all their fighting on horseback, principally against the 'Abidah. The Qa'ôd and the Âl Rusheid pay them 'khâwah', at the rate of 12 piastres for every well, as a bribe against being plundered. They have no cultivation and live by selling *semn* and their animals in Khamis Musheit. Their young men are not permitted to wear rings until they have killed a man, and once blooded they cut a notch on the stock of their rifles for each of their victims. Utterly out of hand, they never approach Ibha, and recognize neither the Turks nor the Idrîsi nor their own paramount Sheikh. 'Â'idh ibn Jabbâr is their chief, a man of 50, who has led them into battle for years.

The Qa'ôd are entirely settled in Wâdi Tindâhah, which flows into the Wâdi Shahrân, and is the most fertile of all the Shahrân country. They are peaceable and unwarlike, and obedient to Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz.

The Beni Bîjad are a large sub-tribe numbering 10,000 men, of whom 7,000 are nomads. The settled portion lives along the Ibha–Bishah road between Âl Batât and Shafân, and is entirely agricultural. The nomads are warlike and fight both on horseback and on foot. Their cavalry carry lances as well as rifles. They are on bad terms with the Beni Wahhâb and fight the 'Abidah, Balahmar, and Balasmar. Like most nomads they go up to Bishah for the date season. Sa'îd ibn Hashbal is chief over all the sub-tribe. He was formerly with the Turks, but now sides with the Idrîsi, and only pays a nominal allegiance to Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz. He collects tithes from his followers, with whom he is popular, and is a rich man.

The Beni Wahhâb are the largest sub-tribe, numbering 15,000 men, of whom 13,000 are nomads. They live in the Wâdi Shahrân up to Bishah. Of all Arabs they have the most evil reputation. They are robbers and highwaymen, treacherous, even to their guests, have little religion and no marriage laws, and kill women and children in their raids, a custom which is execrated by all other fighting tribes. They are also unclean in their feeding and eat rats and jerboas. The man with the strongest hand rules them, and the present Sheikh, Nâsir ibn Heif, and Heif ibn Nâsir, his son, won

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their position by forcibly ejecting the former Sheikh, Ibn Hashál, who has now degenerated into a petty and uninfluential highwayman.

They are against every tribe and every government, and are paid by other weaker tribes to refrain from raiding. The villagers of Bishah and the clans who live near, such as the Rimáthán, Uqlub, and Beni Sulúl, are, however, slightly more civilized. Only during the date season at Bishah, which lasts about four months, there is a general truce, and Arabs from all over the country foregather. Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz owns large and valuable date-groves, and both the Sherif of Mecca and the Idrisi have agents there. These two agents belong to the Beni Wahhâb, Sheikh Yahya ibn Fá'iz acting for the Sherif, and Nâsir ibn Kurkmân for the Idrisi, for the purpose of collecting *Zakât*. The former is the more influential. The Beni Wahhâb go out to Tathlîth at certain seasons of the year, where there is excellent grazing for their many flocks and herds.

The Sha'af Rashhah and Âl Yinfa'ah occupy the Tihâmah to the south of Ibha, from which they are separated by the Beni Mugheid. The Sha'af Rashhah, who are to the north of the Âl Yinfa'ah, are entirely settled and peaceful. The Âl Yinfa'ah live in the district of Temnlyah (Thimnlyah), which is the most fertile of all Asir, and approach to within 20 miles of Sabia. They are numerous and wealthy, and have a good reputation for hospitality and courage. 'Abdullah ibn Hamad is the chief Sheikh of both sections, a tall man of about 55, with a long white beard. He was formerly on the side of the Turks, but broke with them and with Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz about 8 years ago, when his son was murdered by the Beni Wahhâb, while a guest of Sheikh 'Abd el-'Aziz. Since then he has joined the Idrisi, and, being a man of great influence, has brought his tribe with him. The Idrisi now collects taxes from them and keeps about 100 police at Temnlyah. The enemies of these two sub-tribes are the Rufeidat el-Yemen and Rabi'ah; their friends, the Arabs of Mikhlâf el-Yemen. The nomads of Âl Yinfa'ah are horse-owners and sell their stock in the Sabia market.

(2) *Âl Musheit.*

'Abd el-'Aziz ibn Musheit, paramount Sheikh: Sa'id ibn 'Abd, his son.

Sa'd ibn Husein 'Abd ibn Ibrâhim Husein ibn 'Abd	three brothers who are nephews of 'Abd el-'Aziz ibn Musheit.

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101 (b) *Āl Rusheid.* Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn 'Iteij.

619 1. Settled. 4,000 men.

Chief villages:—

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Hirtr	'Ali ibn Sa'id.
Waqabah	'Abdullah ibn Sihmān.
Na'mān	Hasan ibn Zubein.
Dhahbān	Sherif Abu Nūrah.
Sofq	Mohammed ibn Mubārak es-Soffir.
Rīnah	Ibn 'Ukah.
Āl Jasāb	Ibn Nimshah.
Darb	Sa'id ibn Benāyah.
Khamis Musheit	Behir.
Jambar	Abu Mikha'.
Soma'dah	Salim ibn Zumei'.
'Itwid	Sa'id abu Milhah.

2. Nomad. 500 men. Chief clans:—

Āl Shubeil	Nāsir ibn Shubeil.
Āl Ghanum	Mohammed ibn Hāzim.
Āl Tarrah	Sa'id ibn Ghuzeil.

(c) *Āl Ghamar.* Chief Sheikh: Mohammed ibn 'Urtr.

1. Settled. 400 men.

Tayyib el-Ism	Sa'id ibn 'Urtr.

2. Nomad. 600 men. Chief clans:—

Aulād Muhur	Ibn Shatf.
Āl Shahra	Ibn Rabu'i.
Āl Tayyār	Ibn Ghudheif.
Āl Sa'dān	Ibn Tūrki.
Beni Zerābah	Jeheish.

(d) *Nahda.* All Bedouin. 1,000 men. Chief Sheikh: 'Ā'idh ibn Jabbār.

Clans:—

Āl Khazqa	'Uweir ibn Hizām.
Āl Hazra	Dhi'b Ladgam.
Āl Heiza'ah	Dhi'b ibn Jedhei'.
Āl 'Aliyah	Samghān.

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(e) *Qa'ad*. Settled. 3,000 men. Chief Sheikh: 'Abdullah ibn Sana.

Chief villages:—

Tindkhah	Mohammed ibn Sana.
Al Dhi'b	Ibn Raff'ah.
Al 'Ujeir	'Abdullah el-Wuteid.
Gheithân	Mi'tiq ibn Mohammed.
Al Zalkl	Mohammed ibn Sana.
Al Mustanir	Mohammed ibn Dureî'.
Sadr	Dhi'b ibn Jer'ân.
Al Zayân	Wad'ân.
Hauta	'Ali ibn Dakhil.

(f) *Beni Bijad*. Chief Sheikh: Sa'id ibn Hashbal.

1. Settled. 3,000 men. Chief villages:—

Rashda'	Mohammed ibn Es-Sa'ân.
Al Batât	Hewiah.
Al Bithor	Ibn Hanash.
Al Umm Zeitûl	Nejeir.
Ghiweirah	Saleir.
Shajrah	Abu Milhi.
Malhah	Ibn Fudghram.
Shafân	Mohammed ibn Sa'id.

2. Nomads. 7,000 men.

Beni Musebbih el-Hakam.
Sheikh Sa'id ibn Hakam.

(g) *Beni Wahâb*. 15,000 men.

Chief Sheikhs: Nâsir ibn Heif and Heif ibn Nâsir.

1. Settled. 2,000 men. Chief villages:—

Khadhra	Ibn Hewelah.
Musairiq	Zewelki.

(Bahat en-Nakhl), Chief Sheikhs: Yahya ibn Fâ'iz and Nâsir ibn Kurkmân.

Rambin (Rashin)	Nâsir ibn Kurkmân.
Nimrân	Ibn Barrâh.
Al Bashâk	Abu Jerâlah.
Zewib	Abu Khamsah.
Al Khâlit	Heif.
Wâdi Leimân	Zewik ibn Mustir.
Al Shakhân	Yahya ibn Lasar.

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2. Nomads. 13,000 men. Chief clans :—

Âl Buljâri.		
Âl Mustur		
Sifâlah.		
Mo'âwiyah		Husein ibn Zâhir
Rimâthân		
Uqlub. Sh 'Atiyân	Madâf ibn	Nomads of Bishah.
Beni Sulâl	Nomads.	Sh. Amir ibn Es-
Jerâdîn	Seyyiri of Bishah.	
Mahlaf		Yahya ibn Fâ'iz.

(b) *Sha'af Baakko.* 4,000 men. Settled. 'Abdullah ibn Hamûdh.

Chief villages:—

Lâkâk	'Ali ibn Murai'i.
Âl Umm Tir	'Awad el-Mujaddad.
Âl Ferza'	'Abdullah abu Hamâm.
Âl Sirhân	'Ali ibn Thâbit.
Dhibet Âl irhân	Ahmed ibn 'Uksha.
Musji (or Jagi?)	'Ali ibn 'Awad.
Âl Umm Jâ'	Walad Ez-Zihri.

(c) *Âl Yiafa'ah.* ettled. 6,000 men.

Chief Sheikh 'Abdullah ibn Hamûdh of Tammah.

1. Chief villages :—

Âl 'Othmân	Zeidâni.
Âl 'Ali	Mohammed ibn Tâli'.
Umm Jariyh	Abu Sihim.
Âl Ba'wal	Shuweil el-A'raj.

2 *Âl Yiafa'i of Tihâmah.* Nomad. 8,000 men. Chief clans :—

Jahâfah	Mashâf
Âl Hikmi	Baqjân.
Beith	Abu Dûsah.
Beni Majîd	Ibn Ghâlah.
Âl A'rshi	Mufarrih.

3. *Âl Yiafa'i of Jahar*
4. *Âl Yiafa'i of Hajari* } Nomads in Mikhlâf el-Yemen.

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47. *Beni Shi'bah*

The Beni Shi'bah live chiefly round 'Itwad ('Itwid) and up the Wâdi Dhilah to the Rabi'at el-Yemen boundary, but their nomads have no fixed boundaries and wander all over Mikhlâf el-Yemen, north of Sabia. Their Sheikhs and chief families are Arabs and trace their descent to Qahtân, but the majority of the tribe are Sudanese, who have been emancipated for many generations. They are excellent fighters, amenable to discipline, and are generally known as 'Asâkir or soldiers. 101 619 622•

They all support the Idrîsi and pay him taxes.

The Beni Shi'bah do not engage in trade, the villagers being agriculturists and the nomads possessing large herds of camels, cattle, and sheep. They also own horses and nearly always fight as cavalry. They are friendly with the Munjahah, Rijâl el-M's, and the Mikhlâf tribes, but are hereditary enemies of the Rabi'at el-Yemen and generally on bad terms with the Beni Mugheid, whose country they avoid.

Chief Sheikh: Ibrâhîm Abu Mohammed. 3,500 men.

Chief villages. 1,000 men.

Darb Beni Shi'bah	Ismâ'îl Abu Mohammed.
Qasabah	Mohammed Abu Dôshah.
'Askar	Deilabi.
'Abîd	Balâl ibn Hasan.
Âl Abu Dôshah	El-Hufdhi.

Nomads. 2,500 men.

Âl Hadra	Mohammed ibn Mushrâ'i.
Âl Hassân.	

48. *Beni Shihir*

The Beni Shihir are one of the most populous tribes of Asir. They are a tall and well-made race and their women are noted for their beauty. They inhabit the country from the Tihâmah 25 miles east of Qunfudah up the main mountain range and across the watershed almost to Wâdi Shahrân.

The tribes which adjoin them are, on the north, starting from the Tihâmah, the Bal'aryân, Bulqarn, and Beni 'Amr, on the east the Shahrân, on the south the Balasmar, the Reish, the Âl Mûsa ibn 'Ali, the Humeidah, and the Rabi'ah Mujâtirah. On the west, where their boundary has narrowed to about 15 miles, are the

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Zobeid. Their territory is funnel-shaped, widening out as it goes inland, till it reaches the Shahrân in the east, with whose boundary it marches for over 60 miles.

The settled portion of the tribe have shown little sympathy with the Idrisi. They are divided into three main sections, the north, south, and Tihâmah, ruled over by different Sheikhs, who are usually on bad terms with each other, but unite against common enemies.

The largest section and the most important politically is the Beni Shihir esh-Shâm, who live chiefly along the Ibha–Tâ'if road, between 'Asâbili and 'Uqrum. The leading family, and one of the noblest of Asir, is that of Ibn Qurûm, closely connected with Mecca, both by sympathy and relationship, Sherif Mohammed ibn 'Abd el-Mu'in ibn 'Aun, the grandfather of the present Sherif, having married into the family.

The present head of the family is Sa'id ibn Fâ'iz, an old man now, with two sons, both born of a Circassian mother, Faraj Bey ibn Sa'id, who has been one of the Hejaz representatives in the Ottoman Parliament, and Fâ'iz ibn Sa'id. They all visit Constantinople and Mecca regularly, have a house in Ibha, and have furnished their house at 'Asâbili in semi-European style, and, having also adopted the western habit of smoking and drinking, are looked at with dislike and suspicion by other tribes. They are, however, large landowners and rich men.

Faraj Bey ibn Sa'id is a tall man of about 38, with a fair skin, which he gets from his mother. He was formerly Kaimmakam of Qunfudah, Muhâ'il, and Hali district, where his cruelty when in his cups made him greatly feared. He speaks Turkish and French and has a Circassian wife in Constantinople. He is a notorious libertine and drunkard, but is a force to be reckoned with.

His brother, Fâ'iz ibn Sa'id, a young man of 25, is much more steady and takes greater interest in tribal matters.

About a third of the Beni Shihir esh-Shâm are nomads, whose main subdivision is that of the Neid. They have little to do with the settled parts, and do not acknowledge Sa'id ibn Fâ'iz, the Sherif, or the Turks. Most of their life is spent in bickering with the Shahrân, but what political leanings they have are in favour of the Idrisi.

The Beni Shihir el-Yemen occupy the rich district of Namas and are under 'Ali Bey ibn Dhâfir, who, like the Qurûm family, is strongly pro-Turk. He is, however, a man of much stricter morals, and is respected by the tribes. His mother is a Circassian. This

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section is entirely settled in permanent villages, and provided a large proportion of the local Turkish gendarmerie. There are said to be a few Idrisi sympathizers among them.

The Beni Shihir of the Tihāmah are neither as numerous nor as powerful as those of the uplands, but their country is fertile and they are more prosperous than most of their neighbours. Their Chief Sheikh is Abu Mismār, who is said to favour the Idrisi secretly.

The nomads under Sheikh Khādan ibn Mohammed, are all on the Idrisi side. They live chiefly in 'Aqabah Sajein and 'Aqabah Sihān, between the Namas district and the Tihāmah, but go down to lower ground for the harvest.

The Beni Shihir are a good fighting tribe, and on account of their political tendencies are almost hemmed in by foes, the Balasmar being the only tribe with whom they have a pact. The Zobeid and they have a feud of many years' standing.

They are well armed, having received rifles from the Turks at Ibha. They are descended from the Rijāl el-Hajar.

(a) *Beni Shihir esh-Shām.* 20,000 men.

Sa'id ibn Fā'iz weled Fā'iz ibn Qurūm of 'Asābili and his sons Faraj Bey ibn Sa'id (member of Ottoman Parliament) and Fā'iz Bey ibn Sa'id.

1. Settled. 13,000 men. Chief sections :—

Ka'b	'Abdullah ibn Sārah.
Beni Kerim	Nāji ibn Sa'id.
Āl Abu Jubeis	Fādhil ibn Jubeis.

Chief villages :—

Idwah	Sa'id ibn Mubārak.
Rabu' es-Sarw	Hāzimah ibn Mohammed.
Halabah	Himmi.
Sadr	Mohammed ibn Safar.
Kafāf	Rushwān ibn Mohammed.
Akhādhirah	'Abd el-Khāliq.
Kalāthimah	'Abd el-Khalīj.

2. Nomads. 7,000 men.

Neid.

(b) *Beni Shihir el-Yemen.* Settled. 15,000 men.

'Ali Bey ibn Dhāfir Waled Dhāfir ibn Jāri of Namas.

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101 Chief sections :—

Beni Bukr	Sa'id ibn Jâri.
619 Beni Mashhûr	Dhâfir ibn Mohammed.
Âl Shi'b	Mahbûb ibn Merzûq.

•622 Chief villages :—

Dhahârah	Sa'id ibn Qurûm.
'Aqabah Lambûsh	Lâfi ibn Mohammed.
Wâdi Laghr	Shibeili ibn Mohammed.
Tanûmah	Mohammed ibn El-'Artf.
Sabt Ibn El-'Artf	Dhâfir ibn El-'Artf.

(c) *Beni Shihir et-Tihâmah.*

1. Settled. 8,000 men. Chief Sheikh : Abu Mismâr.

Chief sections :—

Âl Limâah	Haidar ibn Er-Rawwâf.
Âl Khât	Ruhûmah.
Majâridah	Mohammed abu 'l-Qasim.
Beni Teim Tihâmah	Mohammed ibn Tummah.
Âl Dûshah	Abu Mismâr.
Âl Thureibân	Ibn Ma'ariyah.
Âl Thirbân	Abu Muhein.
Umm Shahari	Mohammed ibn Dhebeil.

Chief villages :—

Sadr	Mohammed abu 'l-Qâsim.
Jebel Yithrib	Abu Saja'.

2. Nomads. 5,000 men.

Chief Sheikh : Khâdan ibn Mohammed.

Âl 'Omar	Khâdan ibn Mohammed.
Beni Ethla	'Abdullah Dhaffâr.
Âl Hosein	Nâsir ibn Sa'id.
Ahl 'Aqabat Sajain	Qurûm ibn Dhâfir.
Âl Umm Jebeini	Mohammed ibn Shâtir.
'U'mârah	Sheikh Shubeili.

49. *Ahl esh-Shaqaiq*

The Ahl Shaqaiq are a small community inhabiting the small port of Shaqaiq in Mikhlif el-Yemen. They are chiefly merchants in the hide and "senna" trade with Musawwa', which they often visit. 'Ali ibn Mubki is the chief Sheikh, a nominee of the Idrisi. The most important man, however, is Ibn 'Abdda, who was formerly Sheikh, but was imprisoned by the Idrisi for three years for conspiracy.

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He is now out on guarantee, and, being the biggest merchant and richest landowner in Shuqaiq, is to be reckoned with. 101

The Ahl esh-Shuqaiq, like all the inhabitants of Mikhlâf el-Yemen with the exception of the 'Abe, are descended from the Qahtân. 619 622

Chief Sheikh: 'Ali ibn Mubhi. 1,000 men.

Chief villages:—

Khasâm	Ahmed 'Ali.
Ramlah	'Ali ibn Hawi.
Khabâtiyah	Mohammed ibn Husein.
Hesu	Sherif Hamîd.

50. Shamrân

The Shamrân occupy a part of the high upland country through which runs the Ibba–Ta'if road and extend down the slopes of the hills to the Tihâmah.

They are bounded on the west and north by the Ghâmid, on the east by the Shahrân, and on the south by the Khath'am and Bulqarn. They are divided into the Shamrân esh-Shâm, Shamrân et-Tihâmah, and the nomads, each section numbering about 2,000 men. The northern Shamrân and the nomads are under the Sheikhship of Hasan ibn Mater, a young man of 30, who has a good reputation for wisdom in tribal matters, and has made a name for himself in war. Their chief centre is Balîs, the largest of a number of villages near the Khath'am border, set in a rich and well-wooded valley.

The nomads, the Suhâb and Âl Mubârak, wander down into the Tihâmah in the winter, or stay round Balus, and in the summer go up with the Bulqarn and other nomads to the Shahrân country round Bishah for the date season.

They own many sheep and goats, but few camels.

The most important section of the Shamrân et-Tihâmah is the 'Ubus, under Sheikh Is-hâq ibn Mosellat, whose chief village is Marwa'. They have permanent villages in which they live during winter, but in summer most of them lead a nomadic life, living in straw-woven tents. The whole tribe unites in war, their chief enemies being the Ghâmid. They are also usually at odds with their weaker neighbour the Khath'am. Their reputation as a fighting race is good, and they share with the Bulqarn the custom of purifying themselves and wearing their finest clothes before going into battle. In normal times they are a hospitable and light-hearted race, ever ready to find an excuse for relaxation. Marriage

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101 festivals are celebrated on a much larger scale than is usual in Asir. Their outside political leanings are strongly in favour of the Idrisi,
619 as against the Sherif of Mecca and the Turks.

The tribe is descended from the Rijāl el-Hajar.

6221 (a) *Shamrān esh-Shām*. Settled round Balūs. 2,000 men.

Chief Sheikh: Hasan ibn Matar.

Āl Mahshakah	Mashari ibn 'Ali.
Beni Matar	Mushabbab ibn Sa'īd.

(b) *Bedouins*. 2,000 men, also under Hasan ibn Matar.

Suhāb	Nāsir ibn Fuzān.
Āl Mubārak	Sa'ūd ibn Mishrik.

(c) *Shamrān el-Tihāmah*. 2,000 settled.

'Ubus	Is-hāq ibn Muzellaf.

51. *Beni Thuwwah*

The Beni Thuwwah lie to the south of Muhā'il and are astride the main Ibha–Muhā'il road between Butūh and the Wādi Sha'b el-'Asla, a distance of 10 miles, and the Ibha–Athālif–Muhā'il road between Jebel Hawīlah and Hu'ūs Beni Thuwwah, a distance of 15 miles. The territory between these roads is theirs, and their boundary on the north approaches within 5 miles of Muhā'il.

Their neighbours on the north are the Āl Mūsa and Reish, on the east the Balasmar, on the south the Āl Nahyah and Āl Hārith of the Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, and on the west the Bahr ibn Sekeinah.

The tribe numbers some 2,000 men, of whom two-thirds are settled, the remainder nomad.

They are a bold and fearless tribe who live chiefly by raiding, and unprotected parties, either of the Turks or ordinary travellers, are never safe while in their country. They have never submitted to Ottoman authority, and, since the rise of the Idrisi, have quite got out of hand. Their chief Sheikh, Sheikh Sarwi, is one of the most noted highwaymen of Asir, and has given endless trouble to the Government. They are generally at feud with the Āl Mūsa, Rabī'ah wa Rufeidah, and Balasmar, and are still allied with the Rijāl el-M'a and Balahmar. Their relations with the Bahr Ibn Sekeinah are neutral.

Chief Sheikh: Sarwi. 2,000 men.

(a) Chief villages. 1,200 men.

Ida	Shufut.
Umm Butūh	'Ali ibn Yahya.

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Bedlah	Ibrâhîm ibn Musa'ad.
Qarein	Mushâtir.
Âl Umm Ba'eirah	Mohammed ibn Tâli'.
Wâdi el-Hâfir	Ibn Hadhiyah.
Âl Ghanîyah	Sha'bân.

(b) Nomads. 700 men.

Bodu Âl Ghanîyah	Abu Jahîlah.
Âl Qabeis	Ahmed ibn 'Adwân.
Âl Fidhelîah	Ahmed abu Hanash.

52. *Beni Ya'lah*

The Beni Ya'lah are a small settled tribe, numbering 500 men, situated along the coast a few miles north of Hali. They are bounded on the north by the Markhibah section of the Beni Zeid, on the east by the Aulâd el-'Alamah section of the Ahl Hali, and on the south by the Shawkrah section of the Ahl Hali.

They are divided amongst themselves, Sheikh Bahrân of Shija'fah favouring the Idrisi, and the remainder, under Sheikh Beit-'ali Abu 'Atanah, paying allegiance to the Turks.

The Beli'ir and Hali both raid them, and they depend chiefly on the Turks for their existence as a tribal unit, since they are as unwarlike as their only allies, the Beni Zeid.

Chief Sheikh: Beit-'ali Abu 'Atanah. 500 men.

Villages :—

Ya'bah	Mohammed ibn Sâlim.
Sabt Beni Ya'lah	A'ji.
Arja'	Mohammed ibn 'Abdu.
Shija'fah	Bahrân.
Kidwah	Er-Ridwân.
Melâhah	Musaffir.
Nikhl	Abu Radîyah.

53. *Zahrân*

The Zahrân is one of the largest tribes of Asir and is bounded on the north by the Beni Mâlik and Shalkwah, on the east by the Ghâmid, on the south and south-west by the Zobeid, and on the west by the Dhawi Barakât for a few miles and then the Dhawi Hasan. Their western boundary approaches in places to within

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15 miles of the coast, and inland they go up the main mountain range and beyond the Ibha–Tá'if road.

Their country is a fertile one and is thickly populated, the whole tribe being said to number 30,000 men.

It is divided into two main divisions, the settled and the nomad each of equal size.

Rashid ibn Jum'an is paramount sheikh of the villagers and belongs to the main sub-tribe, the Beni Sadr; Sa'id ibn Aseidin rules over the nomads. The former got his title by inheritance, the latter by his prowess in war; but they are both good men, and have their tribesmen well in hand. When he was a young man, Rashid ibn Jum'an sided with the Turks and was made a Bey, but twelve years ago he raised a successful revolt and has barred the country to the Turks ever since. The nomads were always against them and against the villagers for the same reason, but since the revolt the two chief sheikhs have been good friends. Rashid ibn Jum'an is now a large fat man of 55. He lives at Jebel Dîs and is married to Nafalah of the Auléd el-Emir Mohammed ibn 'Á'idh family of the Beni Mughaid.

The Zahrán are purely a fighting race, and never leave their country except to raid. They cultivate and become rich thereby, but they despise all other forms of manual labour.

The Ghámid are their great and hereditary enemies. They declared for the Idrisi when he first raised his standard in Asir, and fought for him in 1912 against the Turks and Sherif of Mecca. In May 1915 they wrote to the Idrisi, proposing to join him, but the Idrisi, doubtless realizing that they could do little good while hedged in between the Turks at Ibha and the Sherif, advised them to adopt a passive attitude for the present. He, however, sent a Qádhi to them to obtain monetary help, and early in 1916 reported that he was still in friendly communication with them.

The Zahrán, like several other tribes of Asir, trace their descent to Rijál el-Hajar.

(a) Settled :—

Paramount Sheikh : Rashid ibn Jum'an. 15,000 men.

Dîs	Mohammed abu Sandalah.
Al Ramdan	Nasir ibn 'Aqil.
Al Dashwân	Bekr ibn Tirki.
Al Fursa	Mundr ibn Hamda.
al Mustanir	Mohammed ibn Sa'dah.
Beni Sadr	Mundr ibn Mohammed.

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(3) Bedouin :—

Paramount Sheikh : Sa'id ibn Aoidhh. 15,000 men.

Al Wadi el-Ahmar.
Beni Sa'ad.
Bel Khasmar.
Beni 'Omar.
Kinkinah.
Shabeikah.
Beni Hasan.
Beni Salim.

54. *Beni Zeid (Northern)*

The northern Beni Zeid focus round Qunfudah and are entirely under Turkish influence.

To the north they inhabit the villages along the Qunfudah–Lith road for some 14 miles, till they reach the boundary of the Al Dibra section of the Zobeid. To the east they stretch along the Barak road for 12 miles, almost to 'Umr of the Nawakhirah section of Belli'r, and then, keeping always about 10 miles from the coast, their boundary runs south for 20 miles, marching first with the confines of the Mujâ'adah section of the Belli'r and then with the 'Umr Bedawi till it reaches the Beni Ya'lah, when it turns due west to the coast.

They are partly settled and partly nomad, the former numbering about 4,000 men, the latter 3,000.

The villagers are by no means wealthy, but there is a sufficiency of rain to enable them to cultivate in the summer, and their wells provide water to grow vegetables in the dry season. The two nomad sections are the Rabi'ah Weinah and the Marthilah, the former strung out along the Qunfudah–Barak road, the latter roaming the country to the south of Qunfudah, along the coast and inland. They are rich in camels, and are the chief carriers to Hali, Muhâ'il, and Barak. Most of them carry antiquated rifles, swords, and a curved knife about 2 ft. long, called a *Janbiyah*. They also supply Qunfudah with milk, and are looked down on by the more independent tribes, both for this practice and for their lack of prowess in war.

Hasan ibn Khidhir is the principal Sheikh of the whole tribe, a man of about 30, who has proved a faithful servant of the Turks. He held firm when the Idrisi threatened Qunfudah in 1912, and was given 2,000 rifles by the Turks for defence. The Beni Zeid doubtless owe a great deal to the Turks, for they are on terms of

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enmity with their neighbours the Belâ'ir and 'Umr, and are raided by such distant tribes as the Beni 'Isa, Dhawi Barakât, and Dhawi Hasan, who slip through the Zobeid country and back again before they can be brought to book. The Zobeid themselves regard them with tolerance, and the Beni Ya'lah are their allies.

Chief Sheikh: Hasan ibn Khidhr.

(a) Settled. 4,000.

Chief villages :—

Jâ'	Hasan ibn Khidhr.
Zayâlah	Midhish.
Ahl Dâr el-Wâdi	Medini.
Sa'dah	Jemâl el-Leil.
'Abâd es-Sa'dah	Jauhar.
Mashâ'ikh	Mohammed ibn Misfir.
Rahmân	Abu 'Ajil.

(b) Nomads.

Rabî'ah Weinah	Mohammed Khenein.	1,000.
Marthibah	Mohammed Abu Jabbâr.	2,000.

55. *Beni Zeid* (Southern)

A small tribe, numbering about 1,500 souls, inhabiting the mountains immediately to the east of the Beni Hasan. The paramount Sheikh of the tribe and of one of its subsections, the Beni 'Aqal, is Mohammed 'Ali Sebâk. They are on friendly terms with the Beni Hasan, who stand in fear of them, and close allies with the Beni Aslam. They are old enemies of the Beni 'Abe, but sink their differences when fighting for Idrisi, as they are doing now.

56. *Zobeid*

The Zobeid are a detached section of the Harb, and indeed are locally called Harb as often as by their real name. When on the Pilgrimage, they generally visit their northern brethren, and are received with honour, and similarly extend a warm welcome to any Harbi who may be in their country. They are hospitable and well conducted, and appear to possess the bravery of their race without its traditional lawlessness.

Their boundary starts about 7 miles north of Qunfudah and, after running along the coast for rather more than 20 miles, turns inland and follows the Dhawi Barakât boundary till it reaches the Zahrân.

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From there it runs parallel to the coast and about 30 miles inland along the confines of the Zahrān, Ghāmid, Bal'aryān, and Beni Shihir till it reaches a point due east of Qunfudah and then follows the boundaries of the Belā'ir and Beni Zeid to the sea.

The Zobeid are settled in permanent villages and are rich in cattle. Their land near the sea is barren, except in the wadis, but increases in richness and fertility as soon as the mountains are reached.

They are said to number 15,000 men, and their paramount Sheikh is Mu'ādi ibn Khair. The whole tribe is strongly in favour of the Idrīsi, and pay him taxes. They are equally strong in their feelings against the Turks, who in spite of their proximity have not ventured to interfere with them for years. Their chief enemies are the Beni Shihir, but they dislike and despise the Beni Zeid. With the Dhawi Barakāt, the Ghāmid, and Zahrān they are friends. The Zobeid go in for gun-running to a certain extent, buying their rifles from Ru'eis near Jiddah, or from Birk, and selling them chiefly to the Zahrān.

Paramount Sheikh: Mu'ādi ibn Khair. 15,000 men.

Clans:—

Āl Khair	Hasan ibn Mohammed.
Beni Zibdah	'Ali ibn Halīm.
Āl Sa'īdah	Mubārak ibn Bekhīt.
Āl Imlāhi	Mihi ibn Mohammed.
Beni Etma	Yahya ibn Sālim.
Āl Sula'bah	Ahmed el-Hayyāni.
Āl Difra	Hanash ibn Qarāwish.
Āl Mashāf	Museibikh ibn Mufarrih.
Āl Jamīl	Hādi ibn Er-Rabh.
Jadreimah	Mizhar ibn Sihmān.
'Ajelein	Ahmed el-Humrāni.

C. Tribes of Yemen

1. *Āl 'Absi ('Absiyah)*

The Āl 'Absi extend from the coast S. of Hodeidah to the fort of J. Bura', about 30 miles from W. to E. and 15 miles N. to S. The E. half of their country is fertilized by W. Sihām, and the southern part by W. Ghadīr. Their numbers are estimated at 5,000 to 6,000 men, divided into the following sections: Rabasah (round Hodeidah), Munāfirah (E. of these), Hawwah (round Mandar, on the coast, 10 miles S. of Hodeidah), B. Sālih (under J. Bura'), Ahl el-Khalifah,

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Ahl esh-Sha'rah (E. of Marwah), Dār ed-Dōm and Ahl Assabt el-Haradah (near J. Bura').

The principal sheikh is Suleimān Hasan of Mahad. There are important settlements of Seyyids at Marwah and at Mansūriyah.

Principal villages :—

'Asal (Sheikh Yahya Harisah).	Mandar ('Ali Wahhābān).
Mahad (Suleimān Hasan).	Khalifah (Moh. 'Atiyah).
Mukeiminiyah (Y'ūsuf 'Ali).	Shar'a (Moh. Suleimān).

2. *Amariyin*

A small Zeidi tribe, living round Jebel Qara, on the boundaries of the Hāshid country, about 20 miles NW. of Shehārah. They own 15 or 20 small villages, of which the largest is Beit Jashish. Their chief Sheikh is Sheikh Daghshar, a man of about 55, who has considerable influence in the country round. He is a great friend of the Imam and has frequently tried to make peace between him and the Idrisi.

3. *Afāh*

A small and unimportant tribe allied to the Khairān, to the east of the Beni Aslam in Hajūr. Half Zeidi.

4. *Beni Ahlāi*

A small tribe, numbering about 2,400 souls, of the Dā'ūdiyah sect, settled to the east of the Beni Murrah and Beni Muqātil, with whom they are allied. They are good fighters and support the Turks, chiefly by reason of their hatred of the Imam and his Zeidi followers. Coffee and *kat* are grown in their country. Their chief Sheikh is Nāsir Husein el-Ahlāsi, an old man of about 65, who visited Constantinople just before the deposition of Sultan Abd el-Hamid.

Chief villages : Seihān, Marābah, Rabitah, and Masna'ah.

5. *Ahl 'Ammar*

A large and peaceful Zeidi tribe about 20 miles NE. of Qa'tabah, living round Shekāb 'Ammar, and cultivating cereals and *kat* in Wādi Bana. They are descended from Ma'az ibn Jebel Qurishi, who originally lived at Medina, and being sent by the Prophet to the Yemen as governor, settled in Wādi Bana, where his descendants still are.

Paramount Sheikh : Tāhir Husein el-Farah, of the clan Beit el-Farah.

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They come under the Kaimmakam of Qa'tabah, and are allied with the 'Ud and the Ahl Shá'ir. 101

The chief clans are Beit el-Farah (Sheikh Táhir Hussein) and Beit et-Tayyib (Sheikh Hizám es-Sáwi). 619 622•

6. Ál 'Ammar

A large Zeidi tribe descended from Beni Tamim, owning land round Sa'dah, and leading a nomadic life in the mountains to the E. In the south they go down the W. Amashiyah to the country of the Hásbid, with whom they are on good terms. They are excellent fighters and firm adherents of the Imam, whose representative at Sa'dah is Seyyid Mohammed abu Nuweibah, and generally at feud with the Ál Damaj.

Chief Sheikhs: Seyyid 'Abdullah el-Ma'an, Hádi abu Shihah, and 'Á'idh ibn 'Ali.

Settled. Chief clans: Beni Merj (Hasan Kumalli), B. Surúr (Sálih 'Atif), 'Abádilah ('Abdullah el-'Abdáli), B. 'Abdán ('Ali 'Abdán).

Nomads. Chief clan: B. Ruham.

7. 'Amaznah

Two sections. Sunni; agricultural.

(a) Between the Wa'zát and the Najrah, in the mountains. Chief Sheikhs are Ibn Mas'ud and Hussein ibn 'Ali. Neutral towards the Wa'zát. Favour the Imam.

(b) S. of J. Reima and W. of the Anis, with whom they are not friendly. They hate the Imam and also the Turks, by whom they have been greatly persecuted. Their chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Yahya, a man of 45, who has made overtures to the Idrisi.

8. Anis

The boundaries of the Anis stretch from a short distance west of Dhamár due north nearly to Wa'lán, keeping always a short distance to the west of the Dhamár-San'á road. To the west they extend along the B. Matar confines almost to Mefhaq and then, skirting Menákhah, and cutting the W. Siham, go down a few miles south of Jebel Reima, and then across almost to Dhamár.

The paramount Sheikh is 'Ali Miqdád, who lives at Jebel esh-Sharq. He is a man of about 50, and used to be a firm adherent of the Imam. He fought for him in 1911 and captured the Turkish Kaimmakam of Dhur'án, Zakari Bey. In August 1916, however,

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he was reported to have quarrelled with the Imam and closed the road against him. The Imam accused him of collecting revenues for himself; and dispatched the Dhamâr Arabs against him, with what result is not known. The tribe numbers from 8,000 to 10,000 men, but not more than 3,000 can take the field owing to lack of rifles. Their country is fertile, wheat, oats, barley, and dhura being the principal crops. They are on good terms with their northern neighbours the Beni Matar. They dislike the Arabs of Jebel Reima, and also the Khawlân, whom they fought 12 years ago. With the Beni Muqâtil, who are of the Dâ'ûdiyah sect and opposed to the Imam, they have a long-standing feud. There is a well-known Seyyid at Dhur'ân, their chief town, by name Seyyid 'Ali ibn Ismâ'îl. He was exiled to Rhodes by Ahmed Pasha Feizi, but was pardoned and is now the Imam's representative with the Anîs.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali el-Moqâtil.

Representative of the Imam: Seyyid 'Ali ibn Ismâ'îl.

Other Sheikhs are:

Mohammed el-Hadrâni	of Hadrân.
Mohammed es-Sibîhi	of Jebel esh-Sharq.
Sâlih Hadra	of Sihâm.
Fâki 'Ali el-Anî	of Hadra.
Mohammed Shaqdam	of Jebel Burhân.
Sa'îd el-Bâ'i'	of Qâ' el-Haqal.
Ahmed Sâlih Shaqdam	of Wâdi Qîma.
Sâlih el-Barashi	of 'Ulhan.
Mohammed 'Abdullah	of Nawwâl.
'Ali Hâtim	of Beni Hâtim.
'Ali Sâlih	of Beni Jarahah.
'Abd er-Rabbih es-Sanhâni	of Mikhlâf ibn Hâtim and half Fersh.
'Omar 'Ârif	of half Fersh.
Sa'îd esh-Shrehai	of Shrehai.

9. *Beni Aslam*

A large Shafei tribe with some 3,000 good fighting men, inhabiting the mountains to the east of the Beni 'Abs, with whom they have a feud which is only relaxed when the Idrisi calls on the services of both. N. are the Khamâsin; S. the Beni Nashar; E. the allied Zeidi tribes of Beni Ghill, Beni Zâfir, and Beni 'Ariz. They are separated from the Beni 'Abs by Wâdi Ghadir.

Chief village: Sûq Hariqah.

Paramount Sheikh: 'Ali Bedâwi of Sûq Hariqah.

Other Sheikhs: Husein Burt and his brother 'El-Effendi' of Gadr, and Ahmed Sultân of Sûq Hariqah.

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10. *Beni 'Awwam*

A small Zeidi tribe south-west of the Beni Husein and Wâdi La'ah, and about 50 miles due east of Lohaia in the mountains. Their chief Sheikhs are 'Ali Da'ân and Husein ibn Hasan. They come under the suzerainty of the Turks, but are said to be discontented with them and with the Imam. 101 619 6220

11. *Beni 'Atîz*

A small Zeidi tribe of Hajar el-Yemen, living at Hubûr Meili just to the south of the Beni Zâfir and Beni Ghil with whom they are allies. Formerly under the Turkish Markaz of Qufl, but came under the Imam by the treaty of 1911. Good fighters. Noted for their fruits, coffee, and *ket*.

12. *Bekil*

See *Hâshid* wa *Bekil*.

13. *Bura'*

Zeidi tribe living in Jebel Bura', SSW. of 'Ubâl. Chief Sheikh is Husein ibn 'Abd er-Rahmân el-Bura', who is on unfriendly terms with the Imam, and hates the Turks, under whose immediate jurisdiction he is. He is a friend of Nâsir ibn Mabkhût of the Hâshid. The tribe is allied to the Hufâsh, Sâri, and Mahweit. They are a peace-loving people, numbering about 2,000 men. Yahya 'Abed is the Sheikh appointed by the Turks over Jebel Bura', Hajeilah, and 'Ubâl. He is about 65 years of age and lives at Hajeilah, which, with 'Ubâl, can muster about 400 men. The chief villages are Marwah, Kamah, Fayish, and Rukab.

14. *Âl Damaj*

A small tribe to the E. of the Âl 'Ammar, with whom it is generally at feud. Little is known of it except that it is Zeidi and under the Imam. The chief Sheikh is Sa'd ibn Sa'd. The chief Sayyids are 'Ali ed-Damaji and Husein Merza'. The chief clans are Âl el-Wâdi (Sheikh 'Abdullah), Âl 'Utef, and Âl 'Awadah (Sheikh Qahtân Damaji).

15. *Gardîd*

A small tribe of about 1,000 men settled in Wâdi Sardîd, whose chief village is Dhâhi (Sheikh, Yahya 'Izzân). They number 400 fighting men, and their chief Sheikh is Hasan Ahmed es-Sulh.

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101 They are under the jurisdiction of the Kaimmakam of Bājil. Their fighting reputation is good: they are hostile to the Beni Suleil and the Qahrah, their northern and southern neighbours.
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16. *Beni Ghāl*

A small Zeidi tribe of Hajūr el-Yemen living in Mikhlāf el-Yemen, between the tribes of Beni Zāfir on the north and Beni 'Aziz on the south, with whom they are allied. Formerly under the Turkish Markaz of Qufl, but since the treaty of 1911 under the Imam: good fighters. Noted for their fruits, coffee, and *kat*.

17. *Hajjah*

Small Zeidi tribe in and round the town of Hajjah (Hadda). There is a Kaimmakam in Hajjah, so they come under the direct jurisdiction of the Turks, whom they dislike, and against whom they fought in 1911. Since the Imam made peace with the Turks their relations with him have been strained. Paramount Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Hizām. The tribe is descended from Beni Tamīm.

18. *Hamdān*

There are two sections of the Hamdān, both claiming descent from Qahtān.

(a) Hamdān esh-Shām, a very large Zeidi tribe, almost entirely Bedouin, and roaming over the country a day and a half to the north-east of Sa'dah. They are bounded on the north by the Yām tribes of Nejrān, east by the Bekīl, west by Bedouin tribes, and south by Bekīl nomads. At present they are on bad terms with the Imam. They are quite independent, and will fight for any one who pays them. Chief Sheikh is Sherif Sālih ibn 'Ali. They are of the same stock as the Hamdān el-Yemen, but too far off to be in touch.

(b) Hamdān el-Yemen.

Living to the W. and N. of San'ā, chiefly in Wādi Dhahir. They are of the same origin as the Hamdān esh-Shām. Owing to close proximity to San'ā, they do not show their real feelings, but are said to dislike the Turks and the Imam, and to have a secret understanding with Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt of the Hāshid. Their chief Sheikh, 'Ali Shawi', is in the pay of the Turks with the rank of mudīr.

Chief clans: B. Dhurhān (Sherif 'Ali Hamūd), B. Beshir (Sheikh 'Alāwi), B. 'Afar, B. Dhayyān. B. Hārith. B. Meimūn (Sālih ibn Meimūn), B. Jabrān.

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Chief villages: Mehâjir ('Ali Matlaq), Loqmah ('Ali Yahya el-Hamdâni), Tubar ('Ali et-Tubri), Qebîl (Ahmed Salâmah). 101 619 622

19. *Hashâbirah*

A small Sunni tribe living a few miles south of the Turkish post of Zeidîyah, east of the Kamarân Islands, and coming under the jurisdiction of 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bôni. To their south is the Quhrah tribe. They number between 250 and 300 fighting men, and their chief Sheikhs are Ismâ'îl 'Ali and 'Abdullah Mashhur. Their chief villages are Qaryah, Dâr el-Bahri, and Mahâl.

20. *Beni Hashrish*

A Zeidi tribe immediately to the north-east of San'â, living in Wâdi Sirr, Wâdi Sawân, and down to Jebel Nuqûm. They cultivate grapes extensively and also engage in trading. They muster some 1,500 men, but, living so near San'â, possess few rifles. In sympathy they are pro-Imam. Their chief Sheikh is Muhsin el-Jamrah.

21. *Hâshid wa Bekîl*

It is not clearly established whether the Hâshid wa Bekîl are all of the same descent and therefore one tribe, or a confederation of two tribes of differing origin. The available evidence seems to show that the Hâshid trace their descent back to Himyar and the Bekîl to Qahtân. Whatever the truth, there is no doubt that their names are commonly linked together by natives in Yemen, that they are on terms of close friendship and have been so for many generations, and that together they form one of the most powerful tribal bodies in Southern Arabia. The home country of the Bekîl is to the east in Marashi and Barat, but, as will be seen from the description given below, there are also tribal units living in the midst of the Hâshid country and even so far south and west as Hajjah, Wâdi Shirs, and Mahweit. The Hâshid occupy the country from a few miles north of 'Amrân almost to Sa'dah, and to the west they extend almost to Hajûr. To the east they are settled in Bilâd el-Kharf and round Dhibin, but their nomads wander far afield to the north and towards Barat and Jauf.

For many generations the fortunes of the Hâshid wa Bekîl have been intimately connected with those of the Imams of Yemen; and this must always be so, both on account of their common creed and because some of the chief strongholds of the Imam, such as Shehârah, Qâfilat 'Udhr, and Madân, are set in the midst of the

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Hâshid country. The Imams have drawn largely on the confederation for their fighting material, and in return have rewarded its chief men by governorships in different parts of the country. Thus, before the Ottoman conquest, the chief family of the Himrân tribe of Hâshid ruled all the country from Najrah to Wâdi La' and Kaukebân, and the head of the Wada' governed Mikhâdir just south of Jiblah. The leading Bekîl Sheikhs were equally powerful; and the family of Ausat held the overlordship of Ibb, Sokul, 'Udein, Nadrah, and Ta'izz, while the family of Shâ'if were Emirs of Hajjah and Zufeir.

The conquest of the Yemen by Mukhtâr Pasha in 1872 and the consequent restriction of the power of these Sheikhs left them with a strong hatred of the Turks and a lasting desire to regain their lost territories; and the many Yemenite revolts against Ottoman authority during the last forty years have always seen them taking a leading part. They bitterly resented the declaration of peace in 1911, and the Imam's treachery towards Idrîsi; and his proposition that they should pay taxes to the Turks caused Nâsir ibn Mabkhût, the chief of the Himrân and paramount Sheikh of the Hâshid, to withdraw his tribes and enter into relations with the Idrîsi. A truce was arranged in the following year; but there is still bad feeling between the two which is not likely to cease until the Imam declares definitely against the Turks. The defection of so powerful a body of supporters has of course reacted in favour of Idrîsi, who during the last few years has been steadily working to make the feeling permanent. He has, however, to contend against a sentiment of loyalty to the Imam, which has been handed down for many generations, and his lack of ready cash has prevented him from doing more than keep relations between the latter and the confederation strained. He has been in constant touch with its chief Sheikhs for the last few years, and has said that money is the only thing required to bring them on his side.

The outstanding figure of the Hâshid wa Bekîl confederation is Sheikh Nâsir ibn Mabkhût. This Sheikh, a man of forcible and ruthless character, has gained almost complete ascendancy over the Hâshid tribesmen and largely influences the Bekîl chiefs. He is cruel and unscrupulous, and will join whichever side pays him most. His power is such that, given adequate material help, he can in all probability force the Imam to what terms he likes.

No attempt has been made to estimate numbers in the account which follows, but the confederation is said to have put over 50,000 men in the field against the Turks in 1911.

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A. HÂSHID

The boundaries of the Hâshid have already been described. The tribe is largely an agricultural and pastoral one, but certain sections, especially the Himrân, are engaged in trade.

The most important sub-tribes are the Himrân, Dhu 'Udhrah, and Dhu Fari', and most of the tribal policy seems to be guided by Sheikhs Sâlih ibn Muslih, Sâlih Ma'îd, Mas'ûd el-Barak, and Dirhem ibn Yahya, under the direction of Sheikh Nâsir ibn Mabkhût. The only sections which have stood out against them and solidly supported the Imam are the Ahnum, Âl Ahim, Zuleimah, and the southernmost tribes, the Beni Surth and Arhab.

The country of the Hâshid is by no means uniformly fertile, and, in consequence, there are many nomad sections. Theoretically taxes are payable to the Imam, but of late years they have mostly found their way into the coffers of Nâsir ibn Mabkhût. The Seyyids are very powerful in the Hâshid country, Hûth being their most important centre in the Yemen after San'â and Sa'dah. They stand with the Imam, or against him, according to the favours they receive from him. His meanness and parsimony seem to have sent the majority into Nâsir ibn Mabkhût's camp.

The tribes which follow are placed in the order of what is believed to be their numerical and political importance, irrespective of their geographical position.

1. Himrân

Chief Sheikhs :—

Nâsir ibn Mabkhût.

Tall, powerfully built, fair skinned with a small white beard. About sixty. Ambitious and unscrupulous. Rules chiefly by fear. Is rich through taxes levied on his people. His two chief sons are Hamûd (age about 35) and Nâsir (age about 25). His chief strongholds are 'at Hamri, Habûr, and Dhôur.

Sâlih ibn Muslih.

Nephew of Nâsir ibn Mabkhût and his most important lieutenant. Age about 40. Is rich and generous, and well liked by the people. Lives at Hamri.

Range :—

(a) The majority live in villages between Khamir and Hûth.
(b) There are several small sections in Wâdi La'ah and Hajjah.

The Himrân traders travel over most of the Yemen. There are many of them in San'â and Hodeidah.

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Sub-Tribes :—

(a) Settled between Khamir and Hith :—
Dhu 'Ali, Dhu Mufarrih, Dhu Qutaish, Beni Ma'mar, Dhu 'Aiyash, Beni Shatir, 'Uwainát, Beni 'Amr, Dhu Hibah, Beni Jadi'an.

(b) Nomads, extending chiefly to the west :—
Beni Qais, Dhu Mana', Beni Shiwiyah.

(c) Settled in Wadi La'ah and Hajjah :—
Beni Sirah, Deyaba', Ál 'Amr.

5. Dhu 'Udhrah

Chief Sheikhs :—

Sálih ibn Ma'id el-Moghrabi.
Living in Khartúm. A firm friend of Náair ibn Mahkhút and a well-known warrior. Age about forty.

Mas'úd el-Barak.
A rich man of about sixty. Is anti-Imam, but reported to be a coward.

'Ali ibn Sálih.
Supporter of Náair ibn Mahkhút.

Range :—

(a) Due north of Hith to Qálilat 'Udhr, and to the east and west of the latter place.
Chief villages : Qálilat 'Udhr, Butanah, Khartúm, Sadán, Hadiad.

(b) A small section in Sherif near Hajúr.

The Dhu 'Udhrah are traders, farmers, and shepherds. Their country is fertile and gives good crops. Those in Sherif favour the Imam ; the rest are discontented with him, with the exception of the Beni Jukhdim.

Sub-Tribes :—

(a) Settled in the neighbourhood of Qálilat 'Udhr :—
Beni Jukhdim, Beni Shosah, Beni Barak, Dhu Hatum, Beni Hilál, Dhu Sukeibát, Dhu Tamim, Beni 'Arif, Beni Hadayán, Beni 'Anzah.

(b) Nomads round Qálilat 'Udhr :—
Beni Hizein, Beni Jarad, Ál el-Wádi, Dhu Hátim, Beni Miqdad, Beni Bukr, Beni 'Aishan, Beni Sa'id, Hawázim, Ál Mahsúr.

(c) Settled in Sherif :—
Beni Hafaj, Beni Shammam, Beni 'Akm.

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III. Nu'Fari

Chief Sheikhs :—

Dirhem ibn Yahya Fari'.
One of the chief Sheikhs of [illegible]khid, and a friend of Nāsir ibn Mabkhūt.

Ahmed ibn Yahya Fari'.
Brother of above. Was [illegible]dized by the Turks in 1911, and refused to rebel with his bro[illegible]r against the Imam. The latter attacked him and drove him [illegible]. He now lives chiefly in San'ā. Is in the confidence of the Im[illegible]n and was chosen by him to take letters to the Sherif of Mecca i[illegible]he autumn of 1915. He has little influence in the tribe.

'Ali ibn Yahya Fari'.
Brother of the above. Sided [illegible]ith Dirhem.

Hisām ibn Qasim.
An important Sheikh in the [illegible]be.

Range :—

From Wādi 'Amashiyah th[illegible]gh Qā' el-Harf to Dhibin. Chief villages are Madhakah, El-Mo[illegible]rabi, Khaiwān, 'Unqān.
The majority of the tribe ar[illegible]omadic and rich in camels, cattle, and sheep.

Sub-Tribes :—

Suweidah, Āl Kathirān, Bei[illegible]Ibrāhim, Beit en-Nefeish.

IV. [illegible]ufyān

Chief Sheikhs :— Mansūr el-[illegible]imi.
'Ali ibn Seilah [illegible]arbi.
'Abdullah el-[illegible] Mabkhūt.

The above support Nāsir ib[illegible]

Range :—

From Wādi 'Amashiyah t[illegible] Qāfilat 'Udhr and west to Wādi Ahnom. Chief villages are H[illegible]irah and Mahāsir.

Sub-Tribes :—

(a) Settled :—
Beni Hilāl, Dhu 'Akam, [illegible]cimāt, Beni Ghanim, Damaj, Beni Nāf, Dhu 'Ibri, Beni Jurmān, [illegible]eni Khazan, Beni Turab.

(b) Nomads :—
'Awāmir, Beni Dhobyān, [illegible]l Thawābah, Beni Fuwāz, Beni Shuhaid, 'Ateibāt.

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v. Ahnum

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Chief Sheikhs :—

Qasim Shehih.
Supporter of the Imam and opposed to Nâsir ibn Mabkhût.
Seyyid Ahmed el-Madani.
Representative of the Imam.

Range :—

Wâdi Ahnum and Bilâd el-Hajar. Chief villages are Madân, Sûq el-Hajar, Jashkh, Jellah, and Sameikah.

The Ahnum are a rich trading and agricultural community, and less quarrelsome than most of the other tribes of the confederation.

Sub-Tribes :—

(a) Settled :—
Beni Dubb, Dhu Sukeibât, Beni Kindah, Âl Hâyim, Âl Mesh-hadi.
(b) Nomads :—
Beni Mohammed, Beni Harrâah, Beni Sâlih, Dhu Shahi, Beni Murdân, Beni Qureitah, Beni Sa'd, Beni Weil, Beni Hatum, Âl Khubeishah.

vi. Beni 'Arjalah

Chief Sheikhs :—

Ahmed el-Na'mâni.
Sâlih 'Arjalah.
Qasim 'Arjalah.
The above are allied with Nâsir ibn Mabkhût.

Range :—

West of Shehârah. The country is fertile, and they are chiefly settled.

Sub-Tribes :—

(a) Settled :—
Beni Hamzah, 'Aneizah, Beni Saqaf, Beni Dinar, Âl Manâsir, Beni Ahmed, Beni Khureimah, Qawâsim, Sherâfah.
(b) Nomads :—
Beni Shuqarah and Beni Sha'lân

vii. Suleimah.

Chief Sheikh and representative of the Imam :—
Seyyid Lutf Sari.

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Range :—

Between Khamir and Habûr. Entirely settled and agricultural. Supporters of the Imam.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Tamim, 'Ajeilah, Âl Shadad.

viii. Âl Ahim

Chief Sheikhs :—

Abu Nâ'ib.
Seyyid Ahmed Dabwân.
'Ali Sahil.
All firm adherents of the Imam.

Range :—

West of Ahnum and north of Hajûr. Mostly settled.

ix. Khiyar

Chief Sheikhs :—

'Ali ibn 'Â'idh Shuweit.
An important man. Follower of Nâsir ibn Mabkhût.
Sâlih ibn 'Ali.

Range :—

Round Sûq el-Ghil, their chief market-place, due south of Khamir.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Qeis, Wad'ah.

x. Jarar

Chief Sheikhs :—

Seyyid 'Ali and Husein 'Asheish.
Hereditary Sheikhs living at Sinnatein. Rich men. Partisans of Nâsir ibn Mabkhût.

Range :—

Khamir to Ghail, inhabiting the same country as the Khiyar. Cultivators and traders.

Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Surein, Beni 'Aishah, Beni Mâlik, Beni Ghathimah, Beni Muhsin, Dhu Zeid, Beni Sinân.

xi. Ahl el-Wâdi

Chief Sheikh :—

Dabwân ibn 'Anz.

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101 A well-known warrior. Age about 35. Supports Nâsir ibn
619 Mabkhût. Lives at Debbah.

*622 *Range* :—
Khish Khash and Jebel Ghurbân to Khamir.
Chief villages are Debbah, Rahâbah, and Qa'dah.

Sub-Tribes :—
(a) Settled :—
Beni el-Faqih, Dîbn Husein, Beni Harrâah, Beni Nâjî'.
(b) Nomads :—
Beni Madhkûr.

xii. Khamir

Chief Sheikh :—
Qâ'id ibn 'Ali.
Partisan of Nâsir ibn Mabkhût.

Range :—
South of Khamir. All settled.

Sub-Tribe :—
Âl 'Amrân.

xiii. Beni Sun'

Chief Sheikhs :—
Sakhr ibn Khâlid.
Ahmed Wahhâs.
Supporters of the Imam.

Range :—
East and north-east of 'Amrân in the district of Qâ' el-Bûn.

Sub-Tribes :—
Beni 'Atîf, Beni Zuheir, Beni 'Ajlân, Beni Debeish, Beni Hujrah, Beni Suleimân, Beni Mukram, Âl 'Ardan, Beni Harbah, Sharakwah.

xiv. Akhab

Chief Sheikhs :—
Muhsin el-Qaramâni.
Thâbit ibn Yahya Dugheish.
Seyyid 'Ali el-Arhabi. } Representatives of the Imam.
Seyyid 'Ali ibn el-Mutawakkil }

Range :—
All settled in the district of Qâ' el-Bûn. Pro-Imam.
Chief villages are Hijrah, 'Uri, Mahak, Duneidân, Sa'i.

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Sub-Tribes :—

Beni Ba'ala, Beni Afkam, Beni 'Afar, Beni Merwân, Beni Laqumah, Beni Jalîd, Beni Dughaish, Beni Dhofâr, Beni Hideyah, Beni Harwah, Beni Qafan.

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B. BEKÎL.

The Bekîl are mainly settled in the cases of Barat, Rahab, and Khabb, which lie some days to the NE. of the Hâshid territory, and they are engaged chiefly in the raising of horses and sheep. The most powerful tribe both in numbers and in military prowess is that of the Dhu Mohammed, whose Sheikhs have nearly all followed the fortunes of Nâsir ibn Mabkhût. The Bekîl tribesmen do not find their home-country sufficient for all their needs, and many have emigrated to Jauf and different parts of the Hâshid country. Thus whole tribes are found in the latter, such as the Beni Mâlik near Shahîrah and the Beni Jabr round Sûdah, while there are still in Hajjah, Wâdi Shâra, and Mahweit survivors from the old days when the Bekîl Sheikhs were all-powerful in those districts. The Bekîl and Hâshid Sheikhs are on terms of close friendship with the Dhu Hussein of Jauf, so much so that the latter are sometimes spoken of as a part of the Bekîl. But there is no doubt that the Dhu Hussein are descended from the Ashrâf (Sherifs), and they are therefore dealt with separately. The chief Sheikhs of the Bekîl are 'Abdullah ibn Ghazeilân, Yahya ibn Yahya esh-Shâ'if, Nâji' ibn Yahya and Abu Harbah. No personal details are known about them except that they rose with Nâsir ibn Mabkhût in 1911 against the Imam and have followed his fortunes ever since. The influence of the Seyyids of Hûth is almost as strong amongst the Bekîl as amongst the Hâshid. The Emir Seyyid Ibrâhim Mohsin er-Rooks of Hûth is their chief Hâkim Sherî'i, and he has agents all over their country collecting tithes.

The chief Bekîl tribes are as follows :—

1. DHU MOHAMMED

Chief Sheikhs :—

'Abdullah ibn Ghazeilân, of Dhu Ghazeilân.
Yahya ibn Yahya esh-Shâ'if, of Shâ'if.
Nâji' ibn Yahya, of Âl Ausat.
Abu Harbah.

Range :—

(a) The majority in Barat. Chief villages: Sûq el-'Anan and Rajuzah.

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101 (b) Small sections in Wádi Shíra, Mahweit, and Hejjáh.
Traders, shepherds, and horse-breeders.

619 *Sub-Tribes* :—

•622 (a) Settled in Barat :—
Dhu Ghazeilán, Shá'if, Ál Asmat, Ál 'Anan, Ál Abu Ras, Dhu Nabeishán, Ál Ne'mán, Ál 'Atíf, Dhu Hadeyán, Beni Hejlán.
(b) Nomads in Barat :—
Shereidrah, Beni Hátim.
(c) Settled in Hejjáh :—
Dhu Ghazeilán.
(d) Settled in Wádi Shíra :—
Ál Tuleyán. (Mohsin and 'Ali Tuleyán.)
(e) Settled in Mahweit :—
Beni Hobeish. (Naqib Ahmed ibn Hobeish.)

II. Ál Qa'atti

Chief Sheikh :—
Yahya el-Qa'atti.

Range :—
Khabb.

Sub-Tribes :—
Nomads : Ghuffirah and Rimanah.

III. Nimrí

Chief Sheikhs :—
Mohammed ibn Mídin.
Sálih el-'Awaj.

Range :—
Round Jebel Lás in Barat.

IV. Beni Jabr.

Chief Sheikhs :—
Sa'd ibn Ahmed et-Tarkí.
'Abdullah et-Tarkí.

Range :—
Mostly settled near Sídah in the Hashid country.

Sub-Tribes :—
Beit en-Nini, Beni Nini.

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v. Beni Malik

Chief Sheikhs :—

Ibn 'Ajmân.
Mohammed el-Kaqartani.

Range :—

Settled south of Beni 'Arjalah in Hâshid country. Chief villages are Rahâbah, Harfah, Sayat, Heifah.

Sub-Tribes :—

(a) Settled :—
Beni Sinân, Beit el-Haddi, Dâ'ûdah, Beni 'Ashâr, Beni Iswid, Beni Thaqîfah, Beni Kenkwah.
(b) Nomads :—
Beni Dâ'ûd, Beni Fadl, Beni Mishah.

22. *Beni Hubeish*

A Zeidi tribe about 40 miles west of San'â. Revolted with the Kam'îlah and other Zeidi tribes under Emir esh-Shibi against the Turks in 1914.

23. *Beni Hûbah*

A small Zeidi tribe under the Imam to the east of the Beni Aslam in Hajûr.

24. *Hufîah*

A tribe between Jebel Melhân and Bâjil. They are Zeidis and belong to the Imam, though they come immediately under the authority of the Turks, whom they hate. They are allies of their northern neighbours the Sâri and Mahweit, and also with the Bura' of Jebel Bura'. Chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Yahya.

25. *Beni Husein*

A small Zeidi tribe just to the NW. of Hisn Jemimah and west of the Beni 'Udhâqah and Jebel Meswar. Pro-Imam. Sheikh, Ahmed Husein. Formerly under Seyyid Ahmed ibn Mohammed el-Kaukebâni, Emir of Kaukebân and the surrounding country. Seyyid Ahmed was defeated by Mukhtâr Pasha and died in captivity at San'â. His family, Beit Sherâf ed-Dîn, fled to Hûth. There is a small Turkish garrison at Hisn Jemimah.

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26. *Dhu Hussein*

101 The Dhu Hussein are a powerful tribe of Sherifial descent inhabiting the fertile oasis of *Jauf*. Although somewhat isolated by reason
619 of the distance which separates them from the main centres, they have always kept in close political and commercial touch and have
• 622 played an important part in the history of the Yemen. Their relations have always been intimate with the Hâshid wa Bekîl, so much so that they are sometimes spoken of as forming an integral part of that confederation. The troubles between the latter and the Imam have had their effect on the Dhu Hussein and drawn them into two opposing camps, of which the larger seems to have remained faithful to its old allegiance.

There are several Sheikhs who appear to rank equally in importance. Of these, Sherif Ahmed ibn Hussein has always supported the Imam and gave him valuable help against the Turks in 1911. Sherif Muhsin ibn 'Abdullah is also a trusted friend and was sent by the Imam to Aden on a political mission in August 1914. Previously he had commanded an army against the Idrisi.

The chief opponent of the Imam and a close friend of Nâsir ibn Mabkhût is Hussein ibn Thawâbah.

The tribe is noted for its fighting qualities, and its Sheikhs are better educated than is commonly the case in Yemen, their capital, Metamah, being a well-known centre of learning. The Dhu Hussein go in largely for horse-breeding, and own perhaps the best pedigree stock in Southern Arabia.

The chief sub-tribes are:

Âl Thawâbah (Sheikh Hussein ibn Thawâbah); Beni Furyân (Sheikh Suleimân ibn Ahmed); Dhu Gheilân; Âl Wajhah (Sheikh Nâsir el-Akhram); Dhu 'Akam; Beni 'Aseyân; Beni Hâshim.

27. *Beni Isma'îl*

A small Shafei tribe in the mountains round Menâkhah, numbering about 2,500 souls, and neutral during its siege in 1911. They are now under Turkish domination. They are brave and well armed. Their country is fertile, producing coffee and cereals. The chief Sheikh is 'Ali Muhsin Yahya. The chief clans are: Âl Jaradi, Âl Jebâli, Beni 'Atiyah, Beni Bisher, and Beni Rajab. The chief villages are Masâribah, Jalbein, Jurn Ja'dal, and Jurn 'Arab.

28. *Jâmi'*

A Shafei tribe just north of Lobeia and east as far as Zâhirah, which is their chief village. In 1911 they fought the Turks on

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behalf of Idrīsi, but they are now close allies of Ibn El-Heij of the Wa'zāt. The chief Sheikh is Mohammed Zeid, who comes from the Ashrāf of Sabia, and is Mudīr of Zāhirah. He is under his cousin Sherif Hamūd, the Kaimmakam of Loheia, who lives at Mutāridh, and governs the Beni Jāmi' and Wa'zāt. 101 619 622

29. *Jemīmah*

A small Zeidi tribe living round Jebel Jemīmah, about 15 miles east of Qufl in Hajūr. They are outside Turkish jurisdiction, and are ruled by the Imam's nominee, Seyyid Ahmed ibn Qasīm. Their chief Sheikh is 'Ali ibn Nāsir.

30. *Beni Juma'ah*

A powerful and independent Zeidi tribe, partly nomad but chiefly settled, living in the country north-east of Abu 'Arīsh almost to Jebel Razah. Eight years ago the important Sheikh, Seyyid ed-Dahyāni, at that time Emir of Sa'dah and district, quarrelled with the Imam and fled to the Beni Juma'ah for protection. Since then he has lived with them and established a firm place for himself amongst them. He is a great friend of the Idrīsi, whom the Beni Juma'ah also support.

31. *Kam'ālah*

A Zeidi tribe about 40 miles west of San'ā, which revolted with the Beni Hubeish and others against the Turks in 1914 under Emīr esh-Shibi.

32. *Khaulān*

There are two branches of this tribe.

(1) Khaulān et-Tawāl. A Zeidi tribe to the east and south of San'ā, inhabiting the country on either side of Wādi Meswar. They are settled and agricultural, and number 7,000 to 8,000 fighting men. Kibs, 3 hours due east of San'ā, is their chief town, and the head-quarters of the influential Seyyid family of Kibs. Seyyid Ahmed Mab'ūth el-Kibsi and his brothers Seyyid Husein and Seyyid Mohammed ibn Ismā'īl are the heads of the family. The Khaulān have always fought for the Imam. The representative of the Imam, who is responsible for the collection of tithes, is Seyyid 'Abbās. The Khaulān dislike the Anīs, and fought them 12 years ago owing to the expulsion of a Khaulāni from Anīs.

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They trace their descent to Ghassān. Sālih ibn Mohammed et-Tawāl is the most important Sheikh of this tribe.

The chief clans are: Beni Jābir ('Abdullah ibn Sa'īd el-Jabri), Beni Kibs (Seyyid Hasan ibn Mohammed el-Kibsi), Yemanyatein ('Abdullah es-Sufi), Beni Dhobyān ('Ali Mahdi Shudeiq), Sihmān ('Ali ibn Yahya el-Qādhi), Beni Sihām (Muhsin ibn Muhsin en-Nini), Sa'b (Sālih ibn Mohammed Talwah).

The chief villages are: Husn Dhobyatein, Dhobeinah, Qada', Beit Nini, Qarwah, Marbūk, Tanam, Shafīq.

(2) Khaulān esh-Shām. A strong fighting Zeidi tribe in the fertile country between Jebel Murran and Jebel Razah due west of Sa'dah. They are related to the southern Khaulān, but are too far off to be in touch with them. They have a good fighting reputation and are allied with the Beni Murran, the Āl 'Ammar, and the Sahār in opposition to the pro-Idrīsi tribes of Jebel Razah. The Imam has a fortress at their chief village, Saqein, from which his representative and one of his chief military leaders, Seyyid Qasīm Seifi, governs the tribes of the district. Here lives also the Paramount Chief, Sheikh Jum'ān ibn Safīq. The country is said to contain gold, and is rich in wheat and coffee, of which last a large quantity is exported into Asir through Dahrān.

Chief divisions: Beni Quteim (Sheikh El-Jā'fari), Āl Thureim (Sheikh El-Hajj), Beni Kumamah (Sheikh Abu Qutābah), Beni Juma'ah (Sheikh Jum'ān ibn Safīq), Kadubah, Marwah (Seyyid 'Abd el-Bāri), Mansūrīyah (Ahmed Yahya Bahr), Quti' (Mohammed Hamūd), Ghanamīyah, Āl Fudhah and Beni Qobah (Sheikh 'Abd el-'Azīz ibn Fudhah), Beni Hāshim (Sheikh 'Abdullah 'Adham), 'Anazah (Sheikh Dabwān). Seyyid Ahmed Yahya Bahr is of great influence in the Tihāmah and looked on by the Suleil, Qahrah, 'Absi, and Zaranik as their religious leader.

Chief villages: Saqein, Tawīlah, and Shi'bah.

33. *Kheirān*

A small and unimportant tribe, allied to the Aflāh, to the east of the Beni Aslam, in Hajūr. Half Zeidi.

34. *Beni Khotab*

A small Zeidi tribe settled about three hours' journey S. of Menākhah. They number about 2,300 souls, and are under the Turks. Chief Sheikh: Husein el-Mudmāni. Chief villages: Hasabar, B. 'Atab, Juda, Beit Madar, Mujwarat el-Kirham.

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35. *Kokha*

A tribe near Mocha, which fired on a ship's cutter of H.M.S. *ama* and killed two men late in 1915. The Sheikh was made risoner, but disavowed complicity, and after being taken to Aden was released. Commerce between Aden and Kokha was forbidden. The Sheikh is a figurehead and powerless, but inimical to the Turks. 101 619 622

36. *Mahweit*

A Zeidi tribe just south of Jebel Milhān. They are directly administered by the Turks, but are in favour of the Imam, and are allies of their southern neighbours the Hufāsh, Sāri, and Bura' of Jebel Bura'.

37. *Makārimah*

A small remnant, numbering about 2,600 men, of the house of Makrami, the ruling family of Yām, still left in the district of Haraz. For 12 years the Makramis held the Emirate of Heima, Haraz, Menākhah and district by gift from the Imam Muhsin, but they were expelled by Mukhtār Pasha in 1872. Their followers who remained behind have little political importance now, and are chiefly engaged in trade. Like the rest of their tribe they are of Ismā'īlīyah sect. In 1911 they fought for the Turks against the Imam. They occupy the villages of Mughāribah, Safīyah, Beit el-Hūd, Khiyam, Beit el-Ghail, Beit el-Akhbari, and Qushamīn. Their chief Sheikh is Qā'id el-Luf, who lives at Mughāribah. They are continually at feud with the Shafei, Zeidi, and Dā'ūdīyah tribes of the vicinity.

38. *Manāri*

The mercantile tribe of the district between Loheia and Hodeidah, peace loving and settled. Their chief village is Munīrah; Seyyid Mohammed en-Niha is their principal Sheikh. They come under 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni and possibly are a section of the Beni Suleil.

39. *Beni Marhab*

A small Zeidi tribe immediately to the west of Zufeir, who come under the Kaimmakam of Hajjah, and are of no political importance.

40. *Masār*

A Zeidi tribe in the mountains round Menākhah, who were neutral during its siege in 1911. They inhabit the Masār block of hills which bears WNW. of the town and ends west of it. The

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chief sheikh of Masār and the villages round it is Ahmed el-Jans, a man of about 55 and a large landowner.

41. *Beni Matar*

A strong Zeidi tribe in the fertile country between Wa'lān and Mefhaq, just north of the Anīs, with whom they are on good terms. They are hostile to the Imam, who assassinated their chief Sheikh, Ibn Rumāh, whilst a guest of his at San'ā in 1905. At present Mohammed ibn Hasan Rumāh is their head, appointed Mudir by the Turks. 'Ali ibn 'Ali es-Salāmi of Hijrat Ibn Madi is another important chief.

42. *Mekhādir*

A small Zeidi tribe half an hour south of Jiblah. For many years they were ruled by representatives of the Wad'ah section of the Hāshid, until Mukhtār Pasha subdued Yemen and banished Ahmed ibn Muqbil el-Wada'i to his own country.

43. *Mesrūh*

A small Zeidi tribe under the Imam, just to the south of the Khamsīn, in the mountains about 30 miles east of Mīdi.

44. *Metwah*

A tribe in the mountains round Menākhah, which was neutral during its siege in 1911. Of the Dā'ūdīyah sect.

45. *Ahl Milhān*

These live in a mountain district N. of Wādi Sardūd and E. of the Suleil country. It is a small district but very fertile, with a population estimated at 10,000. The principal Sheikh is Ibrāhīm Hasan es-Sujaf of Khuslah. The clans are: Ma'zibah, Habbāt, Beni Useifri, Hamdān, Beni 'Ali, Jubah, Yamamīyah, Beni Wahhāb, Āl 'Asabah, Āl Khuslah, Surub, and Āl Mahras.

46. *Beni Mohammed*

A small tribe east of Kamarān. South of the Beni Qeis and between Zeidīyah and the hills. Sheikh, 'Ali Saghīr. 250 fighting men.

47. *Muqātil*

A warlike tribe in the hilly country between Menākhah and Mefhaq, Hīsn 'Awwād being their chief fortress. During the siege

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of Menākhah in 1911 their country was overrun by the Imam's troops, and they fought against him in self-defence. They bear no love to the Turks, but on that occasion were glad to receive arms and food from the Kaimmakam of Menākhah in return for their help. They are of the Dā'ūdīyah sect and are markedly hostile to their Zeidi co-religionists, such as the Anīs. They muster between 2,400 and 2,700 fighting men, and are allied with the Beni Murrah and Beni Ahlās.

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48. *Beni Murrah*

A small tribe of the Dā'ūdīyah sect, inhabiting with the Muqātil and Beni Ahlās, their allies, the country between Menākhah and Mefhaq. They have no love for the Turks, and equally little for the Imam and his followers, whom they fought in 1911. They number about 2,500 souls and their mountainous country produces coffee and *kat*. The chief Sheikh is Hibah Murrah, a rich old man. The chief villages are: Luqmat el-Qādhi, Hamīdi, Luqmat el-Miq'ab, Hisn Ibn ez-Ziyād, and Zayah.

49. *Beni Murran*

The Beni Murran inhabit the rich coffee country round Jebel Murran which lies a few miles W. of Sa'dah. Their chief village is at Tawīlah on the slopes of Jebel Murran. The tribe, reported strong, supports the Imam and fought for him against Idrīsi in 1911. Hizām ibn Qā'id et-Tawāfi is Paramount Chief, and the Imam's representative is Seyyid Qasīm ibn Yahya. The chief divisions are Beni Sa'd, Beni Dheiba'i, Hawāzim, Hijrah, and Hadahidah.

50. *Qafalīyah*

A small Zeidi tribe attached to the Imam, north-east of the Beni Aslam in Hajūr.

51. *Beni Qeis*

The Beni Qeis occupy Wādi Maur and Wādi La'ah from their confluence near Raighah for a day's march E. The country is well watered with springs and running streams. Their hill camels take over caravans coming from the plains and carry up the traffic through the difficult passes leading to Sūq Shiris and Hajjah. The principal Sheikh is 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni of Raighah, whose father was Kaimmakam and very influential. But the Beni Qeis now incline towards the Idrīsi. They are about 2,000 men. The principal villages are Raighah, Tōr, and Musallam.

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52. *Quhrah*

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An important tribe on the first stages of the Hodeidah–San'ā road from the sea, for about 50 miles E., as far as Hajeilah. Their neighbours are: on the N. the Jarābihah; E. the tribes of Jebel Haraz and Jebel Bura'; and S. the 'Abs. Between the coast and Bājil, 25 miles, the country is mostly desert, and the inhabitants live in temporary huts in the Khabt: but E. of Bājil there is cultivation. The Quhrah own many camels, and transport from Hodeidah to Hajjeilah is mainly in their hands. They can put from 3,000 to 4,000 men in the field, and they gave valuable help to the Turks in 1911 when these occupied the Zahab heights. They are generally at feud with the Beni Suleil.

The chief Sheikh is Mu'āfa Sherāf. Others are Hasan 'Abdullah and Ibrāhīm 'Ali. The chief villages are: Bājil (Sheikh 'Ayad ibn 'Ali Humeidah), Buhāh, 'Ubāl, and Hajjeilah (Seyyid Husein 'Ali).

53. *Rada'ah*

A Zeidi tribe living round the town of the same name ESE. of Dhamār. They are descended from Qahtān, and are chiefly cultivators and traders. Their chief Sheikh is Hamūd ibn Mohammed, who comes under the Turkish mutesarrif of Rada'ah.

54. *Rahāminah*

A small tribe south-west of Zebīd between Zebīd and Wādi Suweirah.

55. *Ahl Razah*

A Zeidi tribe living round Jebel Razah to the west of the Khaulān esh-Shām and Sa'dah. They are supporters of Idrīsi, and their country was the scene of the first fighting between Idrīsi and the Imam in 1912. Their chief fortress is Hisn en-Nazīr, situated on the slopes of Jebel Razah. The country is fertile, and coffee is largely grown, while there is said to be gold in the mountains. They claim descent from Khazraj, and acknowledge as chiefs Sheikh Ahmed ibn Sālih and Seyyid 'Ali ibn Huseini. The chief clan is the Dhu Hātim (Sheikh Sa'd 'Abdullah). Seyyid Yahya 'Arār ibn Nāsir, one of Idrīsi's chief muqdamis, administers the country of both the Ahl Razah and the Beni Juma'ah.

56. *Ahl Reimah*

The Ahl Reimah occupy the fertile Reimah massif, always spoken of by Arabs as the finest district in Yemen. Coffee, fruits of all

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sorts, and cereals are produced. The district is bounded on the N. by J. Bura' and Wādi Sihām; E. by Salfīyah and J. 'Utmah; S. by Wādi Reimah, and W. by the 'Abs and Zaranik districts. The Sheikh is Murshid ibn Mohammed el-Jābi, who is Turkish Kaimmakam. The Mudir is Seyyid Mahmūd. There are said to be seventy Sheikhs and seventy districts in J. Reimah, and a total strength of over 50,000 men. The principal clans are: Beni Waghid, Jad, Sa'īd, Walīd, Mukhtār, Tuleibi, Mas'ab, Ghuzi, Nomah, Yafuz, Ahl Dalamlam, Beni Harazi, Ahmed, Khudam, Ahl Jābi, and Beni en-Nahāri. The last defeated a Turkish expedition sent to collect taxes in 1914 and captured the Kaimmakam of Menākhah. Their chief Sheikh is Seyyid 'Abdullah en-Nahāri. His brother, the late Sheikh, Yahya, was defeated by the Turks, and died a captive. This clan is generally on bad terms with the Anīs.

Principal villages: Jābi (head-quarters of the district and of Sheikh Murshid), Raubat en-Nahāri (Sūq of Sheikh Murshid), Kusmah, 'Alujah (Sūq of Sheikh Mahmūd), and Hadīyah.

57. *Beni Sa'fān*

A tribe in the mountains WNW. of Menākhah, and separated from it by the Masār block of the Dā'ūdīyah sect. They helped the Turks in 1911, and 'Abdullah Beshīr, their Sheikh, by his friendly co-operation, enabled the Turks to turn the Imam's flank and relieve Menākhah. He is about 65, an experienced fighter. The tribe is a large one, numbering nearly 10,000 souls. It is generally on bad terms with the neighbouring Shafei, Zeidi, and Ismā'īlīyah tribes.

The chief clans are: Beni 'Ali Yahya and Beni Hārūn. The chief villages are: Metwah, Za'lah, Ashkar, Jari, Sharaji, Mujwan, and Hijri.

58. *Sahār*

The Sahār are a fairly numerous tribe, of which the settled portion lives in and round the town of Sa'dah and is engaged in agriculture and trading. Owing to internal disunion and an absence of tribal feeling it does not possess the political importance which its numbers should warrant. The villagers are all under the authority of the Imam, but the nomads are almost completely independent and are accustomed to range far afield to the north and east in the direction of Nejrān and Barat. The tribe keeps on good terms as a rule with its neighbours, the Hāshid and the Arabs of Khaulān esh-Shām.

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'Ali Ma'wad is the chief Sheikh of the settled portion. Seyyid Ahmed and Qasīm el-Hāshimi are the representatives of the Imam.

Settled :—

Chief clans : Beni Hāzim (Sheikh Tabrān Muqbil), Beni Sa'd (Sheikh Taheir), Beni Hamdān and Āl Nuqeim (Sheikh Hamdān el-Jirbi), Beni Dhufeir (Sheikh 'Abdullah Dahmi), Beni Sineidar (Sheikh Ahmed Sineidar), Beni Hurān and Beni 'Umarah (Seyyid Qasīm), Beni Jurmān (Ahmed el-Hāshimi), Beni Juma'ah (Sheikh Dahmash).

Nomads :—

Chief clans : Āl Sinān and 'Amālaqah (Sheikh Sālih Qādir), Beni 'Ajlah and Beni Hureimah (Sheikh Ibn el-'As), Beni Shāmi and Beni Beddar (Sheikh 'Ali el-Wada'i), Beni 'Awad and Beni Haddād (Sheikh Mansūr el-Haddād).

59. *Sāri*

A tribe just north of the Hufāsh and south of the Ahl Jebel Milhān, whose chief Sheikh is Sālih ibn Muslih. They are Zeidis and under the Imam, but their country is administered by the Turks, whom they hate. Allied with their northern neighbours, the Mahweit, also with the Hufāsh and Bura'.

60. *Senhān*

A small Zeidi tribe stretching from just south of San'ā to Mehāqarah and the northern edge of the Bilād er-Ruhus. On the east they are bounded by the Khaulān. They are entirely devoted to cultivation, and number about 700 men. Seyyid Mohammed Sibsib of Mehāqarah is the chief Sheikh. The tribe is loyal to the Imam, who has his representative, the Qādhi Lutf ez-Zubeir, living there.

The chief villages are : Na'd, Jūzah, Qulfān, Hazyaz, Lubād, Safīyah, Mehāqarah, and Sha'asān.

61. *Serbih*

Their stronghold is Da'ān, 3 hours north of 'Amrān. Their chief is Sheikh Rājih, who was granted the grade of Mirmirān before the Constitution and was made Pasha to secure his loyalty, but he remained staunch to the Imam and fought against the Turks in 1911. Peace was signed at Da'ān between 'Izzet Pasha and the Imam in 1911.

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62. *Ahl Sha'ir*

A large and peaceful tribe inhabiting the district round Jebel Sha'ir in Southern Yemen. They cultivate *kat* and cereals in the fertile valley of Wādi Bana. Their paramount Sheikh is Sālih ibn Yahya Hizām, of the Beni Hizām, who comes under the Kaimmakam of Qa'tabah. Sheikh Hajj el-Kabs of the Beni Kabs and Yahya el-Qeishi are also important men in the tribe. 101 619 622

63. *Shamar*

A small Zeidi tribe attached to the Imam, north-east of the Beni Aslam, in Hajūr.

64. *Shemsān*

A small Zeidi tribe numbering about 1,000 souls, east of the Beni Ghill in Hajūr. They pay outward allegiance to the Imam, but are said to favour the Idrīsi. Their chief is Seyyid Yahya ibn el-Hādi.

65. *Beni Suleil*

The Beni Suleil occupy a large area from the coast opposite Kamarān to the foot of the hills below Jebel Milhān. On the north they have the Bu'ajah, Za'līyah, and Beni Qeis, on the east the Beni Qeis, and on the south the Hashābiri, who are perhaps really only one of their sections.

The main road, which runs north and south through the Tihāmah near the foot of the hills, passes through their country, as well as that of those other tribes mentioned above, and they and the Beni Qeis control the caravan trade going up to the Wādi Maur. Estimates of their numbers vary from 1,500 to 10,000 fighting men. The western part of their territory is desert, but they have a good deal of cultivable land under the foot-hills in the east.

The tribe supports the Turks, and their two chief men, 'Abdullah el-Bōni and 'Abdullah Kauzi, have each received the title of Pasha and been appointed Kaimmakam of Zeidīyah and Mudir of Kenāwuz respectively. They are friendly with the Wa'zāt but independent of them. Towards the Quhrah they are always hostile.

Their chief villages are: Zeidīyah (Sheikh 'Ali Nukar), Kenāwuz, Ibn 'Abbās, and Salīf on the coast. There are important salt-works at the last named, and a jetty where sea-going ships come alongside.

66. *Ahl el-'Ūd*

A large and peaceful tribe living about 13 miles north-west of Qa'tabah, and coming under the Turkish Kaimmakam of that place.

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They live round Jebel Madra, and cultivate *kat* and cereals in Wādi Bana. Hizām es-Sayādi is their chief Sheikh.

67. *Udhāqah*

A Zeidi tribe who claim descent from 'Anazah and 'Adnān, and live round Jebel Meswar to the west of 'Amrān, where there is a strong fortress at present occupied by the Turks. Their Emir is Seyyid Mohammed ibn El-Hādi, a servant of the Imam.

68. *Wa'zāt*

The Wa'zāt occupy the country to the north of Loheia, which has been the scene of the recent fighting between the Turks and the Idrīsi. To the north Wādi 'Ain and Wādi Wārith form the boundary between them and the pro-Idrīsi tribe of Beni 'Abs; to the east are the Beni Nashar; to the south their boundary is the Wādi Maur, including Mutāridh and Ghanamah, but not Zāhirah, which belongs to the Beni Jāmi'. Their chief villages are Mu'lūq, near Jebel 'Izzān in the district of Jarb, and Deiramshuma, a fortified Turkish post about an hour south of Wādi el-'Ain. The paramount Sheikh is Hādi ibn Ahmed el-Heij, a staunch supporter of the Turks who, always anxious to encourage the Sunni opponents of the Idrīsi, have made him Pasha and Mudir of the district. He comes second to the Sherif Hamūd, one of the Ashrāf of Sabia who have seceded from the Idrīsi, and who as Kaimmakam of Loheia governs the Wa'zāt and their allies, the Beni Jāmi'. Ibn El-Heij has long been opposed to the Idrīsi, and three years ago the Idrīsi captured his brother 'Abdullah and still holds him prisoner. With the Beni 'Abs the Wa'zāt have an ancient feud. During the Turko-Italian War Ibn el-Heij wavered in his allegiance and took money from the Italians, but in the past two years he has been most active on the Turkish side. In September 1915 he raided the Beni 'Abs and was wounded. The Idrīsi retaliated by cutting off his supplies, and Ibn el-Heij, finding himself short of food, and his followers beginning to desert, appealed to the Imam for help. The latter sent the discouraging reply that he would send troops if they were fed.

The Wa'zāt are reported to number between 1,500 to 3,000 fighting men. Sheikh 'Ali Ibrāhīm is the most important Sheikh after Hādi ibn Heij.

69. *Ya'bir*

A tribe of the Ismā'īliyah sect in the district of Haraz, which sided with the Turks against the Imam in 1911.

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70. *Yām*

The Yām tribes form a powerful confederation. They stretch from the northern boundary of the Bekīl in Barat up the Wādi Nejrān and Wādi Habūnah far to the north in the direction of Tathlīth and Wādi Dawāsir. 101 619 622

Joseph Halévy, the only European who has visited their country, found it in 1870 a fertile and productive region inhabited by a well-to-do population. In religion they are Ismā'īlīyah and are known to the rest of Yemen as the Mu'tazilah or isolated sect; but as Wādi Nejrān was the last refuge of Christianity, and has remained far removed from external influence, it is possible that traces of the ancient worship still exist. Halévy was not long enough in the country to verify this, but the tolerance and even favour which he found extended to the Jews in Mikhlāf were hardly in the spirit of strict Mohammedanism. The religious chiefs are probably more orthodox than the bulk of the inhabitants, since they are in communication, not only with the chief Ashrāf of Yemen, but with the Agha Khān, their spiritual head.

The ruling family is that of Makrami, descended from their famous ancestor who in the middle of the eighteenth century preached his reforming gospel from Nejrān to Hasa. About the middle of the nineteenth century they developed ideas of expansion and obtained from the Imam Muhsin in 1860 the Emirate of Heima, Haraz, and Menākhah. Their tenure, however, was short-lived, as in 1872 they were defeated and banished to their own country by Mukhtār Pasha. There is still a small remnant of the tribe, calling themselves the Makārimah, in the Haraz district, who fought for the Turks in 1911 but are chiefly traders and have little political importance.

The present Emir of Nejrān is Ismā'īl el-Makrami, who owes no allegiance. His tribesmen, however, are willing as a rule to serve as mercenaries with either the Imam or the Turks, if well paid. They have a reputation for ruthless bravery. Idrīsi has been in negotiation with them at various times during the present war, hoping with their help to force the Imam's hand against the Turks, but up to the present without result.

71. *Beni Zāfir*

A small tribe of Hajar el-Yemen living in Mikhlāf esh-Shems which is noted for its fruits, coffee, and *kat*. Formerly they were counted as in the Turkish Merkaz of Qufl, but after the treaty of 1911 between the Turks and the Imam they came under the juris-

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diction of the latter. They are Zeidis, good fighters, and allied with the neighbouring Zeidi tribes of Beni Ghill and Beni 'Azīz.

72. *Za'liyah*

A small tribe immediately to the south of Loheia and the Wādi Maur down to the Beni Suleil. They are independent of the Wa'zāt, their northern neighbours, and come under 'Abdullah Pasha el-Bōni. Sheikh Hādi 'Ali, living at Dār el-Muhannab, is their chief Sheikh. They number 400 men.

73. *Zaranik* (*Dharāniq*)

A powerful and warlike tribe divided into two sections, the Zaranik esh-Shām and Zaranik el-Yemen, and occupying the country between the sea and the hills from a few miles north of Beit el-Faqīh almost to Zebīd. The Zaranik have for long been a thorn in the side of the Turks, especially during the Turco-Italian War. Repeated expeditions have failed to subdue them, but latterly there have been reports that part of the highland section, under Sheikh 'Ali ibn Hamūd, have succumbed to Turkish bribes. Mohammed Yahya Fashīk, the chief of the lowland section and paramount over the whole tribe, living at Huseinīyah, nine miles north of Zebīd, has, however, continued to hold out stoutly. In November 1915 he made common cause with the Idrīsi in taking active measures against the Turks, and has succeeded in effectually cutting all communications in the Tihāmah from north to south. At the beginning of 1916 he was attacked by an irregular force from Mocha, increased by 300 Arabs under the leadership of Abela Effendi, the brother of Elias 'Osmān, Kaimmakam of Mocha, but unsuccessfully. In May 1916 he again took the offensive and looted the Turkish serai in Beit el-Faqīh. The two most important Sheikhs after Sheikh Fashīk, and closely allied with him, are Shāmi and Munāsar Saghīr of Kokar, chiefs of the Highland section. Other Sheikhs, of whom nothing is known save their names, are 'Abdullah Munāsar of Huseinīyah, Nāsir Jurmush, Ismā'īl Ahmed, Sheikh of Qaramshah, 'Abdullah Duneidinah of Zebīd, Ahmed Risqallah of the Āl 'Ali, Hasan Rīsh of Jīz, Samūd of Āl Mūsa, Hasan Mubārak Umm Faza', and Ibrāhīm Dhumbi of Direihimi.

74. *Zufeir*

Small Zeidi tribe 5 miles north of the Hajjah, with whom they are allied. They come under the Kaimmakam of Hajjah, but are said to dislike the Turks and to have lost confidence in the Imam.

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ambition to add fresh territories to his dominions and become the ruling force in the Hadhramaut.

He has three brothers, 'Omar, Husein, and Manassar—all of whom he has quarrelled with and expelled from the country.

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1. *'Abābid* (sing. *'Abbādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Felej Shirāh in Wādi Fara', in Western Hajar.

2. *'Abādilah* (sing. *'Abdūli*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,200 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Shārjah town, Ghāllah in Shameilīyah, Khaleibīyah, near Wādi Hām, and on Sheikh Shu'aib Island.

3. *'Abriyīn* (sing. *'Abri*)

A tribe of Nizāri descent in the Oman Sultanate, belonging to the Ghāfiri political faction; in religion they are mostly Ibadhis, but a small minority are Sunnis. They are found in Dhāhirah at 'Arāqi; in Western Hajar at 'Awābi, at 'Aqair in Wādi Shāfān, at Zāmmah and Hāt in Wādi Beni 'Auf, at Beit el-Qarn in Wādi Fara', at Tabāqah in Wādi Beni Ghāfir, and at 'Amq, Fashah, Maqamma, and Mabu in Wādi Sahtan; in Oman Proper at Bahlah, Farq, Ghamr, and Hamra: their number is estimated at 6,500 souls. They cultivate dates and corn and are generally a well-behaved and peaceable tribe. They are the real masters of 'Awābi, but Bahlah is their tribal capital and Hamra their largest separate village.

4. *Beni 'Adi* (sing. *'Adwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 5,000 souls: Hināwi in politics, settled chiefly in Western Hajar at the villages of Sawālih, Murbah, Qasra, Ghashab, and Wabil in Wādi Fara', but also found on the coast at Quryāt and at Ghuweisah in the sub-vilayet of Saham.

Those at Ghashab belong to a section called Beni Bakr.

5. *'Ajam, or Persians* (sing. *'Ajmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 10,000 souls, mostly now arabized Shiahs; settled at Muscat town and in

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Bātinah at Masna'ah, Suweiq, Sūr esh-Shiyādi, Ghuweisah, Liwa, and Sohār; also in Ru'ūs el-Jibāl at Bakhah.

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6. *Āl 'Ali* (sing. *'Alīyi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 6,750 souls, including 140 families of Bedouins; Ghāfiri in politics and professedly Hanbali, though virtually Wahabite, in religion. The settled portion are at Umm el-Qaiwein, Shārjah, and Ras el-Kheimah; the Bedouins between Umm el-Qaiwein and Jezīrat el-Hamra and inland to Felej Āl-'Ali. They claim connexion with the Muteir of Nejd. There is a branch 3,500 strong in the Shībkūh district across the Gulf.

7. *Beni 'Ali* (sing. *'Alawi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,500 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar at Wuqbah, Heil Beni 'Ali, Yanqul, Murri, and Felej Sedeiriyīn, and in Bātinah at Saham town. Their tribal capital is Yanqul. They are a leading Hināwi tribe who have generally supported the present ruling family of Muscat. They grow grain and dates.

8. *Beni Bu 'Ali* (sing. *'Alawi*)

The principal Ghāfiri tribe of the Ja'lān and Sharqīyah districts in the Sultanate of Oman. They are partly nomadic and partly settled: the Bedouin portion inhabit Ja'lān and possess considerable herds of camels and goats, while the settled portion cultivate dates and corn in the Beled Beni Bu 'Ali oasis, and are found also at Sūr and at Ras er-Ruweis, Suweih, Khōr Beni Bu 'Ali, Jumeilah, and Lashkarah, on the SE. coast of Oman, where they are mostly mariners and fishermen. A few occur at Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah.

Some authorities connect the Beni Bu 'Ali with the Āl 'Ali of Trucial Oman and the Shībkūh district of Persia.

They number in all about 7,000 souls, of whom 1,000 are Bedouins. They became Wahabites at the time of the Nejdi invasions of Oman about a century ago, and as late as 1845 were strict if not fanatical in the observance of Wahabite principles. They have since relaxed somewhat and now smoke tobacco, but they continue to be exact in the forms and times of prayer and are accounted the most religious tribe in the Oman Sultanate. They belong to a Wahabite sect known as Azraqah.

They are on the average men of middle size with short features and quick, deep-set eyes; gloomy and determined in expression and

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character; warlike and independent, with a high reputation for courage and dash.

Their favourite weapon was originally a thin, straight, two-edged sword, sharp as a razor and attached by a leather thong to a shield 14 inches in diameter, in addition to which they carried matchlocks; their armament is now more modern, but they still have few breech-loaders (1905).

They are the only tribe of the Sultanate who have met a British force on land. On November 9, 1820, they defeated a force of British Indian Sepoys at Beled Beni Bu 'Ali, and on March 2, 1821, suffered severe retribution near the same place. On the latter occasion the tribe lost heavily in killed and wounded, the town and fort were destroyed, and a large number of prisoners were taken, including the principal Sheikh, Mohammed ibn 'Ali; but the date-groves were spared—an act of clemency that was much appreciated and is still remembered. The prisoners, after being kept for two years at Bombay, were repatriated and received grants of money from the Indian Government to enable them to rebuild their houses and restore irrigation. Since this episode the tribe have uniformly shown themselves well disposed to the British and have treated hospitably more than one British traveller, but they have never fully regained their position in tribal politics.

They have a chronic feud with their neighbours the Beni Bu Hasan.

The following are the chief sections, &c., of the tribe:

Section.	*Subsection.*	*Fighting strength* (1905).
Fahūd	Fahūd	50
	Muwāridah	60
	Ruwātilah	50
Ja'āfarah	Ghanābīs	200
	Beni Ibrāhīm	120
	Āl Abu Muqbil	200
	Aulād Sakhīlah	40
	Salābikhah	50
Razīq (Beni)	Āl Hamūdah	200
	Aulād Hasan	100
	Aulād 'Abd el-Jalīl	40
	Aulād Khanjar	40
Sinadah	Majāghamah	60
	Mazāmilah	100 } In addition about 1,000
	Aulād Seif	50 } Bedouins.

9. *Āl Bu 'Amīm* (sing. *'Amīmi*)

A small tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 120 souls; settled in Abu Dhabi town, now merged in the Beni Yās, originally belonging to the Beni Tamīm.

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10. *Beni 'Arābah* (sing. *'Arābi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls, of unascertained politics and religion, found chiefly in Wādi Tāyīn at Sibal, Qurr, Hammām, and Shāt. They are said to have been a large tribe once, but cholera killed off a great number. They have been at feud with the Siyābiyīn for many years, but relations are less strained now. The singular form 'Arābi is avoided because it means a hill donkey.

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11. *Beni 'Auf* (sing. *'Aufi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering in all 1,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion. They are found in Oman Proper at Farq in Wādi Kalbu; in Western Hajar at Qasmītein and Teikha in Wādi Beni 'Auf, at Fara', Misfāh, and Nāzīyah in Wādi Fara', and at 'Awābi in Wādi Beni Kharūs.

12. *'Awāmir* (sing. *'Amiri*)

A large tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering probably 10,000 souls; of Nizāri descent, but now Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; about 6,500 are settled and 3,500 are Bedouins.

To take the settled portion first: in Oman Proper they possess the villages of 'Aqīl, Qal'at el-'Awāmir, Felej, Hameidhah, Qurīyatein, Qārūt, Khurmah, Shāfa', Seiyāhi, and Sūq el-Qadīm, and are found at Nizwa; they occur also at Muscat town, Beit el-Felej, and Ruwi in the Muscat district; at Ghallah and Sād in Wādi Bōshar; at Heil Āl 'Umeir, Sīb, and Ma'bīlah in Bātinah; at Khōdh in Wādi Semā'il and at Khubār and Luwīz in Daghmar. Their sections are Aulād Ahmed, Aulād 'Ali ibn Hamad, Aulād 'Ali ibn Khalf, Aulād Amīr, Harāmilah, Ja'āfarah, Aulād el-Jā'id, Khanājirah, Mohammed, Aulād Mūsa, Rakhbah, Aulād Rāshid, Aulād Saba, Aulād Seif, Aulād Salīm, Aulād Sand, Sarāhīn, Sarāhīn el-Muweilah, and Aulād Shīrāz; at Sīb a section called Aulād Maheyyi is found.

The Bedouin portion range the borders of the Ruba' el-Khāli from Trucial Oman in the north, which they occasionally visit in small numbers, to the district of Dhofār on the southern coast of Arabia. A term 'Afār frequently used in connexion with the 'Awāmir appears to denote a portion of the tribe inhabiting a territory, called 'Afār, between Mahōt and Dhofār; it includes representatives of many sections. The 'Afār are popularly supposed to feed upon carrion: they deny this, but they wear skins and admit that they are not infrequently reduced to devouring them.

The 'Awāmir are reputed brave and warlike but crafty, treacherous,

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and predatory; they are said to plunder indiscriminately all whom they meet, not excepting members of their own tribe with whom they happen to be unacquainted.

They speak a peculiar dialect of Arabic, which varies to such an extent that the westernmost Bedouin sections are hardly understood by their settled brethren in Oman Proper.

The 'Awāmir are at feud with the Jannabah and the Darū'.

13. *'Awānāt* (sing. *'Awāni*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, now practically extinct; about 50 are found at Khatt and Jezīrat el-Hamra. Some even deny that these 50 are genuine 'Awānāt.

14. *Āl* (or *'Ayāl*) *'Azīz* (sing. *'Azīzi*)

A small tribe, numbering 700 souls; settled in Dhank town in Dhāhirah; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi and Sunni. They are usually reckoned as Na'īm (see p. 581), but their true origin is not known.

15. *Beni 'Azzān* (sing. *'Azzāni*)

A very small tribe, numbering 20 souls; settled in Nakhl in Western Hajar; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

16. *Badā'ah* (sing. *Bada'i*)

A small tribe, numbering 120 souls; settled in Bidit in Wādi Mabrah in Western Hajar; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi

17. *Āl Badar* (sing. *Badari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,200 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Barkah and Billah in Bātinah.

18. *Bahārinah* (sing. *Bahrāni*)

Bahrāni does not mean 'native of Bahrein'. It is the name of the race, or class, to which nearly all the Shiahs of the Bahrein Islands, of the Hasa and Qatīf oases, and the Qatar promontory belong. The Sunni inhabitant of Bahrein describes himself as Ahl el-Bahrein. As employed along the western coast of the Persian Gulf the term Bahrāni is practically a synonym for a Shiah whose mother tongue is Arabic.

Altogether the Bahārinah number not less than 100,000 souls, of whom only 850 are in Oman, viz. 250 in Sohār town in the Oman

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Sultanate and 600 in the towns of Abu Dhabi and Dibai in Trucial Oman. They are all Shiahs, unwarlike in character and engaged in peaceful pursuits; the richer living by trade and the poorer by husbandry, pearl-diving, and various handicrafts.

The local tradition is that they are descended from Arab tribes who were converted to Shiism 300 years ago, but some European writers are inclined to regard them as aborigines conquered by the Arabs.

19. *Beni Bahri* (sing. *Bahri*)

A small tribe of 500 souls; settled in Western Hajar at 'Aliya and 'Awābi in Wādi Beni Kharūs and at Hibra in Wādi Ma'āwal; in politics Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

20. *Balūchi, or Balūsh* (sing. *Balūshi*)

In Baluchistan the word *Balōch* is strictly used to designate certain respectable middle-class tribes of the country only; but in the Gulf of Persia and Oman it is used in a wider sense to include all immigrants from Baluchistan and persons whose mother tongue is the Baluchi language.

In the Oman Sultanate there are 20,000 Baluchis excluding Jadgāls, who in Baluchistan are reckoned as Balōchis but here are designated under their proper name from other Balūsh. In Trucial Oman they number 1,400.

In religion they are seldom Shiahs, even abroad, and they settle more readily among Arab than Persian communities. They were originally introduced as mercenaries, and are still largely in military service. The rest incline to sea-faring occupations, and some have amalgamated with the Arabs inland.

Their distribution is as below:

In the Sultanate:—	
Muscat District	Muscat town, Matrah, Sidāb, Qābil 'Ali ibn Zamān, Mizra' el-'Alawi.
Bātinah	Sīb, Barkah, Sūr el-Balūsh, Saham, Sūr Heyyān, Masna'ah, Wudām, Suweiq, Shīlu, Sallān, Majīs, Sohār, Haseifīn, Liwa, Shinās, Haseifīn Sūr el-Balūsh.
Western Hajar	Buweirid in Wādi Fara'.
Eastern Hajar	Quryāt.
Dhāhirah	'Arqi and Aflāj Beni Qitab.
Ja'lān	Idu.
In Trucial Oman at:—	
	Dibai town.
	Ghāllah.
	Ras el-Kheimah.

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21. *Beni Battāsh* (sing. *Battāshi*)

101 A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 7,000 souls of Yemeni
619 descent; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Wādi
Tāyīn, where they occupy a large number of villages including Heil
el-Ghāf, and found also in Wādis Maih, Hilu, and Beni Battāsh, at
• 622 Daghmar and Quryāt, and at one or two other places on the coast
of the Muscat district. They bear a good character and are peaceable, concerning themselves chiefly with trade and the cultivation of dates. It is said that they used to breed horses for the Indian market on grazing grounds near Quryāt, but they have long ceased to do so.

They are sometimes at feud with the Siyābiyīn.

Their sections are the following:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Location.*	*Remarks.*
Beni Dhakar	150	Wādi Beni Battāsh	
Aulād Fāris	200	Wādi Beni Battāsh	
Beni Ghasein	80	Madeirah in Wādi Tāyīn	Shepherds
Aulād Hazam	60	Madeirah in Wādi Tāyīn	Shepherds
Aulād Jumaʻah	50	Mazāraʻ in Wādi Tāyīn	Carriers and date-growers
Maʻāshirah	550	Yiti, Bandar Kheirān, and Kheisat esh-Sheikh on the Muscat coast; Mizraʻ el-ʻAlawi, Mizraʻ el-Hadri, and Rijaʻ in Wādi Maih. Hiwar and Felej el-Hilam in Wādi el-Hilu	
Aulād Mālik	120	ʻAqair, &c., in Wādi Beni Battāsh	Carriers and date-growers
Aulād Salt	120	ʻAqair, &c., in Wādi Beni Battāsh	Carriers and date-growers
Beni ʻUmr	650	Hida, ʻUqdah, ʻAjma, Malahlah Gheiyān, Sīdafi and Rikākīyah in Wādi Tāyīn	
Aulād Ward	30	Lashkhar in Wādi Tāyīn	Date-growers

22. *Bawārih* (sing. *Bārihi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 120 souls; Hināwi in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at ʻAdeibah in the Muscat district.

23. *Bayāsirah* (sing. *Bayāsar*)

A community or tribe of inferior social status, found everywhere in Oman, but specially at Nakhl, Bahlah, and Nizwa, and in the east towns of Muscat, Matrah, Saham, and Sohār; they also

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occur at various places in Wādi Semā'il and at Misinnah and Mali in Wādi Beni Ghāfir. Their origin is doubtful; some authorities state that they are of Hadhramaut origin, but most of them appear to be the children of Oman Arabs by slave mothers. They are not united either in religion or politics. They are peaceable and industrious and some have accumulated wealth, but the Arabs do not entrust them with command, and they are accustomed to remove their sandals before kissing the hand of a Sheikh.

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They number perhaps 10,000 souls, and are connected among others with the following tribes:

Beni Hasan, 400 houses.
Beni Ruwāhah, 70 houses.
Beni Battāsh, 30 houses.
Habūs, 20 houses.

A few have emigrated to Dhofār Proper and are settled in cultivation at Hamrān.

Their sections are:

Aulād Barakein.
Aulād 'Abdu.
Aulād Subāh.
Āl Khaseib.
Aulād Hamad.
Aulād 'Ubeidān.

24. *Bidāh* (sing. *Bidāhi*)

A small tribe of 100 souls of Yemeni origin; settled at Dūt in Wādi Dhank in Dhāhirah and at Bidít in Wādi Mabrah in Western Hajar; in politics Ghāfiri. Their religious sect is not ascertained; they are sometimes at feud with the Miyāyihah Ibadhis.

25. *Bidūwāt* (sing. *Bidwi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Hināwi in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at Fuleij Bin Qafeyyir in Western Hajar and at Khadrawein in Bātinah. A few Bedouins among them.

26. *Āl Bōshar* (sing. *Bōshari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; settled in Wādi Semā'il; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion.

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27. *Yāl Breik* (sing. *Breiki*)

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A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, in religion partly Sunni and partly Ibadhi; settled in Bātinah at Masna'ah, Shirs, Qasbiyāt Yāl Breik, Dīl Yāl Breik, Umm el-Ja'ārīf, and Saham town.

28. *Daheilāt* (sing. *Ad-heili*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 200 souls; settled in Abu Dhabi town; by some regarded as a section of the Āl Bu Maheir.

29. *Dahāminah* (sing. *Dahmāni*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 150 souls; Sunni in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Wādi el-Qōr at Raha, Fashrah, and Nuslah, and close by at Manei'i.

30. *Dalālīl* (sing. *Dallal*)

An inferior caste who trade in cattle; they really belong to various tribes, and their name is simply taken from their occupation. They number 800 souls, and are settled in Western Hajar at Mahādhar and Hawājiri in Wādi Fara'. In politics they are Ghāfiri.

31. *Darāmikah* (sing. *Darmaki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Oman Proper at Saddi and Izki and in Bātinah at Mureir es-Saghīrah.

32. *Darū'* (sing. *Dara'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, belonging to the Ghāfiri faction: originally they were all nomads of the Ruba' el Khāli, but some are now settled at Tana'am and other places in Dhāhirah and a few at Barkah in Bātinah. Estimates of their numbers differ very widely: those in Dhāhirah may amount to 3,000 souls, of whom about one-third are settled.

The Bedouin portion now frequent the neighbourhood of Jebel Hamra. They are a wild and predatory race, and hardly a rising of the eastern tribes occurs in which they are not involved. They rear large numbers of camels, which they graze on the confines of the great desert.

The Bedouin Darū' are said to be Ibadhis; the settled portion are Sunnis.

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The Darū' are divided into the following sections: Badiwei, Batūn, Farādīs, Hāl Bu Hādi, Janīn, Hāl Khamīs, Yāl Khamis, Mahābinah, Mahāridah, Majāli, Makhādir, Marāziqah, Hāl Mohammed, Mutāwihah, 'Ayāl Nafāfi, 'Ayāl Salīm, Shamātah, 'Ayāl Sultān, Thuweil and Zuweyyah. 101 619 622

33. *Dawakah* (sing. *Daweiki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Barkah. There is a small Bedouin portion ranging round Fuleij in Sharqīyah. They are clients of the Hirth.

34. *Beni Dāwud* (sing. *Dāwudi*)

A small tribe of 200 souls, found in Eastern Hajar in the hills between Sūr and Kalhāt; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

35. *Dhabābihah* (sing. *Adhbeibi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 200 souls; settled in Wādi Sfuni and its tributary Wādi Neidein. Their descent is unknown and they are said to be aborigines.

36. *Dhahūl* (sing. *Dhahli*)

A small tribe of 700 souls; settled in Western Hajar at 'Awābi and Tau esh-Sheikh in Wādi Beni Kharūs and in Bātinah at Liwa town; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

37. *Dhahūriyīn*

A tribe of the Ru'ūs el-Jibāl district in the Oman Sultanate, numbering about 1,750 souls, settled in the villages of Film (60 houses), Hablein (25 houses), Mansal (6 houses), and Maqāqah (100 houses), in Ghubbah Ghazīrah; Midah (1 house), Qānah (40 houses), Sham (25 houses), and Sībi (7 houses), in Khōr esh-Shām; Beled (20 houses) in Ghubbah Shābūs; Muntaf (15 houses) and Shīsah (15 houses) in Ghubbah Shīsah. There are about 200 of them in Lārak Island also, closely connected with the people of Kumzār.

The Dhahūriyīn are practically a part of the Shihūh tribe, by whom they are surrounded, but they claim connexion with the Dhawāhir of Bireimi and do not admit that they are in any way subordinate to the Shihūh. They are Ghāfiri in politics; in religion

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they are Hanbali, except those at Film and Mansal, who are Shafei.

In the cold weather they live by fishing; in spring, leaving only caretakers behind, they migrate bodily to Khōr Fakkān, Dibah, and Khasab, where they attach themselves to some of the permanent residents and bivouac in the date plantations.

38. *Fawāris* (or *Āl Fāris*) (sing. *Fārisi*)

In Oman this name is used to designate arabized Persian immigrants and their descendants. They number 5,000 souls; Sunni in religion; settled in Bātinah at Suweiharah, Sohār, Sallān, Sharu, and Fanjah.

39. *Fazāra'* (sing. *Fazāra'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Makhailīf and Khōr el-Hamām.

40. *Beni Fileit* (sing. *Fileiti*)

A small tribe of 400 souls; settled at Wāsit in Wādi Ma'āwal in Western Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

41. *Futeisāt* (sing. *Futeisi*)

A small tribe of 450 souls; settled at Furfārah in the Liwa sub-vilayet of Bātinah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

42. *Ghafeilāt* (sing. *Ghāfili*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Bu 'Abāli.

43. *Ghafalah* (sing. *Ghafeili*)

A Bedouin tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 500 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; well disposed to the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi. They own 700 camels and inhabit the plain country inland of Ras el-Kheimah and Umm el-Qaiwein, not extending into the hills. Their favourite haunt is the Jiri plain and near it.

44. *Ghafalah* (sing. *Ghafli*)

A small tribe of 500 souls; settled at Liwa town in Bātinah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Sunni.

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45. *Beni Ghaith* (sing. *Ghaithi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar at Halāhil, Rābi, Heil Ibn Suweidān, Gharrāq, and Sihlat, and in Bātinah at Waqībah and Fitnah.

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46. *Ghawārib* (sing. *Ghāribi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 350 souls; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Bātinah at Bu 'Abāli and Barkah.

47. *Habūs* (sing. *Habsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering probably 7,000 souls, of whom 100 are Bedouins; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Sharqīyah in Baldān el-Habūs, in Wādi 'Andām at Wāfi and Muteili', in Oman Proper at Manah in Wādi Mi'aidin.

They are a wild, uncivilized tribe, less wealthy and important than their neighbours the Hirth, with whom they have an alliance or the Hajriyīn They own camels, but are chiefly engaged in growing dates. The small Warūd tribe is tributary to them.

Mudheibi is their political capital and Rōdhah in Wādi Samad their largest settlement, both in Baldān el-Habūs.

Their principal divisions are:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Section.*	*Fighting strength.*
'Ayāl 'Abdu	100	Nājiyah	100
'Āsīrah	100	Beni Bu Sa'īd	60
Yāl Dhanein	200	Sawālim	140
Ghanānimah	200	Yāl Shabīb	80
Ghasāsimah	100	Shamātarah	80
Aulād Haban	100	Beni Thāni	100
Jawābir	200	This last section is Bedouin, owning 60 camels, 30 donkeys, 50 cattle, and 2,000 sheep and goats.	
'Ayāl Mahrah	160		
Maqādamah	30		

48. *Hadādabah* (sing. *Haddābi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Shirs in Bātinah and Sharu and Fanjah in Wādi Semā'il in Eastern Hajar. Those at Fanjah are sometimes at feud with the 'Abriyīn.

49. *Beni Hadhram* or *Hadharmi* (sing. *Hadhrimi*)

A small and scattered tribe of 500 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Hadash in Wādi Mistāl, Nakhl in Wādi Ma'āwal, and Kafarah

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in Wādi Semā'il; in Oman Proper at 'Izz and Nizwa; in Muscat at Matrah. They are Ghāfiri in politics, and in religion probably Ibadhi.

50. *Aulād Hadīd* (sing. *Hadādi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sīb and Laghshībah in Bātinah.

51. *Hādiyin* (sing. *Hādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,400 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar in Wādi 'Andām and in the Muscat district at Khafeiji in Wādi Maih and Quram in Wādi 'Adai.

52. *Hajriyīn* (sing. *Hajari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 7,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics, and Yemeni in descent. They inhabit the whole Badīyah division of the Sharqīyah district, are found also at Mudheibi and deal with the port of Sūr. They are rapacious and turbulent and have not a good name for honesty, nevertheless they are one of the wealthiest and most enterprising communities in this part of the country. They are engaged in cultivation and trade and own a number of boats: some of them visit Bombay and Zanzibar. Their tribal capital is Wāsil in Badīyah, but at present they have no *tamīmah*. It was the Hajriyīn who in 1813 attacked Mutlaq, the Wahabite leader, slew him and expelled his force from the country; Sa'd, the son of Mutlaq, in revenge completely broke their power, and they have never entirely recovered their former position.

The subdivisions of the tribe are as follows:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Location.*
Bahārinah	200	Wāsil, Heili, and Hātūh
Bahārinah Habābaaah	80	Wāsil, Dabīk, and Qā'
Aulād Bu Heid	300	Rāk and Mintirib
Mahādinah and Mahāddah	400	Yāhis, Shāraq, and Shāhik
Mahāsinah	400	Ghabbi and Mintirib

53. *Halālamah* (sing. *Hallāmi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, only 75 souls; Maliki in religion; settled in Abu Dhabi town, and attached to the Beni Yās.

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54. *Āl Hamad* (sing. *Hamadi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, 500 souls, with some Bedouins amongst them; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Barkah in Bātinah. The Bedouins range in Sharqīyah.

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55. *Beni Hamīd*

A few at Heir in Shameilīyah.

56. *Beni Hamīm* (sing. *Hamīmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Nizwa and Bahlah in Oman Proper and at Rostāq in Western Hajar.

57. *Beni Hammād* (sing. *Hammādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 900 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Wudām in Bātinah.

58. *Hanādhilah* (sing. *Handhali*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; settled in Eastern Hajar at Ghubrat et-Tām in Wādi Tāyīn; at Samā'īyah, Khabbah, and Waljah in Wādi Khabbah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

59. *Harāsis*

These are few in number and only visitors to Murbāt in Dhofār. Their proper habitat, religion, &c., are unknown.

60. *Beni Harrās* (sing. *Harrāsi*)

A considerable tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,000 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Jammah (500 houses), Buweirid (25 houses), Mansūr (40 houses) in Wādi Fara'; at Hillah Beni Harrās (100 houses) in Wādi Semā'il; at Nakhl (65 houses) and Hibra (40 houses) in Wādi Ma'āwal; at 'Awābi in Wādi Beni Kharūs and at Fīq in Wādi Mistāl. They also occur at Teimsa (40 houses) in Oman Proper. The ruling family is called Aulād Thineyyān; the tribal capital is Jammah. In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

61. *Beni Hasan* (sing. *Hasani*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; found in the Muscat district at

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Qantab, Matrah, Dārseit, Sāru, Khuweir, and Ghubrah, all on the coast; at Jāl, Bōshar Ibn 'Amrān, Sād Felej, Ghallah, and Fuleij esh-Shām, all in Wādi Bōshar; at Quram in Wādi 'Adai and at Mizra' el-'Alawi in Wādi Maih.

One of the sections is called 'Amārīyah.

62. *Beni Bu Hasan* (sing. *Hasani*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,000 souls or, with some subordinate tribes mentioned below, 7,000 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion with the exception of the Ahl Jebel section which is Azraqah Wahabite in religion. Their principal settlement is Beled Beni Bu Hasan in Ja'lān, where they number about 4,000 souls; about 500 are settled at Barkah and Hadhīb in Bātinah, and a few at Jināh near Sūr and at Fita in Eastern Hajar. The subordinate tribes are mostly Bedouin, ranging near 'Aqībah and in Jebel Mashā'ikh in Ja'lān, and, except for one tribe, the Hāl 'Umr, they are all robbers.

The settled portion grow dates and grain, and are well provided with camels. In language and appearance they do not differ from their Bedouin neighbours. They are nearly all armed with rifles of various kinds and are constantly fighting with the Beni Bu Hasan and the Beni Bu 'Ali. Their divisions are:

Sections.	*Fighting strength.*	*Sections.*	*Fighting strength.*
Darū'	30 settled	Masārīr	200 settled
Farārijah	40 "	Rawājih	100 Bedouins
Huwājir	60 "	Shikālah	100 settled
Beni Jābir	70 "	Suwābi'	100 "
Hāl Bu Matāni	200 "		

Client tribes. All Bedouins except the Hāl 'Umr.

Ahl Jebel, 60 households; Azraqah Wahabite; robbers.
Mashā'ikh el-Beled, 40 households; Ibadhi; robbers.
Mashā'ikh el-Jebel, 250 households; Ibadhi; robbers.
Beni Sarhān, 40 households, Ibadhi; robbers.
Hāl 'Umr, 100 households; own 2,000 date-palms.

63. *Hasrīt* (sing. *Hasrīti*)

A very small and poor tribe, practically all Bedouins, numbering 150 souls and distributed along the SE. coast of Oman and Dhofār; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

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64. *Beni Hawāl* (sing. *Hawāli*)

A very small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; settled in Heil and Muta'ārishah in Wādi el-Hilti; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi. 101 619 622

65. *Hawāshim* (sing. *Hāshimi*)

A tribe of 1,000 souls in the Oman Sultanate; settled in Western Hajar at Felej el-Wusta, Shabeikah, and Dāris in Wādi Fara', and in Oman Proper at Adam and Manah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

66. *Hawāsinah* (sing. *Hausini*)

A large and important tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 17,500 settled and also some Bedouins; Hināwi in politics, partly Sunni and partly Ibadhi in religion. They occupy the whole of the Wādi el-Hawāsinah, excluding the tributary Wādi Beni 'Umr; nearly all of Wādis Sarrāmi and Shāfān in Western Hajar; also most of the town of Khābūrah in Bātinah; they are also found at Qasbiyat el-Hawāsinah in the sub-vilayet of Saham. Their capital is Ghaizein in Wādi el-Hawāsinah. They are generally at feud with the Beni 'Umr, who adjoin them on the west.

Wādi el-Hawāsinah is deep and narrow. The villages are built upon the hill-sides and the date-trees grow on artificial terraces to which spring water is conducted in channels: there are no wells. The houses are of stone and mud; the crops besides dates are wheat, barley, bajri, maize, millet, lucerne, beans, sweet potatoes, and fodder grasses; the Hawāsinah keep camels, cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys. The fruits grown are limes, mangoes, grapes, olives, plums, pomegranates, figs, quinces, and almonds. Trade is carried on with Khābūrah and Suweiq.

The divisions of the tribe are:

Hawāmid.
Najāja'ah.
Aulād Rasheid.
Beni Sa'īd.
Sawālim.
Beni Sinān.

67. *Beni Haya* (sing. *Hayā'i*)

A small tribe of 500 souls in the Oman Sultanate; settled in Dhāhirah at Dhank town and in Bātinah at Sīb and Laghshībah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

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68. *Hikmān* (sing. *Hikmāni*)

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A tribe found on the SE. coast of Oman; the Barr el-Hikmān or mainland between Masīrah Island and Ghubbah Hashīsh is named after them. Mahōt is their principal settlement, but they also occur along the coast for 40 miles to the SW. of Ghubbah Hashīsh and at Murbāt in Dhofār, at Barkah and Wādi Manūmah in Bātinah.

Their number may be 800 souls. Seventy years ago they were an independent tribe, Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion, regarded as cognate with the Jannabah; but since that time they have partially lost their tribal individuality, those of Barr el-Hikmān having attached themselves to the Beni Bu 'Ali, while others have become Hināwis under the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, to whom they pay annual visits, receiving presents from him.

69. *Beni Hilāl* (sing. *Hilāli*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; settled in Oman Proper at Bahlah and Nizwa; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

70. *Beni Hina* (sing. *Hinā'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 9,000 souls; of Yemeni descent, Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion. The Hināwi faction, formed in Oman at the beginning of the eighteenth century, derived its names from the Beni Hina, whose chief sheikh at that time, Khalf el-Quseir, was the first leader of the faction.

The Beni Hina dwell chiefly in Hajar and in Oman Proper. Their capital is Nizwa in Oman Proper, where they have 300 houses. Their settlements are given below, the number of houses being stated in brackets.

In Hajar. Qurein (100), Habbās (80), Heili (200), Qadīmah (40), Jammah (50), Naghzah (50), Hārithīyah (20), and Khōdh (120), all in Wādi Semā'il; Hajrat esh-Sheikh (50), Hārat el-Jabah (80), Saqairīyah (30), and Shabeikah (40), all in Wādi Fara'; Haweil (45), and Hōqain (200), in Wādi Beni Ghāfir; Khān (40), in Wādi el-Jizi.

In Oman Proper. Nizwa (300), Bilād Seit (40), and Ghāfāt (50). In Bātinah: Liwa town (160). In Dhāhirah: Heil (100) and Dham (80).

There is a small section called Hawāqinah at Nizwa, and the Jabūr, though treated here as a separate tribe, is perhaps a branch.

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The Beni Hina are brave and warlike, and were in 1905 at feud with the Jannabah, Darū', and Beni Kelbān. 101 619 622.

71. *Hinādīs* (sing. *Hindāsi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Adeibah in the Muscat district and at Ghalīl in Bātinah.

72. *Hirth* (sing. *Hārithi*)

An important tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 9,000 souls, excluding five client tribes who can muster 1,130 fighting men as detailed below. They are said to be of Nizāri descent, but now belong to the Hināwi faction; in religion they are Ibadhis.

The central division of Sharqīyah, called Baldān el-Hirth, with its villages and towns belongs entirely to the Hirth; their principal places are Ibra and Mudheirib, the former being the tribal capital. They are also found at Mudheibi, Nizwa, Samad, and Sīb. The bulk of them thus are located between the Hajriyīn on the east and the Habūs on the west. Though they retain some of the characteristics of Bedouins they are chiefly occupied in agriculture and date-growing. A few of them are wealthy traders owning merchant vessels, and some who emigrated to Zanzibar have become men of substance and position there.

The Hirth do not deal with Sūr; their ports are Matrah and Muscat.

They are a warlike tribe, and now armed with rifles of various kinds.

Their principal sections (in 1905) were:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Section.*	*Fighting strength.*
'Āsirah	150	Maqādihah	150
Barāwanah	250	Marāhibah	100
Ghayūth	150	Mashāhibah	150
Aulād Hadām	200	Matāwabah	150
Aulād Hadri	150	Rashāshidah	200
Aulād Harfah	150	Saqūr	100
Khanājirah	300	Samrah	300
Ma'āmir	280	Hāl Sinā'u	300
Maghārah	100		

The five client tribes, all Ibadhis and largely Bedouins, were (in 1905):

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Tribe.	Fighting strength.	Habitat.
Dawakah	100	Barkah, Shakhākhīt, and Bu Mahār in Bātinah
Muwālik	500	Wādi Beni Khālid
Nuwāfil	80	Bu 'Abāli, Sha'ibah, and Majiz en-Nuwāfil in Bātinah
Āl Bu Rasheid	170	'Abbāsah and Khadhra in Bātinah
Shabūl	280	Heyyadh, Sohār town, and Wādi Bōshar

73. *Hishm or Beni Hāshim* (sing. *Hāshimi*)

A tribe of the Ja'lān and the Eastern Hajar districts of the Oman Sultanate; they are Nizāri by descent, Ghāfiri in politics, in religion partly Ibadhi and partly Sunni. They are supposed to number about 8,000, of whom about 6,500 are settled at Kāmil (200 houses), Dīdu (50 houses), Humeidha (15 houses) and Buweirid (55 houses) in Ja'lān; at Tahwa (60 houses) near Jebel Khadhar; at Zilaft (50 houses), 'Adhfein (200 houses), Halfah (95 houses), Badh'ah (150 houses), Sīq (180 houses), and Sibt (160 houses) in the lower course of Wādi Beni Khālid; a few are found at Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah, and at Sūr in Bilād es-Sūr they have perhaps 80 houses. There are also about 1,500 Bedouins belonging to the tribe, who own some 500 camels, 250 donkeys, 700 cattle, and 8,000 sheep and goats.

They command the road from Sūr to Ja'lān above Rafsah, and can close it at pleasure. The whole of the Wādi Beni Khālid is under their control, for the other tribes inhabiting it are always disunited, and pay dues, it is said, to the Hishm.

The Hishm always supported Seyyid Tūrki when Sultan of Oman (1871–88) and were even with him at the capture of Matrah from 'Azzān in 1871. They took part with his son and successor, Seyyid Feisāl, in the crisis at Muscat in 1895, under the leadership of 'Abdullah ibn Sālim of the Beni Bu 'Ali.

Sections, &c., as obtaining in 1905:

Sections.	Fighting strength.	Habitat.	Religion.
Hirzah	150	Kāmil	Sunni
Hishāshimah	200	Kāmil	"
Kuwāshim	200	Humeidha	"
Marāhibah	300	Dīdu, Sīq	"
Aulād Nāsir	200	Buweirid	"
Beni Rāshid	300	Badh'ah, Sīq	Ibadhi
Beni Seif	300	Halfah	"
Sarāhimah	200	'Adhfein, Sibt	"
Thuwāni	50	Zilaft	"
Tuwā'i	200	Sibt	"
Beni 'Umr	400	Kāmil, Sīq	"
Zaheimiyīn	200	Wādi Khabbah	"
Zeiyūd	150	Dīdu, Kāmil	Sunni

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74. *Hūwalah* (sing. *Hōli*)

A tribe numbering 17,000 outside Oman, but represented in Oman by 1,500 souls, in religion partly Maliki; some Shafei settled in Shārjah town. They have altogether lost their fighting qualities and are given up to money-making. 101 619 622.

75. *Huyūd* (sing. *Heidi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Dhiyān in Bātinah.

76. *Āl Bu 'Īsa*

A small Bedouin tribe of Ja'lān who occasionally visit Masīrah Island for nefarious purposes, ostensibly as fishermen but really as wreckers.

77. *Beni 'Īsa* (sing. *'Īsā'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, originally Ghāfiri but now (1905) Hināwi in politics; settled in Western Hajar at Hībi in Wādi Sarrāmi,

Ghadheifah, Ghareifah } in Wādi 'Āhin.

Khabt, 'Ablah, 'Abeilah } in Wādi el-Hilti.

78. *Ja'far*

These are about 100 in number and found in Murbāt, Dhofār. Nothing is known about them.

79. *Beni Jābir* (sing. *Jābiri*)

An important and in every way superior tribe of the Oman Sultanate, also the strongest numerically. They are smarter in dress, more intelligent, and better educated than most other tribes. They claim descent from the tribe of Dhubyān, famous in Arab poetry, and are at bitter enmity with the Beni Ruwāhah, who descend from the rival tribe of Abs.

The total number of the tribe is 25,000 souls, and they are found chiefly in Hajar. Their principal seat is the group of the three valleys of Hilam, Tīwi, and Shāb, known collectively as Wādi Beni Jābir I (to be distinguished from the Wādi Beni Jābir II, the western tributary of Wādi Semā'il). Hilam and Tau are equally regarded as their tribal capital. They are widely dispersed, but keep

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101 in touch and act as a body, and have often been used to close the passes leading to Muscat against the Sultan's enemies in Sharqīyah.
619 Further details of their distribution are given below against each section of the tribe.
•622 In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi.

Subdivisions, &c., as obtaining in 1905.

Section.	*Fighters.*	*Habitat.*
Aulād Burhān	400	Seijah in Wādi Beni Jābir II (tributary of Wādi Semā'il)
Dafāfi	50	Hājir in Wādi Semā'il
Beni Fahd	200	Firjāt in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Beni Falīt	240	Qaiqa in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Beni Ghadānah	240	Bimah, Fins } on the coast of E. Hajar
Ghazāl	150	Daghmar, Dhibāb } on the coast of E. Hajar
Beni Hadhrami	400	Seima in Oman Proper. Wādi Semā'il
(There is some confusion between this section and the distinct tribe of the Beni Hadhram.)		
Aulād Hameid	180	Muqazzih in Oman Proper
Beni Harb	240	Majāzah in Wādi 'Andām
Beni Ibrāhīm	240	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khamīs	160	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Lurhān	300	Wādi Semā'il
Ma'āmarah	400	'Amq and Felej el-Qabā'il in the Sohār sub-vilayet
Beni Mazrū'	240	Hīl in Wādi Beni Jābir II
(Some regard the Mazārī' of Wādi Fara' as of this section.)		
Beni Muqīm	600	Ghail esh-Shāb, Jahl and Jeilah in Wādi Shāb; Tīwi, Seima, Mībām, and Am in Wādi Tīwi
Aulād Nāsir	320	Wādi Hilam
Beni Qurwāsh	160	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Rāshid	480	Wādis Hilam, Tīwi, and Tau
Aulād Rāshid ibn 'Āmir	240	Wādi Semā'il
Beni Sa'd	240	Wādi Semā'il
Āl Saba'	70	Samā'īyah and Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah
Aulād Saheim	140	Bīr and Misfāh in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Aulād Sa'īd	160	Hōb in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Aulād Salīm	240	Jeilah in Wādi Beni Jābir II
Salūt	640	Hilam in Wādi Hilam and most villages of Wādi Tīwi; Ghallah in Wādi Bōshar
Sha'ībiyīn or Shu'aibiyīn	350	Kabda and Kalhāt and Halfah in Wādi Beni Khālid
(Those of Kalhāt went over in 1907 to the Hināwis and have allied themselves to the Beni Bu Hasan.)		
Shajbiyīn	200	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Wādi	80	Bidbid and elsewhere in Wādi Semā'il

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80. *Jabūr* (sing. *Jabūri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, perhaps a section of the Beni Hina, numbering 700 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Mutahaddamāt in Wādi 'Adai and at Hifri in Wādi Beni Kharūs. 101 619 622

81. *Jadgāl*, or *Zidjāl* (sing. *Zidjāli*)

A tribe of Persian Mekrān, now reckoned there as Baluchis, and said to have come from Sind. In Oman they number 10,000 souls; Sunni in religion. They occupy an entire suburban quarter of Muscat town and are found at Matrah, and generally wherever a Baluchi settlement exists. They have been introduced into Oman at various times as mercenary soldiers.

82. *Jahādhim* (sing. *Jahdhami*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Samad in Sharqīyah.

83. *Jahāwar* (sing. *Jauhari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,000 souls; settled in Western Hajar at Heilein and Mabrah in Wādi Mabrah; at Litheibāt, 'Aqair, Heyyadh, Khabt, 'Ablah, and 'Abeilah in Wādi el-Hilti. Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

84. *Jelājilah* (sing. *Jaleijali*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering only 50 souls; settled in Furfār, Heil, and Indūk. Divided in allegiance between the Sheikh of Shārjah and his rival, the rebel Sheikh of Fujeirah.

85. *Jannabah* (sing. *Janneibi*)

A large tribe of the Oman Sultanate, Yemeni by extraction, but now belonging to the Ghāfiri faction, and Sunnis in religion. They number in all about 12,000, of whom 3,000 are nomads. Their tribal capital is Sūr, but they possess also Masīrah Island, and interspersed with the Hikmān and Āl Wahībah occupy in a desultory fashion the SE. coast of Oman from Ras Jibsh, where they have a village, to the borders of Dhofār; some of them visit Murbāt in Dhofār; the cave dwellings on Ras Sājar and the small hamlet of Safqōt at the west end of Dhofār are said to be occupied by them. A few reside among the Hikmān of Mahōt, and detached colonies are

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found at Bahlah, Khadhra Bin Daffā', and 'Izz in Oman Proper and at Wādi Manūmah in Bātinah.

It is necessary to distinguish the settled portion, resident chiefly at Sūr, from the migratory, pastoral, and fishing sections farther south. The former, known in common with some of the Beni Bu 'Ali as 'Sūris', own and navigate a large number of sea-going vessels which run to Bombay, Zanzibar, and the Red Sea; they are also merchants having large depots at Sūr, and the Hajriyīn of the interior carry on all their foreign trade through them.

The pastoral portion are dark skinned, thin and under-sized, but not ill-looking; they wear their hair long and confine it round the head with a leather thong. They are disliked by their neighbours, and appear to have little or no religion. In the cool season they come down to the coast with their herds of camels and goats, which are said to be very large, retreating again to caves on the hills on the approach of the SW. monsoon. It has been noticed that those who fish are of a lighter complexion than the rest, and that their cranial and facial type is peculiar to themselves.

As a tribe the Jannabah bear an evil reputation. Those of Sūr indulged in slave-dealing and even piracy as long as these courses were open to them, while those of the SE. coast are wreckers and robbers to a man. They have a perpetual feud with the Āl Wahībah, the enmity between them being more deadly than between any other tribes in Oman.

Their subdivisions and fighting strength are given below:

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Habitat.*
'Arāmah	400 (underestimated)	Sūr.
Fawāris	600 ,,	Sūr, in Ja'lān and Masīrah Island.
Ghayyālīn	450 ,,	Sūr and Masīrah Island.
Maja'alah	300 ,,	Nomad.
Makhānah	500 ,,	Sūr and Masīrah Island.

86. *Yāl Jarād* (sing. *Jarādi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Bu 'Abāli, Masna'ah, and Marāghah in Bātinah. A few are Bedouin.

87. *Jissās* (sing. *Jissāsi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 350 souls; settled at Kubārah in Dhāhirah and at Bahlah in Oman Proper; Ghāfiri in politics. Those settled at Kubārah are subordinate to the Ya'āqīb of 'Ibri.

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88. *Beni Ka'ab* (sing. *Ka'abi*)

A tribe of about 7,250 souls in the interior of the Oman promontory, having their head-quarters at Mahadhah, in the neighbourhood of which most of them are found. There are some about the head of Wādi el-Qōr, and also in the Sultanate at Hadaf in Wādi Hatta and at Haseifīn, Sūr el-'Abri, and Tareif in the Liwa sub-vilayet of Sohār. They number 1,250 in the Oman Sultanate and 6,000 in Trucial Oman. In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Sunni. 101 619 622

Their principal sections, &c., are :

Section.	*Habitat.*	*Number.*
Drisah	Wādi Shīya	150 nomads
Makātīm	Mahadhah and Kahal	600 settled
Misā'īd	Wādi Bu Jila'ah	350 ,,
Miyādilah	Wādi el-Hayūl and Shibakah in W. Qahfi	500 ,,
Miyā'isah	Jaweif and Sharam in Wādi Khadhra	150 ,,
Mizāhamiyīn	Mahadhah	50 ,,
Naweijiyīn	Khatwah in Wādi Bu Sa'd, Khabbein, Zāhar, and Subeithah in Wādi 'Abeilah affluent of Wādi el-Jizi	1,400 ,,
Salālāt	Mahadhah	300 ,,
Sawālim	Nawei'i	300 ,,
Shweihiyīn	Wādi Shweihah and Shibakah in Wādi Qahfi	1,000 mostly nomad

(A clan of Shwaihiyīn known as Hibnāt are found in Shibakah.)

Ahl Yidhwah	Mahadhah, Kahal, and Sharam in Wādi Khadhra	600 settled
Zaheirāt	Mahadhah and Nawei'i	300 ,,

89. *Beni Kaheil* (sing. *Kaheili*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls ; Ibadhi in religion and Ghāfiri in politics ; settled at Majīs in the sub-vilayet of Sohār.

90. *Beni Keleib* (sing. *Keleibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,400 souls ; settled in Western Hajar at Kitnah, Rābi, Heil Ibn Suweidān, Khaweirij, and Wāsit in Wādi el-Jizi and its tributaries : Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Sunni. They are divided into three sections :

Hadādinah (sing. Haddāni) at Rābi.
Rasheidāt (sing. Rasheidi) at Heil Ibn Suweidān.
Shawāmis (sing. Shāmsi) at Kitnah, Wāsit, and Khaweirij.

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91. *Beni Kelbān* (sing. *Kelbāni*)

101 619 622 A tribe of the Oman Sultanate numbering about 8,000 souls, inhabiting both slopes of Western Hajar. On the Dhāhirah side they are found at Maqnīyāt (740 houses), which is their tribal capital, at Sammah (60 houses), at Khadal (100 houses) on an affluent of Wādi Dhank, and at Miskin (200 houses), Najeid (40 houses), and 'Āridh (300 houses) in Wādi el-Kebīr, and at 'Ibri. On the Bātinah side their villages are Zūla (20 houses) in Wādi Beni Ghāfir, Deiqarah (25 houses), Hiyāl (70 houses), Minzifah (25 houses), and Raqayyid (25 houses) in Wādi Mabrah, and Rattah (90 houses) in Wādi Sarrāmi. There are also 30 houses of theirs at Bahlah in Oman Proper. There are no Bedouins among them. In politics they are Ghāfiri, in religion Ibadhi. In 1883 they sided with the Sultan of Oman.

Their subdivisions are :

Aulād 'Ameirah, 300 households in Maqnīyāt and Miskin.
Ghabābīn, 200 households in Maqnīyāt.
Jarāwinah, 720 houses in Maqnīyāt, 'Āridh, and Khadal.
Aulād Sinān, 200 households in Maqnīyāt.
Aulād Subeih, 150 households in Maqnīyāt and Miskin.
Beni Tiyūm, 20 households in Zūla, in Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

There is also a section or subsection called Quyūdh found at Raqayyid.

92. *Āl Bu Kelbi* (sing. *Kelbāni*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering only 70 souls, perhaps forming a subsection of the Āl Bu Khareibān section of the Na'īm. They are settled in 'Ajmān town.

93. *Aulād Kāsib* (sing. *Kāsibi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls, all Bedouins, found round Sūr in Eastern Hajar : Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi. Formerly they were a section of the Jannabah ; now they are incorporated in the Beni Bu 'Ali.

94. *Āl Kathīr* (sing. *Kathīri*)

The principal tribe in Dhofār Proper, where all the villages except Tāqa belong to them ; they are represented in the Samhān hills

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also by several sections who act as a partial counterpoise there to the uncivilized Qaras. A few emigrants of the tribe are settled at Dōhah in the Muscat district near Muscat town. 101 619

The tribe numbers 4,500, of whom 2,500 are settled and 2,000 nomad. 622

The settled Kathīr are agriculturists and grow bajri, maize, millet, cotton, and a little wheat and sugar-cane. They also grow coconuts for home consumption only; no dates; tobacco in small quantity—not enough for home consumption even; water and musk melons, papai, and a few plantains and mulberries. In the way of vegetables they have bindis and chilis (red pepper). Ploughs are not used; the ground is worked with spade or hoe. Fish abound and acres of small fish called *'a'īd*, resembling the sardine, may be seen drying near villages.

They wear their hair long, tied by a fillet round their heads; Seyyids, however, and the poorest classes have their heads shaved. For clothing they ordinarily have only one garment, a dark blue sheet, 9 ft. by 4½ ft., which forms a kilt by day and a sheet by night.

The subdivisions of the settled portion are:

Beit 'Ali ibn Badr, 150 families.
Beit 'Amr ibn Mohammed, 40 families.
Āl Fādhil, 120 families.
Bu Ghawwās, 150 families.
Beit el-Marāhīn or Marhūn, 50 families.
Āl Mohammed ibn Hamad, 150 families.
Shanāfirah, 225 families.

This section is loyal to the Sultan of Oman; they are said to have been 'Awāmir originally, but are now reckoned Āl Kathīr.

The Bedouin sections are:

Beit Bekhīt ibn Sālim, Beit el-Hamar, Beit Jadād, and Beit Masan. They own cattle and camels and collect frankincense like the Qaras. They arrange their hair in a top-knot instead of binding it with a fillet. Their dialect differs from that of other Bedouins of Oman and has not been investigated yet.

The Āl Kathīr are a Hināwi tribe, and claim to have emigrated from Hadhramaut three centuries ago, conquering Dhofār Proper and establishing a capital at Dahārīz. In religion they are Ibadhis. They are at constant feud with the Qaras, whom in their arms, clothing, and habits they resemble.

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95. *Ahl Ras el-Kheimah*

101 A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 2,000 souls, all resident in
619 the town of Ras el-Kheimah. They are a mongrel race formed by
the fusion of various Arab tribes.
• 622

96. *Beni Khālid* (sing. *Khālidi*)

An Arab tribe of Eastern Arabia who formerly had a very large range (see pp. 84 f., 608). They are still predominantly Bedouin, but here only the portion in Oman is dealt with, and that portion is settled in the Oman Sultanate at 'Abbāsah, Hajeirah, Khōr el-Milh, and Manātīf in Bātinah. Here they number 5,500 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics.

97. *Āl Khameyyis* (sing. *Khameisi*)

A small Bedouin tribe, numbering 400 souls, found in Oman Proper; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

98. *Khamārah*

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 375 souls, all resident in Abu Dhabi town. They are Maliki in religion. They came originally from Khamīr in Persia, and claim connexion with the 'Utūb.

99. *Yāl Khamīs* (sing. *Khamīsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Khabbah and Sha'ībah in Bātinah.

100. *Beni Khāmmārah* (sing. *Khammāri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in poitics; settled at Sūr Heyyān in Bātinah.

101. *Beni Kharūs* (sing. *Kharūsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,500 souls, of whom 1,500 are Bedouins. They inhabit the northern slopes of the Western Hajar and are settled at Misfāh (45 houses), 'Aliya (80 houses), Taqab (12 houses), Istāl (80 houses), Saneiba' (80 houses), Shau (10 houses), Hijār (90 houses), Tau esh-Sheikh (20 houses),

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'Awābi (70 houses), and Felej Beni Khazeir (20 houses), all in Wādi Beni Kharūs; at Nakhl in Wādi Ma'āwal they have 40 houses. Hijār is their tribal capital. The Bedouin section of 1,500 souls is named Yāl Khameyyis. They possess 150 camels, 300 donkeys, 150 cattle, and 2,000 sheep and goats. 101 619 622

The Beni Kharūs are Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion.

102. *Khazeimāt* (sing. *Khazeimi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Haseifin Sūr el-Khazeimāt.

103. *Khazeir* (sing. *Khazeiri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 450 souls; settled at Nakhl in Western Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

104. *Beni Khazam* (sing. *Khazami*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sīya, 'Arqi, and Habūbīyah in Wādi Sarein in the Muscat district.

105. *Khōjah*, known to Arabs as *Lawātiyah*

The head-quarters of the Khōjah sect in the Persian Gulf are at Matrah, where they number about 1,050 souls; but they are found also at Khābūrah (125 souls), Sohār town, Suweiq (30), Barkah and Masna'ah in Bātinah; at Quryāt (1 family), and at Gwādar (300 souls); some also at Dibai, Ras el-Kheimah, and Shārjah towns. In Matrah the entire community lives in a large fort or enclosed quarter upon the sea beach for security and privacy (see above, p. 258). They marry for the most part only among themselves. About 10 families now adhere to Āgha Khān of Bombay; the rest have been converted to Thein 'Ashari Shiism, but preserve to some extent their old social usages and customs. The majority are petty merchants and shop-keepers; a few of them share in the trade between India and Oman, importing rice from Calcutta, piece-goods, oil, and drugs from Bombay, and exporting dates and dried fish. In the ports they are mostly British subjects. A few have acquired land.

106. *Aulād Kuleib* (sing. *Kuleibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Adeibah in the Muscat district.

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107. *Kunūd* (sing. *Kindi*)

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A scattered Ghāfiri tribe of Oman, Ibadhis in religion, numbering 1,500 souls, all settled. They are found at Nizwa in Oman Proper, where they have 40 houses, and which may be regarded as their tribal capital; at Nakhl (50 houses) in Wādi Ma'āwal; at Saheilah (100 houses), Mileyyinah (15 houses), Heil esh-Shiya (10 houses), Heil er-Rafsah (60 houses), and Thiqbah (20 houses), in Wādi el-Jizi and its tributaries; at Heil, Ghāliah (20 houses), and Furfār in the Shameiliyan tract, and finally in independent Oman at Bireimi village and in Mahadhah.

108. *Beni Lamak* (sing. *Lamki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Lamki in Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

Qasra
Umm Himār } in Wādi Fara'.

109. *Ma'āwal* (sing. *Ma'wali*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 8,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Wādi Ma'āwal in Western Hajar, where they own the villages of Āfi (1,000 houses), 'Areiq (40), Musilmāt (300), and part of Hibra (80); also at Khabbah (150) and Barkah (20) in Bātinah. There is also a Bedouin section by name Yāl Bin Rashīd. Āfi is the tribal capital. The Jalandite rulers of Oman, who flourished at the time of the conversion of the country to Islam, or somewhat earlier, are supposed to have belonged to this tribe.

The trade of Wādi Ma'āwal is with Barkah. Wheat, barley, lucerne, and beans are grown, and there are about 100,000 date-palms.

110. *Āl Bu Maheir* (sing. *Maheiri*)

A considerable tribe in Trucial Oman, found in all the coast towns. They have 400 houses in Dibai, 200 in Shārjah, 120 at Ras el-Kheimah, 100 at Abu Dhabi, 100 at Batīn, 80 at 'Ajmān, 60 at Khān, and 30 at Umm el-Qaiwein. By some, the Daheilāt of Abu Dhabi town are regarded as a section of the Āl Bu Maheir, who

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in their turn are reckoned, in Abu Dhabi, as a section of the great Beni Yās tribe. 101 619 622

In all they number about 5,500 souls, of whom only about 100, in the Abu Dhabi principality, are Bedouin in their habits.

They are said to be of Mahrah stock and to have come originally from Hadhramaut.

In religion and politics they follow the Sheikh of the principality in which they happen to live.

111. *Mahārah* (sing. *Mahri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,250 souls, all resident in Ras el-Kheimah town, of which they form one of the main elements.

112. *Mahārib* (sing. *Mahāribi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar, at 'Amqāt in Wādi Semā'il, and at Farfārah in Wādi Dhaba'ūn.

113. *Mahārīq* (sing. *Mahrūqi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,200; settled at Adam and Bahlah in Oman Proper and at Sanā'u in Sharqīyah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

The Beni Wāl form one of their sub-tribes.

114. *Mahārizah* (sing. *Maheirizi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 250 souls, sharing with the Sharqiyīn two villages in Wādi Hām, viz. Masāfi and Tayyibah, where they keep some live stock and grow dates.

115. *Mahras*

A few in Murbāt in Dhofār. Nothing known about them.

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116. *Aulād Mahriz* (sing. *Mahrizi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ibadhi in religion; settled at Ba'ad in Wādi Tāyīn.

117. *Majālibah* (sing. *Majlabi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar at Hillat el-Majālibah in Wādi Semā'il.

118. *Manādharah* (sing. *Mandhari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,850 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled in Western Hajar at Hawājiri, Hallah, and Mizāhīt in Wādi Fara'; in Oman Proper at Izki and Saddi; in Dhāhirah at Saleif; in Muscat at Matrah.

119. *Manāsīr* (sing. *Mansūri*)

A Bedouin tribe of Trucial Oman, with head-quarters in Dhafrah; their range is from El-Qatar on the NW. to the Bireimi oasis on the E., and they are found all over Dhafrah, but especially in Dhafrah Proper and Līwah; also in Khatam. A few frequent the neighbourhood of Abu Dhabi town and visit the Bireimi oasis, and some are settled in the coast towns of Khān and Jumeirah. In all, they number about 1,400 souls, of whom only 100 are settled. Most of them winter in Qatar or its neighbourhood and summer in Līwah, where they have temporary villages of huts made of date-sticks and leaves, and possess as joint tribal property some date-groves. When their sojourn in Līwah is over for the year they close up their dwellings and stop up their wells with sand. Their principal grazing ground is in Dhafrah Proper, but in the summer they leave their camels in Beinūnah with those of the Beni Yās. They are Hināwi in politics and Maliki in religion.

They were formerly subject to the Wahabite Government, and in 1865 were understood to pay a contribution worth 2,000 dollars a year, chiefly in kind, into the Wahabite treasury; now they are independent of all control, but maintain some intercourse with the town of Abu Dhabi and its Sheikh.

For the Bedouin Manāsīr, see above, p. 89 f.

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120. *Manāwarah* (sing. *Maneiwari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, or possibly a branch of the Beni Bu Hasan, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Hadhīb in Bātinah. 101 619 6221

121. *Maqābil* (sing. *Maqbāli*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,000 souls; settled for the most part in Western Hajar. Their villages are Khān (40 houses), Heil 'Adha (20 houses), and Hansi (20 houses) in Wādi el-Jizi and its tributaries; Muta'ārishah (60 houses), Heil (40 houses), Litheibāt (25 houses), and 'Aqair (20 houses), in Wādi el-Hilti; Murri (60 houses), Mahbab (60 houses), Nizūk (20 houses), Madīnah (25 houses), and Salam (30 houses), in Wādi Beni Ghāfir. They have outlying settlements at Bāt (180 houses), in Wādi Sharsah, in Dhāhirah, and at 'Aweināt (50 houses), Himbār (90 houses), and Tareif (200 houses) in Sohār in Bātinah. Heil in Wādi el-Hilti may be regarded as their tribal capital.

The Maqābīl belong to the Ghāfiri faction. In 1905 they gave trouble to the Sultan of Oman, and were expelled by his troops from a fort in Wādi el-Hilti.

The Beni Khail in Muta'ārishah and the Samāh in Bātinah are sections of the Maqābīl.

122. *Maqānnah* (sing. *Maqaini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Wudām in Bātinah.

123. *Marar* (sing. *Marri*)

A tribe found chiefly in the coast towns of Trucial Oman, but also in the interior; they have 200 houses at Shārjah in the Leyyah quarter, 40 at Abu Dhabi, and 30 at Dibai; besides these there are about 70 families of Bedouin Marar who inhabit Liwah in Dhafrah.

They claim to be a section of the Ahl Murrah, but their pretensions in this respect do not appear to be well founded.

Most of them are pearl-divers by occupation. In politics they are Hināwi, in religion they are Maliki Sunnis.

124. *Marāzīq* (sing. *Marzūqi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sūr Heyyān in East

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Bātinah and at Hamām in Saham. They are supposed to be the same tribe as the Marāzīq of the Shībkūh district of the Persian coast, though the latter are Wahabites.

125. *Masākirah* (sing. *Maskari*)

A Ghāfiri tribe of the Oman Sultanate, Ibadhi in religion, numbering in all 6,000 souls, of whom 1,600 are Bedouins. They inhabit the 'Alāyah or upper quarter of Ibra, sharing that town with the Hirth, and also occupy Yahmadi and other villages of the Baldān el-Masākirah division of Sharqīyah. Some live at Bilād es-Sūr. They have at times been at feud with the Hirth, but in 1877 were suspected of aiding the Hārithi rebel, Sālih, pecuniarily.

The Bedouin Masākirah are divided into three sections, viz.:

Faleihāt, 300 souls, owning 30 camels, 25 donkeys, 40 cattle, 200 sheep and goats.

Nahad, 500 souls, owning 50 camels, 40 donkeys, 30 cattle, 600 sheep and goats.

Masā'īd or Masā'idah, 800 souls, owning 300 camels, 200 donkeys, 100 cattle, and 800 sheep and goats.

The principal Sheikhs are at Ibra and Yahmadi.

126. *Masālihah* (sing. *Maslahi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls: settled at Qaryah in Oman Proper and in Wādi Beni Khālid in Eastern Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

127. *Mashāfirah* (sing. *Masheifari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 700 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Rumeis and Barkah in Bātinah and at Qābil in Sharqīyah, where some are Bedouins.

128. *Mashārifah* (sing. *Masharrafi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in and about the Wādi Fara' at Lamīm, Teima, Ghassah, Fuleij (or Faleij), Rafsah, and Mislaq in Eastern Hajar. They are entirely dominated by the Beni Bu Hasan.

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129. *Mashā'ikh*

A few in Murbāt in Dhofār Nothing known about them except that they are a sacred class. 101 619 622

130. *Matārish* (sing. *Matrūshi*)

A tribe of Oman, numbering 1,700 souls, of whom 1,000 are settled in Trucial Oman at Shārjah town and 700 in the Sultanate at Harādi and Mureir el-Kebīrah in Bātinah; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Sunni.

131. *Mazārī'* (sing. *Mazrū'i* or *Mizra'i*)

A tribe of Oman, numbering about 6,400 souls, of whom 5,000 are in the Sultanate and 1,400 in Trucial Oman. In the Sultanate they are found at 'Alāyat el-Mazārī' and Wusheil in Western Hajar and at 'Aqr in Bātinah. In Trucial Oman they are found in Abu Dhabi and Dibai towns, in the village of Khān near Shārjah town, in Wādis Hām and Sfuni in the Ras el-Kheimah district, and in Wādi Sfei in the district of Shameilīyah.

They are as a rule Ghāfiri in politics and Hanbali in religion.

In Abu Dhabi territory they are regarded as a section of the Beni Yās.

132. *Mishāqisah* (sing. *Mashqasi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; settled at Heil, Mizāhīt, and Wusheil in Wādi Fara'; Ghāfiri in politics.

133. *Miyāyihah* (sing. *Miyāhi*)

This tribe of the Oman Sultanate is also called Beni Ghāfir, but the alternative name is apt to lead to confusion between the Miyāyihah tribe and the Ghāfiri political faction to which the tribe belongs and to which it gave its name. It has not now, and never had, as a tribe, any dominant position in the Ghāfiri political faction: that the faction was named after it was due not to the strength of the tribe but to the personal energy and talents of its Sheikh, Mohammed ibn Nāsir, who commanded the faction in the earliest struggle against the Hināwi. The Tamīmah of the Miyāyihah is no longer head of the Ghāfiri faction.

The Miyāyihah number about 7,000 souls, all settled. Their villages are Dhab'a (25 houses), Kahaf (30 houses), Dhaweihir (20 houses), Tayyib (25 houses), Rijlah (20 houses), Qarti (40 houses), Ruweibi (15 houses), Difa' (30 houses), Marji (50 houses), Khafdi (30 houses), Tabāqah (20 houses), Dihās (20 houses), 'Amār (25 houses), and Zawājir (35 houses), all in Wādi Beni Ghāfir;

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Khadhra (40 houses) in Wādi Sahtan; Rostāq (400 houses), Mizāhīt (65 houses), and Hazam (40 houses), in Wādi Fara'; Darīz (200 houses), in Wādi el-Kebīr; Beit el-'Ainein (20 houses), in Wādi Saneisal; Wahrah (100 houses), in Wādi Sharsah; Bahlah (30 houses), in Oman Proper.

They are Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion, except only those at Darīz, who are Sunni. Though not a very large tribe they were in 1881 simultaneously at feud with eight tribes and have a reputation for skill and courage in war.

A complete list of their subdivisions is not available. The few sections known are:

Beni Salmān, at Marji and Mizāhīt.
Salāmiyīn, at Dihās.
Maqārishah, at Bahlah.
Khanābishah, at Nizūk (20 houses) and Madīnah (25 houses) in Wādi el-Hōqain, a tributary of Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

134. *Muwālik* (sing. *Māliki*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 2,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Barkah, Shakhākhīt, and Rumeis Bu Mahār in Bātinah, and at Dawwah in Wādi Beni Khālid in Eastern Hajar. They are dependent on the Hirth.

135. *Muwālikh* (sing. *Mālikhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate. numbering 700 souls; ? Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Ḥadd.

Their sections are:
Beni 'Āmir.
Beni Ghazal.
Beni Mahari.

136. *Beni Na'ab* or *Nu'abah* (sing. *Na'abi*)

A small but distinct tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering perhaps 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, religion unrecorded. Settled at Lājāl, which belongs to them, and at Manah in Oman Proper; at Sīya and elsewhere in Wādi Sarein; in Wādi Mi'aidin; at Mazāra' in Wādi Tāyīn; in the hills on the right bank of the Tāyīn in the Wādi Dheiqah section they are shepherds and form a warlike section of the Beni Battāsh. They are possibly of non-Arab descent but are considered Arab now.

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137. *Beni Na'mān* (sing. *Na'māni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Sanā'u in Sharqīyah. They took part in the attack on Muscat in 1895. 101 619 622.

138. *Nabāhinah* (sing. *Nabhāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate which at the end of the sixteenth century furnished the rulers of Oman. They number only 600 and are settled at Sharqatein in Wādi Semā'il; at Hammām el-Ā'li and Sunub in Wādi Bōshar; and at Nakhl. They are Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

139. *Na'īm* (sing. *Na'aimi*)

An important tribe of Oman with independent branches in Bahrein and El-Qatar. Only the main tribe is dealt with here. They number in all 13,000 souls, of whom 10,500 are settled and 2,500 Bedouins. In the Sultanate 4,500 are settled at Dhank town (660 houses), Sanqar (45 houses), Saneinah (200 houses); in Trucial Oman 3,500 at Heirah (250 houses), Hamrīyah (250 houses), 'Ajmān (25 houses), Dheid (30 houses), Haqālah (10 houses), and Shārjah town (100 houses); in independent Oman at Qābil (180 houses), Hafīt (150 houses), Su'arah (100 houses), and Bireimi village (100 houses).

The Bedouins range over the entire central portion of the Oman promontory at its base. The district of Jau, in which the Bireimi oasis is situated, may be regarded as their head-quarters, but they predominate in Dhāhirah on the east, and on the west extend to Khatam, which they share with the Beni Yās and the Dhawāhir. In the winter some of them pasture their animals on the watershed between the Bireimi oasis and Sohār, and are an important factor in tribal politics at the head of Wādi Hatta. On the north their principal grazing ground is the plain of Jiri, which is shared by their Khawātir section with the Ghafalah tribe. In the direction of Shārjah the tract known as Gharīf was once in their possession, but they were displaced by the Beni Ka'ab, who, in their turn, have had to cede it to the Beni Qitab.

Roughly speaking there are ordinarily 1,200 Na'īm Bedouins in Trucial Oman, 900 in the Sultanate, and 400 in independent Oman.

Subdivisions:

The Na'īm, whether settled or nomadic, belong to one of two main divisions—the Āl Bu Khareibān, who are said to be descendants

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101 of Khazraj, and the Āl Bu Shāmis, who are said to be descendants
619 of 'Aus. The following are some of the better-known sections of these two main divisions.

622 *Āl Bu Khareibān* sub-tribe :

'Aryān at Hafīt, 140 souls.
Āl Bu Adhnein or Dhanein at 'Ajmān and elsewhere, 700 souls.
Hamīrat at 'Ajmān and elsewhere, 180 souls.
Khawātir at Hafīt and the Jiri plain, 500 souls.
Qarātisah at Bireimi and Su'arah.
Āl Bu Kelbi of 'Ajmān town (perhaps a section).

Āl Bu Shāmis sub-tribe :

'Ayāl 'Azīz at Dhank town, 700 souls; believed not to be really Na'īm (see above, p. 550).
Darāwishah at Heirah, Hamrīyah, Shārjah town and Ras el-Kheimah town, 1,500 souls.
('Ayāl) Hiyah or Ahiya in Dhank town, 150 souls.
Kilābinah at Hafīt and Sanqar.
Shawāmis at Bizeili, Saneinah, and Dhank, 1,400 souls.
Wahā'ishah at Dhank town, 250 souls.

The Na'īm are Ghāfiri in politics, and, with few exceptions, Hanbali in religion.

140. *Naqbiyīn* (sing. *Naqbi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,800 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Shārjah principality on the east side of the Oman promontory at Khōr Fakkān, Ghāllah, Lūlayyah, Zubārah, Dibah, Fahlein, Khatt, and Diftah. They are generally hostile to their neighbours the Sharqiyīn. They are all engaged in agriculture.

141. *Āl Bin Nāsir* (sing. *Nāsiri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 120 souls; Sunni in religion; all settled in Abu Dhabi town. They live by pearl-diving and fishing and petty trade apparently.

142. *Nidābiyīn* (sing. *Nidābi*)

A settled tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi. Their villages are Lizugh, Mizra' Bu Ba'arah, Fankh, Da'sar, Sinsilah in Wādi el-'Aqq; Mizra' and Mizra' el-Heitani in Wādi Seijāni; Mahbūb, Hassās, and Sarūr in Wādi Semā'il; Jarda in Eastern Hajar.

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Though not a large tribe their position in Wādi el-'Aqq and Wādi Seijāni commands the principal route from Sharqīyah to Matrah and Muscat towns, and their services have frequently been retained by the Sultans of Oman to bar the progress of insurgents from Sharqīyah to the capital. 101 619 622

143. *Nidheiriyīn* (sing. *Nidheiri*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls, settled at Dawwah in Wādi Beni Khālid, in Eastern Hajar; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

144. *Nuwāfil* (sing. *Naufili*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Bātinah at Bu 'Abāli, Sha'ībah, Majiz en-Nuwāfil, and Masna'ah. They are dependent on the Hirth and a few are Bedouins.

145. *Beit el-Qalam*

A few at Murbāt in Dhofār. Nothing known about them.

146. *Qara*

A wild tribe in the Samhān hills in Dhofār, ranging from Sadah on the east to Rakhyūt on the west and inland as far as the country is habitable, which is not a great distance. They number about 5,000 souls, all nomadic except a few hundred settled at Kharīfōt (30 houses), Murbāt (10 houses), Rakhyūt (65 houses), Sadah (20 houses), and Tāqa (20 houses). They call themselves Hakli, speak a language which has been described as a dialect of Mahri, and are commonly stated to be a branch of the Mahrah tribe. They differ greatly in appearance and character from the typical Arab, who regards them as heathens. They are classed as Sunnis of the Ghāfiri faction, but it is doubtful whether they are Arabs at all. They keep camels, cattle, sheep and goats, and subsist chiefly by collecting frankincense and other gums. They also do a little cultivation and a little business in hides and *ghi*. In winter they live in caverns which, if large enough, they share with their animals. One cavern at Dirbāt is 150′ × 50′ × 30′. A few have guns, the rest use iron swords, daggers, and even pointed throwing sticks. They carry a shield which serves also as a hat or water bucket or stool as desired. They quarrel and fight amongst themselves, and are a restless, irresponsible lot, but are not a resolute or really

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dangerous tribe. They may annoy their neighbours by damaging their crops at night, but they never attack settled villages. Their principal divisions are :

Beit 'Ak'āk, at Rakhyūt, 150 fighting men.
Barā'amah, in Samhān hills, behind Salālah, 160 fighting men.
Beit Hardān, in the hills near Rakhyūt, 70 fighting men.
Beit 'Īsa, at Rakhyūt, 80 fighting men.
Beit Jabūb, in the hills, 160 fighting men.
Beit Qatan, in the hills, 150 fighting men.
Beit Ka'bōb, in the hills.
Beit Kishōb, in the hills, 170 fighting men.
Kathōb or Ma'ashani at Tāqa, and in the hills about Wādi Dirbāt, 700 fighting men.
Beit Sa'īd, in the hills behind Hāsiki, 300 fighting men.
Shamāsah at Rakhyūt, 90 fighting men.
Beit Tabōk, in the hills, 170 fighting men.
Beni (or Ahl) 'Umr, at Murbāt and in the hills near by, 1,200 fighting men. This section is friendly to the Sultan of Oman and has a subsection, Beit Makhayyir.

147. *Āl Bu Qarein* (sing. *Qareini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls ; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics ; settled at Dhiyān and Hajeirah in Bātinah. Some at Hajeirah are Bedouins.

148. *Qateit* (sing. *Qateiti*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, very few in number ; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics ; settled in Khābūrah town.

149. *Qawā'id* (sing. *Qā'idi*)

A Bedouin tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 250 souls. They range round about Shōkah in Wādi Hām ; some of them cultivate a little, and are semi-settled at Shōkali. They are believed by some to be an offshoot of the Mazārī', but this is doubtful.

150. *Qawāsim* or *Jawāsim* (sing. *Qāsimi* or *Jāsimi*)

This is the family or small tribe to which the ruling sheikh of Shārjah belongs ; it claims descent from the Prophet Mohammed. Outside Trucial Oman the subjects of Shārjah are sometimes spoken

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of as Jawāsim, and a tribe which has submitted to the sheikh is said to have become 'Jāsimi'; to this fact is probably due the indiscriminate application in old British records of the term 'Joasmee' to all the piratical inhabitants of what is now Trucial Oman. The Trucial flag of 1820 unfortunately came to be known, and is still known, as the Jāsimi flag, and the Beni Yās of Abu Dhabi have consequently always shown a disinclination to fly it. 101 619 622

The genuine Qawāsim in Trucial Oman in 1905 only numbered 18 adult males. Other Qawāsim to the number of 650 occur at Duvvān in the Lingeh district of the Persian coast.

A tribe of Qawāsim, supposed to be identical with the genuine Qawāsim by some, while others hold it to be a section of the Nidābiyīn, is settled in the Oman Sultanate at Miltiqa in Wādi Semā'il, Nafa'ah in Wādi Mansah, Felej el-Hijāri in Wādi Riseil, Mizra' el-'Alawi in Wādi Maih, and at Bandar Jissah on the Muscat coast. This tribe numbers 1,100 souls.

151. *Beni Qitab* (sing. *Qitbi*)

A tribe of Oman, having a considerable range over the promontory and in Dhāhirah. They number about 4,800, of whom 2,500 are settled in the sultanate in the cluster of villages known as Aflāj Beni Qitab, in Dhāhirah, and 200 at Dheid, in the Shārjah principality. The remaining 2,100 are Bedouins, whose territory is bounded by the northern end of the Dheid plain, the towns of Shārjah and Dibai, the Bireimi oasis, and the western slopes of the promontory. The Bedouins muster 600 fighting men in their seven sections, as follows :—Farāriyah, 100; Hawāfir, 80; Khasāwinah, 120; Ma'āliyah, 40; Masā'īd, 180; Midhāqarah, 30; Shibānāt, 50.

The Sheikh of Abu Dhabi has recently admitted the Beni Qitab to be clients of the Sheikh of Umm el-Qaiwein. In politics they are Ghāfiri, and in religion Sunni.

152. *Radeināt* (sing. *Radeini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Abbāsah in Bātinah.

153. *Rahbiyīn* (sing. *Rahbi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in the upper part of Wādi Tāyīn and in Wādi Mansah and its tributaries. Wāsit, between Wādis Tāyīn and Mansah, is the seat of the principal sheikh.

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The Suwābiq at Beyyadh is one of their sections, and the Aulād or Beni Mahriz at Ba'ad and Mizbur is perhaps another.

154. *Ramāh* (sing. *Ramhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar, at 'Ain er-Ramāh, and not found anywhere else. They are goldsmiths.

155. *Beni Raqād* (sing. *Raqādi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; originally Yemeni, now Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Misfāh, Lansab, and Ghallah in the Muscat district and at Badī'ah in Wādi Tāyīn in Eastern Hajar.

156. *Āl Bu Rasheid* (sing. *Rasheidi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at 'Abbāsah and Khadhra in Bātinah. They are partly Bedouin and dependent on the Hirth.

157. *Beni Rāshid* or *Rawāshid*

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled in Bātinah at Khishdah in Sohār; in Dhāhirah at 'Arāqi and Darīz in Wādi el-Kebīr; in Oman Proper at Adam, Bahlah, Khadhra Bin Daffā' in Sharqīyah, and Nizwa in Sanā'u.

158. *Beni Rāsib* (sing. *Rāsibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and bigoted Wahabite in religion; settled at Wāfi in Ja'lān and at feud with the Beni Bu Hasan. Their sections are Aulād Fāris, Marāziqah, and Aulād Rabī'.

159. *Beni Riyām* (sing. *Riyāmi*)

A somewhat peculiar tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 11,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion; settled at Izki (450 houses), Kamah (20 houses), Manah (140 houses), Birkat el-Mōz (250 houses), Karsha (20 houses), Muti (300 houses), Nizwa (500 houses), Tanūf (40 houses), and Zikeit (15 houses), all in Oman Proper; also at Shareijah (100 houses), and Seiq (60 houses) in

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Jebel Akhdhar; also at Misfāh (100 houses) in Wādi Beni Kharūs, and at Hijār (50 houses) and Qōrah (40 houses) in Wādi Mistāl. 101 619

They are said to be of Yemeni descent and among the earliest Arab settlers in Oman. They are well to do and peaceable, but those of the hills are disliked as being irascible, slothful, immoral, and inhospitable; the prejudice against them may be partly due to their disregard of Mohammedan principles in drinking a wine made by themselves from home-grown grapes. They are described as haggard and prematurely old and lacking the usual vivacity and strength of mountaineers. The women go unveiled and are sometimes of a clear ruddy complexion. Their sections are Jawāmīd at Seiq and Shareiqiyīn at Misfāh. 622

160. *Riyāyisah* (sing. *Rīsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Hasciffn Sūr er-Riyāyisah in Bātinah, at Tawi in Western Hajar, and in ShināS town.

161. *Beni Ruwāhah* (sing. *Ruwāhi*)

An important tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 18,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics, though said to be of Nizāri descent. Their principal seat is the upper part of Wādi Semā'il, called Wādi Beni Ruwāhah, which they monopolize, having 900 houses there; but they also inhabit the lower villages of 'Adhdah (50 houses), Rissah (20), Rufei'ah (80), Qarwāshīyah (50), Naghzah (50), Suharah (100), Hijrat Aulād Sa'ad (50), Jammār (75), Hijrat el-Bakriyīn (100), Ibrāhīmīyah (40), Beit Weled el-Khalīli (100), Subārah (50), Daqdaqain (20), and Tasāwīr (25). In Wādi Bōshar they are found at Fuleij esh-Shām (15), in Wādi Dima at Hājir (100), and in Oman Proper at Izki, Khadhra Bin Daffā' (60), Nizwa (4), and Saddi (10). In Wādi Mistāl they occur at Ghubrah Beni Ruwāhah (40) and Heil (40). The greater part of Wādi 'Andām belongs to them and the whole of Wādi Mahram.

They are a troublesome tribe; they were against the Sultan of Oman from 1871 to 1888 consistently, and are supposed to be still very hostile; but they can be bought, as they were in 1905, when the Sultan made use of them.

Half a mile below the village of Wabāl, in Wādi Beni Ruwāhah, is a wall with towers and a gate through which the highway leads. This is called Darwazah (door), and its object is to close the route up the valley. It is permanently held by a garrison of the Beni Ruwāhah.

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The tribe apparently owns few camels, but many cattle, donkeys, sheep, and goats, and thousands of date-palms. They also go in for trade, market-gardening, cultivation, and transport.

The principal subdivisions of the Beni Ruwāhah are :

Section.	*Houses.*	*Habitat.*
Aulād 'Ali	200	Wādi Mahram
Aulād 'Aqīd	95	Wādi 'Andām
'Awāmir	200	Rissah and Rufei'ah in Wādi Semā'il, also Wādi 'Andām
Aulād 'Āyish	200	Wādi Mahram, &c.
Bahālil		Naghzah in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Bin Bahīs	30	Sabārah in Wādi Semā'il
Bakriyīn	160	Hijrat el-Bakriyīn, Ibrāhīmīyah, and Sabārah in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Barkat	80	Wādi Mahram
Aulād Hamad	100	Wādi Mahram
Beni Hamīm	100	Wādi Mahram
Aulād Harmal	150	Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Hasan	180	Wādi 'Andām
Beni Hāshim	60	Mihall in Wādi Semā'il, &c.
Aulād Husein	50	Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Ibrāhīm	60	Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khalf	70	Wasād in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khalīl	200	Suharah and Beit Weled el-Khalīli in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Khamīs	60	Biyāq in Wādi Semā'il, &c.
Aulād Mas'ūd	80	Biyāq in Wādi Semā'il and Himamt, &c.
Beni Na'mān	50	Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Nāsir Mohammed	20	Wabāl in Wādi Semā'il
Qurūn	70	Suharah in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Rāshid	200	Himamt, &c.
Aulād Sa'd	100	Hijrat Aulād Sa'd in Wādi Semā'il
Aulād Salīm	120	Wādi Mahram
Aulād Suleimān ibn 'Umr	10	Hibāt in Wādi 'Andām
Aulād Wakīl	140	Dighāl in Wādi Semā'il, &c.

The Beni Ruwāhah occur also in Oman Proper and in some other places.

162. *Beni Sa'd* (sing. *Sa'di*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls ; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics ; settled in Bātinah at Liwr town, Diwānij, and Asrār Beni Sa'd.

163. *Yāl Sa'd* (sing. *Sa'di*)

A large tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 13,000 souls ; Hināwi in politics, Ibadhi in religion. They occupy a block of

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territory 25 miles in length towards the east end of Bātinah, but a number of coastal villages in their tract are in other hands. Their traditional boundary on the east is the lower reach of the Wādi Beni Kharūs; on the west the farthest point they occupy is Khadhra. Their principal settlements are at Masna'ah (50 houses), Tau esh-Shawi (20), Tarīf (60), Muladdah (400), Raqqās (100), Ghareifah (500), Sūr el-Qarat (200), Tharmad (250), Bat-ha Suweiq (600), Khadhra (230), and Sūr Heyyān (50). They are also found at Khabbah and Hadhīb, the town of that name 5 m. E. of Khābūrah.

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Among Arabs they are reputed unwarlike, mean spirited, and inhospitable. They are wealthy, owning hundreds of thousands of date-palms and a considerable area under grain, also many trading and fishing boats.

They pay nothing to the present Sultan, and have always been inclined to side with the 'Azzān branch of his family. On the whole, however, they give no trouble so long as they are left alone.

The principal divisions are :

Section.	*Fighting strength.*	*Location.*
Yāl Heyyiz	700	Muladdah, Bat-hah Suweiq, and Khadhra
Yāl Hilāl	550	Masna'ah, Sūr el-Qarat, and Tharmad
Khaneijarah	400	Masna'ah, Sūr el-Qarat, and Tharmad
Khuweitar	300	Tarīf, Muladdah, and Raqqās
Maghābishah	400	Masna'ah, Tau esh-Shawi, Raqqās, and Khadhra
Shuweikāt	300	Khabbah and Hadhīb

Mention is made of another tribe of Yāl Sa'd in the Oman Sultanate numbering 150 souls; Ibadhi in religion but Ghāfiri in politics, settled at Dāris in Wādi Fara'. It is not stated whether they are connected with the Hināwi Yāl Sa'd.

164. *Yāl Sa'd* (sing. *Yāl Sa'di*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; settled at Dāris in Wādi Fara'; Ghāfiri in politics, in religion Ibadhi.

165. *Sa'ādiyīn* (sing. *Sa'di*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ibadhi in religion, and Ghāfiri, but subject to neighbouring Hināwi tribes in politics; numbering 700 souls, settled at Muqal in Wādi Beni Khālid.

166. *Āl Bu Sa'īd* (sing. *Sa'īdi*)

This is the tribe of the Sultans of Oman; in politics Hināwi, in religion Ibadhi, with a few Sunnis among them. They number

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6,000 souls, and are widely diffused. Their settlements are at Muscat town (8 houses), where they mostly belong to the sultan's family; at Sawāqim (20 houses) in Wādi Mijlās; Heil el-Ghāf in Wādi Tāyīn; Dhiyān (65), Qasbiyat Āl Bu Sa'īd (20) in Bātinah; at Hibra (80) in Wādi Ma'āwal; at Fath Āl Bu Sa'īd (50) in Wādi Bōshar; at Hārat el-Jabah (20) and Beit el-Qarn (5) in Wādi Fara'; at Jammār (75) in Wādi Semā'il; at Samad (50), Khadhar (25), and Sherī'at Āl Bu Sa'īd (10) in Wādi Samad; at Adam (150), Birkat el-Mōz (20), Felej (20), Mahyūl (10), Manah (200), Nizwa (250), and Raddah (20) in Oman Proper.

167. *Sā'idah* (sing. *Sā'idi*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ghāfiri in politics, Sunni in religion; numbering 250 souls, settled at Dūt in Wādi Dhank.

168. *Saleimiyīn* (sing. *Saleimi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Rumānīyah in Wādi Fara', Western Hajar.

169. *Yāl 'Abd es-Salām* (sing. *Salāmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Dīl Yāl 'Abd es-Salām in Saham in Bātinah.

170. *Salāmiyīn* (sing. *Salāmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled at Nakhl, and at Rumānīyah in Wādi Fara', Western Hajar.

171. *Salātinah* (sing. *Saltāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Hināwi in politics and probably Sunni in religion; settled at Furfār es-Salātinah in Liwa in Bātinah.

172. *Sareiriyīn* (sing. *Sareiri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Hināwi in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Nakhl in Western Hajar. Some of them are potters.

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173. *Beni Sārikh* (sing. *Sārikhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Hināwi in politics, formerly Ghāfiri; settled at 'Ain Beni Sārikh in Dhāhirah. 101 619 622

174. *Yāl Shabīb* (sing. *Shabībi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Masna'ah in Bātinah and Lizq in Sharqīyah.

175. *Shabūl* (sing. *Shabli*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Sohār town in Bātinah, at Heyyadh, Heil 'Adha, Hansi, and Furfār in Western Hajar, and at Jifār in Wādi Bōshar. They are dependent on the Hirth.

176. *Beni Shaheim* (sing. *Shaheimi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 4,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics; settled in Eastern Hajar in all the villages of Wādi Dima except Hājir.

177. *Shahā'irah* (sing. *Ashhari* or *Shahyāri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 125 souls; Ghāfiri in politics; settled at 'Asimah in Wādi Hām. They are considered to be aborigines.

178. *Beni Shahūm* (sing. *Shahmi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 900 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Ghāfiri in politics. Settled in Western Hajar, at Sa'abah, and Bilād Shahūm in Wādi Beni Ghāfir.

179. *Beni Shakeil* (sing. *Shakeili*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, Ghāfiri in politics, Ibadhi in religion, numbering 4,000 souls. Settled in Western Hajar at Umm Himār, Mīdān, Meihah, Sani, Maqham, Qaryah, and Heil Ghāfah; in Dhāhirah at 'Āridh; in Oman Proper at Bahlah, Bisya, and Seifam. Their tribal capital is Seifam.

180. *Shakhāriyīn* (sing. *Shakhāri*)

A small tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Felej esh-Shakhāriyīn in Wādi 'Āhin

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in Western Hajar. They number 250 souls, and are allies of the Maqābil.

181. *Shakūr* (sing. *Shakūri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; numbering 500 souls, settled in Dhank town in Dhāhirah.

182. *Beni Shameili* (sing. *Shameili*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 1,000 souls, originally Jews; settled at Shimil in Sīr, except for a few who are nomads among the Shihūh in Ru'ūs el-Jibāl. They are now closely connected with the Shihūh and may almost be regarded as a section of that tribe. At Shimil, which they entirely possess, they have 4,000 date-palms and some live stock, including 50 camels.

183. *Shamūs* (sing. *Shamsi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Khōr el-Hamām in Saham.

184. *Shāqōsh*

These form a section of the Beni Ma'in of Qishm, and there are only a few of them. They are Ghāfiri in politics and reside at 'Ajmān town, where they have 12 houses. They are pearl-divers and fishermen.

185. *Sharā'inah* (sing. *Sharā'ini*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Western Hajar at Beit el-Qarn in Wādi Fara' and 'Ain esh-Sharā'inah in Wādi Beni Ghāfir. They are allies of the Beni Kelbān.

186. *Sharqiyīn* (sing. *Sharqi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 7,000 souls, residing entirely within the jurisdiction of the Sheikh of Shārjah, found chiefly in the Shameilīyah tract and in Wādi Hām, but also in smaller numbers in the Jiri plain and in the Ras el-Kheimah district. Their principal settlements are at Bidyah (300 houses), Fujeirah (150), Gharfah (100), Marbah (100), Qareyyah (100), Qidfa' (100), and Ghāllah (70).

About half of those residing in the Shameilīyah tract have succeeded (1905), under the leadership of the Sheikh of Fujeirah, in casting off the yoke of Shārjah. Their independence has not, however, been recognized by the British Government.

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The occupations of the Sharqiyīn are various. They cultivate, fish, dive for pearls, trade with Muscat and Sīb, grow dates, and keep live stock, according to the facilities of the place where they reside. Their sections are Hafeitāt, Yamāmahah, Hamūdiyīn. Some claim the Jalājilah, Mahārizah, and Zahūm as sections of the Sharqiyīn, but this is not certain. 101 619 622

187. *Shawāfi'* (sing. *Shāfa'i*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 400 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at 'Aweināt in Sohār in Bātinah.

188. *Shawāmis* (sing. *Shāmisi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 100 souls; Hināwi in politics; settled at Habbās in Wādi Semā'il. There is a Shawāmis section of the Na'īm and also of the Beni Keleib.

189. *Shihūh* (sing. *Shihhi*)

A peculiar tribe who inhabit the Oman promontory from Bei'ah northwards on the eastern coast, and from Khōr Khuweir northwards on the western coast. The whole of the Ru'ūs el-Jibāl district is in their occupation, except a few villages belonging to the Dhahūriyīn. They also occupy Sha'am, Ghalīlah, and Khōr Khuweir in the Shārjah principality and the village of Heil in Sīr, and are found, too, at Saham town in Bātinah. Their number is roughly estimated at 21,500 souls, of whom 14,500 are on the coast and 7,000 in the interior. Those of the interior are described as Bedouin, but some of them have houses built of loose stone. The Shihūh are almost entirely included in the dominions of the Sultan of Oman. Only about 2,000 of those on the coast and a few of those in the interior are resident in Trucial Oman.

There is little intercourse between the coastal Shihūh and their brethren of the interior, many of whom never come down to the coast. The former are chiefly engaged in diving and wading for pearls and in fishing, though they keep goats and grow dates where they can: their food is chiefly fish which they catch, rice which they import, and dates which they grow and import. The latter are engaged in tending large flocks of goats and in agriculture. With irrigation from natural reservoirs in the hills they grow almost all the grain they want for home consumption. They live on the produce of their cultivation and their goats, and have nothing to do with the sea.

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In religion the Shihūh, both settled and nomad, are mostly Shafeis, but from and including Sha'am and Bei'ah southwards on either side of the promontory they are now Hanbalis. As a tribe they are still imperfect Moslems; those in the hills have no mosques and are extremely superstitious, still offering sacrifices to the mountain Jinns. From the time of the Wahabite movement, however, they have given up worshipping at Mazārs or tombs of holy men.

There are two languages spoken amongst them. The more general is the Shihhi dialect of Arabic; the other is an Iranian dialect chiefly spoken at Kumzār, and on Lārak Island by the Kumāzirah subdivision of the Beni Shateir and their Dhahūriyīn relations. From this fact it is inferred that the Shihūh are a composite tribe, originally Arab, but now containing some Persian elements.

There are two main divisions of the tribe:

1. Beni Hadīyah.
2. Beni Shateir.

The coastal Shihūh regard only these two main divisions and classify themselves in detail by villages and not by subsections. In the interior the classification is by subsections.

The following is the classification by sections among the nomad Shihūh of the interior:

1. *Beni Hadīyah.*

Section.	*Families.*	*Location.*
Beni Mohammed 'Abeid	100	The hills above Khasab
Beni 'Ali. Two clans of equal strength: (1) Ahl 'Aqabah; (2) Beni Yideid	200	Hills above Limah
Beni Ibrāhīm	70	Hills near Ras el-Khrimah
Khanāzirah	100	Seih above Khasab
Beni Hām Mazyūd	? 100	Hills east of Khasab

2. *Beni Shateir.*

Beni el-Asamm	70	Muselīh near Limah
Ahl Heil	70	Maskin el-Heil near Bei'ah
Beni Hamūd	35	Khabbah or Heir above Limah
Beni Kanar	70	Kaneif and Sahwah
Khanābilah	90	Raudhah, Salhad, Maqaleili
Mahābīb	60	Various places in hills
Maqādihah	60	Saqattah near Dibah
Ahl Muqām	100	Khabbah Sōt near Dibah
Beni Murrah	35	Sal'alah and Ghishah
Qayyāshah	100	Beighūt
Sā'ad	100	Hills above Ghalīlah
Ahl Salhad	180	Salhad and Khabbat Sōt

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190. *Shiyābinah* (sing. *Sheibāni*)

A small Bedouin tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 150 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; ranging round Adam in Oman Proper. 101 619 622.

191. *Shiyādi* (sing. *Shīdi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Sunni in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Sār esh-Shiyādi, Ghuweisah, and Abu Dhurūs in Saham in Bātinah.

192. *Shurūj* or *Sharūq* (sing. *Sharji*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 650 souls; Ibadhi in religion, Hināwi in politics; settled at Samad town and Mukhtari' in Wādi 'Andām in Sharqīyah.

193. *Shweihiyīn*

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numberng 2,050 souls; Hanbali in religion; settled in Dibai and Shārjah towns. The bulk of them are in Shārjah, where they have 400 houses.

194. *Beni Sinān* (sing. *Sināni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at Quryāt and Sūr (Saneisalah) in the Eastern Hajar.

195. *Siyābiyīn* (sing. *Siyābi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 5,500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; somewhat widely distributed, found chiefly in the Hajar and Muscat districts. Their tribal capital is Nafa'ah (300 houses) in Wādi Mansah; other principal settlements are Sīb edh-Dhafar, Ghail ed-Dakk, Ghubrah, Dan, Bidbid, Mizra', Qurtā', Mileyyinah, and 'Amqāt, all in Wādi Semā'il; Rissah and Seijāni in Wādi Seijāni; Felej Shirāh and Misfāh in Wādi Fara'; Khabbah in Wādi Khabbah; Ghubrat et-Tām in Wādi Tāyīn; Sa'āl, Ghallah, and both Misfāhs in Wādi Bōshra. Mareirāt, Jafnein, and Riseil in Wādi Riseil; Sīb and Barkah in Bātinah, and at Matrah. Those at Rissah belong to a section called Mubāsili.

Some of the Siyābiyīn are rich, but the tribe generally are not held in much repute. They are inclined to be friendly with the Beni

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Jābir and at enmity with the Nidābiyīn, Beni Battāsh, Beni 'Arābah, and Hadādabah. There are no genuine Bedouins among them.

196. *Beni Subh* (sing. *Subhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 500 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Abyadh in Wādi Beni Kharūs in Western Hajar and also in Oman Proper (not stated where).

197. *Sūdān* (sing. *Suweidi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, El-Qatar, and Bahrein; they are closely connected with the Kunūd, and their descent from Aswad el-Kindi—supposed to have been an immigrant from Yemen in the time of Mohammed—is generally admitted.

They number in all about 5,500 souls, of whom nearly 5,000 reside in the ports of Trucial Oman. They have 375 houses at Abu Dhabi town, 30 at Batīn, 250 at Dibai town, 300 at Shārjah town, 20 on Bu Mūsa Island in the Sheikhdom of Shārjah, 12 at 'Ajmān, 80 at Dōhah in El-Qatar, 10 at Hadd in Bahrein, and 49 on Sirri Island.

There is little to differentiate the Sūdān of Trucial Oman from the other tribes among whom they dwell; but those of El-Qatar are distinguished from most of their Sunni neighbours by being Hanābilah and not Muwālik.

Their two principal divisions are the Āl Ramdha and the Āl Sālmīn. They now live by dealing in and diving for pearls and other seafaring occupations.

198. *Suwālih* (sing. *Salhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 600 souls; Sunni in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Suweiq in Bātinah.

199. *Suwāwifah* (sing. *Suwāfi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,500 souls; Hināwi in politics, except for those at Khabbah, who are Ghāfiri. They are settled in Eastern Hajar at Khabbah and Quryāt; in Sharqīyah at Sanā'u; in Dhāhirah at Saleif in Wādi el-'Ain.

200. *Teiwānīyah* (sing. *Teiwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Muscat town and in Oman Proper at Nizwa.

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201. *Tatimmaha* (sing. *Tamtami*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Misfāh and 'Awābi in Wādi Bōshar. 101 613 622

202. *Taneij* (sing. *Taneiji*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 4,000 souls; Hanbali in religion and Ghāfiri in politics; 2,500 are settled at Rams (400 houses), Dheid (70), and Hamrīyah (30), and 1,500 are Bedouins ranging round Dheid.

Rams belongs exclusively to the Taneij. Their houses are mostly of mud and stone. The chief occupations of the settled portion of the tribe are fishing and pearl-diving. They have some date plantations two miles inland at Dhāyah.

203. *Thameirāt* (sing. *Thāmiri*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 120, residing in Abu Dhabi town. They are reckoned among the Beni Yās.

204. *Āl 'Umeir* (sing. *'Umeiri*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Oman Proper at Izki, Birkat el-Mōz, and Mahyūl; also in Bātinah at Heil Āl 'Umeir and Sīb.

205. *Beni 'Umr* (sing. *Ma'amari*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 11,000 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and in religion partly Ibadhi and partly Sunni; settled in Western Hajar and Bātinah, with very few, if any, Bedouins attached to them. In Western Hajar they occupy the whole of the Wādi Beni 'Umr, a tributary of the Wādi el-Hāwāsinah, viz. Mijzi, Jahanāt, Rahbah, Heil Islāt, Farfār, Ghaiz, and Lihbān; also the following villages in Wādi Beni 'Umr el-Gharbi: Heil, Shuweimarah, 'Aqrabīyah, Rahab, Dhabyān, and Beidha; also Hībi in Wādi Sarrāmi.

In Bātinah their settlements are at Sīb, Ghadhfān, and Hadd in the sub-vilayet of Sohār, at Harmūl, Nabar, Asrār Beni 'Umr, Umm el-'Inah, and Hameirah in the sub-vilayet of Liwa; and at Bileidah in the sub-vilayet of ShināS. Other settlements are at Ghashab and Felej el-'Āli in Wādi Fara'; at Hayyāl in Wādi el-Kebīr; and at Shareijah in Jebel Akhdhar. Ghadhfān is their principal place in the north and Lihbān in the south.

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101 They must not be confounded with a similarly named section of the Beni Battāsh.

619 They are always at feud with their neighbours the Hawāsinah and the Maqābīl. • 622

206. *Beni Waheib* (sing. *Waheibi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; scattered over the Muscat district, and not elsewhere except at Daghmar and Quryāt (60 hours). In the Muscat district their settlements are: in Wādi Mijlās and its tributaries at La'bān (40 houses), Sālifah (30), Būlīdah (25), Habūbīyah (160), Mizra' Sumeir (20), Mizra' Baleil (15), Heithadh (30), Fayādh (20), and Heifal (15); in Wādi Maih and its tributaries, at Dhahr Sidrah (30), Tuyān Jahlūt (40), Sa'ādi (60), Maheidith (20), Rākil Milh (30), Mandharīyah (20), Mahā'il (25), Tawīlah (30), and Hājir (30); on the coast at Bistān (20), and Yiti (20); and at Wateyyah (6), Ruwi (25), and Muscat town (45).

Besides these settled members there are two sections of Bedouins, viz. Kawāsib (25 families) and Shabūl (35 families).

207. *Āl Wahībah* (sing. *Waheibi*)

A very important tribe of the Sharqīyah and Ja'lān districts in the Oman Sultanate, almost entirely Bedouin, and enjoying at present (1905) a high position in the tribal system. They number about 13,000 souls. Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics. T' sedentary members occupy the villages of Sadeirah and Aflāj and part of the town of Mudheibi in the Baldān el-Habūs division of Sharqīyah; they are found also on the SE. coast as far north as Ras Sheiblah (20 houses), and as far south as Ras Sarāb; settlements of them exist at Majiz el-Wahībah (100) and Laghshībah (20) in Bātinah, at 'Adeibah (15) and Ghubrah (30) in Muscat; and at Ghallah (10) in Wādi Bōshar.

The Āl Wahībah are warlike, but though always ready to fight for plunder they are not unpleasant in ordinary dealings. They own the fastest camels in Oman and practically no date-groves or villages. This combination makes them most elusive enemies. They have a bitter feud with the Jannabah and sometimes among the Hikmān of Mahōt. Parties of them regularly visit the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi and receive presents from him. The majority of the nomads are purely pastoral, but a few on the SE. coast are expert fishermen.

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They are divided into many sections under six large, but apparently nameless, groups: 101 619 622

Groups of sections and fighting strength (1905).

Group I

'Asākirah
Barātamīn (60)
Hāl Bu Ghafeilah, 70
Āl Bu Hidai, 70
Aulād el-Jahāmah, 60
Hāl Khamīs, 60
Likānīn
Mabābisah
Madhākīr, 70
Hāl Mūnis, 60
Muwāfid
Beni Na'mān, 60
Shalālibah, 50
Aulād 'Umr, 80

Group II

'Asāsīf, 100
Āl Badr, 100
Jahāfīf, 80
Karāhinah
Hāl Bu Ma'mar
Mughā'irah, 200
Shuwālīl, 150
Suweid

Group III

Hatātimah
Madhāwirah, 200
Mufanaj
Hāl Muharram
Hāl Mushīn

Group IV

Hāl Hadām
Aulād el-Hindi
Jidālah, 200

Group V

Hāl Badr, 100
Yāl Gharīb
Hāl Hindi, 60
Hāl Mahāsib
Hāl Sinā'u

Group VI

Marāmihah, 250

208. *Warūd* (sing. *Wardi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics, though formerly Ghāfiri; settled at Samad in Sharqiyah and dependent on the Habūs.

209. *Washāhāt* (sing. *Washāhi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 850 souls; in religion mostly Ibadhi, with some Shafei; in politics mostly Hināwi, with some Ghāfiris; settled at Tameit, Mushabbah, and 'Ajīb in Wādi Hatta and at Aswad in Wādi el-Qōr.

210. *Ya'āqīb* (sing. *Ya'qūbi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 3,500 souls; of Yemeni origin, but now Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at 'Ibri, in Dhāhirah.

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211. *Ya'āribah* (sing. *Ya'rabi*)

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A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 800 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled at Nakhl, Tuweyyah, Tikhah, and Hazam. They were once important, and supplied the rulers of Oman from A.D. 1625–1744. They have no influence now.

212. *Yahāmidah* (sing. *Yahmadi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Ibadhi in religion; settled in Sohār town and Nakhl.

213. *Beni Yās*

One of the most compact and powerful tribes of Trucial Oman; their range is practically co-extensive with the territories of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, the basis of whose power they are.

Nomad. The Beni Yās nomads, numbering about 2,000 souls, are all in the Abu Dhabi principality. Their favourite pastures are in Beinūnah, a tract of the Dhafrah district.

Settled. The non-nomads number in all about 12,000, of whom about 8,000 are settled in the Abu Dhabi principality, about 2,000 in Dibai territory, and the rest outside Oman, viz.: 1,200 in Hanjām Island, 600 in Bahrein, 200 on Tārūt Island, and over 100 in El-Qatar.

In Abu Dhabi town they number 2,800 souls, and in Dibai they occupy 440 houses. Here, on the coast, they are engaged in pearl-fishing and navigation.

Inland, in Dhafrah, they number 5,100 souls and hold all the permanent settlements. [The only other tribe to be seen in Dhafrah is the Manaūri (Manāsīr) and they only come to summer in the Liwah subdivision.] Here the Beni Yās are semi-civilized, living in huts of date-sticks and leaves, owning date plantations individually (not collectively as do the Manāsīr) and trading and corresponding with Abu Dhabi and even Dibai. Their main industry is date-growing, but some of them take a share in pearl-fishing and own a number of boats which are kept at Bandar Radeim, Khōr Mugheirah, and Bandar Mirfah. The pearl-fishers pay dues and the date-growers pay 2,500 dollars a year as agricultural taxes to the Abu Dhabi sheikh. Although, at times, sections of the tribe in the principality have evinced a disposition to hive off (as did the Āl Bu Falāsah section who now live in Dibai), the tribe as a whole is well affected and faithful to the Sheikh, and he is himself one of their number (Āl Bu Falāh section).

The Beni Yās are of the Hināwi political faction and differ from

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most of their neighbours in being, wherever they occur, Maliki Sunnis and not Hināwi. They had in 1905 no special relations of friendship or enmity with adjoining tribes; at that time the following were their tribal sections: 101 619 622.

Sections.	*Subsections.*
Āl Falāh	Āl Sa'dūn.
Āl Bu Falāh (the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi belongs to this section).	
Āl Bu Falāsah	Mijardah. Rawāshid. Yideiwāt or Lideiwat.
Āl Bu Hamīr.	
Hawāmil.	
Mhāribah.	
Mzāri'.	
Qneisāt.	
Qsal.	
Qbeisāt.	
Qmzān.	
Rmeithāt.	
Sabā'is.	
Beni Shikr.	
Āl Sultān.	

A few others not definitely ascertained.

214. *Za'āb* (sing. *Za'ābi*)

A tribe of Oman, numbering 4,500 souls, of whom 3,300 are in Trucial Oman and 1,200 in the Sultanate. They are Hanbali in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Jezīrat el-Hamra (500 houses), and Khōr Kalba (150) in the Shārjah principality; at Saham town, Qasbiyat ez-Za'āb, Abu Dhurūs, and Bu Baqarah, in the Sultanate of Oman. Some of them own date-groves at the village of Khatt in the Jiri plain, and go there in the hot weather.

215. *Zafeit* (sing. *Zafeiti*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 250 souls, all Bedouins of the Dhāhirah district; Ghāfiri in politics and in religion Ibadhi.

216. *Zahūm* (sing. *Zahmi*)

A tribe of Trucial Oman, numbering 100 souls, settled at Sīji in Wādi Hām, where they have 20 houses, 2,000 date-palms, and some live stock. They are claimed by some to belong to the Sharqiyīn, but their settlement at Sīji is separate and the claim has not been allowed.

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217. *Zarrāf* (sing. *Zarrāfi*)

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A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 200 souls; Ghāfiri in politics and Sunni in religion; settled at Arbaq and Shateifi in the Muscat district. They are merchants and sailors.

218. *Zatūt* (sing. *Zutti*)

A non-Arab tribe of Oman, numbering 1,000 souls; settled in various parts, chiefly at Bireimi, Muscat town, Matrah and Nakhl. They are generally Ibadhi in religion and apparently have a language of their own. Some say they are a branch of the Sulubba, others connect them with the Indian Jāts. They marry among themselves and are farriers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, armourers, carpenters, pedlars. Their women dance for payment but are not immoral. The levirate law obtains among them. They are despised but not molested by the Arabs, who value them for their services.

219. *Beni Zīd* (sing. *Zīdi*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 1,000 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Fida in Wādi Dhank in Dhāhirah.

220. *Zikāwinah* (sing. *Zikwāni*)

A tribe of the Oman Sultanate, numbering 300 souls; Ibadhi in religion and Hināwi in politics; settled at Samad in Sharqīyah.

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CHAPTER XVI

SETTLED TRIBES OF THE CENTRE

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1. *'A'īd*

Settled members of the 'A'īd are reported at Hareimlah in 'Āridh, and at 'Adhār, Dilam, Suleimīyah (or Salāmīyah) and Yemāmah in Kharj, where they form the principal non-Bedouin tribe of the district.

2. *Anazah*

Communities of this important group (see p. 45) are found in the following places in Nejd: (*a*) in 'Āridh, at Barrah, Hareimlah, and Malham in Mahmal; at Bātin esh-Shuyūkh, Manfūhah, and Riyādh in Wādi Hanīfah; and at Dhrumah (Ifqahha tribe), and the villages of Mizāhmīyah and Rōdhah in the Dhrumah district; (*b*) in Harīq, at Harīq town (Hazāzinah sub-tribe of the Ruweilah), and Mufeijir (same sub-tribe); (*c*) in Hautah, at Hautah town and Hilwah, at both of which places they are of the Dā'ūd tribe; (*d*) in Aflāj, at Raudhah (Ijdeimāt tribe); (*e*) in Sedeir, at Dākhilah (Āl Bu Rabā' tribe), Dhalmah ('Askar tribe), Harmah, Ijwei, Janūbīyah, Khīs, Mejma' ('Askar and Haweidi tribes), Ruweidhah, Samnān near Zilfi (Haweishān tribe), and Tuweim; (*f*) in Qasīm, at Aneizah, Boreidah, Dhalfa'ah, Dharās, 'Ain Ibn Faheid, Ghāf near Boreidah, Khabrah, Khadhar, Mureid Seyyid, Quseibah, Rass, Rōdhat er-Rubei'a, Seib, Shahībīyah, Shiqqah, Ta'amīyah, Watāt, and Wathāl. In the Wādi Sebei', Anazah are reported at Khurmah and Raudhah, and they are also said to be found in Kharj.

In Jebel Shammar settled Anazah live in Beidha Nethīl (?), Ghazālah, and Jauf el-'Amr.

3. *Ashrāf*

A few settlements of Ashrāf from the Hejaz (cf. p. 406) are found in Nejd in the following places: in Harīq, at Na'ām; in Aflāj, at Leilah and Seih; in Wadyān Dawāsir, at Sabhah.

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4. *Ateibah*

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Communities of Ateibah (see p. 67) exist in 'Āridh, at Banbān, Barrah, and Rghabah; in Sedeir, at Ilaqah, Iqlah, and Zilfi; in Qasīm, at Qasr Ibn 'Aqeyyil, Athlah, Basr, Bukeirīyah, Ahlab ed-Dūd, 'Ain Ibn Faheid, Ghāf, Ghammāsh, Heid, Jan'i, Nafi, Quwei'ah, Seib, and Wudhākh; and in Mudhnib (?).

5. *Buqūm*

This tribe, which is intimately connected with the Sebei' and Sahul (see p. 74), is said to be represented among the inhabitants of the villages of Rumadān and Turabah in the district of Wādi Sebei'.

6. *Dawāsir*

This widely diffused tribe, which has almost ceased to be Bedouin (see p. 75), is settled in various districts of Nejd; the Saleyyil and Wādi Dawāsir divisions of Wadyān Dawāsir belong almost entirely to them. In Aflāj they occupy the following places: Badī', Haddār, Hamar, Kharfah, Marwān, Rajeijīyah, Raudhah, Wasīt, and Wuseilah. In 'Āridh, Dawāsir are found in the following places in Mahmal: Bīr, Dqalah, Hasi, Jarīnah, Malham, Sufurrah, and Thādiq; and in Wādi Hanīfah at 'Ammārīyah, Dar'īyah and Manfūhah; they also occur in Dhrumah and Mizāhmīyah. Their settlements in Kharj are at Dilam, Suleimīyah, and Yemāmah; in Harīq-Hautah at Harīq town, Hautah town, and Hilwah; in Woshm, at Marāt; in Sedeir, at 'Audah, Ghāt, Hasūn, Jalājil, Ma'āshibah, Raudhah, Ruweidhah, and Zilfi; in Qasīm, at Hatān, Huweilān, Quwei'ah and Shamāsīyah. In the district of Wādi Sebei' and Wādi Turabah they are settled in Hazam, Khurmah, Raudhah, Rumadān, and Suweyyid.

Beyond the limits of Nejd, Dawāsir are found in great numbers in Bahrein (see p. 313), whither they immigrated in 1845, after first settling in Zakhnunīyah Island. Offshoots of this community are found in the Persian coast-district of Dashtistān, in Chāh Kūtah and its dependent villages, and at the village of Jazīrah in Bushire harbour. A few households are also settled at Dōhah in El-Qatar, and in Koweit town.

It is possible that the Āl Breik are not to be regarded as a main tribe of the Dawāsir, since by some authorities they are classified

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in the Misā'irah group. In the following table of the Dawāsir only those clans are included whose places of settlement have been ascertained.

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DAWĀSIR.

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Āl Breik, at Nuweimah		
Āl Hasan	*'Ammār*	*'Ajlān* (or *'Ajālīn*), at Leilah in Aflāj.
		Buras (or *Āl Abu Ras*), at Leilah.
		Huqbān, at Raudhah and Wāsit in Aflāj; at Kamidah in Wadyān Dawāsir.
		Idghamah, at Rajeijīyah in Aflāj.
		Ishkarah, at Badi', Hamar and Wuseilah in Aflāj; at Dārsah in Wādi Dawāsir. The clan includes two families known as the Āl Bu 'Ali and Harāthmah.
		Māna', at Aseil in Wadyān Dawāsir; at Leilah.
		Mubārak, at Raudhah.
		Qainān, one of the largest clans of the 'Ammar; settlements not ascertained.
		Sa'd, at Aseil.
		Sukhābirah, at Badi'.
	Farjān	*'Arfaj*, at Wuseilah.
		Badrāni, at Bīr in 'Āridh.
		Bidārīn (possibly to be identified with Badrāni), at Jalājil and Zilfi in Sedeir.
		Hamdān, at Leilah.
		Jadhālīn, at Leilah.
Makhārib or Makhārim, at Ma'talah in Wādi Dawāsir and elsewhere.		

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribes.*	*Sub-Tribes (cont.).*
Misā'irah.	*Āl Abu el-Hasan*, at Quweiz in Wadyān Dawāsir.	*Inteifāt*, at Haddar in Aflāj.
	Āl Bu Sabbā', at Nazwah in Wadyān Dawāsir.	*Sharāfah*, at Sabhah and Thamāmīyah in Wādi Dawāsir.
	Āl Rishdān, at Ruweisah in Wādi Dawāsir.	*'Uweidhāt*, at Thamāmīyah.
	Hanābijah, at Bilād el-Hanābijah in Wādi Dawāsir.	*'Uweimir*, at Huweizah in Wādi Dawāsir.
Rijbān, at Dām in Wadyān Dawāsir and elsewhere.	*Khatātibah*, at Muqābil in Wādi Dawāsir.	

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DAWĀSIR (*continued*)

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Tribe.	*Sub-Tribes.*	*Sub-Tribes (cont.).*
SUHABAH.		
WIDĀ'ĪN.	*'Areimah*, at Bilād Āl Hāmid in Wādi Dawāsir. *Dawwās*, at Mathnah in Saleyyil. *Āl Dhuwayyān*, at Bilād Āl Dhuwayyān and Khateijān in Saleyyil. *Farrāj*, at Kheirān in Saleyyil. *Āl Hāmid*, at Bilād Āl Hāmid in Wādi Dawāsir. *Āl Haneish*, at Dahlah in Saleyyil. *Hijji*, at Tamnah in Saleyyil; at Leilah in Aflāj. *Āl 'Īsa*, at Thādiq in 'Āridh. *Jibārīn* (or *Āl Jābir*), at Leilah.	*Khadhrān* (owners of Shutbah in Aflāj, but have not permanently settled there). *Khamāsīn*, at Mishrif in Wādi Dawāsir. *Midbal* (or Midābilah), at Dhrumah in 'Āridh. *Āl Mohammed*, at Bilād Āl Mohammed in Saleyyil. *Āl Nāhish*, at Fara'ah in Wādi Dawāsir. *Āl Suweilim*, at Thādiq in 'Āridh; at Muqābil in Saleyyil. *'Umūr*, at Kabkābīyah and Tamrah in Saleyyil. *Walāmīn*, at Nafjān in Wādi Dawāsir.

7. *Fadhūl*

This tribe, connected by vague tradition with the Beni Lām, is represented in the following parts of Nejd: in 'Āridh, at Bīr, Jarīnah, Mahriqah, Malham (Fadhl and Kathīr sub-tribes), Malqa, 'Audah and Dhrumah; in Harīq, at Harīq town; in Hautah, at Hautah town (Āl Tālib and Kathrān sub-tribes); in Aflāj, at 'Amār (Mugheirah sub-tribe), Leilah, Raudhah (Mugheirah sub-tribe) and Umm Shināḍhir; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah, 'Attār, Mejma' (Fadhl and Kathīr sub-tribes), Tuweim, and Zilfi. The Fadhūl are a tribe of considerable size, but they do not appear to be found outside the limits of Nejd.

8. *Beni Hajar*

Small settlements of Beni Hajar, now altogether unconnected with the Bedouin tribe of that name (see p. 87), occur in Aflāj at Wuseilah, and in 'Āridh at Hareimlah and Thādiq. Arabs claiming to be Beni Hajar are found on the Persian coast, e. g. in the Rūd-hilleh district.

9. *Harb*

Settled members of this tribe (see p. 64) are found in 'Āridh at Rghabah, in the Wādi Sirr at Barrūd, and in Sedeir at Samnān near Zilfi. Some inhabitants of villages in Qasīm claim to be of

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Harb descent, especially at Basr, Bukeirīyah, 'Ain Ibn Faheid, Hamar, Hilālīyah, Jau'i, Mureid Seyyid, Nabhānīyah, Qaryah, Quwei'ah, Sheihīyah, Shiqqah, Subeih, and Ummahāt ez-Ziyābah. 101 619 622

10. *Hawāzin*

In Jebel Shammar at Jauf, Beidha Nethīl, Sakākah, and Teima, and in Nejd at Ghāt (in Sedeir) are settled inhabitants of this name, whose position has given rise to discussion. They would appear to be of Hawāzin descent, though members of the Huteim and Harb tribes; but their connexion with the Hawāzin of Koweit is still a matter of uncertainty (see p. 92 f.).

11. *Huteim*

Settled Huteim are said to dwell at Ghazālah, and Mustajiddah in Jebel Shammar, and at Hāyat, between Mustajiddah and Kheibar. In the Wādi Sirr they are reported at 'Ayūn es-Suweina' and Feidhah. The tribe is closely related to the Sherārāt (see p. 91).

12. *Beni Khadhīr*

This name is used to describe a large body of inferior non-Arab tribes in Nejd, who cultivate the soil for Arab masters; they seldom own land themselves, but the Qāsim, who are Beni Khadhīr, are said to do so at Seih in Aflāj. Beni Khadhīr are settled in the following places: in 'Āridh, at Hareimlah, Jarīnah, Malham (Hadhūd, Hamadāt, Muhārib, and Marshūd tribes), Rghabah, Salbūkh, Sedūs, and Thādiq (Rabeyya, Jidā'ah, Mizei'al, and Jamei'ah tribes), in Mahmal, and at Jabeilah, Malqa, 'Ammārīyah, Ilb, 'Audah, Dar'īyah, 'Araj, Bātin esh-Shuyūkh, Riyādh, Manfūhah, Masni, and Hā'ir on Wādi Hanīfah; in Kharj, at 'Adhār, Dilam, Na'ajān, and Suleimīyah; in Harīq, at Harīq town and Mufeijir; in Hautah, at Hautah town, Hilwah, Quwei, and Wuseitah; in Aflāj, at 'Amār, Badi', Haddār, Haradhah, Kharfah, Leilah, Rajeijīyah, Raudhah, Seih, Shutbah, Stārah, Wāsit, and Wuseilah; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah, 'Attār, 'Audah, Dākhilah, Ghāt, Harmah, Hasūn, Hautah, Jalājil, Janūbīyah, Khatāmah, Khīs, Mejma', Raudhah, Ruweidhah, Tameir, Tuweim, and Zilfi (Beni 'Atij and Natāqah tribes). Beni Khadhīr are also said to be settled at Quwei'īyah in the south-western desert.

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13. *Beni Khālid*

101 Allusion has already been made to the widely scattered settlements of this tribe (see pp. 84, 299, 306, 572); the following are
619 localities in which their presence is reported in Nejd; in 'Āridh,
• 622 at Malham (Qammāz sub-tribe); in Sedeir, at Zilfi (Dūshān and Hamrān sub-tribes); in Qasīm, at Aneizah, Quseibah, and perhaps at Khabb and Qisei'ah; at Quwei'īyah in the south-western desert there are said to be members of a sub-tribe known as 'Arāfah. In the following table of the settled Beni Khālid, which is not exhaustive, sub-tribes and clans are included from the Gulf Coast; for the nomadic sections of the tribe, see p. 85.

BENI KHĀLID

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*	
'AMĀ'IR	*Dawāwdah* . .	A few at Yasrah in Bahrein and at 'Anik in the Qatīf Oasis.
	Āl Hasan . .	A few in the islands of Musallamīyah and Jinnah.
	Āl Khālid . .	On Musallamīyah Island; the Sheikh of this clan is the Paramount Chief of the tribe.
	Āl Razīn . .	On Musallamīyah Island.
	Āl Shāhīn . .	On Jinnah Island.
ĀL SUBEIH	*Āl Bū 'Ainein* .	Only in El-Qatar and Bahrein; they are pearl-divers, pearl-merchants, and boatmen, and are now practically a separate tribe.
	Dhaheirāt . .	At Qasr Āl Subeih in Hasa.
	Had-hūd . .	At Qasr Āl Subeih.
	Hameidāt . .	In Qatar and Bahrein; they are now practically a separate tribe.
	Āl Katab . .	In Hasa.
'ARĀFAH	. . . . .	Reported at Quwei'īyah.
DŪSHĀN	. . . . .	At Zilfi.
HAMRĀN	. . . . .	At Zilfi.
ĀL JABŪR	. . . . .	Half-settled, at Jishshah in the Hasa Oasis.
MUHĀSHIR	. . . . .	Some on Musallamīyah; a few at Koweit; others (half-settled) at 'Anik in the Qatīf Oasis.
ĀL MIQDĀM	. . . . .	At Kalābīyah in the Hasa Oasis.
QAMMĀZ	. . . . .	At Malham.

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14. *Muteir*

Though the Muteir are essentially nomadic (see p. 83), communities are reported in the following localities of Nejd: in 'Āridh, at Dhrumah (of a sub-tribe called Nafisah, said to belong to the Braih); in Woshm, at Jareifah; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah. Some of the inhabitants are said to be of Muteir blood in the following places in Qasīm, which district may perhaps be regarded as their principal seat: Bukeirīyah, Buteinīyāt, Ghāf near Boreidah, Hatān, Khabb, Khabb el-Qabar, Khudheirah, Mureid Seyyid, Rafī'ah, Raudhat el-Mahanna, Ta'amīyah, Ummahāt ez-Ziyābah, Wahtān, and Qasr Zeid. 101 619 622

Muteir are also said to inhabit villages in the Wādi el-Mīyah tract of the Hasa province.

15. *Negroes*

Full-blooded negroes dwell in some numbers in Jauf el-'Amr, and at Huweyyat beyond the western borders of Jebel Shammar. At Hāyat, also beyond the border, are about 100 houses of negroes and half-castes. In the southern districts of Nejd a strong infusion of negro blood is reported, and there are said to be many full negroes, especially in Aflāj and Wadyān Dawāsir.

16. *Qahtān*

In the Central South, this tribe is almost entirely nomadic (see p. 74), but communities of reputed Qahtān blood are ascribed to the following places in Nejd: in 'Āridh, at Malqa and Manfūhah; in Hautah, at Hautah town; in Sedeir, at Mejma', Raudhah, Zahlūlah, and Zilfi; in Qasīm, at Basr and Wahtān (Hatān); in SW. Nejd, at Quwei'īyah and Sha'arah.

17. *Sahul*

The Sahul, connected with the Sebei', and possibly only a sub-tribe (see p. 73), are now more settled than nomadic. They are reported in the following places in Nejd: in 'Āridh, at Barrah, Malham, and Dhrumah; in Kharj, at Suleimīyah and Yemāmah; in Harīq, at Harīq town; in Hautah, at Hautah town; in Aflāj, at Harādhah ('Anājīd sub-tribe) and Stārah (Qubābinah sub-tribe).

18. *Sebei'*

The home of this tribe is in the Wādi Sebei', between Woshm and N. Asir (see p. 73), but settled communities are widely distributed in Nejd, where they are found in the following places: (*a*) in 'Āridh,

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at 'Aweinidh, Barrah, Ghiyānah, Hareimlah, Hizwah, Malham, (Āl Ibn Rashīd sub-tribe), Rghabah, Salbūkh, Sedūs, all in the Mahmal region; at 'Ammārīyah, Ilb, 'Audah, 'Arjah, Masāni', Hā'ir, all on Wādi Hanīfah; and at Dhrumah (Āl 'Abd el-'Azīz sub-tribe); (*b*) in Kharj, at Dilam and Yemāmah; (*c*) in Harīq, at Harīq town (Kathlān sub-tribe); (*d*) in Hautah, at Hautah town and Hilwah (Kathlān sub-tribe); (*e*) in Aflāj, at Leilah (Rashūl sub-tribe); (*f*) in Woshm, at Shaqrah (Sūdah sub-tribe) and Watheithīyah; (*g*) in Sedeir, at 'Attār, Ghāt, Harmah, Hautah, Khatāmah, Khīs, Mejma', and Ruweidhah; and (*h*) in Qasīm, at 'Aneizah, 'Aushazīyah (Matārīd sub-tribe), Badāyah and Wādi.

19. *Shammar*

The Shammar are a powerful nomadic tribe (see p. 76), but they have settled communities in the following places in Jebel Shammar: 'Alaq (Aslam tribe), 'Aqdah, Beidha Nethīl, Bida', Feid, Ghazālah, Hā'il, Hafeinah, Hafnah, Jadhāmīyah, Kehāfah (Mas'ūd sub-tribe of the Aslam), Laqītah, Mūqaq, Mustajiddah, 'Odheim, Qasr er-Rabei'īyah, Sab'ān (a sub-tribe of the Aslam), Tābah, Teima and Waqīd. In the Nefūd, Shammar are settled in Qana, and there are permanent military posts at the wells of Trobah and Hayyanīyah. In Nejd, inhabitants of reputed Shammar blood are found in the following places: in Qasīm, at 'Ayūn, Buteiniyāt, Ahlab ed-Dūd, Hamar, Qasr Sa'īd, Shiqqah, and Tanūmah; and in Sedeir, at 'Areirah, Artawīyah, Athlah, 'Attār (Qidārah section) and Zilfi.

20. *Sherārāt*

The Sherārāt, who are related to the Huteim (see p. 90), form a proportion of the population at Jauf el-'Amr.

21. *Sunnā'*

The Sunnā', forming the smiths' caste, are sometimes found settled in the villages of Nejd (see p. 92).

22. *Beni Tamīm*

The Beni Tamīm (see pp. 76 and 81), now entirely a settled tribe, form an important element of the fixed population in Nejd and Jebel Shammar: in Qasīm the people may perhaps be assumed to be Tamīm where the presence of other tribes is not reported. Communities and smaller groups of Beni Tamīm are found in the following places in Nejd: in 'Āridh, at 'Ammārīyah, 'Arjah, Dar'īyah,

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Dhrumah, Hareimlah, Hizwah, Mahriqah, Manfūhah, Masāni', Riyādh, Sedūs, Sufurrah, Thādiq; in Kharj, at 'Adhār, Dilam, Na'ajān, and Suleimīyah; in Hautah, at Hilwah and Quwei'; in Sedeir, at 'Asheirah, 'Audah, Dākhilah, Dhalmah, Harmah, Hasūn, Hautah, Jalājil, Janubīyah, Khatāmah, Khīs, Raudhah, Ruweidhah, Tameir, Tuweim and Wushei; in Qasīm, at Aneizah, Boreidah, and in all the oases (see p. 81); in the Wādi Sirr, at Feidhah. 101 619 622

In Jebel Shammar the presence of Beni Tamīm is noted at 'Alaq, Qasr el-'Ashruwāt, Feid, Mustajiddah, Sab'ān, Samīrah and Sileimi.

The tribal organization of the Beni Tamīm has tended to disappear in the process of settlement. The principal sub-tribes, with their lines of distribution, are enumerated in the following table, which must not, however, be regarded as exhaustive:

BENI TAMĪM

Husein.
At Hautah in Sedeir.
'Abd el-Jabbār.
At Dhalmah in Sedeir.
Āl Mādhi.
At Harmah and Raudhah in Sedeir.

Mājid.
At Thādiq in 'Āridh.
Ibn Mu'ammar.
At Sedūs in 'Āridh.
Nawāsir.
At Dhrumah in 'Āridh; at Hautah and Mejma' in Sedeir.

Thamārah.
At Mejma'.
Tuweim.
In Kharj.
Wahabah.
At Mejma'.
Wahūb
At Riyādh.

23. *Beni Zeid*

This settled tribe, connected by some authorities with the Beni Tamīm and by others with the Dawāsir, is found at Shaqrah and Washeiqir in Woshm. In the Wādi Turabah it is represented at Khurmah and Rumadān; communities also occur at Quwei'īyah and Sha'arah in the tract between the above districts.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJ4

714
625
411

A sergeant in the Desert Patrol
(*from the painting by W. A. Stewart*)

P. 40 (D)

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

212 "Then dost thou at least know the signature of thy *sheykh* and the seal of Amir Fuaz?"

Before his men, the Fid'an dared not admit that this too was beyond him, so I asked for the pouch Ali used to carry on his body, containing the letter along with other treasures.

Everybody listened respectfully to Ali's reading of the letter. He read judiciously—only what was pleasant and polite; all the rest he left out. The rascals hung on Ali's lips and drank in every word that came from them. When he had finished reading and had kissed the signature and the seal, the men pressed round him and inspected with awe the astounding document; and ignorant as they were of writing, they looked at it upside down!

685 The *Akid* was visibly uneasy, and for a while he and
626 the others put their heads together and, after much gesticulation and muttering, he turned to Ali and me and fired a cross-examination of silly questions at us. At last he seemed convinced that we had been wrongly treated, and he ordered his men to return our belongings to us. This naturally caused a small revolution, but the *Akid* knew how to make his influence felt, and after each of the men had in turn exhausted his protests against such a breach of the honour and the good customs of noble raiders, all our property was actually returned to us, with the exception only of my wrist watch, which still remained on the arm of the leader. Ali noticed it and, greatly daring, cried out: "Through thee the faith of thy *sheykh* is blackened! Divest thyself of our property, if thou art our friend." The *Akid*

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

meekly handed over the watch, which Ali put on his 685
own wrist. "Let me take care of it for thee," he said to 626
me, in his protective manner. He is actually "taking care" of my watch to this very day!

Our Fid'an hosts numbered seventeen horsemen and eight camel-riders, who had come on the scene after the attack on us. A gang of typical desert outlaws.

At the evening meal they spread a large leather camel- 415
saddle cover for a tablecloth. Previously the dough for our bread had been kneaded on it. At other times it served as manger and watering-trough for the horses and camels, for it could be suspended by leather loops, one at each of the four corners.

The *Akid* poured sour camels' milk from a goat skin 262
into a wooden basin and handed it round. The few *dhaluls* were lying close to us. The red campfire threw a glow of light over them and their long shadows melted into the blackness of the night. For a moment I imagined myself surrounded by strange monsters.

When I closed my eyes and heard only the belching 264
and grunting of my table-companions, I could scarcely distinguish them from the camels chewing the cud. And Ali was the noisiest feeder of them all!

Next morning the Fid'ans proposed that they should 721
join us with the idea of entering Ruala territory and lifting some camels. Nothing remained for Ali and myself but to make the best of these unwelcome proposals. We had to endure their company in the pious hope that somewhere we should fall in with the Ruala Bedouins.

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal, 000

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do, they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel, gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word 156
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their 771
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 181
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away. Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the wind-blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as thoroughbreds.

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Male Line of Descent

(1) *Bani 'Ám.* According to Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the 'Ajman, who discussed this with me on 11th August, 1935, the members of every tribe or section of a tribe which have a common male ancestry are known as Bani 'Ám, *lit.* the children of one uncle. The Mutair and 'Ajman are more strict than others about the interpretation of the above, he said, and carry it to the seventh generation of ascendants. Beyond that, he added, genealogies were rather vague. Only blood relationship on the father's side (*'Amam*) gives the right of Bani 'Ám or Ibn 'Ám, and not the relationship on the mother's side, which is known under the name of *Khawál.* 613 582

A man in trouble can always rely on his *'Amam* to come to his assistance. They must do this regardless of consequences—and so must a tribe which has such relationship with another, the 'Ajman-Murra tribes for instance. 613 614

The 'Ajman and Murra were continually at each other's throats in the past, and raided and counter-raided in merry fashion, but when an outside enemy attacked the one, all private feuds were put aside, and the two united in resisting the attack. The reason was that they were descended from the common ancestor Yam and so were *Bani 'Ám.*

The families of Ibn Sa'ud, Ibn Subah, Ibn Khalifa and Abal Khail of Qassim are all *Bani 'Ám,* and so can always be counted on, in any serious difficulty, to come to one another's help. They are all 'Anizah, descended from the same distant ancestor.

A man's *Khawál,* his maternal relations, are of course useful, especially in offering sanctuary, but they are not under the same obligations as a man's *Bani 'Ám.*

'Amam al rajál, akam min khawálu is a well-known saying. This explains happenings which sometimes mystify the European. A man marries a woman from another tribe; she proves unfaithful (the instance I am describing has to my knowledge happened among 'Arabdar and Hadhar persons of Kuwait), the husband does not seem to mind much, but hints to the wife's *'Amam* that she is not all that she should be. They, being her *Bani 'Ám,* kill her, but do not enlist the outraged husband. She is slain to clear the family's good name, and to enable them to hold up their heads in the *mijlis arjal,* or counsels of men. Should a couple have children, a son and a daughter, and the daughter happens to disgrace the family, then either the 613 627 604 593

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

613 father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the
627 dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her
604 *walad 'ám*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and
593 do the deed.

613 Between *bani 'ám* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man
604 must never seize and bind one of his *'amam* even though he be a
721 thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'amam* by a *dawn*
628 attack or raid him after *midnight*. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *bani 'ám* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiya*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'ud, Al Dushan, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. (See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'ÁM

601 (2) *Walad 'Ám*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'ÁM

613 (3) *Bint 'Ám*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—
582 on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.

[601] A man always has the right to marry his *bint 'ám*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'ám*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

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Badawin Love Affairs

RIGHTS OF IBN 'ÁM

If a girl refuses to be wedded to her *ibn 'ám*, he may slay her without becoming liable to pay blood money in compensation. 684 582

If the *ibn 'ám* knows that his cousin does not want him, being already in love with someone else, he can forbid (*haiyyir 'alaiha*) the marriage, and the girl may die a spinster.

If a girl loves another and her father dies, she has a chance of getting her freedom from her *ibn 'ám* who is *haiyyiring* her ("hajjir" is the correct technical term for keeping her to himself), if she goes and begs her freedom immediately after her father's death: "My father has died, I want thee to release me in return for my father who has passed away", she says. In such case the *hajjir* is expected to be generous and release her—but he is not bound to do so. If he refuses her only remedy is to elope. She then flees with her lover to a distant land or tribe, and there marries him after putting herself and her husband under the protection of a shaikh. She remains in constant danger from her cousin, however. Her husband is considered as guilty as a murderer and can only secure his life by the payment of blood money. [627]

Should a Badawin elope with and marry a "white slave girl" (e.g. Circassian, Georgian or Armenian) or a girl of inferior tribe (he can on no account marry a slave and defile the tribe's blood), he can never return again to his kin; they will kill him. [583]

It is the duty of every Badawin to marry and procreate. The more children he possesses, the more powerful his kinsmen. He would be expelled the tribe were he to refuse to do his duty in this respect. Without his kin a Badawin would be the most miserable of outcasts. Musil brings this out clearly in his book, *Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*. 581

There are, of course, cases where a man sees a girl, not his cousin, and falls madly in love with her. If she herself is not bound to her *ibn 'ám* a regular courtship follows, the man finding opportunity of meeting when she is looking after the camels or the sheep, much as our own youths and maidens do. I have known very violent love affairs of this type, and the Badawin loses his head over his lass quite as much as the ordinary English youth, if not more.

224 ily narrowed as it drew near. They started hundreds of gazelles that fled past us, but Sheykh Tai' and his men shot only a few of the fat bucks in their midst.

During the day's hunting, our party gave chase to fifteen wolves, of which nine were killed. One of them had made a kill of two gazelle kids, whose remains were still lying about. The mother, who perhaps at first had fled, returned and stood near by, bleating, as gazelles will. I could not bear the pitiful cries of the poor animal and gave her the *coup de grâce* with a bullet. It was the only gazelle I have ever shot, for I could never bring myself to kill these beautiful, graceful creatures.

It was evening before our body of huntsmen, laden with booty, arrived back in camp.

574 Three days after the wolf-hunt a slave of Mishal ibn Faris, Chief of the Shammar Bedouins, arrived, with an invitation to me from his master to visit him and his tribe, which was then camping south of the Jabal Sinjar. [431] He also sent me as a present a golden-brown *aba*, such [486] as is worn by the Shammar in Hayil. It was to serve as a symbol which would ensure a safe journey for me, and his slave would be my guide.

619 The Shammar and the Tai' Bedouins are hereditary ●628 enemies and their pasture lands are always, and were especially now, very dangerous regions in which to wander. Therefore, this was an act of particular courtesy and attention on the part of the old *sheykh* to give me safe conduct to his camp.

574 The following day I bade farewell to the Tai' Bed-431 ouins. Unfortunately, I could not accept the mare

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1946) 1948 MG1 Jordan
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migrated from Central Arabia. Before Ibn Hadhdhal, the greatest 622
shaikh in the Syrian desert had been Ibn Jesham, who now lives in poverty on the Lower Euphrates.

It was, indeed, related that an Arab petitioner had once 181
accosted His Majesty King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud by the title of Chief of the Arabs, but that the latter had protested: "I take refuge with God, my son! The Chief of the Arabs is Ibn Hadhdhal." With less than 200 years of rule to their credit, the Sauds were a new family to the Arabs.

When this story was repeated to Ibn Hadhdhal, he interrupted the narrator to object: "I take refuge with God, my son!" said the old chieftain. "The chief of the Arabs is Ibn Jesham." Such was the modest chivalry of these old chiefs, although all of them were at war with one another.

From Ibn Hadhdhal I obtained a letter to Al Nuri ibn Shaalan, 122
chief of the Ruwallah. A retainer of Fahad's, Burjas al Dhafiri, was 628
detailed to accompany us on our journey, to save us from molesta- 485
tion by the Amarat. He could not, of course, protect us from raiders from other tribes. Burjas came from the Dhafir tribe, not the Amarat. He had been obliged to flee from his relatives owing to a blood feud, and had taken refuge with Ibn Hadhdhal, whose trusted retainer he had become. Burjas was so short-sighted that he was almost blind, but he knew the desert perfectly for hundreds of miles. As we rode along, he would cross-question us as to what we could see. "To the north-west, there should soon appear two low round hills each surmounted by a heap of stones, like a woman's breasts." "Can you see on the south a tall grey peak? It is Feridat al Wa'ar."

Burjas, half-blind, carried 200,000 square miles of desert in his 485
mind's eye, and could estimate when every distant landmark would come into view.

We made for the water-holes at Al Molussi, in the hope of 485
hearing news of Ibn Shaalan. The water-holes were in a narrow 609
valley at the foot of a rocky cliff. There was nobody camped on the water. We stopped to drink, when suddenly we were startled by a voice calling: "What are you, O camel riders?"

High above us on the rocky cliff face sat three men, each holding a rifle. Burjas argued with them without revealing our identity,

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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619 (1) *In Hasa and Kuwait* (East Arabia).

565 The 'Awazim tribe, probably of Hutaim origin, and originally a serf-community of the 'Ajman.

The Rashaida Tribe—certainly of Hutaim origin; originally serfs of the Mutair, and retainers of the Shaikhs of Kuwait from earliest times.

(2) *In North-West Arabia.*

The Hutaim—A large and very powerful group of tribes, who generally acknowledge the overlordship of Shaikhs Ibn Barak and Ibn Naumas. (The Shararat tribe, for instance, forms part of the great Hutaim group.)

(3) *All over North and North Central Arabia.*

The Sulubba—The lowest, most despised of desert men, and said to be descendants of the Christian Crusaders. Great guides and hunters. (See Chapter XLI.)

(4) *Central and North Arabia.*

The Aqail or Agail*—residents of Qasim and Baghdad. From time immemorial camel-dealers of the desert.

The great house of Al Bassam are Aqailis.

[326] (5) Not to be confused with the above, are the Al Sana,† a community of ironmongers, farriers and arms-repairers, sections of whom each Sharif tribe protects and possesses as part of itself. *Sanna* is the plural of *Sana*, e.g. Sanna al Mutair, Sanna al Rashid, etc.

[582] No Sharif Arab can take a daughter from (or give a daughter to) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) above. His own tribe would not tolerate it, and his relations would kill the offender. The excuse would be that he [628] was spoiling the tribe's blood. Everyone will remember the shooting of the capable 'Abdullah Beg al Sana, Governor of Baghdad in 1932, by His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha al Sa'adun, because of the former's foolish attempt to marry the Europeanised daughter of His Excellency 'Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Prime Minister of Iraq. The true Arab of the desert, from Bin Sa'ud downward, not only condoned the murder, but highly approved it.

361 * The Aqail or Agail are, of course, not a Badawin tribe in any sense of the word, for they live in the towns. They more correctly should be termed a *hadhar* community.

† Members of this class have often risen to the highest positions of trust under various Arab Rulers as well as under the Turks.

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[576] A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing
592 his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hdl illi wardkum?* (How is the
601 person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.
551 Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indi-
613 cate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suḍa, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

613 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some
582 of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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eleven motor-cars to the shaikh's relations. The shaikh for his part disbursed Rs.95,000, including Rs.25,000 to the King's sons, as well as 750 *ziburns* and *'abbas* to retainers. K 574 431 B 574 431

This giving of gifts by a host to his guest is more particularly the prerogative of the host if he be the big man and the guest be the poor man. It follows then that any Badawin shaikh who comes on a visit to his King, his prince or his paramount shaikh, and is hospitably received by him, expects to receive some sort of present before he departs. "After all," thinks he, "have I not come a distance of many miles, have I not shown my loyalty and have I not imparted much information of value?"

I had the honour to be for seven and a half years the Political Agent of Kuwait, and I can testify that this officer can similarly maintain good relations with the great desert tribes of Iraq, Hasa, Najd and Jabal Shammar, only by keeping open house at all times and receiving with due honour the shaikhs of these tribes whenever they come to the town to purchase supplies. These shaikhs call, as a measure of duty, receive coffee, sherbet and other refreshments and before departing are given a present of cash, clothing or coffee by the Political Agent.

The expenditure is worth while, for each man has given a full picture of what is happening in his country, and has unconsciously provided the official with much valuable intelligence. Were the Political Agent to cease giving his guests a present, however small, they would immediately cease to come and see him, and in a very short time indeed H.M.'s representative would find himself blind and deaf. He certainly would get little news out of the local powers, seeing that in self-defence their policy must always be to keep H.M.'s representative more or less in the dark or at least in blinkers.

THE SALT BOND

To have eaten with a person gives a guest security from the man who has fed him and entertained him, and even from his host's people or tribe, for a period of three days. B 574 628

Even if you merely drink coffee with your host, this counts as if you had eaten his food.

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574 Faleh bin 'Aamir, a Mutairi of the Mu'aha branch of the 'Ilwa,
628 whom I have known for several years and with whom I have spent many a pleasant evening in the desert, has from time to time told me many stories relating to Arab hospitality. Among other things, he detailed the duty of guests towards their host which I recorded in my notes on 7th January, 1935.

Not only, said he, is there a binding duty of the host towards his guest, but such guest, so long as his host's salt (*milah*) is in his stomach (*fi battinu*)—which is always assumed to be three days and three nights—is responsible that no harm comes to the host from the guest's tribe. For example, A was the host of B, who quite casually and as an ordinary traveller, had stopped at A's tent and spent the night (*nauwakh andhu*). Next day B left A's tent (second day) and went his way. On the third day A's tent was attacked by raiders from B's tribe, and five camels and one mare were carried off. A then had a rightful claim against B and was able through B's intervention to recover his lost camels and mare.

In practice A would follow B to his tribe, however far away, and would lay his claim before him, or if B's tribe were not on a friendly footing with A's tribe, A would send a neutral messenger to B, and demand satisfaction.

Not only would B be in honour bound to make complete restitution, but he would have the whole of his tribe behind him if it were necessary to coerce the raiders who had harmed A's camp and stolen the camels. On top of the restitution to A, "honour" money or "honour" camels, would have to be paid to B. That is, the raiders would have to give an extra camel or two to B as compensation for having, so to speak, broken the salt bond between the two men.

SANCTITY OF WOMEN

562 In the desert the position of women is a far freer and happier one
587 (if we except the hard life and privation that is their lot), than that
586 of their Arab sisters of the town. It is true that they are frequently divorced. Such divorces, however, are not over-serious. Perhaps there is incompatibility of temper, or perhaps the wife has failed to serve up a tasty dinner for her husband and lord. It matters little.

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621 force, though the *qasir* will be well advised, if he can get hold of the shaikh of his protector's tribe, to kill a camel and invite him to a public meal. The shaikh will then see that everyone knows that the stranger is now under the tribe's protection.

The new tent-neighbour becomes, as it were, the guest of the particular Badawin who has given him permission to camp near him as his *qasir*. He is henceforth an *'aziz* (a dear one), and like the *rafiq* or *khawi*, he enjoys special privileges and is not subjected to the rules and regulations of the protector's tribe, and the "*qasir's* stick is now his sword" (*'assa-hu saif*).

The Badawin householder must protect the *qasir* against all comers, and in return the *qasir* must protect his benefactor against any raiders, even raiders of his own tribe.

Any cases or complaints now lodged against the *qasir* must be preferred through the person protecting him. "Sue me," says the protector, "but not my *qasir*, for I am in his place."

628 If any animal or thing is stolen from the *qasir's* tent, and the latter
672 complains to his protector, the protector must either find the stolen animal or article, or make it good.

Should a stranger, or even one of his own relatives or tribesmen, insult a woman of his *qasir's* tent and she cries out for help, the protector must immediately respond and come to aid her, whether her husband is with her or not. If the protector happens to kill the person insulting or harming the woman, he is not liable to pay blood money (*'idiyah*), nor is he exposed to any penalties from the slain man's relatives. On the contrary, the murdered man's kin must themselves pay any blood money due, as it was one of them who outraged the tent of a *qasir*. Public opinion in the desert will always make an offender pay up.

628 If raiders attack a man's *qasir* and carry off camels and mares, the
721 protector must make these good from booty he himself will capture in the next successful raid he engages in.

If the camels are stolen by camel thieves and a neighbouring tribe is suspected, the protector must himself join in the search and hire men to spy them out (*bil asa*) at his own expense.

If a *qasir* happens to kill a man of his protector's tribe, and then comes to his protector's tent and asks his help, the latter must help

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him to make his escape to safety, if necessary calling in all his own 628
family for the purpose. Or if the *qasir* says he will pay blood money 721
in settlement, then the protector must protect him until the negotiations are put through.

If a *qasir's* tribe declares war on his protector's tribe, and later the *qasir's* camels are captured by raiders belonging to the protector's tribe, then the latter is absolved from returning the camels and vice versa, unless both protector and his *qasir* make public declaration before their respective shaikhs that they are tent-neighbours (*qusara*) and each will make good any damage suffered by the other party. If, then, the tribe of either party accidentally or purposely captures camels or mares from either of the men, they must return the loot when asked to do so.

The protector must make this public declaration to his own shaikh in person, and if the *qasir* cannot get through himself he must send neutral messengers to his own shaikh and people and do likewise.

Should the protector have in his employ a strange Badawin to herd his camels or sheep, and raiders of the herdsman's tribe suddenly appear and carry off the herd, then because the man in charge is their own fellow-tribesman the raiders must restore three she-camels to the herdsman, one for riding on and two for milking.

Certain desert tribes, notably the Dhafir, are particularly proud 554
of the name they have won for protecting their tent-neighbours. 619
They have become famous in this respect, as the following stories 622
will show. (The chief actors in both cases were well known to me, 628
though Hamud al Suwait has now been dead some years.) 577

The uncle of Hamud al Suwait, the Shaikh of all the Dhafir tribe, once threatened in public *majlis*, to impale himself on his sword which he had drawn for the purpose, unless *his own son* were brought before him and slain in his presence, because the son had killed his tent-neighbour in the heat of a foolish quarrel. The various members of the family tried hard to shield the youth, but realising that the old shaikh was in deadly earnest, Hamud al Suwait (he became shaikh after his uncle's death two years later) himself seized the boy and with his own hand cut him down before the eyes of his father. Thus was tribal honour satisfied. This incident happened in 1912, and was told

Fame of the Dhafir

554 me by Shaikh Hamud himself, and later vo ned for by the Shaikh
619 of Kuwait on 9th September, 1932.

622 Shaikh Jada'an al Suwait, who succeeded to the Shaikhship of the
● 628 Dhafir after the death of Hamud, was camped near Athaiba and
577 Ruhail on the Kuwait–Iraq border in 1931. Hearing that one of his own tribesmen had fired at and wounded a Mutairi tribesman who was his *qasir* at the time, even though the Mutair tribe and the Dhafir tribe were open enemies, Shaikh Jada'an had the offending tribesman brought before him, and with his own hand slashed him over the head with his sword.

The deed flashed through the Badawin world like lightning at the time, and Jada'an's name, as the upholder of Badawin hon ur,
[682] became almost as famous as that of his forbear. Unfortunately the Iraq authorities, with that folly which has frequently characterised them in dealing with the high-spirited tribesmen of the desert, imprisoned Shaikh Jada'an for several weeks, before they saw that they were making a martyr of a desert hero. This act cost them his allegiance. Shortly after, Shaikh Jada'an went over to Bin Sa'ud, taking half the tribe with him.

Shaikh Jada'an told me the story himself, saying that he only acted as he did in order to keep the vital Badawin law clean and untarnished.

So greatly have the Dhafir tribe preserved and guarded their good name in the above respect, that it is said of Mana, another famous Shaikh of the Dhafir, that the immediate cause of his death was the news (which was brought to him as he was riding home from a raid), that a certain well-known guest of the tribe had, in his absence, been attacked and slain. Certain it is that on being told what had happened, his heart seemed to stop beating and he fell forward on to his camel's neck and rolled to the ground a dead man. His daughter, whom I met in 1935, told me that the old man had literally died of a broken heart, and her words were vouched for by her husband, Shaikh Hautush al Suwait, cousin of Jada'an.

621 I myself have only once been appealed to by a person who was
671 my *qasir*. I am glad to say that the results were eminently satisfactory.
577 It happened on this wise. I was in Kuwait, and it was in the hot month of July 1932, when everyone was sleeping on the roof at night. I was sleeping outside the old Agency dining-room, over the cook's quarters.

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609 *alaik* (I am your suppliant, I enter upon God's pardon and yours). The person so addressed is bound to protect the suppliant, with his own life if necessary, and is bound always to fight for him, or get him to a place of safety if he is being pursued or is in immediate danger.

HOW DAKHÁLA IS CLAIMED

A man being followed by enemies meets a Badawin girl cutting firewood in the desert, or her mother spinning outside her tent alone, and begs *dakhála*. The girl or her mother is bound to offer protection, and if the danger is near, she will call out for help (*tasih*). Immediaately the whole community will rush (*faẓa'a*) to her aid. The man will be sent to a place of safety. He will not be surrendered.*

[628] A man may enter the house of the brother of a man he has just killed. If he demands *dakhála* he is safe for three days, after that time he must say where he wants to go, and he will be seen safely to his destination. This done, the brother of the man he has killed is free to resume his just blood feud.

HOW DAKHÁLA WORKS

A man is chased for a crime, he rushes into a tent (or house) and begs *dakhála*. The owner of the tent is bound not only to grant sanctuary, but, after feeding the visitor and clothing him, must see him safely to the house, tent or tribe where the suppliant thinks he will be safe. After that the protector's responsibility ends.

So strict is the law of *dakhála* among the Badawin that a man carrying the "cane" (marked with his *wasm*) of a shaikh with whom he has taken sanctuary, may safely travel through the length and breadth of a tribe's territory, even though there may be persons there who have a blood feud with him.

609 178 In countries like modern Sa'udi Arabia, and in the new Iraq where the authorities, following the Persian example, are unfortunately, and I think mistakenly, trying to break down tribal customs, the practice of *dakhála* is unpopular with those who rule, and the police con-

* Jaal the Kenite of Bible fame broke the law of *dakhála* when she slew the sleeping Sisera, who clearly believed himself safe in her tent. She also broke all laws of hospitality, as Sisera had come to her tent and partaken of her food.

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stantly find themselves thwarted by it. This is a pity, for if properly 609
understood there is nothing shameful or anti-social in the system. 178
It would be wiser for the law to recognise its existence and make use of it and of other time-honoured Arab customs.

In 1933 my friend, Shaikh Lafi ibn Ma'allath of the Mutair (Braih) 641
tribe, a faithful warrior and servant of Bin Sa'ud, was forced to flee to Iraq, because a man pursued by Bin Sa'ud's blockade-police took refuge in his tent, and invoked the law of *dakhála*. When the police threatened to search for the fugitive the stout-hearted shaikh signalled to his followers and fellow tent-dwellers to close around, and said he would resist the man's arrest by force of arms if necessary. Baulked of their prey the police (all townsmen) went away angry and sullen, and reported the incident to Ibn Jiluwi, their master. Lafi, feeling that he had got a breathing-space, and knowing that he would never be forgiven, fled across the border with his cousins, relatives, women, children, thirty tents in all, never to come back. Had the police bided their time, three days, they could probably have followed and made an arrest. Instead, they drove a faithful and loyal servant of the King into exile.

Cases of a similar nature are legion, and do almost more than anything else to promote bad feeling between the tribal elements of Arabia and the local governments.

The root trouble is, of course, the desire of upstart kings and princes, eager to ape the West, to break down all tribal systems, because they think these mark a backward state of society.

Akin to *dakhála* is the conception of *wejh* or *tisyar*. This literally 677
means "face". *Be wejh fulan* (lit. "In So-and-So's face") means under the protection or safe conduct of So-and-So, and is a phrase very commonly heard in the desert. The penalties for outraging a person's *dakhála*, *wejh* or *tisyar* (as the Iraq tribesmen call *wejh*) are very severe indeed; a heavy fine is exacted from any person purposely defying the custom. This fine is called *hashm* or "honour money" [628]
in Iraq. A man surrendering to the police another who has claimed *dakhála* will be relentlessly pursued by the suppliant's relations and will be slain unless he compounds the case by paying *hashm* to the tribe.

The following anecdote of how a British officer was saved by

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609 machine for Hasan. He did not possess it long, for when full independence was granted to Iraq, the leaders of the new Arab Government deprived Hasan Agha of his pump.

(NOTE.—The above story was told me in this form by Hasan Agha himself. It differs very considerably from the account published in *Blackwood's Magazine* of August 1921 by the chief actor in the drama.)

Before closing this chapter I must quote one more example of Arab chivalry. It was told me on 10th March, 1937, by Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah and next day confirmed by the hero of it, ibn Khazar himself, who later became a great friend of mine.

622 628 577 About thirty years before, when 'Abdul Muhsin ibn Khazar, Shaikh of the Bani Khalid, was a young man, he was famed far and wide as a raider. Many and great were his deeds of endurance and bravery. One day he carried out a distant foray against the U'taiba, in course of which he killed a well-known shaikh, galloping after him and single-handed shooting him in the back with his carbine. On his return from the raid he was sitting round his camp-fire regaling his friends with the story when there entered the son of the Shaikh of the Za'ab tribe (*bani 'ám* to the 'Adwan). He must be told the story over again, and coming to the part of how he dropped the 'Utaiba leader from his horse with one flying shot, 'Abdul Muhsin pointed his weapon at the Za'ab lad and fired. He never dreamed that his carbine was loaded as it unfortunately was. The son of the Za'ab Shaikh was killed.

In horror, he was for a time at a loss what to do. His Bani Khalid people tried to persuade him to report that the youth had been killed in a nearby raid, but ibn Khazar held that this would be contrary to Arab honour. He rode off to the boy's father and told him exactly what had happened. At the end of his recital he loaded his carbine handed it to the Shaikh of the Za'ab and begged him to avenge his son's blood. The shaikh generously refused. Not to be outdone, 'Abdul Muhsin declared that he would be a second son to the bereaved father till he died. He kept his word, giving his adopted father half of his sheep and camels, half of any loot (*chessib*) which he ever gained in a raid, and half of any presents that he ever received from ibn Sa'ud or the Shaikhs of Bahrain. He continued to do this until the old man died.

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Limitation of Sanctuary

NOTE ON DAKHÁLA

In discussing the law of *dakhála* with Shaikh Thurwairan abu Sifra, head of the Rukhman section of the Mutair on 6.2.39, the latter told me that in the matter of *dakhála*, the Mutair, Qahtan and 'Utaiba granted *dakhála* to any member of their own tribe who asked for it, for a set period of twelve months, and the *dakhil* could wander about with entire safety in his particular tribe for this period and could go anywhere without danger of molestation provided he did not go beyond the confines of the tribal *dirah*. 609 171

The 'Ajman, he said, had the same rule, but the *dakhil* must not leave the vicinity of the tents or tent of the person affording him *dakhála* and should camp alongside him as his *gasir* or tent neighbour, thus getting double protection.

The Shammar, Dhafir, Harb and 'Awazim tribes on the other hand granted *dakhála* only for three days and three nights, and then were obliged to help the *dakhil* make good his escape to a safe place or person indicated by himself. This rule, he said, was also followed by nearly all the riverain tribes in Iraq.

He asserted that a woman had no *wajh*, and so could not grant *dakhála* to any person unless her husband was absent from his tents. In such circumstances she could give refuge to a man making his *dakhála* to her. [562]

Lastly he told me that a Mutairi breaking another Mutairi's *dakhála* (i.e. harming his *dakhil* in any way) entitled the man giving the *dakhála* to raid the aggressor's tents seven times, kill as many men as he could of the aggressor's family, and kill as many camels as he could with full impunity and with no ill consequences to himself. (*Illa il haq i sabbaia sabe marrat.*) 628 609

A point to note here is that he may not carry off camels, but must kill them, lest he be accused of cupidity when just vengeance is what he seeks.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

Camel Disputes

In the Arab States of Arabia proper, the rights of an individual over his camel are looked upon as more sacred perhaps than life itself. It is possible that there may be slight differences in custom and details in various parts of Arabia, but speaking generally, the rules given below will be found to be understood and prevail in most of North-Eastern and Central Arabia. I cannot speak for Oman, Yaman and the Hijaz, but I see no reason to suppose that the basic principles of all desert camel laws are not the same. 421

After dealing with the important custom of *'Arafa*, I have touched on and given the meaning, as briefly as I can, of the Badawin terms *Jahdnah*, *'Ihlnah*, *Tirkhah*, *Khidmah*, *Zakat*, *Khawah* and *Dhabihah wa Manihah*, all terms regularly heard in the desert man's daily life. I must express my thanks to His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait and his able Lieutenant Shaikh 'Abdullah al Jabir who is responsible for Kuwait tribal affairs, for the great assistance they have given by helping me to collect the data necessary for this chapter.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. *The case of camels belonging to individuals or tribes, straying with friendly tribes.* 421 628 425 681

(a) If one or more camels stray from a tribal herd and are later found with a friendly tribe, the owners can send in a demand for their return to the shaikh of the friendly tribe in question. Providing there is no undue delay, restitution is made and the matter ends.

(b) Should the strayed camel or camels not be restored, the owners have the right to watch their opportunity and seize property, livestock or even men belonging to the offending tribe, and

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remain such in their possession until their own plundered property is surrendered.

(c) Should the offending tribe still be obstinate (*a'asin*) and not return the camels, then the complainants have the right to hold what they have seized and must be satisfied with this. It is presumed that they have seized and held a number of camels equal to the number lost, neither more nor less.

II. *The case of camels straying away to a hostile tribe.*

The owner of the camel awaits his opportunity, and has the right to seize his enemy's camels and as many as he likes besides, by raid (*ghazzu*) or other stratagem, on the grazing grounds of the desert, in the summer or spring months, or on the caravan routes when his enemy visits a town or settlement to purchase supplies.

The injured party (owner of original stolen camels) retains what he has thus acquired from the enemy as a right, or he can make conditions with the enemy as he pleases. He can also if he likes cry "quits" entirely, provided everything is restored which he lost in the first place. Should blood be shed on such raids, the rule of the desert permits of revenge during five lives, that is to say, the party from whom a life has been taken, is entitled to kill a member of the slayer's family or tribe, down to the fifth generation, unless of course the family of the slain man agrees to accept *'idiyah* or *diya* (blood-money), which is generally computed in Najd and Kuwait to-day at Rials 800 (see Chapter XLII).

III. *The case of a tribe or tribes belonging to a recognised Government, raiding camels of tribes belonging to another Government.*

The Government of the raided tribe has the legal right to claim the stolen property back from the Government of the guilty tribe or to claim money compensation. The compensation is assessed by mutual agreement. Should the guilty tribe, however, refuse to obey the order of its own Government, and it becomes impossible to recover the property stolen, then the injured tribe has the right

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to recover its lost property in its own time, and by whatever means it deems fit to employ. 421 628 425 681

IV. *The case of stolen or lost camels, recognised in a town or settlement by their original owners. (Both parties for example having come up to purchase supplies.)* 421 628 369 425 681 694

If the two parties are members of tribes which are friendly and on good terms with each other, and if their respective tribes are on good terms with, and under the authority of, the Ruler or Governor of the town in question, then the claimant must produce three witnesses to testify that the property he claims is his own. The words he himself uses to prove his claim before the authority hearing the case are, "I affirm that I neither sold nor gave away this my camel". Having completed this formality, the claimant will receive back his camel by order of the Ruler or Governor of the said town. (This sort of case frequently arises in Kuwait and towns in Najd.)

In the event of the person in possession of the camel having bought it from a third party unaware that it was the lawful property of a member of a friendly tribe, the procedure is different (see below). Again, if the person in possession of the camel has obtained it in war from a third party, the claimant will only receive it back if the custom of *'arafa* exists between his tribe and that of the person with whom the camel is found (see below).

V. *The case of a tribe of one Government attacking a tribe of another Government and a battle resulting.* 421 628

The attacked tribe has the right to ask its Government to demand and recover full blood-money for its killed and injured from the Government of the guilty party. Should the complainant's Government not be in a position to exact reparation or come to an agreement with the aggressor's Government, either as to the blood-money due or to the terms of peace acceptable to the injured tribe, then the families of the victims have the right to take revenge in their own time and way, without being responsible to their Government in any respect. (V is similar to III.) 425 681

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"Recognition" of Camels

THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA
OR
"RECOGNITION" OF ANIMALS BY THE OWNER

421 I. *The case of camels captured in a raid.*

628 619 425 Should two tribes *asta'araf* to one another (have made the special *'arafa* agreement between them), then one party may take from the other, camels once belonging to the former and now recovered from an enemy in raid, etc., by the latter.

Thus if a number of camels have been captured from the 'Ajman by the 'Awazim, and on some later occasion are recovered by the Mutair, the 'Ajman would have the right to take back their camels on application to the Mutair, without compensation, *provided the custom of 'Arafa existed between the 'Ajman and the Mutair.*

421 619 671 425 II. *The case of camels bought from one person by another and later recognised by a former owner as having been stolen from him.*

The case is settled in this wise. If the purchaser and the original owner are of the same tribe, or belong to two tribes with a "special agreement" by which their relations are those of *Bani 'Am*, then the purchaser and the original owner, together with the animal in dispute, have to approach the seller and from him recover the purchase money. They give this to the man who has bought the camel, and the orignal owner takes back his property. For example, a man of Shammar recognises a stolen camel of his with a man of the Dhafir, and the latter states he purchased it from the Mutair. Should the Dhafir and Shammar have a *Bani 'Am* arrangement between them, the men will both go and see the Mutairi. If the Mutairi had himself raided or stolen the camel from the Shammari, and the Mutair and the Shammar were at peace, he will return the purchase price to the Dhafiri, and the Shammari may then take the camel he claims. If the Mutairi has himself bought the camel from another, say an 'Ajmi, he will still pay back the price to the Dhafiri and will then go and claim his money from the 'Ajmi, and so on till they get back to the original thief. In other words, all intervening sales and purchases are step by step undone.

B
entering Harb country in Sa'udi Arabia would pay *khdwah* to the 651
Shaikh of the Harb. The tax would consist of a few sheep, possibly 486
some *dehen* (clarified butter) also, and usually is a fee agreed upon. With the rise of Bin Sa'ud, the taking of *khdwah* has been officially banned, but it continues nevertheless *sub rosa*. The Iraq Government are said to be also trying to abolish the tax and follow in Bin Sa'ud's footsteps. Whether they will succeed or not is as yet uncertain (1936).

A caravan passing through a great tribe's territory would also before the rise of Bin Sa'ud have paid *khdwah*. On one occasion the 'Ajman and Bani Hajir tribes blockaded Kuwait because Qasim merchants refused to pay them this *khdwah*. This was in Mubarak's time, and he retaliated by forbidding 'Ajman *mustbilah*, that is, he prevented them from coming up and buying supplies in Kuwait town, and arranged with Zubair and Jubail to do the same. The payment of *khdwah* entitles the payer to protection.

B
DHABÎHAH AND MANÎHAH ("SHEEP AND SERVICE") 619
(only paid by inferior tribes to superior tribes) 628

A curious custom has its origin in the days of Shabib al Sa'adun, 651
the ancestor of the present family of that name and shaikhs of the Muntafiq. When Shabib first entered Iraq and settled in 'Ajwad country (Gharaf), his son happened to get killed by some shepherd tribes. Being anxious to strengthen his position he refused to take a life for a life, or to accept blood money, but made a condition that (1) he should never be required to rise if any 'Ajwad shaikh entered his presence; (2) that every shaikh should kiss his cheek or shoulder and their sons his knee or his feet, according to seniority; (3) that when he went among the 'Ajwad tribes they should always provide free his requirements of sheep's milk, wool, or young male lambs, for food.

The 'Ajwad tribes of the *Gharaf* gladly agreed, and the term *Dhabîhah wa Manîhah* was applied to the conditions imposed by Shabib al Sa'adun, which interpreted means *sheep and service*.

To-day *dhabîhah wa manîhah* is well understood in North-East K
Arabia and has become a recognised custom among shepherd tribes. 651
For example, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe enters Kuwait in search of 651

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CHAPTER XLII

Crime

THE BLOOD FEUD

628 The subject of the blood feud is a big one, and is so well known among experts that I feel diffident in approaching it lest I be challenged by those having more knowledge of Qur'anic Law than I. I shall nevertheless endeavour, with apologies, to touch on this absorbing and interesting subject for the benefit of those of my readers who do not know the Arab or his customs.

628 671 Throughout Arabia, and especially among the Badawin of that great country, the Qur'anic Law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is universally understood, and strictly enforced—with slight variations to suit local conditions.

In other words, if a man kill another *intentionally*, his own life is forfeit; if he wound or maim another he may be similarly wounded or maimed in return.

If on the other hand the offender can prove that he killed or wounded another person *unintentionally*, then he is allowed to compound the case by a money payment, fixed according to *'urf* or *islahat* custom, that is to say, by compensation mutually and satisfactorily arranged between both parties, through the medium of the local judge of the Shari'ah court, or the prince, ruler or shaikh as the case may be, such compensation being based on the figures mentioned in the next paragraph, though usually divided by three.

Should it so happen, however, that in a case of *intentional* killing, wounding or maiming, the aggrieved party or his relatives prefer to extract money compensation from the offender, they are permitted to do so under the Shari'ah Law, according to a scale strictly laid down.

An example of such scale is given below. It was given me by H.E. the Shaikh of Kuwait on 5th April, 1936, who in turn obtained it from the Chief Qazi of Kuwait, Al Shaikh Hamáda, as the basis on which to work out a scale of compensation to be paid by the local

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Oil Company to its workmen who might get *accidentally* killed or 628 ●
hurt in the course of their work. The scale has been converted from 671
Rials into Rupees, this being the official currency of Kuwait.

(A) *Full compensation, or Rs.3000 in the following cases:*

Death.	Loss of both Hands.
Insanity.	Loss of both Feet.
Total Blindness.	Loss of an Eye of a one-eyed man.
Total Dumbness.	Loss of both Ears (entire).
Total Deafness.	Loss of Nose (entire).
Total loss of Voice.	Loss of Penis.
Total loss of Taste.	

(B) *Half compensation, or Rs.1500 in following cases:*

Loss of Hand.	Loss of one Eye.
Loss of Foot.	Loss of one Testicle.

(C) *Quarter compensation, or Rs.750 in following case:*
Partial loss of both Ears.

(D) *One-eighth compensation, or Rs.375 in following case:*
Entire loss of one Ear.

(E) *One-tenth compensation, or Rs.300 in following cases:*
Loss of Finger of single hand, or any toe of a single foot.

(F) *One-twentieth compensation, or Rs.150 in following case:*
Loss of each Tooth.

The "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" law, though universally understood and practised in Arabia, is slightly varied to suit local conditions and different localities.*

In tribal Iraq, for instance, the cost of an ordinary life to-day works out at Rs.800 or its equivalent in Dinars, while that of a Saiyid, or descendant of the Prophet, is valued at Rs.1100. But among the Badawin of Najd, Hasa and Kuwait the recognised blood money for a life is Rials 800, which at the 1936 rate of exchange works out at Rs.1200 approximately.

It will be noticed that this figure falls far short of the Shari'ah figures, and obviously has been agreed on to meet the impossibility

* Among the Muntfir, for instance, compensation for a man killed consists of 800 dollars cash, 1 slave, 1 riding camel, 1 rifle.

Money Compensation

628 of a tribesman being able to collect the sum laid down by the Shari'ah
671 Law.

This money settlement for killing a person is known as *fasl* among the Iraq tribes, and is usually accompanied by the payment of a further sum of honour money or *hashm* if the act was a breach of tribal honour.

For example, in 1916, when I was rather stupidly ambushed and wounded near Suq ash Shuyukh on my way back from a local wedding, I had taken the precaution to have a *rafiq* or safe conduct with me in the person of my old friend, Shaikh Qasid al Nahi, of the Hacham tribe, and two others. I therefore was offered by the Shaikh of the tribe responsible for my safety (Shaikh Qasid) the special sums of Rs.500 plus Rs.400. The former being *fasl* for my spilt blood (no bones broken), and the latter *hashm* or honour money, seeing that I had been hurt whilst under the protection of a *rafiq* of the tribe which shot me.

In the desert this word *fasl* is scarcely known, nor is the word *hashm* understood in the above sense except by a few. Instead the term *'idiyah* or *diyah* is universally used. The meaning is the same as *fasl*, but the word is truer Arabic.

628 While in Iraq it is practically always possible to settle a murder
682 case by means of this *fasl* or blood-money system, such settlement is unusual in the desert and in Najd proper. It depends almost entirely on the wishes of the relatives of the person killed. In other words, if a man is killed in a private quarrel his parents, or if he has none, his nearest relatives, are asked if they will accept *'idiyah* or desire their *haq* or rights. If they agree to accept *'idiyah* well and good, if not then the slayer's life is forfeit, and it is the business of the ruler or shaikh of the tribes to see the death sentence carried out. In the great majority of cases the executioner is one of the nearest relatives of the man killed.

In carrying out the death sentence it is important that the act of retribution be carried out in exactly the same way and by exactly the same means as the dead man was in the first place done to death.

For example, if A was shot through the head by B, A's relatives must arrange to shoot B through the head and in no other place.
628 Or again, in the case of a wilful hurt not amounting to killing, if C
683 was cut over the head with a sword by D, C's relatives must inflict

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Bedouins MJ4

exactly the same wound and with a sword on D's head as D inflicted on C. He must not exceed his right in taking his vengeance by one jot or tittle, else he himself lays himself open to counter punishment, and the feud proceeds.

The Shaikh of Kuwait told me the following rather harrowing story of an event which took place in Kuwait about 1927, and which illustrates the stern determination of the Badawin of the desert to enforce what they deem the just law of retribution.

A Mutairi tribal woman living in Kuwait had three sons (the father had died some years previously). One day the eldest son quarrelled with the second son in the market place, and in a fit of rage shot him through the heart. The shot man died almost immediately and the murderer was arrested. The mother, on being asked by the shaikh what sort of punishment she wanted him to inflict on her eldest son replied that she demanded his life, and straightway called upon him to order her youngest son to shoot his elder brother. The shaikh, filled with horror at the woman's unnatural demand, and especially at the idea of turning the youngest boy also into a fratricide, pleaded for several days with the woman. At the same time he pointed out that it was quite unnecessary for her to lose two of her sons at one stroke, seeing that the killing was unpremeditated. He therefore asked her to allow him to judge the matter as he thought fit. The mother was, however, adamant. Consequently the third boy, who was greatly devoted to his two elder brothers, was given a rifle and ordered to shoot his surviving brother in the heart, and in the public market square. He refused point blank, and repeatedly threw the proffered rifle on the ground. Finally on being pressed he fainted, and the execution had to be carried out by the shaikh's own guards. Local Badawin opinion fully agreed with the mother's decision, and the way the execution was carried out, but the unhappy mother was left with only her third son, who, hating her for her ferocity, refused to live with her or even to support her any more.

It is understood among the Badawin of to-day that no blood money can legitimately be claimed in the case of a man killed in regular battle between two tribes at war. This is simply because it is impossible for men to recognise one another in a long-range fight with modern firearms. Nevertheless if a man be recognised in the course

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Bedouins MJ4
Ma'adan

721 of such battle as having deliberately engaged and killed another
628 in single combat, then he should be on his guard for the rest of his life, for the dead man's relatives may some fine day try to take vengeance as they have the right to do.

I know the case of one such man, a Rashidi named Id al 'Awaiyid. He killed five men (an 'Utaibi, a Dhafiri, a Mutairi, a Harbi and an 'Ajmi) in various 'Ikhwan raids and was recognised as having done so. To-day he is always shy of camping alone in the desert and tries to be the *qasir* or tent neighbour of another man or men wherever he goes, so as to ensure their defending him if he should ever be attacked or set upon.

To prevent possible recognition every Badawin goes into battle with his *kaffiyah* (head cloth) wound tightly across his face and the ends tucked into the *'agal* (black hair head-rope) on top of his head. This hides all but his eyes and so gives him a feeling of security should there be hand-to-hand fighting.

Among the Ma'adan, or primitive marshmen of Iraq, the following pleasant custom exists for ending a family blood feud. The murderer, after paying full blood money to the injured relatives, offers in addition his sister or daughter as wife to the nearest male relation of the killed man. Marriage is then consummated, and the children of the union are supposed to wipe out for ever any blood estrangement that may still exist between the various members of the two families. As far as I know, this is never done among the Badawin, or the Sharif Arabs.

628 Certain well-known royal and princely houses in Arabia, from
721 earliest times, have always refused to accept *'idiyah* in any form. Nor will battle excuse the slayer, if he is known. His life must be sought and taken. The Al Sa'ud, the Al Subah and the Al Khalifah families may be cited as instances of this.

Similarly the slayer of Shaikh 'Ali al Salim al Subah of Kuwait at Riqai in 1927 by a man of the Braih section of the Mutair is known and is still (in 1936) being sought for by the ruling house of Kuwait.

This refusal among the great to accept *'idiyah* for one of their relatives slain in battle, or otherwise, is due no doubt to a desire to maintain their prestige and honour unimpaired among neighbouring tribes and the Arab world generally.

It may be mentioned in passing that a man who steals a slave of a

Thieving

Chap. XLII

It may be mentioned in passing that a man who steals a slave of a prince or prominent Arab, whether in war or by underhand means, is never forgiven, and his death will be sought for and encompassed, if the original owner has to search for the culprit all his life and to the ends of the earth.

THEFT

Common thieving, whether from enemy or friend, is considered *'aib* or a shameful thing among the true Badawin and is simply "not done".

The lifting of horses and camels from other Badawin with whom an ancient feud or enmity exists is not theft; it is a *ghazzu*, or honourable raid. The appropriation of other people's property never takes place between persons or tribes who are on terms of friendship or alliance.

Given a strong central government such as in Sa'udi Arabia, and raiding becomes at once unfashionable, but if there is the least loss of control at the centre then out go the raiders, all intent on fun and *chassib* (loot).

Common thieving is punished by the loss of the right hand for the first offence, and so on for subsequent offences, and this punishment has the sanction of the Shari'ah Law behind it. The method is in force throughout Sa'udi Arabia to-day, in Yaman and in some of the neighbouring Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

Among the Northern Badawin of Arabia, if an accused man denies a theft, and there is no proof either way, the shaikh of a tribe or community sometimes orders the accused to stand the ordeal by fire. A sword or ramrod is brought and the end heated red hot in a fire and applied for a couple of seconds to the accused's tongue. If he is innocent he will not be hurt and will depart honourably acquitted and with head held high. If guilty his tongue will at once be badly burnt and the crime will be brought home to him.

I only once had a case of this brought to my notice. Shaikh Mahruth ibn Fahad Beg al Hadhal, of the Amarat ('Anizah), had a sword stolen from him when camped near Kerbela in 1922. As Political Officer Middle Euphrates I had a man from Musaiyib arrested on suspicion, the theft having been laid at his door by Shaikh Mahruth himself. No definite evidence was forthcoming and I was about to release the

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Appendix II

619 the Euphrates into the country south-west of Mosul, where they reside
101 to-day under the name of Shammar Jarba (Shaikh Ajil al Yarwar).*
173 3. The town of KHAIBAR is the earliest-known centre of the 'Anizah tribe, and to this day its two main "quarters" are called Al Bishr and 'Ijlas.

619 4. The 'Anizah tribe is the greatest of all Badawin tribes as regards strength and the numbers of their camels. They have a pretty story that their ancestor Wail chanced on the right moment in the Night of Destiny (Lailat al Qadr) the 27th of Ramadhan (Fast Month), when God will always fulfil the prayers of men. Placing one hand on his she-camel and the other on a certain part of his own person, he prayed that her seed and his own should be fruitful and multiply: God heard his prayer with to-day's wonderful result.

It is said that the 'Anizah to-day number 37,000 males, and their camels approximately one million.

721 5. The 'Anizah between themselves are always at war, but will combine
619 against any foreign aggressor. For example, the Amarat—Sba'a—and Fida'an are at enmity with the Ruwala and will combine against them. Similarly the Dnamsha, though of Amarat origin, do not fight the Ruwala (because of an ancient grievance against the Ibn Hadhal, then the titular overlords).

[628] 6. The great external enemy of the 'Anizah are the Shammar, whether found in the north or in the south. This is a hereditary feud.

7. The Hawaiat tribe, lying south-west of the 'Anizah country between Wejh and the Anman border, are also enemies from old time, but are not strong enough to worry them much, hence there is a sort of perpetual truce between them.

APPENDIX II

BADAWIN SHAIKHS WE HAVE KNOWN INTIMATELY

'Anizah	Fahad Beg al Hadhal (dead) Mahruth al Hadhal	Amarat group.
	Nuri as Sha'alan Farhan ibn Mashur (dead) Fawaz ibn Nawaf as Sha'alan	Ruwala group.
Dhafir	Hamud as Suwait (dead). Hantush as Suwait. Jada'an as Suwait. Jali ibn Juraiyid.	

* Now Shaikh Sfug ibn Ajil.

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

619 dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another
622 chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe
631 has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its
253 goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all.
311 There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert
132 and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh,
135 where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

233 Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number
422 of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is
262 the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high
291 days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his
49 2 back affords the only method of transportation possible
231 in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

000 Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances, tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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stantly find themselves thwarted by it. This is a pity, for if properly 609
understood there is nothing shameful or anti-social in the system. 178
It would be wiser for the law to recognise its existence and make use of it and of other time-honoured Arab customs.

In 1933 my friend, Shaikh Lafi ibn Ma'allath of the Mutair (Braih) 641
tribe, a faithful warrior and servant of Bin Sa'ud, was forced to flee to Iraq, because a man pursued by Bin Sa'ud's blockade-police took refuge in his tent, and invoked the law of *dakhála*. When the police threatened to search for the fugitive the stout-hearted shaikh signalled to his followers and fellow tent-dwellers to close around, and said he would resist the man's arrest by force of arms if necessary. Baulked of their prey the police (all townsmen) went away angry and sullen, and reported the incident to Ibn Jiluwi, their master. Lafi, feeling that he had got a breathing-space, and knowing that he would never be forgiven, fled across the border with his cousins, relatives, women, children, thirty tents in all, never to come back. Had the police bided their time, three days, they could probably have followed and made an arrest. Instead, they drove a faithful and loyal servant of the King into exile.

Cases of a similar nature are legion, and do almost more than anything else to promote bad feeling between the tribal elements of Arabia and the local governments.

The root trouble is, of [illegible] the desire of upstart kings and princes, eager to ape th[illegible] break down all tribal systems, because they think these [illegible] backward state of society.

Akin to *dakhála* is the [illegible]ception of *wejh* or *tisyar*. This literally 677
means "face". *Be wejh fulan* (lit. "In So-and-So's face") means under the protection or safe conduct of So-and-So, and is a phrase very commonly heard in the desert. The penalties for outraging a person's *dakhála*, *wejh* or *tisyar* (as the Iraq tribesmen call *wejh*) are very severe indeed; a heavy fine is exacted from any person purposely defying the custom. This fine is called *hashm* or "honour money" [628]
in Iraq. A man surrendering to the police another who has claimed *dakhála* will be relentlessly pursued by the suppliant's relations and will be slain unless he compounds the case by paying *hashm* to the tribe.

The following anecdote of how a British officer was saved by

Three States Involved

prove his claim in two ways, (*a*) either by producing two witnesses who will corroborate his testimony that the camel was his property, and that he had neither sold nor given it away, or (*b*) "A" can produce one witness who must declare *on oath* that the camel belongs to "A" and that it was neither sold nor given away by him. 425 695 696

"B" can also if he likes insist that "A" states the same thing on oath, but this is not actually necessary, according to the law.

One or other of these courses having been followed, the Government officer in charge of the area in question does not even ask how "B" got the camel, but on the above evidence must order "B" to hand over the animal at once.

If "B" has stolen the camel himself, he will of course gladly hand over and hope "A" will not bring further witness proving that he stole it.

If, however, "B" has innocently bought the camel from say "C", then he can be counted upon to shout this fact from the housetops (this in spite of the fact that a rather dead order exists both in Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait to-day, which forbids a man buying a camel till the seller can satisfactorily prove that it has not been stolen). The officer dealing with the case will then proceed as follows: He must ask who the seller "C" was and where he can be found. When "B" has told him, "C" will be summoned, and in the presence of "C" "B" will have to produce two witnesses to testify that he bought the camel from "C" (or one witness to take oath). When "B" has done this to the satisfaction of the officer, the latter makes "C" pay the purchase money back to "B". If "C" claims to have bought the camel from "D", the officer will adopt the same procedure, working backwards till the original thief is found, who then is suitably punished.

The above method of settlement becomes somewhat more complicated if individuals concerned are subjects of different states. For instance, should "A" be a Kuwaiti, "B" be an Iraqi and "C" a Najdi, the procedure is the same, only three *Hakims* or frontier officers have to be brought in. For instance, "A" will go to the Shaikh of Kuwait, who will send him armed with a letter (usually also with a letter from the Political Agent) to the Inspecting Officer or Com- 425 648 694 695 641

k Dickson G-5 (1928-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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B 425 648 694 695 641

mandant of Police Southern Desert area where "B" resides. That official will take action on the letter, and if proofs are clear will hand back the camel to "A". He will then send "B" with a letter direct to al Baga'awi, or such other Najd official as may be in charge of Sa'udi Arabian frontier affairs opposite Iraq and Kuwait, together with "B's" witnesses. Al Baga'awi will then get "B's" rights from "C" and so on. In conclusion, the easy working of the *'arafa* system along a frontier obviously depends on four things:

(*a*) that friendly relations exist between the Governments involved;

[B 693] (*b*) that officers are placed in charge of frontier areas, and that their writ goes;

(*c*) that such local officials are empowered to deal direct with each other without having to refer to higher authority: this especially applies to smaller claims of tribesmen on both sides of the border. (Important cases would of course be referred to Central Governments.)

(*d*) That the Shari'a law, recognised by the Badawin of the desert, and not any form of civil code, be applied in deciding *'arafa* questions, especially where oaths are concerned.

SA 648 425 K 648 425

Between 1929 and 1930 Captain Glubb, R.E., at one time in charge of the Iraq Southern Desert area, and I in my capacity of Political Agent, Kuwait, frequently dealt direct with each other in questions of claims between Iraq and Kuwait tribesmen, and we settled many cases on the above lines, everyone being satisfied and accepting settlement cheerfully. During the same period matters were not so easy where Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia tribes were concerned, because (*a*) relations unfortunately were not good, and (*b*) no official of officer status existed across the border who could be addressed on the subject with prospect of reasonable success. Later, however, His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud remedied the matter by appointing strong frontier representatives, with headquarters at Hafar and Jariyah Ilya respectively, and matters greatly improved.

In February 1931 His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud proposed to the Shaikh of Kuwait that all camel claims affecting both states which went back prior to February 1931 should be declared *madfun* ("buried") because an enormous number had accumulated as a result of the

Tax Payment

Chap. XXXIII

it works out to about 1/40th of what a man possesses. To the Badawin, 651
zakāt means the unpleasant annual contribution which his King, or head of the state, has a right to take from him, and is calculated as follows:

(a) One *Rial* for every full-grown camel.
(b) Half a *Rial* for every young or half-grown camel.
(c) One sheep or its value (8 *Rials*) for every forty sheep, whether small or large.

No *zakāt* is paid on riding camels, or on camels used for carrying 651
Badawin camp equipage from camp to camp. The head of the state 641
has also the right in the event of war to call upon all those who have 687
paid him *zakāt* to fight for him, failing which he can confiscate all their live stock.

Should a tribe fail to pay *zakāt* to its lawful Ruler the latter is entitled:

(a) To confiscate its property.
(b) To refuse to be responsible for its defence or protection from others of his tribes.
(c) To refuse to come to its assistance should it be attacked by outside enemies.

Conversely if a tribe pays the *zakāt* tax due from it, then the Ruler 651
or head of the state is bound to defend that tribe (actively as well as 641
by diplomatic means) from all comers, and whether aggression comes from inside or outside. He is responsible for all the members of the tribe as though they were his own children, or so at least says the desert law.

The head of a state has no right to take *zakāt* from a foreign tribe which visits his state for grazing purposes and intends only to stay a short time, and will return home and pay *zakāt* to its rightful Ruler. This is an old and well-established law in Arabia, and is understood by all.

Should the visiting tribe, however, ask for and obtain permission to settle for the summer on wells in the local Ruler's state, then the latter has the right, by unwritten law, to take full *zakāt* from it. The idea underlying this custom is that the foreign tribe eats up his grazing and drinks his water to the detriment of his own tribe (The great

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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651 Bin Sa'ud has on more than one occasion broken this rule, and has
641 endeavoured to send his tax-gatherers after his tribes into neighbouring states, because he did not approve of his people migrating for summer into adjoining states.)

The case of Mishal al Timiat (Shammar) and his people who camped at Subahiyah in Kuwait in the summer of 1935 is a case in point. Instead of inviting the Shaikh of Kuwait to take the tax, Bin Sa'ud took it himself and upset the local political situation not a little. The Shaikh of Kuwait naturally did not ask for the tax to be paid twice over, as he had the right to do, for it was not worth having a row with
651 his powerful neighbour. There is a definite season for taking *zakāt* throughout Desert Arabia. This is in June and July of each year, when the Badawin have settled on water for the summer. The authorities know they cannot move, so the collection of the tax is easy. At any other time of the year the Badawin would be able, by their mobility, to evade the tax-gatherers.

When the tax-gatherers start on their work, and find "strange" Badawin not yet camped on water, but obviously about to do so, they give them warning and say, "If you intend to come to such and such wells for the summer, you realise that you will have to pay *zakāt*, don't you? If you are not willing to do this, then better depart at once"; in other words, "either stay and pay, or don't pay and get out."

Although these *zakāt* customs are as old as the hills, there is nothing to prevent one state, say like Sa'udi Arabia, making a special agreement with another state like Iraq, whereby each state takes *zakāt* from all tribes of the other state which come wandering into its territories, whether the intention is to make a short sojourn or stay the summer through. Such arrangement would have the obvious advantage of preventing foreign tribes from crossing the border to evade payment of home *zakāt*.

KHAWAH

(only paid by inferior tribes and caravans to superior ones)

651 *Khawah* is a sort of *insurance tax* paid by strangers who enter
980 territory which is not theirs. For instance, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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Appendix I

B
619
101

AL MAHFUDH—Shaikh IBN MIKRAD (MARKHUTH) (200 tents).

Subsections:

DARASAH. SHAFAH.
MAHFUDH.
AL HAWAILA (Shaikh JUNAIFIR, father of SARAH, wife of FAHAD AL HITHLAIN).

AL MIFLA—Shaikh IBN DIBLAN (Muhammad) (60 tents).

AL MA IDH—Shaikh IBN HITHLAIN (300 tents).

Subsections:

HURAISH. NAJIAH.
KARAH. SILRAH.
MUGHATTI. ZAIZ.
MUAIG.

AL MISRA—Shaikh IBN 'UTHAIN (SALIM) (90 tents).

AL RÍMAH—Shaikh IBN 'AKKHAN (90 tents).

AS SHÁMIR—Shaikh IBN JUNAFIR, IBN KHARSAN (200 tents).

Subsections:

HUSAIN. KHUDHAIR.

AL SHU'AWILAH—Shaikh IBN MIFLAH (100 tents).

AL SIFRÁN—Shaikh IBN MUNAIKHIR (100 tents).

AL SULAIMAN—Shaikh HAIF BIN HAJRAF (in Kuwait).
IBN ISAIDAN
IBN MUSAMIR } in (Sa'udi Arabia) (230 tents).

Subsections:

BUGHUR. JABAU'AN.
DARWAN. SULAIMAN.
HAMRAN. HAJRAF.
HITHTHAN.

[B 641]

This tribal section, for long under paramount Shaikh Haif, has owned allegiance to Kuwait, so Bin Sa'ud has appointed other two shaikhs to lead the tribe. In tribal eyes Haif is the true leader.

[K 622 641]

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

The number of this tribe's tents, fighting men, camels, etc., is a variable quantity, and therefore figures given must be looked upon as approximate only. The tribe follows the shaikhly house of Al Hithlain, which is paramount always (see family tree of Al Hithlain in Appendix).

Appendix I

713 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:
196

(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of
291 rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women,
562 like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929–30 'Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the 'Ikhwan movement, may be said to be entirely hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Berkeley MJ4

be brought under Kuwait. Were authority to collapse in Najd, the 'Ajman would be the first to desert.

'Awazim (Singular 'Azmi)

Paramount Shaikh—Shaikh (Amir) ibn jama of the al ku'an camel division (senior) of the tribe—section al hadalin, which is the Shaikhly Clan.

Present incumbent—amir 'aid ibn jama.

Strength—Approximately 4,000 fighting men.*

Location.—The tribal range is the north-east corner of Arabia (Kuwait and Hasa), from Kuwait town as far south as Ras Bidiya. In winter Kuwait State is visited west and north-west of Jahrah as far as the Bátin depression. In summer the various sections camp on water in the Kuwait Neutral Zone and in the Suda region to the south of it where water and grazing is plentiful. Ark and Ingair are favourite camps.

Religion.—Sunni maliki.

The following comprise the sections of this powerful tribe, including their shaikhs and number of tents:

al buraikat—Shaikh raj al fahama (60 tents).
al hadalin—Shaikh ibn jama (90 tents).
al shaqfah—Shaikh al safar (70 tents).
al abadiyat—Shaikh ibn imlaidhiyan (60 tents).
al alaithat—Shaikh ibn dhkailan (50 tents).
al atharimah—Shaikh ibn imatrim (40 tents).
al faqu—Shaikh ibn ghiyathi (40 tents).
al jawasirah—Shaikh ibn khafran (90 tents).
al mataiba—Shaikh ibn 'mana (150 tents).
al muhalba—Shaikh ash shitli (90 tents).
al musandimah—Shaikh ibn dhraina (120 tents)
al muwaijihah—Shaikh ibn dhab (70 tents).
al qurrashah—Shaikh ibn jandal (100 tents).
al suwabir—Shaikh ibn drai (160 tents).
al suwawikh—Shaikh al sawagh (40 tents).
al tuma—Shaikh ibn irmain (140 tents).

also

dhuwairat
aghirira
hasaniyan
ja'awirah
} No recognised shaikh, settled in Kuwait as fishermen, etc.

* Excluding those domiciled in Kuwait and environs.

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Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

B 281 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 (Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 619 The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Husain of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 619 641 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Ibn Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Ibn Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Ibn Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Ibn Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929-30 Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B 843 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MANA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAAD), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 718 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Burqih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MURAILIM.

101 *Present incumbent*—'ABD IBN MURAILIM (Senior) and MUTLIQ IBN MURAILIM.

221 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[622] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

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State as far south as the Tawil-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619 101 221

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaikhiyah, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI. [715]

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619 101

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALIL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADRAN (30 tents).
AL GHURAIRAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAID, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HURSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).
MUHAISIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAISIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAISIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIRAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.57.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of 41
Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, 619
much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters.

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged [223]
mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep.

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes 619
such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks,

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619 and their men for their knowledge of the country. Hence they make excellent guides and hunters. During the 'Ikhwan movement half of the tribe left Kuwait and threw in its lot with the Mutair. To-day (1937) they have come back to Kuwait territory to their old allegiance. The tribe is
713 well armed with a variety of British and Turkish rifles. A few Martini-Henry carbines also exist among them.

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SHAMMAR (singular Shammari)

Divisions.	*Principal Shaikhs.*
(1) ARDA group	Ibn 'Ali
	Ibn Shuraim
	Ibn Jurn
	Ibn 'Ajil
(2) ASLAM group	Mishal ibn Twfla
(Al Saiyah)	Muhammad al Waja'an
(3) SINJARA group	Ibn Rimfil
	Ibn Thunaiyan
(Turmin)	Mishal al Timiát
(Timiát)	Ibn Aiyish
	Mita'ab al Ruba'a

[641] *Note.*—(*a*) The above owe allegiance to Bin Sa'ud, King of Sa'udi Arabia. The large and important group of Shammar Jarba, whose habitat is between Baghdad and Mosul (on the left bank of the Euphrates), owes allegiance to Iraq, and so are not included in the above list.

(*b*) Close inter-connection is always maintained, however, between Shammar Jarba and the Najd group of Shammar mentioned above. This especially applies to marriage.

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619 but when the strong hand is weakened or withdrawn, then merry hell is let loose, and every tribe is at its neighbour's throat. Such a period is what every tribe and every individual Badawin long to see. It means raiding and fun for everyone and wealth for him who is bold and strong. Not much killing or loss of life follows from this state of anarchy, but camels change hands frequently, and there is loot for all and exchange of worldly possessions. Since women are always safe under such conditions (see Chapter VII) the Badawin considers this state of affairs as nearly ideal as possible, and is for ever talking about the good times when anarchy prevailed. This is his idea of heaven on earth, this is what he perpetually longs for. Is it not his birthright that "every man's hand shall be against him, and his hand be against every man"?

443 If tribes and confederations are at peace with each other, the
438 individuals and families move about at will in each other's territories,
369 as they go and come to and from the various towns that supply their wants. This movement to market towns is known as *mustbilah* and exists all over Arabia. Each tribe has its special or favourite towns which it goes up to for its necessities, and it looks forward with joy to such visits. For instance, from time immemorial the Muzair, Harb, Shammar, 'Awazim and Northern 'Ajman have done their *mustbilah* to Kuwait, while the Dhafir have visited Zubair, Nasriyah and Samawa on the Euphrates.

The system enables the town authorities to exercise a beneficial control over the Badawin who market with them, as any misbehaviour at once results in the tribe's being forbidden to enter the town—a
[443] very great hardship to the desert shopper. Despotic rulers like Bin Sa'ud naturally do not like the *mustbilah* system at all, especially when it affects their border tribes, for these would like to spend their moneys outside the state, and are always liable to be got at by the powers that be, in neighbouring countries. One of the chief reasons for Bin Sa'ud's ten-year blockade of Kuwait was his determination to try and prevent his subjects doing *mustbilah* with that town. The Ruler of the latter place naturally tried to encourage such *mustbilah*, for if it were forcibly stopped, his people must have recourse to smuggling to get their goods out to the tribes.

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tribes like their own and despising the rest of the world. They are the *'Arab al 'aribe* and with their co-equals the *'Arab al Musta'ribe*.* 619 565

These 'Arab or pure desert Badawin divide themselves into:

(*a*) Superior or Sharif tribes.

(*b*) Inferior or non-Sharif tribes; everyone knowing and accepting the origin of his neighbour without question.

Of these the former are *'Asilin*, i.e. pure in origin and blood, and claim descent from the Patriarchs Qahtan and Ishmael. The latter are not *Asil*, i.e. are not of pure descent.

The following are the best known of the Sharif Arab tribes of Arabia proper:

'Aniizah, Shammar, Harb, Muntir, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Bani Khalid Bani Hájir, Al Murra, Qahtan, 'Utaiba, Duwasir, Manasir, Bani Yas, Sbei, Qawasim, Hawaitat and Bani Tamim (not found as a whole tribe to-day).

The 'Aniizah especially consider themselves to be the aristocrats of the desert, though the others do not always admit their superiority.

The following well-known present-day Arab Rulers claim descent as follows: [643]

His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud—'Aniizah (Masalikh section).
His Highness Ibn Sabah of Kuwait—'Aniizah (Amarat section).
His Highness Ibn Khalifah of Bahrain—'Aniizah (Amarat section).
His Excellency Ibn Thani of Qatar—Bani Tamim.

Also the noble family of the Al Sa'adun, former Rulers of the Muntafiq (present head His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha) claim direct descent from the Quraish tribe, as well as being descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.†

The following are some of the Inferior or Non-Sharif tribes of Arabia proper:

* Arab historians have it that YARAB, the son of QAHTAN, who lived some centuries before Abraham, was the father of the ancient Arab peoples, and gave his name to Arabia. Hence the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, are known as "*Arab al Musta'ribe*" (those who became Arabs) in contradistinction to the Arab who calls himself "*Arab al 'aribe* (Arab of the Arabs), to distinguish himself from the lower classes. 174

† The Sa'adun indeed claim that they are the parent of all descendants of the Prophet, in that they have never throughout their history given their daughters outside their clan, nor married with non-Sa'adun women.

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Leadership of Shaikh

SHAIKHS

A vital element in the stability of Badawin society is the tribal 672.
leadership exercised by the shaikh.

The position of a shaikh of a ruling house or tribe is hereditary, to the extent that he must be a member of a definite family or house. It is, however, by no means essential that the shaikh's eldest son should succeed his father. When a shaikh dies, the question arises: who is the best and most suitable man of that particular house to lead the tribe? It is usual to recognise as chief that member who possesses marked experience or outstanding physical and mental qualities.

Hadh, or good fortune as a leader, most often secures the Shaikh- 672
ship. If he has led the tribe on one or more raids, and has shown 643
that he possesses qualities of "luck" as well as "leadership", the Shaikhship is his of right: It is most important to realise this point, especially in principalities like Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait which are under British protection It would be wrong and useless, were Government to try during the lifetime of a Ruler, to get him to nominate his son as the next heir. It simply is not done, and an attempt to impose our principles of primogeniture would cause offence and lead to misunderstandings.

Bin Sa'ud in 1930 nominated his heir apparent, and each year since has tried to get his tribal leaders and brethren to swear fealty to his nominee. Some do so with their tongue in their cheek, others, notably Muhammad al Sa'ud, the King's brother, steadfastly refuse to obey. All know it to be a grave error on the part of the King. The King himself knows he has been mistaken, but the move was doubtless made to impress the European Ministers and Consuls residing at Jiddah. It pleases the Chancelleries of Europe. In private the King has said over and over again to the members of his family, "After my death, let the best man win". And this is what will no doubt happen in the end.

A shaikh's fighting force or tribe as a whole is known as *Gaum*, 619
e.g. Gaum al Duwish, Gaum Bin Sa'ud, Gaum Al Sha'alan (in literary Arabic the word is *Qaum*).

A shaikh will say *Ya Jama'a* or *Ya Ral'a* when addressing his followers.

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for the purpose. The mother lived, and her father personally thanked me for lending the mare and saving his daughter. In the absence of my mare a similar request for the loan of my horse was made (25th August, 1937). Unfortunately in this case the patient died.

The rights of a Badawin father over his children are absolute; the mother has practically no rights. Should a man divorce his wife, the sons usually go with the father and the girls with the mother. Should the children be infants, the mother keeps them until they can fend for themselves, and then the father comes and takes them away. (The age in the case of boys is eight.) This removal of a son by his father is the cause of much heartrending grief at times, but is universally practised.

The children thus taken away from their mother live with their father and are brought up by their stepmother. They have the right of visiting their own mother's tent at stated intervals, usually once a week. In a tribe camped together the hardship is not great, but when a man has married a woman from another tribe, the rule causes much unhappiness, as the woman usually goes back to her people, who may be several hundreds of miles away; and she rarely sees her children again.

Among the Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, etc., it is a common custom to have as wives two or three Badawin lasses at a time, who always remain camped with their own people. When a child is born to one of these desert-dwelling wives it is usually taken right away and brought up in the shaikh's household in Kuwait or Riyadh. It is not considered fitting that the offspring of one of the ruling family, even if the mother is of noble tribal birth, should be left to grow up in tribal surroundings. This feeling is particularly strong if the child is a boy.* As a matter of fact, in such alliances the wife is early divorced and pensioned off with a handsome present. This marrying of tribal girls in addition to the "Queen", who is always a lady of the ruling family, is a normal and accepted practice among the ruling classes in Arabia. It is a method of showing honour to a tribe, and brings useful alliances in its train. Tribal shaikhs, on the other hand, usually content themselves with one wife.

* This does not run counter to the age-long custom among the nobility of Arabia of sending their sons into the desert to be brought up by the Badawin in order that they may acquire hardihood.

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162, 166, 101, 619, 643, 622, 361, 438

/For information on the settled tribes of the Aden Protectorate and the Hadhramaut in 1920, the territory occupied, the paramount rulers and tribal chiefs, brief history, their settlements, means of livelihood, etc., see 30: Great Britain, MJ1 Saudi Arabia, category 116, pp. 509-546./

648 Political authorities have made no serious efforts to interfere with tribal migrations which follow the law of economic need.
221 The governments stopped raiding, but not grazing.

With the establishment of public security, tribal movements have been facilitated where fears of attack may have prevented them before.[1]

Decrease of raiding, slavery and extortion as affecting Bedouin economy

721 Raids fulfilled a definite economic function in Bedouin
434 society. Especially in times of drought, the booty taken in raids constituted, according to the Bedouin way of thinking a welcome source of income. In reality, however, the desert people did not suffer a great economic loss from the stoppage of raiding. In speaking of raiding Major Glubb correctly states that "some become rich, some were ruined; there is a net loss on the whole."[2]

More significant was the economic loss incurred to the Bedouin when importation of slaves was outlawed.

434 The economic situation of the Bedouin on the whole was not
131 seriously affected by the establishment of political boundary lines and enforcement of public security. Economic adjustments were made within the pastoral economy where the decline of the demand for the camel made this necessary.

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1. However, in spite of the vigorous actions of the Saudi regime raiding in the Arabian Desert has not yet been completely stopped.
2. Glubb, 1935, p. 22

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had become a profitable cash crop and many sheikhs were induced to change from stock-breeding to cereal-growing which was more lucrative.[1] Not a declining desert economy, but the desire for money was the cause of the change.

After the revolution of 1908 the Young Turks re-affirmed the policy of settling the nomads on land. The Wali of Baghdad was instructed to formulate a scheme for the settlement of the tribes.

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The sheikhs were divided in their attitudes, a great number definitely hostile to the policy of the government, others, bought by gifts of land and titles, ready to co-operate.

The Young Turks, anxious to assert their exclusive political power and authority, had tried, whenever possible, to crush the influence of the powerful sheikhs. Hence their hostility to government-sponsored settlement schemes.

The British Mandatory Government was not concerned with settling the nomads. When the British came to Iraq, it became their avowed Bedouin policy to rebuild tribal organization under competent sheikhs. They set about to strengthen the power of the sheikhs whose authority over the tribesmen had been partially broken by the Young Turk administration. Landholdings of the tribal leaders were protected, large subsidies and tax exemptions granted.

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WHILE BRITISH TRIBAL POLICY WAS RESTRICTED TO GIVING SUBSIDIES

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1 Neubert, 1948, pp. 329 ff.

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648 unlimited powers abused more often than not, the process of seden-
X166 tarization took its course.

423 After the First World War very little of the tribal land was still communally held, its ownership having been claimed by individuals.[1] Land settlement in Iraq had resulted in the transfer of the tribal semi-collective landholdings to individual holdings of the sheikhs. This increased the inequality of land-ownership in favor of the leaders and at the expense of the members of the tribe.[2]

622 Since the early 1930's some of the Iraqi sheikhs have dis-
423 played a growing interest in settlement of their tribesmen. The
X166 sheikhs Ali al-Suleiman and Mushin al-Sa'dun were largely responsible for the restoration on scientific lines of the Saqlawiyah canal and thus making possible the Dulaymi development project which provided for the settlement of 2 000 tribesmen.[3]

X161 The new settlement of Dulaymiyah developed rapidly and proved
425 a success. An area which had been barren for centuries was re-
622 claimed and returned to cultivation. During the inter-war years the Iraqi local government distributed State land to individuals prepared to irrigate and cultivate it by installation of water pumps. Due to the cost involved, only the wealthy sheikhs could take advantage of the offer.

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1. Report, 1928, pp. 152-153
2. Hinchcliffe, 1930; Hinchcliffe, 1952, p. 275
3. Report, 1930-32, p. 20

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Their already substantial landholdings were thus considerably increased. 423 622

Neither the British Mandatory Authorities nor the Iraqi local government had in the 1920's a definite tribal settlement policy. 648 166x Whatever was undertaken in this direction like the Dulaymiya project is attributable to the initiative of the tribal leaders.

The transformation which the tribal sheikhs have been undergoing during the past few decades can be best illustrated by a concrete case. Ajil al Jawar, the chief sheikh of the Shawaw, had by the 1930's a variety of lucrative commercial interests. The government of Iraq and the Oil Companies appointed him to take over the protection of the wells and the pipelines. Besides, Ajil was charged with supplying laborers for railroad construction work. From these sources he received considerable income. The main part of his wealth, however, consists of real estate. Ajil inherited the lands near Ialat Shergat and Tekrit which Sultan Abdul Hamid had given to his grandfather Farhan as presents. In addition he acquired lands in the vicinity of Tell a'Far, and also some property in Baghdad and Mosul, as well as houses in Tell A'Far and in the village Ialat Shergat.[1] 622 425

The case of Ajil al Jawar is typical for all the powerful chiefs of Iraq, who have become wealthy landlords whose estates are cultivated by fellahin. Where the tribesmen followed the examples of of their sheikhs and settled down, they became the exploited tenants

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, pp. 150 sec.

4/4 [i.e., THE WEALTHY SHEIKHS -- ANALYST]

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000 70 years.

186 The nomad gradually accepts the fellah's mode of living,
X166 but four generations after sedentarization he still prides himself of his Bedouin origin. Albert de Boucheman tells of two remarkable instances illustrating this tendency:[1]

1. The case of a lawyer in Beirut whose family has been settled for centuries. Ceremonially he dons Bedouin attire to boast of his origin.
2. The case of the Bedouin emigrants to America who continue to pay the blood money with their brothers who have remained Bedouin.

CHAPTER III

The Bedouin Problem on the Agenda of the 1949 and 1950 United Nations Social Welfare Seminars for Arab States

*648 The Arab world is concerned with the problems of the nomadic population. At the United Nations Social Welfare Seminars conducted in 1949 at Beirut and in 1950 at Cairo, special committees were appointed to study the Bedouin problems and make recommendations for their solution.

648 Poverty was recognized to be the crux of the Bedouin problem,
511 ignorance, poor health, etc. the results.[2] The recommendations

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1. Boucheman, 1956, pp. 140-143
2. Al-Ghitany, 1950, p. 280

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which were submitted by the committee of both seminars consists of two parts

a. provisions for settling tribes to an agricultural life

b. recommendations for raising the standard of living of those bands who will continue their pastoral mode of living.

Concerning settlement it was recognized that:

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a. it was the responsibility of the government to sponsor such plans

b. agricultural experts should examine the agricultural potentialities

c. large capital to finance development schemes should be made available.[1]

To raise the standard of living in the desert it was recommended that:

a. centers to improve animal husbandry should be set up

b. more wells should be dug to expand pasture land

c. sheds should be erected to house animals during the mild winter months

d. mobile veterinary units should be established in Bedouin areas

e. teams of health officers should guide the tribes

f. educational facilities should be made accessible to the bands.[2]

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1. El-Ghitany, 1956, pp. 280 – 281.
2. Ibid.

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361 The Committee of the first seminar recognized that, at the
652 present time, the financial provisions for the nomadic tribes
648 are relatively inadequate and submitted the recommendation that a higher percentage of the budget of each State should be allocated for the social and economic needs of the nomadic population.[1] The same Committee recommended that:

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> "the policy of the Arab States should aim at the settlement of a number of tribes by distributing them in the arable areas owned by the states and allotting small-holdings to individuals. In this connection the Committee refers to the existence especially in the Syrian Gezirah and Iraq, of extensive areas for the application of agricultural projects which should be based on the most up-to-date techniques of agriculture." [2]

CHAPTER XIII

361 **Conclusions and Summary of the Settlement Problem**

Nomadism has been chiefly responsible for the decline of agricultural prosperity in the Middle East.

361 The Bedouin tribes have always, through social and economic
x166 assimilation, become absorbed by the settled population. The process of sedentarization, the gradual transition from the nomadic mode of life to a settled existence, is a sociological phenomenon, temporally connected with the history of Bedouin migrations from the desert into the fertile lands on its borders. In the past few decades the pace of the evolutionary process of transition has been considerably quickened under the impact of economic, social and political stimuli, mutually interlocked and overlapping.

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1. UN Social Welfare Seminar, 1950, p. 36
2. Ibid., p. 37

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4

Responsible circles in the Arab world today pay due attention to the problems of the nomad society, and from time to time constructive recommendations are voiced for the solution of the social and economic problems of the Bedouin element. For example, the First and Second United Nations Social Welfare Seminars for Arab States in the Middle East appointed Special Committees to discuss Bedouin problems and needs. The recommendations which were submitted to the plenary sessions aimed at the raising of the Bedouin standard of living by settling on land part of the tribal population and helping the remaining nomads improve their mode of existence in the desert.

648 166x

During the last twenty years, particularly in the 1930's, programs for Bedouin settlement have been formulated in Iraq and in Syria. But there is no reference as to how much of the plans was actually carried out.[1] Where settlement has taken place, it was largely the private enterprise of the tribal sheikh. As the tribal land was usually registered in the name of the chief or leased to him by the government, practically all the members of the tribe have become upon settlement, the tenants or share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

The sheikh-landlord has a personal economic interest in developing his land holdings, but his policies are rarely concerned with the welfare of his tribesmen. This is why the Social

648 166x 423 622

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1. Since no further reference was made to the plans in the ensuing years, the writer feels justified in assuming that the projects for Bedouin settlement remained on paper.

69: Meghart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4
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Welfare Seminar of 1950 continued against offering the tribal chiefs large stretches of land on which the mass of the tribesmen would become a class of agricultural laborers.[1]

APPENDIX

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Recommendations for the Formulation of Settlement Policies

There is a definite need for constructive government-sponsored settlement schemes.

It has been recognized that specific problems, presented by old but deeply rooted traditions, must be taken into consideration:[2]

a. the element of persuasion and education, the mental adjustment of the Bedouin to the new conditions. Projects of amelioration and irrigation or schemes of free land distribution may aid the fellah and the nomad, but it must be recognized that not all the Bedouin will abandon nomadic life voluntarily, even when offered free land. The traditional contempt for agricultural work must be counteracted by persuasion and education.

b. the need for introducing gradual changes. Successful sedentarization of the nomads cannot proceed more rapidly than their mental adjustment to the new conditions. Where the Bedouin are not gradually prepared for agricultural life, they will become landowners, but not cultivators. They will turn into "tent-dwellers who depend for their living on the rents paid by their fellahoen-tenants."[3]

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1. El-Chibaly, 1950, p. 280
2. Polian, 1942
3. Ibid.

k Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 MI 3 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA ON THE BORDERLAND BETWEEN TWO STATES

425 The application of the *'arafa* law becomes somewhat less easy when
●648 two tribes which are perhaps hostile to each other, or belong to differ-
619 ent states adjoining one another, are involved, or where strong Governments are functioning, as to-day in the case in Kuwait, Sa'udi Arabia and Iraq, and where border officials are interested in seeing that shaikhs and individual members of tribes in their areas do not raid, steal or take the law into their own hands, especially across the border.

In such cases, while the custom of *'arafa* is quite well understood, it is essential that a controlling authority enforce the rules of the game, otherwise nothing is done. The Shaikh of Kuwait put it in a nutshell, when he told me that the law of *'arafa* was a most excellent law for settling Badawin disputes, and it dated back to very ancient times, but unless Rulers or Governments were strong enough to enforce it within or across their borders it became quite useless, for then as always the strongest won the day. A Badawin, for instance, in the case mentioned below, would never hand over the camel he had purchased unless he was made to do so by his Government acting through its officials on the spot.

425 "A", a subject of some state, finds a camel which has been stolen
[674] from him in the past, grazing in the desert with "B's" camels (a sub-
695 ject of another state). "A's" and "B's" tribes are not on friendly terms.
696 "A" does not waste his time in going and demanding it from "B", who quite naturally will refuse to give it up until made to do so. He goes instead to the nearest *Hákim* or Government representative in the particular area "B" is in, armed with a letter from his own frontier officer. (To-day in North-East Arabia it is Hamud al Baga'awi for Sa'udi Arabia, 'Abdullah bin Jabir for Kuwait, and the Iraqi Officer in Charge Southern Desert Police for Iraq), and will say that "B" has in his possession a certain camel which has been stolen from him, "A". The officer in charge of the area in question will send for "B" and in his presence will ask "A" to prove his claim. Here is where the Shari'a law comes in as practised in the desert. "A" can

prove his claim in two ways, (*a*) either by producing two witnesses who will corroborate his testimony that the camel was his property, and that he had neither sold nor given it away, or (*b*) "A" can produce one witness who must declare *on oath* that the camel belongs to "A" and that it was neither sold nor given away by him. 425 695 696

"B" can also if he likes insist that "A" states the same thing on oath, but this is not actually necessary, according to the law.

One or other of these courses having been followed, the Government officer in charge of the area in question does not even ask how "B" got the camel, but on the above evidence must order "B" to hand over the animal at once.

If "B" has stolen the camel himself, he will of course gladly hand over and hope "A" will not bring further witness proving that he stole it.

If, however, "B" has innocently bought the camel from say "C", then he can be counted upon to shout this fact from the housetops (this in spite of the fact that a rather dead order exists both in Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait to-day, which forbids a man buying a camel till the seller can satisfactorily prove that it has not been stolen). The officer dealing with the case will then proceed as follows: He must ask who the seller "C" was and where he can be found. When "B" has told him, "C" will be summoned, and in the presence of "C" "B" will have to produce two witnesses to testify that he bought the camel from "C" (or one witness to take oath). When "B" has done this to the satisfaction of the officer, the latter makes "C" pay the purchase money back to "B". If "C" claims to have bought the camel from "D", the officer will adopt the same procedure, working backwards till the original thief is found, who then is suitably punished.

The above method of settlement becomes somewhat more complicated if individuals concerned are subjects of different states. For instance, should "A" be a Kuwaiti, "B" be an Iraqi and "C" a Najdi, the procedure is the same, only three *Hákims* or frontier officers have to be brought in. For instance, "A" will go to the Shaikh of Kuwait, who will send him armed with a letter (usually also with a letter from the Political Agent) to the Inspecting Officer or Com- 425 648 694 695 641

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mandant of Police Southern Desert area where "B" resides. That official will take action on the letter, and if proofs are clear will hand back the camel to "A". He will then send "B" with a letter direct to al Baga'awi, or such other Najd official as may be in charge of Sa'udi Arabian frontier affairs opposite Iraq and Kuwait, together with "B's" witnesses. Al Baga'awi will then get "B's" rights from "C" and so on. In conclusion, the easy working of the *'urufe* system along a frontier obviously depends on four things:

(*a*) that friendly relations exist between the Governments involved;

[B 613]

(*b*) that officers are placed in charge of frontier areas, and that their writ goes;

(*c*) that such local officials are empowered to deal direct with each other without having to refer to higher authority: this especially applies to smaller claims of tribesmen on both sides of the border. (Important cases would of course be referred to Central Governments.)

(*d*) That the Sharî'a law, recognised by the Badawin of the desert, and not any form of civil code, be applied in deciding *'urufe* questions, especially where oaths are concerned.

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Between 1929 and 1930 Captain Glubb, R.E., at one time in charge of the Iraq Southern Desert area, and I in my capacity of Political Agent, Kuwait, frequently dealt direct with each other in questions of claims between Iraq and Kuwait tribesmen, and we settled many cases on the above lines, everyone being satisfied and accepting settlement cheerfully. During the same period matters were not so easy where Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia tribes were concerned, because (*a*) relations unfortunately were not good, and (*b*) no official of officer status existed across the border who could be addressed on the subject with prospect of reasonable success. Later, however, His Majesty King Ibn Sa'ud remedied the matter by appointing strong frontier representatives, with headquarters at Hafar and Jariyah Ilya respectively, and matters greatly improved.

In February 1931 His Majesty King Ibn Sa'ud proposed to the Shaikh of Kuwait that all camel claims affecting both states which went back prior to February 1931 should be declared *madfûn* ("buried") because an enormous number had accumulated as a result of the

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Mi 1 Kuwait
Bedouins Mi4
Muntafiq

484 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
361 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
233 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[122] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

221 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
233 the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
648 Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhalikah wa marikah*, consisting of gifts of
431 young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakat* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakat*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

836 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

The Bedouin settlement policy of the Transjordan Government

Since 1928 it has been the policy of the government to create favorable conditions for settlement, rather than to sponsor and carry out definite sedentarization projects. The governmental policy of encouragement was implemented by financial aid and technical assistance to the tribes, and by bringing education to the Bedouin areas.

After the two successive years of severe drought (1928 and 1932) the Beni Sakhr were granted in 1935 a governmental subsidy of LP 250 to encourage cultivation on tribal land.[1] In 1934 the administration gave the Howeitat LP 1 000 to start agriculture in the area between Ma'an and Shobak.[2] In 1935 they were granted another LP 900 for the same purpose.[3]

Besides the meager financial help the tribes were given technical advice and assistance. In 1934 the government planted 1 600 palm suckers in the experimental garden at Deir'a in the Jordan valley and 600 in the oasis at Azraq for the instruction of the Bedouin.[4] To encourage citriculture 4 500 citrus trees were grafted from the Deir'a station and distributed among the nomads who had evinced an interest in agriculture.[5] The Department of Agriculture guided and helped the Bedouin to plant these trees. Desert schools were started in 1935, one permanently established at el-Jaffer in the Ma'an district which is the central location

1. Report, 1935, p. 307
2. Report, 1934, p. 262
3. Report, 1935, p. 307
4. Report, 1934, p. 262
5. Report, 1937, p. 382

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

284 On occasion, when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin
146 eat copiously, because the time and scale of the next meal may be
147 uncertain. In general, the standard of nutrition of the Badawin is low—in the opinion of some, below the level necessary in other regions to sustain life. As a result, the Badawin are small, even stunted, and lightly built, though their physical powers and endurance are great. Life is, however, very hard; and by forty, particularly in the case of women, old age has begun. Fifty years is a long life for a nomad.

721 One means of supplementing the deficiencies in arid areas is by raiding. Amongst Badawin the *ghazw* (*razzia* or *rezzou*) is a recognised activity amounting almost to sport, but it also fulfils a definite economic function. The effects of a bad season are mitigated, as when rains have failed in the desert, the Bedu has a choice of taking what he requires by force from other people, or of starving. The word 'sport' has been used, because although fundamentally a serious matter, Badawin raids are conducted under certain conventions—almost, one might say, rules.[1] Rapid, unlooked-for coups, using cunning and guile, are most favoured: bloodshed is as far as possible avoided, though goods, womenfolk, and children become the property of the victors under a kind of slavery. Successful leadership in tribal raids
[554] is the means by which personal reputation and power is built up: King Ibn Saud, originally a dispossessed desert nomad, has gained absolute power in Arabia through successful tribal encounters on an increasingly
721 large scale. Badawin raids may be directed against other tribes, but
651 frequently, toll is levied on agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert. Less able to resist, and with more at stake than the nomad, settled cultivators sometimes remain under permanent tribute to Badawin tribes, and supply a quantity of needed foodstuffs to their overlords. The name *khaoua* (tribute of friendship) is applied to such transactions. Raiding is now declining, because of increasing control by local governments, but in addition to the political problem presented in controlling outbreaks, there is the economic factor of providing alternative occupation to ensure a livelihood.[2] Though declining, the practice is still not extinct. For as recently as 1946, J. C. Crowfoot could write, 'Arabs are now raiding each other in Fords and Chevrolets'.

[1] There are only three sources of amusement or distraction in Badawin life: conversation round a coffee hearth, family life, and raiding.

[2] Cf. the decline in population of the Barbary coastlands since the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean. There, precisely the same economic factor was involved.

L Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins M34

THE ANNUAL MOVES

172. During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September
161 and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concen-
285 trates on its wells (*gullets*), which in each case are groups of wells
182 lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here
221 they camp (*gwiyuttaw*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *mashlilah* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or camels are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring
735 them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the
651 time when the *zakat* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *sarfya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer.

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

221 At long last October, or the *wasm* season (the rains) arrives and
182 small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

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Bedouins MJ4

Restitution of Stolen Camels

(a) If any case connected with stolen, hidden or wandering camels
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arises between two tribes, and the two sides are unable to agree on terms of settlement, then the matter will normally be referred to the Ruler of the country or local Governor, as the case may be. When the matter is finally settled, *khidmah* (or "service fee") will be recovered from the party judged to be at fault. This *khidmah* fee, which may run into a number of Rials, is paid over to the Ruler's *fidáwis* or retainers, who have had the labour of collecting evidence and finding witnesses.

BADAWIN CUSTOM OF WASÁQAH (OR WASÁGA) BETWEEN BANI 'ÁM

Among Badawin who are in *Bani 'Am* relationship with one another, if camels are stolen from one party by another the same number of camels only as those stolen in the first place must be returned, never more. And war may never arise between them from such exchange of property. Restitution is normally arranged through the mediation of relatives or the heads of clans.

The arrangement of restitution is known as *wasáqah* (*waságna-hum*—"we arranged restitution").

It would be quite a different matter if members of a strange tribe or people, who were not *Bani 'Am*, stole the camels. Then the robbed person (or persons) can rightfully take as many camels as he can lay hands on from those who stole from him, and if no redress is obtained, the case may result in war between the tribes.

[615] Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah of Kuwait told me on 8th October, 1938, that among *Bani 'Am* if a person for the sake of gain told tales against his tribe, or reported that a member of his tribe had stolen camels from another tribe, the penalty was that "he should be killed by lance thrust"; this was a very ancient Badawin law.

ZAKÁT TAX

• 651 The tax known as *Zakát* has religious sanction, and payment is one of the five duties incumbent on every true Muslim. The word means "purification" and is applied to the legal alms that an individual has to give to the religious tax-gatherers of the state each year;

Tax Payment

it works out to about 1/40th of what a man possesses. To the Badawin, 651
zakát means the unpleasant annual contribution which his King, or head of the state, has a right to take from him, and is calculated as follows:

(*a*) One *Rial* for every full-grown camel.
(*b*) Half a *Rial* for every young or half-grown camel.
(*c*) One sheep or its value (8 *Rials*) for every forty sheep, whether small or large.

No *zakát* is paid on riding camels, or on camels used for carrying 651
Badawin camp equipage from camp to camp. The head of the state 641
has also the right in the event of war to call upon all those who have 687
paid him *zakát* to fight for him, failing which he can confiscate all their live stock.

Should a tribe fail to pay *zakát* to its lawful Ruler the latter is entitled:

(*a*) To confiscate its property.
(*b*) To refuse to be responsible for its defence or protection from others of his tribes.
(*c*) To refuse to come to its assistance should it be attacked by outside enemies.

Conversely if a tribe pays the *zakát* tax due from it, then the Ruler 651
or head of the state is bound to defend that tribe (actively as well as 641
by diplomatic means) from all comers, and whether aggression comes from inside or outside. He is responsible for all the members of the tribe as though they were his own children, or so at least says the desert law.

The head of a state has no right to take *zakát* from a foreign tribe which visits his state for grazing purposes and intends only to stay a short time, and will return home and pay *zakát* to its rightful Ruler. This is an old and well-established law in Arabia, and is understood by all.

Should the visiting tribe, however, ask for and obtain permission to settle for the summer on wells in the local Ruler's state, then the latter has the right, by unwritten law, to take full *zakát* from it. The idea underlying this custom is that the foreign tribe eats up his grazing and drinks his water to the detriment of his own tribe (The great

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

651 Bin Sa'ud has on more than one occasion broken this rule, and has
641 endeavoured to send his tax-gatherers after his tribes into neighbouring states, because he did not approve of his people migrating for summer into adjoining states.)

The case of Mishal al Timiat (Shammar) and his people who camped at Subahiyah in Kuwait in the summer of 1933 is a case in point. Instead of inviting the Shaikh of Kuwait to take the tax, Bin Sa'ud took it himself and upset the local political situation not a little. The Shaikh of Kuwait naturally did not ask for the tax to be paid twice over, as he had the right to do, for it was not worth having a row with
651 his powerful neighbour. There is a definite season for taking *zakat* throughout Desert Arabia. This is in June and July of each year, when the Badawin have settled on water for the summer. The authorities know they cannot move, so the collection of the tax is easy. At any other time of the year the Badawin would be able, by their mobility, to evade the tax-gatherers.

When the tax-gatherers start on their work, and find "strange" Badawin not yet camped on water, but obviously about to do so, they give them warning and say, "If you intend to come to such and such wells for the summer, you realise that you will have to pay *zakat*, don't you? If you are not willing to do this, then better depart at once"; in other words, "either stay and pay, or don't pay and get out."

Although these *zakat* customs are as old as the hills, there is nothing to prevent one state, say like Sa'udi Arabia, making a special agreement with another state like Iraq, whereby each state takes *zakat* from all tribes of the other state which come wandering into its territories, whether the intention is to make a short sojourn or stay the summer through. Such arrangement would have the obvious advantage of preventing foreign tribes from crossing the border to evade payment of home *zakat*.

KHÁWAH

(only paid by inferior tribes and caravans to superior ones)

651 *Khâwah* is a sort of *insurance tax* paid by strangers who enter
486 territory which is not theirs. For instance, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe

L Dickson G-6 (1939-47) 1962 MI 1 Kuwait VII
Bedouins 1934
Muntafiq

entering Hasb country in Sa'udi Arabia would pay *khawah* to the Shaikh of the Hasb. The tax would consist of a few sheep, possibly some *dibbas* (clarified butter) also, and usually is a fee agreed upon. With the rise of Ibn Sa'ud, the taking of *khawah* has been officially banned, but it continues nevertheless *sub rosa*. The Iraq Government are said to be also trying to abolish the tax and follow in Ibn Sa'ud's footsteps. Whether they will succeed or not is as yet uncertain (1936).

A caravan passing through a great tribe's territory would also before the rise of Ibn Sa'ud have paid *khawah*. On one occasion the 'Ajman and Bani Hajir tribes blockaded Kuwait because Qasim merchants refused to pay them this *khawah*. This was in Mubarak's time, and he retaliated by forbidding 'Ajman *mantiliah*, that is, he prevented them from coming up and buying supplies in Kuwait town, and arranged with Zubair and Jubail to do the same. The payment of *khawah* entitles the payer to protection.

DHABIHAH AND MANIHAH ("SHEEP AND SERVICE")
(only paid by inferior tribes to superior tribes)

A curious custom has its origin in the days of Shabib al Sa'adun, the ancestor of the present family of that name and shaikhs of the Muntafiq. When Shabib first entered Iraq and settled in 'Ajwad country (Gharaf), his son happened to get killed by some shepherd tribes. Being anxious to strengthen his position he refused to take a life for a life, or to accept blood money, but made a condition that (1) he should never be required to rise if any 'Ajwad shaikh entered his presence; (2) that every shaikh should kiss his cheek or shoulder and their sons his knee or his feet, according to seniority; (3) that when he went among the 'Ajwad tribes they should always provide free his requirements of sheep's milk, wool, or young male lambs, for food.

The 'Ajwad tribes of the Gharaf gladly agreed, and the term *Dhabihah wa Manihah* was applied to the conditions imposed by Shabib al Sa'adun, which interpreted means *sheep and service*.

To-day *dhabihah wa manihah* is well understood in North-East Arabia and has become a recognised custom among shepherd tribes. For example, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe enters Kuwait in search of

L. Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 MS I Kuwait MI
Nuwfaq

grazing. It sends men ahead and offers (*a*) *wadiah* and (*b*) *dhabihah wa munihah*.

The former assures that the Shaikh of Kuwait will, if necessary, fight all comers in their defence; the latter is a promise that if Kuwait is attacked by outsiders, the shepherd tribes in his territory will faithfully serve and fight for him, whilst they are grazing in Kuwait territory. The payment of *dhabihah wa munihah* is a graceful way of saying "I am your servant to order, so long as I am in your country". Half a dozen young sheep is the usual amount offered. As often as not the gift is accepted and remitted by the big man—*Qabaltu wa rajd'd'u*, or, I have accepted your gift and hereby return it again to you. The present Shaikh of Kuwait has for some years ceased to demand either tax.

PROPERTY LOST IN THE DESERT

Alois Musil, in his book, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, gives a striking and accurate picture of what happens in the desert when a nomad loses part of his tent equipage, a camel or a mare when on the march. I cannot do better than recommend my readers to study what he has to say about it.

Under the desert code it is not, of course, considered a dishonest act to pick up and conceal an article which has been lost or dropped by another person. The finder is not required to go out of his way to seek the owner of the article; on the contrary, it is up to the owner to find his own lost property. This applies to all articles of camp gear, male and female attire, bags of food, strayed camels, horses, sheep, etc.

Should the finder really fear God (*khaf Allah*) he will probably tell his shaikh, or let it be known generally whilst he is on the march that he has found such and such an article, obviously dropped by someone, but he need not necessarily do so. Only when the owner publicly notifies his loss is the finder required to act. He must then and there hand back the goods if he is to escape the charge of being a thief. If the lost or strayed thing be a camel, mare or sheep, he will get a small reward in return. This is his *haq* or right.

When Badawin are on the march with their families, and especially

A Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Muntafiq

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29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1938) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
724 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
643 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
187 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

837 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
54 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

221 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
[10] the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

000 ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very
156 jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

221 Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more
463 intimate with the desert than the real Beduins,
511 are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far away in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

563 While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of
721 resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves
[661] from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

231 The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels,
511 used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

000 or carriers.
563 The Sherarat are thus halfway between the Beduins and the Sulubba. Needless to say no Beduin will intermarry with them.

Awazim

101 Although scattered widely these people form
563 a large tribe. The principal group of the Awazim (sing. Aazimi) is south of Kuwait, in the northern half of Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf coast. There are others in Nejd and in Trans-Jordan with the Beni Sakhr. In manner and livelihood and other customs, they are similar to the Beduins, and live by breeding camels and sheep. No Beduin will intermarry with them owing to the tradition that they are not of pure descent.

Huteim

This is a large tribe which lives the usual Beduin pastoral life, in the area northeast of
[651] Medina, between that city and Hail. I have heard that some generations ago, the Huteim did not fight but paid tribute to all the Beduins. Of recent years, however, they fight much like any Beduin tribe. No Beduin will marry them, however, as they are known to be of base descent.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouins MJ4

He is wealthy, and owns palm gardens at Ghazāzah near Kerbela, at Baghdādīyah above Hīt, and elsewhere on the Euphrates. Although his wisdom and skill in tribal diplomacy are much vaunted, he is now an old man and not so active as Nūri of the Ruweilah; nor does he concern himself with external politics. He has suffered imprisonment at the hand of the Turks and cordially dislikes them, but his closest link with affairs outside the desert is his landed property on the Euphrates. He fears that if the Hindīyah escape, a part of Sir W. Willcocks's scheme of Mesopotamian irrigation, were to be put into execution, his gardens at Ghazāzah might be partly submerged, and he was inclined to blame the English for their share in that project. He could only with difficulty be reassured on this head, and shown that the better distribution of the water would be of benefit to himself in common with all other landowners. 622 101 619

A more striking personality is Hākim (Hāchim) ibn Muheid, who with Hākim ibn Qeishīsh rules over the **Fed'ān,** some 3,500 tents in all. Ibn Muheid is possibly second only to Nūri esh-Sha'lān in the Anazah federation. He is a man of about 40, vain, money-loving, and strongly pan-Arab. His position on the middle reaches of the Euphrates enables him to close the riverain road to traffic whenever he pleases. Until the Baghdad Railway is completed, this road is the customary, and by far the shortest, means of communication between Aleppo and Baghdad, and is now connected with Constantinople by a railway, broken only by a short interruption on the Taurus. The **Sibā'** are less numerous, some 1,800 tents all told; their ruling families are the Beni Murshid and the Beni Hudeib (Hadeib).

Upon all the Anazah the Ottoman Government levies, so far as it is able, a sheep-tax and a camel-tax. The great sheikhs receive Ottoman subsidies, paid with something less than regularity. The sums are not large. A man like Nūri may be given about £20 a month, paid to his agent in Damascus, who uses the money for the purchase of necessary supplies which he sends out to his chief in the desert. The Ruweilah, who raise no crops, are entirely dependent on Damascus for provisions. 651 433 622

The paramount Anazah sheikhs, Ibn Sha'lān, Ibn Hadhdhāl, Ibn Sumeir, and Ibn Muheid, could each of them put into the field from 1,500 to 2,000 men, armed and mounted on camels, with a small proportion of horses. The Sibā' sheikhs could muster another 1,000. The united Anazah forces would therefore number about 9,000 men, if it were conceivable that they could ever be 622 619 701

BEDOUINS MJ4

361 The Committee of the first seminar recognized that, at the
652 present time, the financial provisions for the nomadic tribes
648 are relatively inadequate and submitted the recommendation that a higher percentage of the budget of each State should be allocated for the social and economic needs of the nomadic population. 1)

648 The same Committee recommended that:
166X

"the policy of the Arab States should aim at the settlement of a number of tribes by distributing them in the arable areas owned by the states and allotting small-holdings to individuals. In this connection the Committee refers to the existence especially in the Syrian Gezirah and Iraq, of extensive areas for the application of agricultural projects which should be based on the most up-to-date techniques of agriculture." 2)

CHAPTER XIII

361 Conclusions and Summary of the Settlement Problems

Nomadism has been chiefly responsible for the decline of agricultural prosperity in the Middle East.

361 The Bedouin tribes have always, through social and economic
X166 assimilation, become absorbed by the settled population. The process of sedentarization, the gradual transition from the nomadic mode of life to a settled existence, is a sociological phenomenon, inseparably connected with the history of Bedouin migrations from the desert into the fertile lands on its borders. In the past few decades the pace of the evolutionary process of transition has been considerably quickened under the impact of economic, social and political stimuli, mutually interlocked and overlapping.

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1. UN Social Welfare Seminar, 1950, p. 36
2. ibid., p. 37

622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezirah the sheikh of
423 the Fedn'an-Weld increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable land-holdings of the
427 powerful Shammar and Aneseh chiefs are predominantly cultivated by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, ancient wells were restored and new ones created, medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydrauliques sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water nearby. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyre. In 1931 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyre, Deir es-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. Report, 1935, p. 106
2. Epstein, 1940, p. 77
3. Rapport, 1931, pp. 99-100

The Bedouin settlement policy of the Transjordan Government

Since 1931 it has been the policy of the government to create favorable conditions for settlement, rather than to sponsor and carry out definite sedentarization projects. The governmental policy of encouragement was implemented by financial aid and technical assistance to the tribes, and by bringing education to the Bedouin areas. 166x 654 657

After the two successive years of severe drought (1931 and 1932) the Beni Sakhr were granted in 1935 a governmental subsidy of LP 250 to encourage cultivation on tribal land.[1] In 1934 the administration gave the Howeitat LP 1 000 to start agriculture in the area between Ma'an and Shobeis.[2] In 1935 they were granted another LP 900 for the same purpose.[3] 65 166 241

Besides the meager financial help the tribes were given technical advice and assistance. In 1934 the government planted 1 600 palm suckers in the experimental garden at Bagoora in the Jordan valley and 600 in the oasis at Azraq for the instruction of the Bedouin.[4] To encourage citriculture 4 500 citrus trees were grafted from the Bagoora station and distributed among the nomads who had evinced an interest in agriculture.[5] The Department of Agriculture guided and helped the Bedouin to plant these trees. Desert schools were started in 1935, one permanently established at al-Jaffer in the Ma'an district which is the central location 654 166 658

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1. Report, 1935, p. 307
2. Report, 1934, p. 262
3. Report, 1935, p. 307
4. Report, 1934, p. 262
5. Report, 1937, p. 382

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
BEDOUINS MJ4

619 The tribesmen pay no attention to political boundary lines. When convenient, however, the Bedouin will take advantage of the frontier. An ambitious government collector of sheep and camel taxes, for example, may make it advisable for the tribes to assume a different nationality merely by shifting their tents into a region where the government authorities may be less exacting.[1]

619 x166 656 The nomads thus represent a national problem, and tribal settlement on land has become an important domestic issue in the Bedouin inhabited areas. On the one hand, the governments have checked and tried to eliminate the abuses perpetrated by the nomads, and on the other they have encouraged the process of transition to agriculture. Raiding was stopped, collection of khuwa outlawed, encroachment on areas of cultivation prohibited.

The positive measures for solving the Bedouin problem were on the whole inadequate, but settlement was given an appreciable impetus by the distribution of land, extension of financial aid, education and technical advice.

CHAPTER V

361 x166 The conflicting attitudes towards the Bedouin problem

There are two, basically opposing attitudes towards the Bedouin problem:

a. that of the realists who propose settlement of the nomads

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1. Report, 1923-24, p. 23

Saudi Arabia BEDOUINS MJ4

166 up for the sake of economic self-improvement.

178 The nomad who has settled creates a vacuum on the fringes of the desert which is filled by other desert tribes destined to undergo the same evolution, and thus the process of sedentarisation goes on indefinitely.

CHAPTER IX

Survey of Recent Developments that Affected Bedouin Society

Saudi Arabia

133 Except for a few fertile oases, the vast area of Saudi Arabia consists entirely of arid desert and steppes which are green only for a short period in the winter. Arabia is the cradle and the classic country of the Bedouin.

● 656 The rule of Ibn Saud has been the turning point in the
166 history of Central Arabia. In his drive to found a powerful state, Ibn Saud realised that he must settle the Bedouin within his frontiers if the political structure he created was to last. Citizens, united in purpose and attached to the soil, and not roving nomads, constitute a reliable element which can assure permanency to a state organisation.

656 To overcome the traditional tribal disunity, Ibn Saud inspired
186 the Bedouin with the doctrines of Wahhabi puritanism which gave them a consciousness of unity. The Ikhwan (brethern, Wahhabi confraternity), founded by Ibn Saud in 1912,[1] is the modern revival

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1. 1912 is the date usually given for the founding of the Ikhwan. cf. Royal Institute, 1930, p. 85
According to Arnold Toynbee, however, the Ikhwan was founded in 1910. cf. Royal Institute, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 281

SAUDI ARABIA BEDOUINS MJ4

656 186 of the Wahhabi movement which originated in the 18th century.

x166 656 The Bedouin members of the Ikhwan were induced to sell their camels and settle down to an agricultural existence. Settlement was carried out by giving to the tribesmen land, money and technical aid.

162 x166 656 Sedentarization has always been an important part of Ibn Saud's domestic policy. In 1928 there were already over 100 Ikhwan settlements in the Nejd. Artawiya, the oldest of the Ikhwan colonies, came into existence in 1912 and had by 1928 a population of about 10 000. In Ameen Rihani's list of 100 odd localities there are mentioned 34 settlements with an approximate population of 6 000 - 12 000. Dukhnah, a colony of the Harb tribe, has about 15 000 people.[1] In a few years Ibn Saud has thus succeeded in converting a great number of Bedouin into settled citizens.

656 425 In 1948 the government of Saudi Arabia declared its new national policy of granting state land to any citizen ready and willing to put it under cultivation.[2] In Arabia settlement is an artificial enterprise because it involves Bedouin, who from the economic point of view could continue their pastoral life for centuries yet. Of course, Ibn Saud is guided more by the political problems which the Bedouin present to his state structure than by economic necessity.

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1. Rihani's study of Ibn Saud contains a list of new settlements built by the tribes of Nejd under the influence of the Ikhwan. Each colony is given with its quota of fighting men. This figure is one third of the male, or one sixth of the total population. cf. Rihani, 1928, pp. 118-119
2. Afif I Tannous, 1951, p. 15

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622 and share-croppers on the holdings of the chiefs who rapidly
425 changed from their traditional role of "primus inter pares" to that of a semi-feudal landlord.

656 In the thirties the administration of Iraq became increasingly
425 aware of the plight of the Bedouin. In 1934 three committees con-
X166 sisting of high government officials and tribal sheikhs were formed for the purpose of studying the problem of land distribution among the tribesman and of encouraging them to take up agriculture.

A plan was formulated with the aim of settling 40 000 Bedouin over a period of ten years, at the rate of 4 000 per annum.[1] Guided by the administration policy of Bedouin settlement, the Minister of the Interior proceeded in 1936 with the assignment of land to the nomadic tribes and landless fellahin. Distribution was made in small plots of about five acres per head. Provision was also made for financial assistance needed to initiate cultivation. Prospective settlers, in turn, were subject to the stipulation that their villages and houses must be constructed along modern lines.[2]

At the end of 1936 Prime Minister Hikmat Suleiman declared in the outline of his government program that the authorities are vitally concerned with the settlement of the tribes and ready to provide each family with land. He stated that legislation would

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1. Oriente Moderno, Vol. XXV, pp. 483-4 1934
2. Oriente Moderno, Vol. XVI, p. 279 1936

68: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
IRAQ BEDOUINS MJ4
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166x

also be effected to improve lines of communication, so that the nomads may be able to benefit from public services.[1]

Since the end of the Second World War the government of Iraq has begun to put into practice the policy of encouraging small landownership by distributing State Domain lands among landless peasants and tribesmen. The first post-war project was started in 1945 on the Dujaylah lands, south of Baghdad, where 88 000 acres of state land were parcelled out in plots of about 62.5 acres per family. The new settlement which started in 1945 with 85 families has presently about 1 200. The settlers come from neighboring tribes where they and their kin had worked as share-croppers on the estates of the sheikhs.[2] In 1946 another project, the Hindiyah settlement, was completed. It involved the distribution of approximately 200 000 acres of irrigated state land among the members of the Ubayd tribe.[3]

The observation has been made that the inequality of land-ownership had a great effect on many of the tribesmen and in the absence of sufficient agricultural projects they began to flock to the cities.[4] Progressive circles in Iraq have realised for a number of years that settling the nomads must go hand in hand with the creation of suitable land conditions.

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1. Oriente Moderno, Vol. XVII, pp. 41-42, 1937
2. Burns, 1951, p. 362
3. Tannous, 1951, p. 16
4. Khayat, 1950, pp. 225-226

SYRIA
IRAQ

BEDOUINS MJ4

656 425 x166 The idea of land reform aiming at the encouragement of small and medium land-holdings and settlement of the nomads as well as landless peasants on small plots has been very popular since the end of the Second World War. In 1945 the Parliament of Iraq passed a bill (Law #23) authorizing the government to distribute State Domain land (over 80 per cent of the now uncultivated land in Iraq)[1] among fellahin and tribesmen on the basis of small private ownership. This law has made possible the successful Bujaylah land settlement project. In 1950 the Law #23 of 1945, originally restricted to a limited region, was made applicable to additional areas in all parts of the country.[2]

Recent planning may bring about a controlled agrarian revolution by creating a class of small farmers on 25 - 35 per cent of Iraq's cultivable land.[3]

Syria

+166 656 Throughout the latter part of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century encouragement of Bedouin settlement in Syria was an integral part of the tribal policy of the Ottoman government.

The authorities did not make any constructive effort to effect sedentarization of the tribesmen although transition to

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1. Burns, 1951, p. 362
2. For detailed discussion of the settlement projects in Iraq see: Burns, 1951, pp. 362 - 66
3. New York Times, November 4, 1950

BEDOUINS MJ4 SYRIA 166x 656

agriculture was taking place on a small scale. During the latter part of the century the Weld Ali tribe began to take up cultivation near Homs and the Hesene in the Hauran.[1]

The leaders of the Syrian tribes, however, particularly the Anezeh and West Shammar sheikhs, benefited from Sultan Abdul Hamid's policy aiming at winning their support by gifts of land and villages. In 1870 Jed'an of the Fed'an obtained from the government several villages and large tracts of land.[2] Mejhem, the grandson of Jed'an, owns two villages on the Euphrates besides the property which he inherited from his grandfather. In the 1930's he acquired additional ground near 'Ain 'Isa where he built a house.[3] Nuri al-Sha'lan, the sheikh of the Ruala, owned substantial property consisting of vast estates, a house in Damascus and several motor-cars.[4]

622 425 656

Since the end of the First World War, all the important tribal leaders of Syria have been in possession of extensive land-holdings, and most of them have taken an increasing interest in cultivation. In 1928 Sheikh Saleemeh of the Sba'a Omeesa undertook to restore an ancient system of canals and began tillage on land which had been heretofore desert.[5] In 1935 the sheikh of the Sba'a Bteinat doubled his cultivation in

622 423 241

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 73
2. ibid., p. 79
3. ibid., p. 81
4. ibid., pp. 105 seq.
5. Report, 1935, p. 106

PALESTINE ISRAEL BEDOUINS MJ4

The British Mandatory regime had no concrete tribal settlement policy although assistance was rendered to the Bedouin, whenever necessary, by means of relief measures such as employment in public works, monetary gifts, assignment of land, etc. 657

Six desert schools were founded in the vicinity of Beersheba to serve the educational needs of the southern tribes. 658 361 No special Bedouin school was established in the North. The nomads who were concerned with the education of their children had to send them to the government school.

Settlement Policy of the Government of Israel

Similarly to the policies of Ibn Saud the government of Israel is pursuing a vigorous policy of transforming the remaining 17 500 nomads of the Negev into settled communities of farmers and pastoralists. 166x 656

The Israeli authorities have closed the southern border to prevent Bedouin infiltration from across the frontier.

After the occupation of Beersheba in 1948, sheikhs representing 16 large and small tribes pledged their loyalty to the State of Israel. In the Arab-Israel war of 1948/49 they were friendly or at least neutral.[1]

The following extract from a report will clearly illustrate the changes which are taking place among the nomads of the Negev as result of Israel's Bedouin settlement policy: 166x 361

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1. Lourie, Palestine Post, November 24, 1949

658 for the southern tribes of Transjordan. The second desert school follows the movement of the northern tribes, classes being alternately held at Muaqqar and at Azraq, both in the Amman district.[1]

x166 In general it must be stated that the creation of suitable
● 656 conditions for tribal settlement was attempted on a scale which
241 was wholly inadequate, the chief obstacles being the lack of a concrete policy and the financial means to implement it. Nevertheless, in Transjordan, the majority of the nomads are actually ready to settle down if the opportunity is given them. Larger tribes such as the Howeitat and Beni Hasan are increasingly practicing agriculture as their main occupation. Smaller tribes, living in northern Kerak, have always held cultivation in high esteem.[2] Tribesmen from Belqa are engaged as agricultural laborers on the estates of the Beni Sakhr,[3] although most sheikhs of the Jordan tribes have their lands worked by permanent tenants, fellahin who come from the Nablus and Hebron areas of Palestine.[4]

178 Summary of the Bedouin settlement movement in the area
x166

a. spontaneous socio-economic change

The internal, sociological change among the nomads is the ever-operating phenomenon of assimilation to the settled society which they contact.

How the transition gradually occurs among the tribes

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1. Report, 1938, p. 351
2. Jaussen, 1908, p. 243
3. Epstein, 1938, p. 233
4. Poliak, 1942

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

726 If he sees that the odds are even, and the raiders are about as strong as he, he will fight, and fight superbly, encouraged by the cries of his women. In the case of the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, he is often helped by his womenfolk who bring him ammunition, water, etc. Women have been known to display remarkable indifference to danger and bullets on these occasions. It is only when he has no chance (and years of this sort of warfare have trained him to size up such a situation quickly), that the Badawin considers discretion the better part of valour.

721 A Badawin's passion is his camel, and if he has lost one by raid, or by simple theft, he will not rest till he has discovered where it is and what shaikh, individual, or tribe has got it in his possession. He has many methods of finding this out, the most common being by the system of *bilasa*, i.e. payment of money to a neutral to go and spy out the land and locate his animal.

As raids are often carried out from a great distance, this process of running down the raiders or camel thieves often takes many weary months. I have known camels which have been taken from near Kuwait located near Jauf, Rutba, Hu..uf and Hail—each place over 500 miles away. If the raiders are known enemies, time is not wasted trying to locate stolen animals, counter-raid is promptly resorted to till a man gets his own back and more. If the raiders are unknown, or have worked a night surprise, then of course they must be discovered and the camels located, before counter-measures are taken. If peace reigns in the land, the discovered camels will be applied for and recovered by the laws of *'Arafa* (see Chapter XXXIII).

Stealing wandering camels, even though the owners are not at war with a man's tribe, is not wrong—it is merely clever, and a man finding a stray camel will not hesitate to pinch it, and take it along to his home. If the owner finds it eventually, it will be handed over, but if he does not, then so much the better. The 'Ajman and Dhafir are particularly fond of this game.

721 656 In Sa'udi Arabia the strong arm of Bin Sa'ud has done much to stop indiscriminate raiding and stealing, and this perhaps more than anything else has been responsible for that Ruler's unpopularity to-day. "If you stop us raiding you stop our source of life," says the Badawin, "for we have neither crops nor palm trees, nor are we shop keepers able to sell goods and make money." Not only is this state-

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

ment true, but the situation is yearly getting worse, especially since the motor car has practically killed the camel export trade of Arabia. Thirty years ago many hundred thousand camels were annually sold to Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Persia, and brought money to the Badawin world.

Bin Sa'ud realises the Badawin's grievance in this respect, but steadfastly refuses to sanction indiscriminate raiding, which tends to disrupt his kingdom. He tried to counter the evil by giving subsidies to high and low in the Badawin world, and rewarding all who come to visit him and pay respects. He no doubt hopes in time to get round the danger by developing the mineral wealth of his country, notably oil and gold. But will he succeed?

DECLARATION OF WAR

Should war be imminent between two tribes or primitive Arab States, there are regular rules which have to be observed. There must be a proper and honourable declaration of hostilities. The word *niga* is used to denote a declaration of war. It is never used between individuals. The offended tribe, either by letter or verbal message, informs the tribe it wishes to fight that *niga* has been sent them. This literally means the "warning of war". It is bad form and contrary to Arab honour to start a war by means of a surprise attack. *Niga* is the opposite of *hidna*, which means "cessation of war". *Allag* means a "truce". The expression *Mardud al niga 'alaikum* is the official warning of war, and was commonly heard in the desert in the old days.

I am told that in August 1933 when H.M. King Bin Sa'ud declared war on Yaman, the Imám Yahya sent the King a letter with the following words, *Mardud al niga 'alaikum, wa waladna Saif al Islam Ahmad yusalkum* (The war warning is sent you and my son, Saif al Islam Ahmad, will come to you). Bin Sa'ud is reported to have sent reply, "Your son is welcome. We also have a son Sa'ud, who will be pleased to meet him on arrival." The tale certainly was brought me by some Badawin friends from Riyadh, though the wording of the messages may have been the result of a too keen imagination.

When a tribe sends a challenge of *niga* to another, it is sometimes the custom to add by word of mouth or letter, that "such and such a

SYRIA BEDOUINS MJ4

622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezirah the sheikh of
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Jordan BEDOUINS MJ4

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Besides the meager financial help the tribes were given 654 technical advice and assistance. In 1934 the government planted 166 1 600 palm suckers in the experimental garden at Bagoora in the Jordan valley and 600 in the oasis at Azraq for the instruction of the Bedouin.[4] To encourage citriculture 4 500 citrus trees were grafted from the Bagoora station and distributed among the nomads who had evinced an interest in agriculture.[5] The Department of Agriculture guided and helped the Bedouin to plant these trees. Desert schools were started in 1935, one permanently established 658 at al-Jaffer in the Ma'an district which is the central location

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1. Report, 1935, p. 307
2. Report, 1934, p. 261
3. Report, 1935, p. 307
4. Report, 1934, p. 262
5. Report, 1937, p. 382

BEDOUINS MJ4

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As a member of a well-knit patriarchal society the individual found enjoyed a relative sense of security, and his precarious existence in the desert was made possible by tribal solidarity and experienced and devoted leadership. With the dissolution of the traditional ties the Bedouin may ultimately come to realize the benefits that will accrue to him as part of a new social order, that of the settled community.

Political

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The administrations of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Israel have been concerned with integrating the nomadic element within their borders in the national community.

Saudi Arabia and Israel have formulated and are carrying out definite settlement policies, while the other governments of the area stimulate sedentarization by the creation of suitable conditions. Inadequate as the measures of the governments may be in themselves, they are bound to show results, once the disintegration of the tribal group is sufficiently advanced.

In order to make Bedouin sedentarization a lasting success, government-sponsored settlement projects must be designed and carried out.

For a long time the issue of "settling the tribes" has been a political slogan in the cities of the Arab countries, but only infrequently have the administrations of Syria, Iraq and Jordan taken concrete steps in direction of Bedouin settlement.

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622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezirah the sheikh of
423 the Fedn'an-Weld increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable land-holdings of the
427 powerful Shammar and Aneseh chiefs are predominantly cultivated by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, ancient wells were restored and new ones created, medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydrauliques sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water nearby. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyre. In 1931 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyre, Deir es-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. Report, 1935, p. 106
2. Epstein, 1940, p. 77
3. Rapport, 1931, pp. 99-100

PALESTINE ISRAEL BEDOUINS MJ4

The British Mandatory regime had no concrete tribal settlement policy although assistance was rendered to the Bedouin, whenever necessary, by means of relief measures such as employment in public works, monetary gifts, assignment of land, etc. 657

Six desert schools were founded in the vicinity of Beersheba to serve the educational needs of the southern tribes. No special Bedouin school was established in the North. The nomads who were concerned with the education of their children had to send them to the government school. 658 361

Settlement Policy of the Government of Israel

Similarly to the policies of Ibn Saud the government of Israel is pursuing a vigorous policy of transforming the remaining 17 500 nomads of the Negev into settled communities of farmers and pastoralists. 166* 656

The Israeli authorities have closed the southern border to prevent Bedouin infiltration from across the frontier.

After the occupation of Beersheba in 1948, sheikhs representing 16 large and small tribes pledged their loyalty to the State of Israel. In the Arab-Israel war of 1948/49 they were friendly or at least neutral.[1)]

The following extract from a report will clearly illustrate the changes which are taking place among the nomads of the Negev as result of Israel's Bedouin settlement policy: 166* 361

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1. Lourie, Palestine Post, November 24, 1949

Jordan BEDOUINS MJ4

The Bedouin settlement policy of the Transjordan Government

Since 1931 it has been the policy of the government to create favorable conditions for settlement, rather than to sponsor and carry out definite sedentarization projects. The governmental policy of encouragement was implemented by financial aid and technical assistance to the tribes, and by bringing education to the Bedouin areas. 166x 654 657

After the two successive years of severe drought (1931 and 1932) the Beni Sakhr were granted in 1935 a governmental subsidy of LP 250 to encourage cultivation on tribal land.[1] In 1934 the administration gave the Howeitat LP 1 000 to start agriculture in the area between Ma'an and Shobek.[2] In 1935 they were granted another LP 900 for the same purpose.[3] 65 166x 241

Besides the meager financial help the tribes were given technical advice and assistance. In 1934 the government planted 1 600 palm suckers in the experimental garden at Bagoora in the Jordan valley and 600 in the oasis at Azraq for the instruction of the Bedouin.[4] To encourage citriculture 4 500 citrus trees were grafted from the Bagoora station and distributed among the nomads who had evinced an interest in agriculture.[5] The Department of Agriculture guided and helped the Bedouin to plant these trees. Desert schools were started in 1935, one permanently established at al-Jaffer in the Ma'an district which is the central location 654 166 658

1. Report, 1935, p. 307
2. Report, 1934, p. 261
3. Report, 1935, p. 307
4. Report, 1934, p. 262
5. Report, 1937, p. 382

658 for the southern tribes of Transjordan. The second desert school follows the movement of the northern tribes, classes being alternately held at Muaqqar and at Azraq, both in the Amman district.[1]

×166 In general it must be stated that the creation of suitable
656 conditions for tribal settlement was attempted on a scale which
241 was wholly inadequate, the chief obstacles being the lack of a concrete policy and the financial means to implement it. Nevertheless, in Transjordan, the majority of the nomads are actually ready to settle down if the opportunity is given them. Larger tribes such as the Howeitat and Beni Hasan are increasingly practicing agriculture as their main occupation. Smaller tribes, living in northern Karak, have always held cultivation in high esteem.[2] Tribesmen from Belqa are engaged as agricultural laborers on the estates of the Beni Sakhr,[3] although most sheikhs of the Jordan tribes have their lands worked by permanent tenants, fellahin who come from the Nablus and Hebron areas of Palestine.[4]

178 Summary of the Bedouin settlement movement in the area

×166 a. spontaneous socio-economic change

The internal, sociological change among the nomads is the ever-operating phenomenon of assimilation to the settled society which they contact.

How the transition gradually occurs among the tribes

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1. Report, 1938, p. 351
2. Jaussen, 1908, p. 243
3. Epstein, 1938, p. 233
4. Poliak, 1942

BEDOUINS MJ4
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the natural conditions of the environment, while in recent years it has also been an adjustment to economic circumstances.

The type of animal industry is determined by geographic factors and climatic conditions. In Iraq "in many parts of the alluvial lowlands, terrain is too soft and swampy, so that those animals (camels) are few outside the steppes."[1] Syria, especially the northern part, where rigorous winters frequently occur, is not an ideal region for camel-breeding while in parts of the Arabian desert sheep and goats cannot survive.

233

The profitability and the increase of sheep and goat rearing is apparent from the following Transjordan export-trade figures:[2]

439

	1937	1939	1941	1943
goats	6 988	7 637	32 638	31 041
sheep	12 064	37 896	56 735	52 487

While the camel trade declined, the sheep and goat business has been constantly rising.

Mr. Epstein states[3] that sheep raising is more lucrative when practiced in permanent settlements which do not have to fear losses incurred as result of inter-tribal raiding. With the establishment of Public Security, however, raids have practically ceased, and the desert has been made secure. Today, throughout the area the animal industry is largely in the hands of the nomads.[4]

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1. Fisher, 1950, p. 362
2. Kouikoff, 1946, p. 112 Table 16
3. Epstein, 1938, p. 228
4. In Iraq the breeding of sheep is practiced almost exclusively by the nomadic population, cf. Royal Institute, 1950, p. 259

8: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East M
BEDOUINS MJ4

At the beginning of 1929 practically the whole of the powerful Rwala tribe entered Iraqi territory and encamped west of the Wadim area. The Rwala were soon followed by the Sba'a, another great tribe of the Aneseh. These unusual movements were caused by lack of good grazing in Syria.[1] 221

Political boundary lines thus do not appear to have seriously affected tribal mobility. On the contrary, public security has enabled tribes to wander beyond their dirah into territories where in the past they would not have dared to camp. The Transjordanian tribes which, according to Epstein, were prevented from migrating to the Wadi Sirhan may have feared to cross the border line. It must be understood that states may sign agreements which the tribes have no intention to observe. 131 221 459

It happened both before and after the establishment of frontiers that Transjordan nomads were attacked and plundered in their Wadi Sirhan grazing areas by hostile tribes of Hejaz. Due to the frequency of such occurrences the tribes customarily moving for the winter to the Wadi Sirhan were not forced by the authorities to disarm because their lives and possessions could not be protected by British and local forces while away from Transjordan territory.[2] 221 721

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1. Report, 1929a, pp. 35-36
2. Report, 1930, p. 135

423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1951 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on State Domains by the rich landowning families, and it was alleged that in the Jezirah tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing away land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights.[1]

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holding tends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged as long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Mandatory Palestine

162 361 Since World War 1 there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 981 out of the 66 551 nomads of Palestine[2] were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Terabin, Tayaha, Azazma,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1951
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

To 369 162 439 443 [181]

ladies' lingerie, but he has little use for some of the strange products of the West. For the townsman, who is living in a mixed community of Arabs from many parts of the Persian Gulf, Persians and Indians, it is a different proposition, and his materialism has made Dibai a small British export area, though mostly for the less refined goods that are unable to find buyers on a more discriminating market.

B 101 186 721 •661

The primitive bedouins who live by the foothills of the main mountain range, who owe allegiance to no one, are a constant cause of worry to the sheikhs, from whom they extract levies in return for protection; if the money is not forthcoming they raid the villages and carry off goods, camels and children. On the whole, however, the people of the coast seem to have a peaceful enough existence, making their living by, among other things, pearling, fishing and boat-building.

To 361 396 226

To 312 576

At several points along the coast the wells are some distance inland, and water has to be transported to the villages by camel or donkey. Though brackish and unpalatable, it is expensive; the cost of buying water is a burden on the poor, and they take only sufficient for their minimum needs. Even so, the water-pot is always at hand when a traveller passes by — a simple hospitality that is often very touching. The lot of the dogs, a wretched one at the best of times in the

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P. 191 (B)

land reform on which successful tribal settlement will ultimately depend, but as the land-owning families exercise control over the indigenous administrations, the prospects for sweeping changes do not seem bright. 421

Transformation of the Sheikh

With the process of sedentarization the tribal sheikh undergoes a profound political and social transformation. 166x

In the traditional tribal society inter-tribal political activities were confined to disputes over water and grazing rights. Since the 19th century sheikhs have become involved in big power politics. Bedouin history since the First World War abounds with cases of tribal chiefs being pre-occupied with the political issues of the country. At present the tribal leaders constitute a very active element in the parliamentary life of Syria and Iraq. While the sheikhs of the Transjordanian tribes have in the past not taken a prominent part in the political activities of their country, they have taken sides in the main controversial issue of anglophile government circles versus pan-Arab, anti-foreign Nationalists. Mithal Pasha, the sheikh of the Beni-Sakhr, was the avowed friend of the Mufti while Hamad el Jazi, the sheikh of the Howeitat was an active supporter of Abdullah.[1] 578 622 664

The social changes which the sheikh undergoes are considerable. His household becomes substantially enlarged by addition of a great number of slaves, specialists in various tasks. The wives of the sheikh have chamber maids at their disposal. 622 178

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1. Oppenheim, 1943, pp. 182-183

Appendix I

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Saud in 1929–30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under ibn Musaiyis, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength. 721

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Bin Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Bin Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929–30 have already largely replaced shortages. [13]

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Bin Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the 'Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Bin Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Bin Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Bin Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929–30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following: 669

(a) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.

(b) The confiscation by Bin Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Sharaf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They own the famous breed of *Krush* horses, and up to the 1929–30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of. 726 231 291 562

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929–30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon. 619

'Ajman (Singular 'Ajmi)

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Pronounced Shaikh—ibn hitilain* (from Shaikhly Clan al ma'idh, subsection majian). 101 622

* Is also pronounced Hadhdhala.

Fame of the Dhafir

554 me by Shaikh Hamud himself, and later vouched for by the Shaikh
619 of Kuwait on 9th September, 1932.
622 Shaikh Jada'an al Suwait, who succeeded to the Shaikhship of the
628 Dhafir after the death of Hamud, was camped near Athaiba and
577 Ruhail on the Kuwait–Iraq border in 1931. Hearing that one of his own tribesmen had fired at and wounded a Mutairi tribesman who was his *qasir* at the time, even though the Mutair tribe and the Dhafir tribe were open enemies, Shaikh Jada'an had the offending tribesman brought before him, and with his own hand slashed him over the head with his sword.

The deed flashed through the Badawin world like lightning at the time, and Jada'an's name, as the upholder of Badawin honour,
[682] became almost as famous as that of his forbear. Unfortunately the Iraq authorities, with that folly which has frequently characterised them in dealing with the high-spirited tribesmen of the desert, imprisoned Shaikh Jada'an for several weeks, before they saw that they were making a martyr of a desert hero. This act cost them his allegiance. Shortly after, Shaikh Jada'an went over to Bin Sa'ud, taking half the tribe with him.

Shaikh Jada'an told me the story himself, saying that he only acted as he did in order to keep the vital Badawin law clean and untarnished.

So greatly have the Dhafir tribe preserved and guarded their good name in the above respect, that it is said of Mana, another famous Shaikh of the Dhafir, that the immediate cause of his death was the news (which was brought to him as he was riding home from a raid), that a certain well-known guest of the tribe had, in his absence, been attacked and slain. Certain it is that on being told what had happened, his heart seemed to stop beating and he fell forward on to his camel's neck and rolled to the ground a dead man. His daughter, whom I met in 1935, told me that the old man had literally died of a broken heart, and her words were vouched for by her husband, Shaikh Hautush al Suwait, cousin of Jada'an.

621 I myself have only once been appealed to by a person who was
671 my *qasir*. I am glad to say that the results were eminently satisfactory.
577 It happened on this wise. I was in Kuwait, and it was in the hot month of July 1932, when everyone was sleeping on the roof at night. I was sleeping outside the old Agency dining-room, over the cook's quarters.

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

A Midnight Appeal

Next door and behind the Agency premises resided the divorced tribal wife of a well-known pearl merchant. She was a pure-bred tribal lady of the Wasil sept of the Mutair, and had been put away by her husband because he wanted to marry again. With the lady lived her daughter, a girl of about fifteen. The daughter was all the mother had in the world and was the pride and apple of her eye.

The roof on which I slept at night abutted on to the house of the lady in question, her roof was only some eight feet higher than mine and owing to its proximity to mine she herself never utilised her roof for sleeping.

Apparently, although I did not know it at the time, my neighbour's daughter had a male cousin who aspired to her hand. He had custom and the *Shari'a* law on his side, and asked to marry the girl. The mother had steadfastly refused, on the plea that she had only her daughter to work for her, and without her she would starve. After much pressure the mother had apparently agreed to let her daughter marry if sufficient money compensation was paid her for the years of trouble and expense which she had incurred in bringing her daughter up.

Actually she wanted sufficient money to enable her to live. The young man and his people refused her demands and complained to the shaikh. The latter decided that the young man was within his rights, and ordered the girl to be removed to some distant relative's house, whence after due ceremony and regard for convention she would be married. Four times the shaikh's *fidawiyah*, or guards, came round to the mother's house, and each time she refused them entry. The law did not permit them to enter forcibly, but they vowed that law or no law her position as a woman would not prevent them next time breaking open her door and forcibly abducting the girl.

It was then that the incident happened. I was asleep on my roof and the night was hot without moon. It was about twelve midnight when I awoke to hear my name called, "Ya Abu Sa'ud—Ya Abu Sa'ud," came the voice out of the darkness, "Wake up and listen". Wide-awake now, I realised that someone was addressing me in a low whisper from my neighbour's roof, only a few yards away. "What is it?" I said. "Who are you that startles me like this at dead of night?" "I am your *qasir*," replied the voice with a moan, "I am daughter of

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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621 So-and-So, and I appeal to you to listen to me." Realising then who
671 was speaking to me over the wall, I learned her whole tale. At the
577 end she said, "Ya Abu Sa'ud, I am in the deepest distress, I entreat you to help, I, your *qasir*, your neighbour, your tent *jar*" (another word for neighbour). "What wouldst thou that I do for thee, my sister?" I replied. "Go to-morrow morning," she said, "and tell Shaikh Ahmad of my plight, and fight for me and my daughter, for verily if they take her away I shall die." To all my pleading that she was not under my jurisdiction, she merely replied, "I know nothing about that. All I know is that you are my neighbour and the law makes it incumbent on you to come to my assistance."

The end of it was that I promised to do as she asked, and on the next day I went and saw the Ruler, apologised for butting in where I was not concerned, but pointed out that my *qasir* had appealed in such and such manner to me, and that as I understood the importance of such an appeal, I in turn begged his intervention on her behalf. The shaikh was so struck with my tale, and so delighted that I pleaded with him for one of his Muslim subjects against his own decision, that he turned round and said very charmingly, "Colonel Dickson, this law of the *qasir* is a very sacred one for us Arabs; that you know and understand the depth of its meaning is patent to me, else you would never have acted as you have done. The girl is yours, give her back to her mother and say I, Ahmad, revoke my orders previously given. Even as you listened to the woman who appealed to you as *qasir*, so likewise I will listen to you and grant your request, to prove to you how deeply I feel you have been honoured by one of my country-women, and how deeply I also honour the law of *qusara*." I was much impressed by the shaikh's words, and it will be long before I forget his remarkable reply. His orders were duly passed on to my neighbour, and to this day the poor woman shows her gratitude in little kindnesses to my servants. I never again saw her to speak to.

SHÍMA

577 The Arab's idea of *shima* is much the same as our conception of honour, and I shall illustrate it only by the story given below.

Othman al Rashid of Buraida (an ex-horse-dealer of Kuwait) on

"Recognition" of Camels

THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA
OR
"RECOGNITION" OF ANIMALS BY THE OWNER

421 628 619 425 I. *The case of camels captured in a raid.*

Should two tribes *asta'araf* to one another (have made the special *'arafa* agreement between them), then one party may take from the other, camels once belonging to the former and now recovered from an enemy in raid, etc., by the latter.

Thus if a number of camels have been captured from the 'Ajman by the 'Awazim, and on some later occasion are recovered by the Mutair, the 'Ajman would have the right to take back their camels on application to the Mutair, without compensation, *provided the custom of* 'Arafa *existed between the 'Ajman and the Mutair.*

421 619 ● 671 425 II. *The case of camels bought from one person by another and later recognised by a former owner as having been stolen from him.*

The case is settled in this wise. If the purchaser and the original owner are of the same tribe, or belong to two tribes with a "special agreement" by which their relations are those of *Bani 'Ám*, then the purchaser and the original owner, together with the animal in dispute, have to approach the seller and from him recover the purchase money. They give this to the man who has bought the camel, and the orignal owner takes back his property. For example, a man of Shammar recognises a stolen camel of his with a man of the Dhafir, and the latter states he purchased it from the Mutair. Should the Dhafir and Shammar have a *Bani 'Ám* arrangement between them, the men will both go and see the Mutairi. If the Mutairi had himself raided or stolen the camel from the Shammari, and the Mutair and the Shammar were at peace, he will return the purchase price to the Dhafiri, and the Shammari may then take the camel he claims. If the Mutairi has himself bought the camel from another, say an 'Ajmi, he will still pay back the price to the Dhafiri and will then go and claim his money from the 'Ajmi, and so on till they get back to the original thief. In other words, all intervening sales and purchases are step by step undone.

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This method of friendly recovery of a man's camel is known as the *Sauq wa Qaud* system, a sort of family arrangement for the recovery of animals by mutual consent and without quarrelling over the matter. This system has the advantage of keeping Government officials out of the business, which from the Badawin point of view is always desirable. It is commonly practised in areas where Government writ does not run, and where one tribe is paramount under a strong shaikh who can enforce his will (example, the southern desert area of Iraq in Turkish times). 421 619 671 425

The system is open to variation according to circumstances, also to special arrangements between tribes, etc. So-called desert law is rarely a hard-and-fast thing. Many are the arbitrators who vary it slightly, or try to arrange a compromise in difficult or protracted cases. In most cases, however, precedent has a great deal to do with settling difficult problems, and so we have the *Ahl al khibrah* or experts, versed in legal precedent and able to state how difficult cases were formerly settled. These wiseacres have much to do with the interpretation of desert law. Nevertheless the two main principles of *'arafa* remain fixed: 671 693 619 425

(*a*) A camel taken in war or retaken in war by a friend of the original owner is surrendered without compensation, if the custom of *'arafa* exists. There is no selling. [437]

(*b*) No camel bought for money can possibly be taken back by the original owner without compensation, even if the original owner be of the same tribe as the purchaser. There is only one exception, namely, if the original owner can prove that the buyer when he purchased the animal *was aware that it had been stolen* from a man of a friendly tribe. Thus if the 'Awazim bought Diyahin raided camels from Ibn Shuqair the day after his raid on the Diyahin near Kuwait in 1928, the latter could recover their camels from the 'Awazim without compensation. In no other case can anyone retake a purchased animal and leave the purchaser a loser. All sales must be undone, back to the original theft.

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Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XLII

Crime

THE BLOOD FEUD

628 The subject of the blood feud is a big one, and is so well known among experts that I feel diffident in approaching it lest I be challenged by those having more knowledge of Qur'anic Law than I. I shall nevertheless endeavour, with apologies, to touch on this absorbing and interesting subject for the benefit of those of my readers who do not know the Arab or his customs.

628 671 Throughout Arabia, and especially among the Badawin of that great country, the Qur'anic Law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is universally understood, and strictly enforced—with slight variations to suit local conditions.

In other words, if a man kill another *intentionally*, his own life is forfeit; if he wound or maim another he may be similarly wounded or maimed in return.

If on the other hand the offender can prove that he killed or wounded another person *unintentionally*, then he is allowed to compound the case by a money payment, fixed according to *'arf* or *islahat* custom, that is to say, by compensation mutually and satisfactorily arranged between both parties, through the medium of the local judge of the Shari'ah court, or the prince, ruler or shaikh as the case may be, such compensation being based on the figures mentioned in the next paragraph, though usually divided by three.

Should it so happen, however, that in a case of *intentional* killing, wounding or maiming, the aggrieved party or his relatives prefer to extract money compensation from the offender, they are permitted to do so under the Shari'ah Law, according to a scale strictly laid down.

An example of such scale is given below. It was given me by H.E. the Shaikh of Kuwait on 5th April, 1936, who in turn obtained it from the Chief Qazi of Kuwait, Al Shaikh Hamáda, as the basis on which to work out a scale of compensation to be paid by the local

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Oil Company to its workmen who might get *accidentally* killed or 628
hurt in the course of their work. The scale has been converted from 671
Rials into Rupees, this being the official currency of Kuwait.

(A) *Full compensation, or Rs.3000 in the following cases:*

Death.	Loss of both Hands.
Insanity.	Loss of both Feet.
Total Blindness.	Loss of an Eye of a one-eyed man.
Total Dumbness.	Loss of both Ears (entire).
Total Deafness.	Loss of Nose (entire).
Total loss of Voice.	Loss of Penis.
Total loss of Taste.	

(B) *Half compensation, or Rs.1500 in following cases:*

Loss of Hand.	Loss of one Eye.
Loss of Foot.	Loss of one Testicle.

(C) *Quarter compensation, or Rs.750 in following case:*
Partial loss of both Ears.

(D) *One-eighth compensation, or Rs.375 in following case:*
Entire loss of one Ear.

(E) *One-tenth compensation, or Rs.300 in following cases:*
Loss of Finger of single hand, or any toe of a single foot.

(F) *One-twentieth compensation, or Rs.150 in following case:*
Loss of each Tooth.

The "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" law, though universally understood and practised in Arabia, is slightly varied to suit local conditions and different localities.*

In tribal Iraq, for instance, the cost of an ordinary life to-day works out at Rs.800 or its equivalent in Dinars, while that of a Saiyid, or descendant of the Prophet, is valued at Rs.1100. But among the Badawin of Najd, Hasa and Kuwait the recognised blood money for a life is Rials 800, which at the 1936 rate of exchange works out at Rs.1200 approximately.

It will be noticed that this figure falls far short of the Shari'ah figures, and obviously has been agreed on to meet the impossibility

* Among the Mutair, for instance, compensation for a man killed consists of 800 dollars cash, 1 slave, 1 riding camel, 1 rifle.

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628 of a tribesman being able to collect the sum laid down by the Shari'ah
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In carrying out the death sentence it is important that the act of retribution be carried out in exactly the same way and by exactly the same means as the dead man was in the first place done to death.

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621 force, though the *qasir* will be well advised, if he can get hold of the shaikh of his protector's tribe, to kill a camel and invite him to a public meal. The shaikh will then see that everyone knows that the stranger is now under the tribe's protection.

The new tent-neighbour becomes, as it were, the guest of the particular Badawin who has given him permission to camp near him as his *qasir*. He is henceforth an *'aziz* (a dear one), and like the *rafiq* or *khawi*, he enjoys special privileges and is not subjected to the rules and regulations of the protector's tribe, and the "*qasir's* stick is now his sword" (*'assa-hu saif*).

The Badawin householder must protect the *qasir* against all comers, and in return the *qasir* must protect his benefactor against any raiders, even raiders of his own tribe.

Any cases or complaints now lodged against the *qasir* must be preferred through the person protecting him. "Sue me," says the protector, "but not my *qasir*, for I am in his place."

628 If any animal or thing is stolen from the *qasir's* tent, and the latter
672 complains to his protector, the protector must either find the stolen animal or article, or make it good.

Should a stranger, or even one of his own relatives or tribesmen, insult a woman of his *qasir's* tent and she cries out for help, the protector must immediately respond and come to aid her, whether her husband is with her or not. If the protector happens to kill the person insulting or harming the woman, he is not liable to pay blood money (*'idiyah*), nor is he exposed to any penalties from the slain man's relatives. On the contrary, the murdered man's kin must themselves pay any blood money due, as it was one of them who outraged the tent of a *qasir*. Public opinion in the desert will always make an offender pay up.

628 If raiders attack a man's *qasir* and carry off camels and mares, the
721 protector must make these good from booty he himself will capture in the next successful raid he engages in.

If the camels are stolen by camel thieves and a neighbouring tribe is suspected, the protector must himself join in the search and hire men to spy them out (*bil asa*) at his own expense.

If a *qasir* happens to kill a man of his protector's tribe, and then comes to his protector's tent and asks his help, the latter must help

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CHAPTER XXXIII

Camel Disputes

In the Arab States of Arabia proper, the rights of an individual over his camel are looked upon as more sacred perhaps than life itself. It is possible that there may be slight differences in custom and details in various parts of Arabia, but speaking generally, the rules given below will be found to be understood and prevail in most of North-Eastern and Central Arabia. I cannot speak for Oman, Yaman and the Hijaz, but I see no reason to suppose that the basic principles of all desert camel laws are not the same. 421

After dealing with the important custom of *'Arafa*, I have touched on and given the meaning, as briefly as I can, of the Badawin terms *Jahámah*, *'Ibldsah*, *Tirdhah*, *Khidmah*, *Zakát*, *Khdwah* and *Dhabihah wa Manihah*, all terms regularly heard in the desert man's daily life. I must express my thanks to His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait and his able Lieutenant Shaikh 'Abdullah al Jabir who is responsible for Kuwait tribal affairs, for the great assistance they have given by helping me to collect the data necessary for this chapter.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

I. *The case of camels belonging to individuals or tribes, straying with friendly tribes.* 421 628

(*a*) If one or more camels stray from a tribal herd and are later found with a friendly tribe, the owners can send in a demand for their return to the shaikh of the friendly tribe in question. Providing there is no undue delay, restitution is made and the matter ends. 425 681

(*b*) Should the strayed camel or camels not be restored, the owners have the right to watch their opportunity and seize property, livestock or even men belonging to the offending tribe, and

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retain such in their possession until their own plundered property is surrendered.

(c) Should the offending tribe still be obstinate (*a'asin*) and not return the camels, then the complainants have the right to hold what they have seized and must be satisfied with this. It is presumed that they have seized and held a number of camels equal to the number lost, neither more nor less.

II. *The case of camels straying away to a hostile tribe.*

The owner of the camel awaits his opportunity, and has the right to seize his enemy's camels and as many as he likes besides, by raid (*ghazzu*) or other stratagem, on the grazing grounds of the desert, in the summer or spring months, or on the caravan routes when his enemy visits a town or settlement to purchase supplies.

The injured party (owner of original stolen camels) retains what he has thus acquired from the enemy as a right, or he can make conditions with the enemy as he pleases. He can also if he likes cry "quits" entirely, provided everything is restored which he lost in the first place. Should blood be shed on such raids, the rule of the desert permits of revenge during five lives, that is to say, the party from whom a life has been taken, is entitled to kill a member of the slayer's family or tribe, down to the fifth generation, unless of course the family of the slain man agrees to accept *'idiyah* or *diya* (blood-money), which is generally computed in Najd and Kuwait to-day at Rials 800 (see Chapter XLII).

III. *The case of a tribe or tribes belonging to a recognised Government, raiding camels of tribes belonging to another Government.*

The Government of the raided tribe has the legal right to claim the stolen property back from the Government of the guilty tribe or to claim money compensation. The compensation is assessed by mutual agreement. Should the guilty tribe, however, refuse to obey the order of its own Government, and it becomes impossible to recover the property stolen, then the injured tribe has the right

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to recover its lost property in its own time, and by whatever means it deems fit to employ. 421 628 425 681

IV. *The case of stolen or lost camels, recognised in a town or settlement by their original owners. (Both parties for example having come up to purchase supplies.)* 421 628 369 425 681 694

If the two parties are members of tribes which are friendly and on good terms with each other, and if their respective tribes are on good terms with, and under the authority of, the Ruler or Governor of the town in question, then the claimant must produce three witnesses to testify that the property he claims is his own. The words he himself uses to prove his claim before the authority hearing the case are, "I affirm that I neither sold nor gave away this my camel". Having completed this formality, the claimant will receive back his camel by order of the Ruler or Governor of the said town. (This sort of case frequently arises in Kuwait and towns in Najd.)

In the event of the person in possession of the camel having bought it from a third party unaware that it was the lawful property of a member of a friendly tribe, the procedure is different (see below). Again, if the person in possession of the camel has obtained it in war from a third party, the claimant will only receive it back if the custom of *'arafa* exists between his tribe and that of the person with whom the camel is found (see below).

V. *The case of a tribe of one Government attacking a tribe of another Government and a battle resulting.* 421 628

The attacked tribe has the right to ask its Government to demand and recover full blood-money for its killed and injured from the Government of the guilty party. Should the complainant's Government not be in a position to exact reparation or come to an agreement with the aggressor's Government, either as to the blood-money due or to the terms of peace acceptable to the injured tribe, then the families of the victims have the right to take revenge in their own time and way, without being responsible to their Government in any respect. (V is similar to III.) 425 681

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554 me by Shaikh Hamud himself, and later vouched for by the Shaikh
619 of Kuwait on 9th September, 1932.

622 Shaikh Jada'an al Suwait, who succeeded to the Shaikhship of the
628 Dhafir after the death of Hamud, was camped near Athaiba and
577 Ruhail on the Kuwait–Iraq border in 1931. Hearing that one of his own tribesmen had fired at and wounded a Mutairi tribesman who was his *qasir* at the time, even though the Mutair tribe and the Dhafir tribe were open enemies, Shaikh Jada'an had the offending tribesman brought before him, and with his own hand slashed him over the head with his sword.

The deed flashed through the Badawin world like lightning at the time, and Jada'an's name, as the upholder of Badawin honour, [182] became almost as famous as that of his forbear. Unfortunately the Iraq authorities, with that folly which has frequently characterised them in dealing with the high-spirited tribesmen of the desert, imprisoned Shaikh Jada'an for several weeks, before they saw that they were making a martyr of a desert hero. This act cost them his allegiance. Shortly after, Shaikh Jada'an went over to Bin Sa'ud, taking half the tribe with him.

Shaikh Jada'an told me the story himself, saying that he only acted as he did in order to keep the vital Badawin law clean and untarnished.

So greatly have the Dhafir tribe preserved and guarded their good name in the above respect, that it is said of Mana, another famous Shaikh of the Dhafir, that the immediate cause of his death was the news (which was brought to him as he was riding home from a raid), that a certain well-known guest of the tribe had, in his absence, been attacked and slain. Certain it is that on being told what had happened, his heart seemed to stop beating and he fell forward on to his camel's neck and rolled to the ground a dead man. His daughter, whom I met in 1935, told me that the old man had literally died of a broken heart, and her words were vouched for by her husband, Shaikh Hautush al Suwait, cousin of Jada'an.

621 I myself have only once been appealed to by a person who was
671 my *qasir*. I am glad to say that the results were eminently satisfactory.
577 It happened on this wise. I was in Kuwait, and it was in the hot month of July 1932, when everyone was sleeping on the roof at night. I was sleeping outside the old Agency dining-room, over the cook's quarters.

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628 of a tribesman being able to collect the sum laid down by the Shari'ah
671 Law.

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For example, in 1916, when I was rather stupidly ambushed and wounded near Suq ash Shuyukh on my way back from a local wedding, I had taken the precaution to have a *rafiq* or safe conduct with me in the person of my old friend, Shaikh Qasid al Nahi, of the Hacham tribe, and two others. I therefore was offered by the Shaikh of the tribe responsible for my safety (Shaikh Qasid) the special sums of Rs.500 plus Rs.400. The former being *fasl* for my spilt blood (no bones broken), and the latter *hashm* or honour money, seeing that I had been hurt whilst under the protection of a *rafiq* of the tribe which shot me.

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685 man when Shaikh Mahruth demanded that the ordeal by fire be
696 resorted to. I should have liked to agree, to see how it worked, but couldn't very well accede to the request, so released the man, much to Shaikh Mahruth's disgust.

POISONING

682 Despite the difficulty of proof, it seems certain that poison is used
278 pretty extensively in some parts of Arabia (especially the towns)
[369] to remove an inconvenient person, such as a private adversary or possibly an unpleasant husband.

Rulers like the Āl Rashīd, Āl Sa'adun and Āl Sa'ud have certainly used this method in the past, when out to get the better of their political opponents, but I am glad to record that never has it been suggested or hinted (even by his enemies) that the present great ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, has ever sunk to such methods.

Probably the commonest poison is arsenic, or some preparation of it. The reason of this is that its effects are rather like cholera, so no questions are asked. Post-mortems are of course unknown. Arsenic, moreover, is easily obtained in every town in Arabia, seeing that it forms the chief ingredient in making preparations for treating camel
[369] mange, and in the bigger towns arsenic mixed with lime is a favourite depilatory among better-class women.

The townspeople call poison *sim*, while among the Badawin it is known as *saqwa*.

I have been told by some of my Badawin friends that a common way of administering *saqwa* under the Āl Rashid regime was by means of the coffee-cup. The coffee man kept some arsenic powder made into a paste on his thumb nail, and when he came to the person he wanted to poison he lifted his thumb over the edge of the cup and poured, as if by accident, some coffee over his thumb, and the poison went into the cup. The one to be poisoned drank it, later went sick, showed every symptom of cholera and then died.

An old 'Ajman shaikh told me (10th April, 1935) that when Ibn Rashid tried to poison Shaikh Abdur Rahman al Sa'ud (the father of the present King) and his brother when they were his hostages in

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A Cup of Coffee

Chap. XLII

Hail, he did so by the above method. The latter drank his coffee and 682
died shortly afterwards. The former spotted the coffee man's trick, 278
and did not swallow the coffee. He instead bent forward and under cover of his long sleeve spat the coffee out inside his *ṯóbán* and on to his chest. His chest was burnt where the coffee fell, so also was his mouth. He bore the chest scars to the day of his death.

The story is, I believe, true, though the burning is unconvincing and is probably a Badawin embellishment. If true, it suggests that an acid of some sort was mixed with the arsenic.

Money Compensation

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exactly the same wound and with a sword on D's head as D inflicted on C. He must not exceed his right in taking his vengeance by one jot or tittle, else he himself lays himself open to counter punishment, and the feud proceeds.

The Shaikh of Kuwait told me the following rather harrowing story of an event which took place in Kuwait about 1927, and which illustrates the stern determination of the Badawin of the desert to enforce what they deem the just law of retribution.

A Mutairi tribal woman living in Kuwait had three sons (the father had died some years previously). One day the eldest son quarrelled with the second son in the market place, and in a fit of rage shot him through the heart. The shot man died almost immediately and the murderer was arrested. The mother, on being asked by the shaikh what sort of punishment she wanted him to inflict on her eldest son replied that she demanded his life, and straightway called upon him to order her youngest son to shoot his elder brother. The shaikh, filled with horror at the woman's unnatural demand, and especially at the idea of turning the youngest boy also into a fratricide, pleaded for several days with the woman. At the same time he pointed out that it was quite unnecessary for her to lose two of her sons at one stroke, seeing that the killing was unpremeditated. He therefore asked her to allow him to judge the matter as he thought fit. The mother was, however, adamant. Consequently the third boy, who was greatly devoted to his two elder brothers, was given a rifle and ordered to shoot his surviving brother in the heart, and in the public market square. He refused point blank, and repeatedly threw the proffered rifle on the ground. Finally on being pressed he fainted, and the execution had to be carried out by the shaikh's own guards. Local Badawin opinion fully agreed with the mother's decision, and the way the execution was carried out, but the unhappy mother was left with only her third son, who, hating her for her ferocity, refused to live with her or even to support her any more.

It is understood among the Badawin of to-day that no blood money can legitimately be claimed in the case of a man killed in regular battle between two tribes at war. This is simply because it is impossible for men to recognise one another in a long-range fight with modern firearms. Nevertheless if a man be recognised in the course

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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CHAPTER VIII

Marriage and Divorce

MARRIAGE

582 A Badawin is not allowed to marry:

The divorced wife of his son.
His son's widow.
His wife's mother.
His brother's daughter.
His sister's daughter.
His foster sister.
A girl of a tribe that is considered inferior to his own, such as 'Awazim, Sana, Sulubba. (See Chapter VI and Appendix XIII.)

Inferior Badawin, of course, intermarry at will with other inferior tribes.

[162] The marriage laws among the Badawin tribes of Arabia are simple in the extreme and effectually settle the problem, so acute in the West, of what to do with the excess female population. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that in Arabia, owing to the interminable wars and intertribal hatreds that exist, women are and have always been greatly in excess of the men.

In the first place, marriage and divorce are extremely easy. Every youth on first reaching the age of manhood expects his parents to find a mate for him. Similarly a husband must be found for a girl the moment she reaches puberty.

684 582 First-cousin marriage is the invariable rule. A girl belongs of right to the son of her father's brother (*ibn 'ám*) unless he expressly renounces his right to marry her. Even in this case she may not marry without his permission. If the girl breaks this rule or her parents prevail on her to marry someone else, her rightful lord will murder her if he can. This is the cause of most of the tribal killings of women, especially in Iraq.

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Badawin Love Affairs

RIGHTS OF IBN 'ÁM

If a girl refuses to be wedded to her *ibn 'ám*, he may slay her without becoming liable to pay blood money in compensation. 684 582

If the *ibn 'ám* knows that his cousin does not want him, being already in love with someone else, he can forbid (*haiyyir 'alaiha*) the marriage, and the girl may die a spinster.

If a girl loves another and her father dies, she has a chance of getting her freedom from her *ibn 'ám* who is *haiyyiring* her ("hajjir" is the correct technical term for keeping her to himself), if she goes and begs her freedom immediately after her father's death: "My father has died, I want thee to release me in return for my father who has passed away", she says. In such case the *hajjir* is expected to be generous and release her—but he is not bound to do so. If he refuses her only remedy is to elope. She then flees with her lover to a distant land or tribe, and there marries him after putting herself and her husband under the protection of a shaikh. She remains in constant danger from her cousin, however. Her husband is considered as guilty as a murderer and can only secure his life by the payment of blood money. [627]

Should a Badawin elope with and marry a "white slave girl" (e.g. Circassian, Georgian or Armenian) or a girl of inferior tribe (he can on no account marry a slave and defile the tribe's blood), he can never return again to his kin; they will kill him. [588]

It is the duty of every Badawin to marry and procreate. The more children he possesses, the more powerful his kinsmen. He would be expelled the tribe were he to refuse to do his duty in this respect. Without his kin a Badawin would be the most miserable of outcasts. Musil brings this out clearly in his book, *Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*. 581

There are, of course, cases where a man sees a girl, not his cousin, and falls madly in love with her. If she herself is not bound to her *ibn 'ám* a regular courtship follows, the man finding opportunity of meeting when she is looking after the camels or the sheep, much as our own youths and maidens do. I have known very violent love affairs of this type, and the Badawin loses his head over his lass quite as much as the ordinary English youth, if not more.

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837 684 Again, as in the desert, immorality is practically unknown among unmarried girls. Married women on the contrary often indulge in clandestine intrigue. The penalty for immorality is death to the woman if she is found out. The woman's brothers and cousins always appear more concerned about their sister's honour than the father is, and if vengeance is to be carried out it is usually the brothers and cousins who track the woman down. As excuse they plead that they could not hold their heads up in tribal *majlis* if they had a sister living in dishonour. Marriage with the man who has led her astray is the only method that will save the girl's life. Even then the seducer must pay *hashm* or honour-money to satisfy the girl's relatives. A strange man sometimes takes the place of the seducer and can get the girl off punishment by marrying her, but this is not common. *Fasl* or *'idiyah* is the term given to blood money. Among the Iraq *Ma'addn* (marsh) tribes a girl-relative of a murderer is nearly always given to the brother or son of the murdered person, the idea being that a child from the union of two enemy houses allays any hatred that might remain.

585 Among the Arab tribes of Iraq, as opposed to the *Ma'addn* (marshmen), a man sets up a special tent or mat shelter called a *haufa* for his wife to be taken to immediately after marriage. This is close to his house or tent as the case may be, and corresponds to a honeymoon tent. After the bride is taken to this *haufa* by her women, the husband, arrayed in his best garments, is conveyed there by his men friends and consummates the marriage. The woman remains a prisoner in the *haufa* for seven days. The man, on the contrary, may come out and receive visitors in his *mudhif* or nearby guest-tent. On the eighth day the woman comes out of her *haufa*, goes into her new home and takes charge of the household duties. The custom of setting up the *haufa* tent applies only if the girl has never been married before. If she be a widow she goes straight to her husband's tent.

LOVE

831 595 I have often been asked if love, as we know it, exists among the Badawin. I have unhesitatingly replied that it does. The fact that a man is permitted to take more than a single wife has nothing to do with the matter. Indeed, it is rare to see a Badawin with more than

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

212 "Then dost thou at least know the signature of thy *sheykh* and the seal of Amir Fuaz?"

Before his men, the Fid'an dared not admit that this too was beyond him, so I asked for the pouch Ali used to carry on his body, containing the letter along with other treasures.

Everybody listened respectfully to Ali's reading of the letter. He read judiciously—only what was pleasant and polite; all the rest he left out. The rascals hung on Ali's lips and drank in every word that came from them. When he had finished reading and had kissed the signature and the seal, the men pressed round him and inspected with awe the astounding document; and ignorant as they were of writing, they looked at it upside down!

● 685 626 The *Akid* was visibly uneasy, and for a while he and the others put their heads together and, after much gesticulation and muttering, he turned to Ali and me and fired a cross-examination of silly questions at us. At last he seemed convinced that we had been wrongly treated, and he ordered his men to return our belongings to us. This naturally caused a small revolution, but the *Akid* knew how to make his influence felt, and after each of the men had in turn exhausted his protests against such a breach of the honour and the good customs of noble raiders, all our property was actually returned to us, with the exception only of my wrist watch, which still remained on the arm of the leader. Ali noticed it and, greatly daring, cried out: "Through thee the faith of thy *sheykh* is blackened! Divest thyself of our property, if thou art our friend." The *Akid*

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M J4

meekly handed over the watch, which Ali put on his own wrist. "Let me take care of it for thee," he said to me, in his protective manner. He is actually "taking care" of my watch to this very day! 685 626

Our Fid'an hosts numbered seventeen horsemen and eight camel-riders, who had come on the scene after the attack on us. A gang of typical desert outlaws.

At the evening meal they spread a large leather camel-saddle cover for a tablecloth. Previously the dough for our bread had been kneaded on it. At other times it served as manger and watering-trough for the horses and camels, for it could be suspended by leather loops, one at each of the four corners. 415

The *Akid* poured sour camels' milk from a goat skin into a wooden basin and handed it round. The few *dhaluls* were lying close to us. The red campfire threw a glow of light over them and their long shadows melted into the blackness of the night. For a moment I imagined myself surrounded by strange monsters. 262

When I closed my eyes and heard only the belching and grunting of my table-companions, I could scarcely distinguish them from the camels chewing the cud. And Ali was the noisiest feeder of them all! 264

Next morning the Fid'ans proposed that they should join us with the idea of entering Ruala territory and lifting some camels. Nothing remained for Ali and myself but to make the best of these unwelcome proposals. We had to endure their company in the pious hope that somewhere we should fall in with the Ruala Bedouins. 721

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal, 000

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MT54

422 "Well," I persisted, "the matter does not seem to
425 trouble you a great deal."

"No indeed," with an even broader grin if that were possible. "It does not trouble me at all. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will go and steal somebody else's. Who knows? Perhaps I may have more than I had before."

425 The tribal fights that keep the country in a continual
518 state of turmoil are little more than glorified raids for the sake of plunder. They intensify the poverty of the community, for legitimate trade is handicapped, and this irregular exchange of goods cannot in the nature of the case benefit the whole society, however much it may temporarily enrich individuals. But life without the excitement of these raids seems to the desert nomad a tame and a stale thing, hardly worth living. On the other
422 hand, personal property, such as is kept in tents, is as sacredly individual as it is with us, and its theft is keenly
685 resented. The conception that every man's home is his
609 castle is one of the most fundamental ideas of the Arab, and when the crew of a gunboat many years ago attempted to search the inner quarters of a house in Dibai for firearms, the resulting indignation was so intense that foreigners found themselves unable to enter that district for
422 nearly ten years. The household belongings that the Bedouin keeps in his tent may be poor things but they are very much his own.

181 This life of the desert, with its poverty and hardships and its primitive economic conditions, has nevertheless so worked its charm on the Bedouin nomad that he longs for nothing else. The Bedouin with his intense individualism seems particularly adapted to the desert. He
000 loves its vast distances and its solitude. Anything less

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Restitution of Stolen Camels

(4) If any case connected with stolen, hidden or wandering camels
425 arises between two tribes, and the two sides are unable to agree
619 on terms of settlement, then the matter will normally be referred to the Ruler of the country or local Governor, as the case may be. When the matter is finally settled, *khidmah* (or "service fee") will be recovered from the party judged to be at fault. This *khidmah* fee, which may run into a number of Rials, is paid over to the Ruler's *fidáwis* or retainers, who have had the labour of collecting evidence and finding witnesses.

BADAWIN CUSTOM OF WASÁQAH (OR WASÁGA) BETWEEN BANI 'ÁM

Among Badawin who are in *Bani 'Ám* relationship with one another, if camels are stolen from one party by another the same number of camels only as those stolen in the first place must be returned, never more. And war may never arise between them from such exchange of property. Restitution is normally arranged through the mediation of relatives or the heads of clans.

The arrangement of restitution is known as *wasáqah* (*waságna-hum*—"we arranged restitution").

It would be quite a different matter if members of a strange tribe or people, who were not *Bani 'Ám*, stole the camels. Then the robbed person (or persons) can rightfully take as many camels as he can lay hands on from those who stole from him, and if no redress is obtained, the case may result in war between the tribes.

[655] Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah al Subah of Kuwait told me on 8th October, 1938, that among *Bani 'Ám* if a person for the sake of gain told tales against his tribe, or reported that a member of his tribe had stolen camels from another tribe, the penalty was that "he should be killed by lance thrust"; this was a very ancient Badawin law.

ZAKÁT TAX

651 The tax known as *Zakát* has religious sanction, and payment is one of the five duties incumbent on every true Muslim. The word means "purification" and is applied to the legal alms that an individual has to give to the religious tax-gatherers of the state each year;

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

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grazing. It sends men ahead and offers (*a*) *kwdhah* and (*b*) *dhabthah wa manthah*.

The former insures that the Shaikh of Kuwait will, if necessary, fight all comers in their defence; the latter is a promise that if Kuwait is attacked by outsiders, the shepherd tribes in his territory will faithfully serve and fight for him, whilst they are grazing in Kuwait territory. The payment of *dhabihah wa manihah* is a graceful way of saying "I am your servant to order, so long as I am in your country". Half a dozen young sheep is the usual amount offered. As often as not the gift is accepted and remitted by the big man—*Qabaltu wa rajd'dt'u*, or, I have accepted your gift and hereby return it again to you. The present Shaikh of Kuwait has for some years ceased to demand either tax.

PROPERTY LOST IN THE DESERT

B 425 685

Alois Musil, in his book, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, gives a striking and accurate picture of what happens in the desert when a nomad loses part of his tent equipage, a camel or a mare when on the march. I cannot do better than recommend my readers to study what he has to say about it.

Under the desert code it is not, of course, considered a dishonest act to pick up and conceal an article which has been lost or dropped by another person. The finder is not required to go out of his way to seek the owner of the article; on the contrary, it is up to the owner to find his own lost property. This applies to all articles of camp gear, male and female attire, bags of food, strayed camels, horses, sheep, etc.

Should the finder really fear God (*khaf Allah*) he will probably tell his shaikh, or let it be known generally whilst he is on the march that he has found such and such an article, obviously dropped by someone, but he need not necessarily do so. Only when the owner publicly notifies his loss is the finder required to act. He must then and there hand back the goods if he is to escape the charge of being a thief. If the lost or strayed thing be a camel, mare or sheep, he will get a small reward in return. This is his *haq* or right.

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When Badawin are on the march with their families, and especially

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425 came the distant shout of "*Ta'al ta'al ya Muslim khud 'abbatak*". I knew then that the owner had been lucky and got back his property.

Ibn Juma'a, the King's henchman—*Muthaiafchi*—who was sitting with me and my old friend Farhan al Rahama round one of the camp fires, amused me by remarking that it was surprising how often men recovered lost goods in this way, and that it proved how honest and God-fearing was the King's army.

425 685 So high is the Badawin code in such matters, that were the person who had the lost property to conceal it and afterwards to be found out, he would get short shrift from his fellow tribesmen. They would revile and beat him publicly, and make things so unpleasant for him that he would find it profitable to leave his fellows for a season.

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Thieving

It may be mentioned in passing that a man who steals a slave of a prince or prominent Arab, whether in war or by underhand means, 628 is never forgiven, and his death will be sought for and encompassed, 721 if the original owner has to search for the culprit all his life and to 685 the ends of the earth.

THEFT

Common thieving, whether from enemy or friend, is considered 685 *'aib* or a shameful thing among the true Badawin and is simply "not done".

The lifting of horses and camels from other Badawin with whom an ancient feud or enmity exists is not theft: it is a *ghazzu*, or honourable raid. The appropriation of other people's property never takes [572] place between persons or tribes who are on terms of friendship or alliance.

Given a strong central government such as in Sa'udi Arabia, and raiding becomes at once unfashionable, but if there is the least loss of control at the centre then out go the raiders, all intent on fun and *ghassib* (loot).

Common thieving is punished by the loss of the right hand for the first offence, and so on for subsequent offences, and this punishment has the sanction of the Shari'ah Law behind it. The method is in force throughout Sa'udi Arabia to-day, in Yaman and in some of the neighbouring Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

Among the Northern Badawin of Arabia, if an accused man denies 685 a theft, and there is no proof either way, the shaikh of a tribe or com- 695 munity sometimes orders the accused to stand the ordeal by fire. A sword or ramrod is brought and the end heated red hot in a fire and applied for a couple of seconds to the accused's tongue. If he is innocent he will not be hurt and will depart honourably acquitted and with head held high. If guilty his tongue will at once be badly burnt and the crime will be brought home to him.

I only once had a case of this brought to my notice. Shaikh Mahruth ibn Fahad Beg al Hadhal, of the Amarat ('Anizah), had a sword stolen from him when camped near Kerbela in 1922. As Political Officer Middle Euphrates I had a man from Musaiyib arrested on suspicion, the theft having been laid at his door by Shaikh Mahruth himself. No definite evidence was forthcoming and I was about to release the

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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685 man when Shaikh Mahruth demanded that the ordeal by fire be
695 resorted to. I should have liked to agree, to see how it worked, but couldn't very well accede to the request, so released the man, much to Shaikh Mahruth's disgust.

POISONING

682 Despite the difficulty of proof, it seems certain that poison is used
278 pretty extensively in some parts of Arabia (especially the towns)
[369] to remove an inconvenient person, such as a private adversary or possibly an unpleasant husband.

Rulers like the Āl Rashíd, Āl Sa'adun and Āl Sa'ud have certainly used this method in the past, when out to get the better of their political opponents, but I am glad to record that never has it been suggested or hinted (even by his enemies) that the present great ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, has ever sunk to such methods.

Probably the commonest poison is arsenic, or some preparation of it. The reason of this is that its effects are rather like cholera, so no questions are asked. Post-mortems are of course unknown. Arsenic, moreover, is easily obtained in every town in Arabia, seeing that it forms the chief ingredient in making preparations for treating camel mange, and in the bigger towns arsenic mixed with lime is a favourite
[369] depilatory among better-class women.

The townspeople call poison *sim*, while among the Badawin it is known as *saqwa*.

I have been told by some of my Badawin friends that a common way of administering *saqwa* under the Āl Rashid regime was by means of the coffee-cup. The coffee man kept some arsenic powder made into a paste on his thumb nail, and when he came to the person he wanted to poison he lifted his thumb over the edge of the cup and poured, as if by accident, some coffee over his thumb, and the poison went into the cup. The one to be poisoned drank it, later went sick, showed every symptom of cholera and then died.

An old 'Ajman shaikh told me (10th April, 1935) that when Ibn Rashid tried to poison Shaikh Abdur Rahman al Sa'ud (the father of the present King) and his brother when they were his hostages in

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Chap. XXII

During our talk I discovered that not content with sitting in Najran, Suwaiyan had from there raided south-east as far as Hadhramaut and Dhufar, and had lifted camels from the dreaded Sai'ar and Karab tribes. He himself had brought back five camels as *chessib*, two of which he showed me outside his tent. They were small brown things, with much less bone than their Hasa brothers. Rather remarkable, I thought, seeing camels raided from Hadhramaut grazing in Kuwait! The same Suwaiyan, I was told, had penetrated into Sana, the capital of Yaman, alone as a spy, and had got back safely. 721

Whilst we were talking, there entered the tent Ráshid bin Fahad, cousin of Philby's chief guide and leader on the famous march across the Rub' al Kháli. He had many stories to tell of Philby and of the famous milk incident. "What would you," he said, "the she-camel (*nágá*) would not give her milk the evening Hilby* wanted his drink. Camels are like that, you cannot force them to give their milk. *Allah i salmu*, he Hilby, did not understand, and thought the Badawin of the party had drunk his milk." 000

Philby's friend Falah abu Ja'sha got into serious trouble in August 1935. He was apparently commander of an escort on the Kuwait frontier, which was told off to conduct a Rashidi prisoner from Jeriyah 'Ilya to Hufuf. The prisoner's crime was stealing two Sbei camels from near Riyadh and making off with them to the Kuwait frontier. 637 [695]

When nearing Hufuf, the prisoner cleverly escaped while the escort slept during the heat of the day. Though manacled, he contrived to collect his escort's rifles and ammunition, placed them on one of the camels and got right away to Kuwait and Iraq. He sportingly sent back the rifles and camels to their owners, through a woman living in Kuwait, and by the hand of one Nazzal of the 'Awanna (Rashaida).

As a punishment for his negligence the late Amir 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi, Governor of Hasa, is reported to have ordered that Falah abu Ja'sha's beard, or rather half of it, should be shaved off every Friday for a whole month.

* Mr. Philby is known among the Badawin as 'Abdulla Hilby.

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it works out to about 1/40th of what a man possesses. To the Badawin, 651
zakát means the unpleasant annual contribution which his King, or head of the state, has a right to take from him, and is calculated as follows:

(*a*) One *Rial* for every full-grown camel.
(*b*) Half a *Rial* for every young or half-grown camel.
(*c*) One sheep or its value (8 *Rials*) for every forty sheep, whether small or large.

No *zakát* is paid on riding camels, or on camels used for carrying 651
Badawin camp equipage from camp to camp. The head of the state 641
has also the right in the event of war to call upon all those who have 687
paid him *zakát* to fight for him, failing which he can confiscate all their live stock.

Should a tribe fail to pay *zakát* to its lawful Ruler the latter is entitled:

(*a*) To confiscate its property.
(*b*) To refuse to be responsible for its defence or protection from others of his tribes.
(*c*) To refuse to come to its assistance should it be attacked by outside enemies.

Conversely if a tribe pays the *zakát* tax due from it, then the Ruler 651
or head of the state is bound to defend that tribe (actively as well as 641
by diplomatic means) from all comers, and whether aggression comes from inside or outside. He is responsible for all the members of the tribe as though they were his own children, or so at least says the desert law.

The head of a state has no right to take *zakát* from a foreign tribe which visits his state for grazing purposes and intends only to stay a short time, and will return home and pay *zakát* to its rightful Ruler. This is an old and well-established law in Arabia, and is understood by all.

Should the visiting tribe, however, ask for and obtain permission to settle for the summer on wells in the local Ruler's state, then the latter has the right, by unwritten law, to take full *zakát* from it. The idea underlying this custom is that the foreign tribe eats up his grazing and drinks his water to the detriment of his own tribe (The great

Appendix VII

in war or peace, and are at all times guarded with the greatest care and have their own special herdsmen. 223 826

The *Shuruf* can best be compared to the famous *Markab* or "Ark of Ishmael" which goes before the Rawala host when the latter tribe migrates to new regions or marches to war, and which is really nothing but a glorified ladies' camel litter, decked all over with black ostrich feathers (see under chapter dealing with the Tent and its treasures), but held in the deepest reverence by every single man and woman of the tribe.

As in the case of the *Markab*, the *Shuruf* is the rallying point of the tribe if attacked or in difficulties. The herd must be defended at all costs, and the tribe will cheerfully lose all its other camels in a battle or raid provided the *Shuruf* are safe.

In the attack, and especially if such be in the nature of a forlorn hope, the *Shuruf* have the place of honour always and lead the van. No Mutairi ever rides them, and they just move forward in a compact well-trained black mass ahead of the fighting men as if perfectly understanding the game. The latter will follow straight on to victory or death in their wake. The *Shuruf* seem also to know that they afford a sort of moving wall of protection for the footmen in their rear, and never scatter.

In peace time the famous black herd always grazes alone and under specially selected guards, always too as far from the common gaze as possible. It is said that should other strange camels get mixed up with them, the black herd will attack them and drive them out. Nor are the cows of the herd allowed to breed except from their own males.

To-day the *Al Shuruf* are in the hands of the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud —King and Lord of Arabia. They were taken away from the Mutair as the most severe punishment that could be meted out to them after Faisal al Duwish's rebellion of 1929–30, and are to-day (1939) most carefully guarded and looked after for the King by the faithful Shaikh Faisal bin Shiblan, head of the Jiblan sept of the great Mutair. Actually the King handed the *Shuruf* over to his brother Muhammad al Sa'ud for safe keeping after the above-mentioned rebellion, but this was a mere formality, for H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz' brand adorns the rear off hind quarter of each camel like this, ₀|₀, and the herd remains the King's property, much as in the occident any war flags captured from an enemy are handed over to the King. 687 233 475 127

As far as I am aware, my wife and I are the only Europeans living who have had the opportunity of setting eyes on this jealously guarded herd and semi-sacred tribal emblem of the Mutair. This was on 7th April and 14th April, 1939, when, by special invitation of His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait, King Bin Sa'ud sent his private camels numbering seventy-five *Raiyah* or herds, together with the *Shuruf* (some 4,500 all told) into the Araifjan and Shu'aiba districts of Kuwait to graze, the act being a gracious appreciation on the part of Shaikh Ahmad for Bin Sa'ud's good will and 875 233

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proposes to wage war on So-and-So, and on such and such a date. 622
This would not be tolerated. He must carry the public opinion of the tribe with him. Hence, before anything is undertaken, secret meetings and daily talks are held with the tribal greybeards and men of experience. Once a decision has been come to, however, and the battle joined, the leadership lies with the shaikh, and his orders must be obeyed.

To maintain his influence in the piping times of peace, the shaikh must prove himself literally the "father of his people". He must [692]
know the family troubles of every man and must give good and fair decisions when cases are brought to him for settlement. Above all, he must not be miserly, and must keep open house. No name has a [574]
more unworthy meaning, or leaves a nastier taste in the mouth of the Badawin than the epithet *bakhil*, or "stingy one". Once this name *bakhil* sticks to a chief, his influence is at an end. Hence a successful shaikh must always have coffee going in his tent, pestle must ring on mortar from morn to night. Even this is not enough; for his hungry tribesmen, the majority of whom would scarcely taste meat from year's end to year's end, expect from their shaikh an occasional feast and the slaying of a camel, that all may eat their fill. The shaikh can reasonably stage a feast on the arrival of an important guest, to celebrate a wedding, or circumcision ceremony, or the like.

A great shaikh will go even further and will regularly send presents 622
of frocks and material for dresses to the wives of the less fortunate 431
members of his tribe. This keeps the women happy, and indirectly their husbands also. The shaikh's chief lady also has herself a lot to do in keeping up her husband's prestige, and the wives of the junior members of the clan are for ever calling on her and explaining their difficulties, in the unexpressed hope that assistance to the wardrobe or kitchen will be forthcoming. The great Faisal al Duwish was a master at keeping the women of the tribe happy, and it paid: the same must also be said of His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud.

HARD LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL BADAWIN

The average Badawin has a hard and difficult existence, and may 511
be said to be always hungry and ill-clad. The main hardship he is at all times faced with is lack of money and inability to make any, by

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This method of friendly recovery of a man's camel is known as the *Sauq wa Qaud* system, a sort of family arrangement for the recovery of animals by mutual consent and without quarrelling over the matter. This system has the advantage of keeping Government officials out of the business, which from the Badawin point of view is always desirable. It is commonly practised in areas where Government writ does not run, and where one tribe is paramount under a strong shaikh who can enforce his will (example, the southern desert area of Iraq in Turkish times). 421 619 671 425

The system is open to variation according to circumstances, also to special arrangements between tribes, etc. So-called desert law is rarely a hard-and-fast thing. Many are the arbitrators who vary it slightly, or try to arrange a compromise in difficult or protracted cases. In most cases, however, precedent has a great deal to do with settling difficult problems, and so we have the *Ahl al khibrah* or experts, versed in legal precedent and able to state how difficult cases were formerly settled. These wiseacres have much to do with the interpretation of desert law. Nevertheless the two main principles of *'arafa* remain fixed: 671 693 619 425

(*a*) A camel taken in war or retaken in war by a friend of the original owner is surrendered without compensation, if the custom of *'arafa* exists. There is no selling. [437]

(*b*) No camel bought for money can possibly be taken back by the original owner without compensation, even if the original owner be of the same tribe as the purchaser. There is only one exception, namely, if the original owner can prove that the buyer when he purchased the animal *was aware that it had been stolen* from a man of a friendly tribe. Thus if the 'Awazim bought Diyahin raided camels from Ibn Shuqair the day after his raid on the Diyahin near Kuwait in 1928, the latter could recover their camels from the 'Awazim without compensation. In no other case can anyone retake a purchased animal and leave the purchaser a loser. All sales must be undone, back to the original theft.

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mandant of Police Southern Desert area where "B" resides. That official will take action on the letter, and if proofs are clear will hand back the camel to "A". He will then send "B" with a letter direct to al Baga'awi, or such other Najd official as may be in charge of Sa'udi Arabian frontier affairs opposite Iraq and Kuwait, together with "B's" witnesses. Al Baga'awi will then get "B's" rights from "C" and so on. In conclusion, the easy working of the *'arafa* system along a frontier obviously depends on four things:

(*a*) that friendly relations exist between the Governments involved;

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(*b*) that officers are placed in charge of frontier areas, and that their writ goes;

(*c*) that such local officials are empowered to deal direct with each other without having to refer to higher authority: this especially applies to smaller claims of tribesmen on both sides of the border. (Important cases would of course be referred to Central Governments.)

(*d*) That the Shari'a law, recognised by the Badawin of the desert, and not any form of civil code, be applied in deciding *'arafa* questions, especially where oaths are concerned.

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Between 1929 and 1930 Captain Glubb, R.E., at one time in charge of the Iraq Southern Desert area, and I in my capacity of Political Agent, Kuwait, frequently dealt direct with each other in questions of claims between Iraq and Kuwait tribesmen, and we settled many cases on the above lines, everyone being satisfied and accepting settlement cheerfully. During the same period matters were not so easy where Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia tribes were concerned, because (*a*) relations unfortunately were not good, and (*b*) no official of officer status existed across the border who could be addressed on the subject with prospect of reasonable success. Later, however, His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud remedied the matter by appointing strong frontier representatives, with headquarters at Hafar and Jariyah Ilya respectively, and matters greatly improved.

In February 1931 His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud proposed to the Shaikh of Kuwait that all camel claims affecting both states which went back prior to February 1931 should be declared *madfun* ("buried") because an enormous number had accumulated as a result of the

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to recover its lost property in its own time, and by whatever means it deems fit to employ. 421 628 425 681

IV. *The case of stolen or lost camels, recognised in a town or settlement by their original owners. (Both parties for example having come up to purchase supplies.)* 421 628

If the two parties are members of tribes which are friendly and on good terms with each other, and if their respective tribes are on good terms with, and under the authority of, the Ruler or Governor of the town in question, then the claimant must produce three witnesses to testify that the property he claims is his own. The words he himself uses to prove his claim before the authority hearing the case are, "I affirm that I neither sold nor gave away this my camel". Having completed this formality, the claimant will receive back his camel by order of the Ruler or Governor of the said town. (This sort of case frequently arises in Kuwait and towns in Najd.) 369 425 681 694

In the event of the person in possession of the camel having bought it from a third party unaware that it was the lawful property of a member of a friendly tribe, the procedure is different (see below). Again, if the person in possession of the camel has obtained it in war from a third party, the claimant will only receive it back if the custom of *'arafa* exists between his tribe and that of the person with whom the camel is found (see below).

V. *The case of a tribe of one Government attacking a tribe of another Government and a battle resulting.* 421 628

The attacked tribe has the right to ask its Government to demand and recover full blood-money for its killed and injured from the Government of the guilty party. Should the complainant's Government not be in a position to exact reparation or come to an agreement with the aggressor's Government, either as to the blood-money due or to the terms of peace acceptable to the injured tribe, then the families of the victims have the right to take revenge in their own time and way, without being responsible to their Government in any respect. (V is similar to III.) 425 681

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THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA ON THE BORDERLAND BETWEEN TWO STATES

425 The application of the *'arafa* law becomes somewhat less easy when
648 two tribes which are perhaps hostile to each other, or belong to differ-
619 ent states adjoining one another, are involved, or where strong Governments are functioning, as to-day in the case in Kuwait, Sa'udi Arabia and Iraq, and where border officials are interested in seeing that shaikhs and individual members of tribes in their areas do not raid, steal or take the law into their own hands, especially across the border.

In such cases, while the custom of *'arafa* is quite well understood, it is essential that a controlling authority enforce the rules of the game, otherwise nothing is done. The Shaikh of Kuwait put it in a nutshell, when he told me that the law of *'arafa* was a most excellent law for settling Badawin disputes, and it dated back to very ancient times, but unless Rulers or Governments were strong enough to enforce it within or across their borders it became quite useless, for then as always the strongest won the day. A Badawin, for instance, in the case mentioned below, would never hand over the camel he had purchased unless he was made to do so by his Government acting through its officials on the spot.

425 "A", a subject of some state, finds a camel which has been stolen
[694] from him in the past, grazing in the desert with "B's" camels (a sub-
695 ject of another state). "A's" and "B's" tribes are not on friendly terms.
696 "A" does not waste his time in going and demanding it from "B", who quite naturally will refuse to give it up until made to do so. He goes instead to the nearest *Hákim* or Government representative in the particular area "B" is in, armed with a letter from his own frontier officer. (To-day in North-East Arabia it is Hamud al Baga'awi for Sa'udi Arabia, 'Abdullah bin Jabir for Kuwait, and the Iraqi Officer in Charge Southern Desert Police for Iraq), and will say that "B" has in his possession a certain camel which has been stolen from him, "A". The officer in charge of the area in question will send for "B" and in his presence will ask "A" to prove his claim. Here is where the Shari'a law comes in as practised in the desert. "A" can

prove his claim in two ways, (*a*) either by producing two witnesses who will corroborate his testimony that the camel was his property, and that he had neither sold nor given it away, or (*b*) "A" can produce one witness who must declare *on oath* that the camel belongs to "A" and that it was neither sold nor given away by him. 425 695 696

"B" can also if he likes insist that "A" states the same thing on oath, but this is not actually necessary, according to the law.

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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI4
Saudi Arabia MJ1

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1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Philby and the Milk

Chap. XXII

During our talk I discovered that not content with sitting in Najran, Suwaiyan had from there raided south-east as far as Hadhramaut and Dhufar, and had lifted camels from the dreaded Sai'ar and Karab tribes. He himself had brought back five camels as *chessib*, two of which he showed me outside his tent. They were small brown things, with much less bone than their Hasa brothers. Rather remarkable, I thought, seeing camels raided from Hadhramaut grazing in Kuwait! The same Suwaiyan, I was told, had penetrated into Sana, the capital of Yaman, alone as a spy, and had got back safely. 721

Whilst we were talking, there entered the tent Ráshid bin Fahad, cousin of Philby's chief guide and leader on the famous march across the Rub' al Kháli. He had many stories to tell of Philby and of the famous milk incident. "What would you," he said, "the she-camel (*nágd*) would not give her milk the evening Hilby* wanted his drink. Camels are like that, you cannot force them to give their milk. *Allah i salmu*, he Hilby, did not understand, and thought the Badawin of the party had drunk his milk." 000

Philby's friend Falah abu Ja'sha got into serious trouble in August 1935. He was apparently commander of an escort on the Kuwait frontier, which was told off to conduct a Rashidi prisoner from Jeriyah 'Ilya to Hufuf. The prisoner's crime was stealing two Sbei camels from near Riyadh and making off with them to the Kuwait frontier. 687 [695]

When nearing Hufuf, the prisoner cleverly escaped while the escort slept during the heat of the day. Though manacled, he contrived to collect his escort's rifles and ammunition, placed them on one of the camels and got right away to Kuwait and Iraq. He sportingly sent back the rifles and camels to their owners, through a woman living in Kuwait, and by the hand of one Nazzal of the 'Awanna (Rashaida).

As a punishment for his negligence the late Amir 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi, Governor of Hasa, is reported to have ordered that Falah abu Ja'sha's beard, or rather half of it, should be shaved off every Friday for a whole month.

* Mr. Philby is known among the Badawin as 'Abdulla Hilby.

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THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE CUSTOM OF 'ARAFA ON THE BORDERLAND BETWEEN TWO STATES

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In such cases, while the custom of *'arafa* is quite well understood, it is essential that a controlling authority enforce the rules of the game, otherwise nothing is done. The Shaikh of Kuwait put it in a nutshell, when he told me that the law of *'arafa* was a most excellent law for settling Badawin disputes, and it dated back to very ancient times, but unless Rulers or Governments were strong enough to enforce it within or across their borders it became quite useless, for then as always the strongest won the day. A Badawin, for instance, in the case mentioned below, would never hand over the camel he had purchased unless he was made to do so by his Government acting through its officials on the spot.

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Thieving

It may be mentioned in passing that a man who steals a slave of a prince or prominent Arab, whether in war or by underhand means, 628 is never forgiven, and his death will be sought for and encompassed, 721 if the original owner has to search for the culprit all his life and to 685 the ends of the earth.

THEFT

Common thieving, whether from enemy or friend, is considered 685 *'aib* or a shameful thing among the true Badawin and is simply "not done".

The lifting of horses and camels from other Badawin with whom an ancient feud or enmity exists is not theft; it is a *ghazzu*, or honourable raid. The appropriation of other people's property never takes [572] place between persons or tribes who are on terms of friendship or alliance.

Given a strong central government such as in Sa'udi Arabia, and raiding becomes at once unfashionable, but if there is the least loss of control at the centre then out go the raiders, all intent on fun and *chessib* (loot).

Common thieving is punished by the loss of the right hand for the first offence, and so on for subsequent offences, and this punishment has the sanction of the Shari'ah Law behind it. The method is in force throughout Sa'udi Arabia to-day, in Yaman and in some of the neighbouring Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

Among the Northern Badawin of Arabia, if an accused man denies 685 a theft, and there is no proof either way, the shaikh of a tribe or com- 695 munity sometimes orders the accused to stand the ordeal by fire. A sword or ramrod is brought and the end heated red hot in a fire and applied for a couple of seconds to the accused's tongue. If he is innocent he will not be hurt and will depart honourably acquitted and with head held high. If guilty his tongue will at once be badly burnt and the crime will be brought home to him.

I only once had a case of this brought to my notice. Shaikh Mahruth ibn Fahad Beg al Hadhal, of the Amarat ('Anizah), had a sword stolen from him when camped near Kerbela in 1922. As Political Officer Middle Euphrates I had a man from Musaiyib arrested on suspicion, the theft having been laid at his door by Shaikh Mahruth himself. No definite evidence was forthcoming and I was about to release the

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685 man when Shaikh Mahruth demanded that the ordeal by fire be
695 resorted to. I should have liked to agree, to see how it worked, but couldn't very well accede to the request, so released the man, much to Shaikh Mahruth's disgust.

POISONING

682 Despite the difficulty of proof, it seems certain that poison is used
278 pretty extensively in some parts of Arabia (especially the towns)
[369] to remove an inconvenient person, such as a private adversary or possibly an unpleasant husband.

Rulers like the Āl Rashīd, Āl Sa'adun and Āl Sa'ud have certainly used this method in the past, when out to get the better of their political opponents, but I am glad to record that never has it been suggested or hinted (even by his enemies) that the present great ruler of Sa'udi Arabia, H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, has ever sunk to such methods.

Probably the commonest poison is arsenic, or some preparation of it. The reason of this is that its effects are rather like cholera, so no questions are asked. Post-mortems are of course unknown. Arsenic, moreover, is easily obtained in every town in Arabia, seeing that it forms the chief ingredient in making preparations for treating camel mange, and in the bigger towns arsenic mixed with lime is a favourite
[369] depilatory among better-class women.

The townspeople call poison *sim*, while among the Badawin it is known as *saqwa*.

I have been told by some of my Badawin friends that a common way of administering *saqwa* under the Āl Rashid regime was by means of the coffee-cup. The coffee man kept some arsenic powder made into a paste on his thumb nail, and when he came to the person he wanted to poison he lifted his thumb over the edge of the cup and poured, as if by accident, some coffee over his thumb, and the poison went into the cup. The one to be poisoned drank it, later went sick, showed every symptom of cholera and then died.

An old 'Ajman shaikh told me (10th April, 1935) that when Ibn Rashid tried to poison Shaikh Abdur Rahman al Sa'ud (the father of the present King) and his brother when they were his hostages in

Border Cases

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113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721 Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 197-204.]

Tribal Alliances

619 wander into the lands of a hostile tribe, so it has to keep up alliances
221 with tribes who are on good terms and will allow it to graze over their *dirahs* when forced to do so. Hence it follows that groups or confederations of tribes are formed, friendly to each other and hostile to other similar groups. These groups, with their corresponding alliances, are often of century-old standing and serve a most useful purpose. They have, moreover, stood the test of war, drought and trouble. Examples of such groups are given below, and all Arabia may be said to be parcelled up into similar protective alliances.

(*a*) Harb—Mutair (Ilwa)—'Ajman tribes.
(*b*) Bani 'Abdilla (Mutair)—'Utaiba.
(*c*) Dhafir—Shammar and 'Awazim.
(*d*) 'Ajman—Murra—Najran tribes (a blood federation).*
(*e*) The various 'Anizah groups of the north, such as Dabamsha, Fida'an Amarat, Ruwala, Sba'a and Zana Muslim.

619 When the Central Government is strong, like the present Sa'udi regime, then tribes are made to keep the peace and behave themselves,

701 * The 'Ajman claim to be able to turn out over 10,000 fighting men is obviously exaggerated. Their full fighting strength is probably about 8,000. They once claimed to be able to muster 2,000 mounted men, but that is not so to-day.

726 The 'Ajman have several *nakhwas* or war cries, of which the three commonest are—"Garás al hadid wa ana ibn al 'Ajám", "Sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh" and "Sufir sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh"—meaning "Cutter of iron, and I am the son of the 'Ajman", "Death cleared all and I still survive" and "Death is whistling and I am still surviving".

The 'Ajman tribe when about to join battle have a custom of tying up their side locks (*gurun*) over their heads in a tall knot, which they bind round with a *red* cloth. They call the head-effect thus caused "Al Ganaza".

619 [178] The 'Ajman, whom some authorities would connect, and I think rightly, with the Qahtan, state that they are descended from the Sharafa of Najran, and claim with the Murra to have one ancestor, Yám. They certainly look upon the Murra as their blood brothers and each will help the other always. Should either the Murra or 'Ajman desire the help of the other against a common enemy, it is customary to send a messenger to the other tribe on a camel with *a red scarf or scarlet rope* bound round its neck. The messenger cries aloud to those he wants to rouse the words *'Afyál Marqab!*, the sacred call of the descendants of Yám, and all know what the signal means—even if 'Ajman and Murra were themselves fighting against each other, a not uncommon occurrence, they would at once fraternise and combine against the common foe.—(Authority Shaikh Fuhaid al Fahad al Hithlain 30.6.38). Their tribal strength and undoubted war prowess makes their alliance valuable and their enmity a serious danger; but in politics they are a shifting and inconsistent factor, being as they themselves have been known openly to profess, "the friends of those who treat them best".

175 During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatif, the 'Ajman were constantly recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their shaikhs, and they inflicted several serious defeats on the army of occupation.

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342 it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
515 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier
514 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

515 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
233 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

492 When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jamal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family
[291] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *maksars* or *gions*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalāl*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *mawakh al dhalāl* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

701 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
221 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalāl* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*ghāir*) have

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already gone ahead to spy out the land, the grazing and the water. 701
Assuming that there is no enemy near or danger imminent, the baggage- 221
camels and women folk follow fairly close on their heels. After the women and camp gear, the herds of camels and sheep follow on a broad front, slowly grazing along till they reach their new camp. There they find everything ready and the tents pitched. A strong guard is, of course, left with the herds. As in the case of the individual tent owner, the shaikh decides on where the camp is to be, and on the spot where he kneels his camel and off-saddles, his own tent will be pitched.

A tribe in camp is not concertinaed up but scatters out over a wide 361
space, each group of family tents being about two hundred yards from its neighbour if the ground is broken, and possibly four hundred yards apart in flat open ground. Hence a body of Badawin having, say, four hundred tents will cover a wide area when camped. This is the procedure in winter or spring when no enemy is about and likely to attack. In summer, on the other hand, when the tribe is camped on water, it literally surrounds the wells with tents, leaving only sufficient space for the camels and sheep to drink. Tents on such occasions are close together and generally in a series of lines, with tent ropes almost touching those of their neighbours. The widely scattered camp formation of 361
winter may make it difficult for the fighting men to concentrate sud- 721
denly, but is ideal for passive defence. A sudden surprise raid cannot penetrate deeply into such a camp, as each tent becomes a small fort from which fire is directed on the intruders, who soon find themselves fired on from all sides. (The German pill-box system during the first Great War proved the efficacy of the method.) Badawin methods of fighting are discussed in Chapter XXVI.

NOTE.— 104

Asuda—the man who goes ahead to look for best grazing ground.

Sallif—the leader of the tribe or head of family on the march. He always rides alone at head.

Makhir—is name given to the family baggage-camels as opposed to *Al Aba'ir*, milch and loose camels on march.

Al Ghanam—the sheep on the march.

Al Bahan—the lambs who march separate from the ewes.

411 hand and all wore the distinctive carnelian-
[15] studded dagger, and one and all impressed
me as virile, reckless and uncontrolled, but
701 humorous and friendly. While we sat among
621 them talking there was a sudden stir, for they
had noticed a dozen mounted Arabs approaching rapidly across the dunes. Then someone recognized one of the camels and they relaxed. These camels were stretched out and travelling very fast, yet were urged to even greater efforts by the wild yells of their riders. They were the scouts, sons of sheikhs and the very pick of the tribe, who set out each dawn to scour the surrounding desert, keen-eyed for the tracks of strangers. Lithe, hard-bodied and alert, these lads rode their splendid beasts with effortless mastery. They had heard the firing and, thinking the camp attacked, had ridden back to help.

621 Scattered upon the dunes around us were
592 small black tents, round which naked infants romped, while dark-clad women moved about gathering sticks and tending herds of goats. Sometimes a family changed its site, for, though fear of raiders had imposed upon them the need to keep together, their restless nomad instincts drove them to constant movement within the wide confines of the camp. Such short migrations provided an interesting sight as they moved slowly past. The children drove the camels, laden with tents, cooking-pots, watering-troughs and ropes, the simple requirements of their life; while the Bedu mothers and the virgin beauties of the tribe rode in the slow swaying camel-litters.

574 That evening they feasted us on meat and, after the camel herds had drifted in at dusk, brought us great frothing bowls of milk, the nectar of the Arabs. The night was filled with the haunting sounds of an Arab camp—the ceaseless restless moaning of camels, the barking of dogs, the rise and fall of Arab voices from their gathering-places round the fires, and sometimes the distant harmony of song.

312 Next morning when the sun was warm we drove our camels across the sandy plain to water at the well, which is situated close under high limestone cliffs on the northern
401 edge of the valley. A few Arabs had already
312 arrived and were fastening their pulleys to the scaffolding around the well. It is over 200 feet in depth and stone-lined, a monument to some forgotten people in the dim past. At the deep wells in the Najd the Arabs use their

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He is wealthy, and owns palm gardens at Ghazázah near Kerbela, at Baghdádiyah above Hit, and elsewhere on the Euphrates. Although his wisdom and skill in tribal diplomacy are much vaunted, he is now an old man and not so active as Núri of the Ruweilah; nor does he concern himself with external politics. He has suffered imprisonment at the hand of the Turks and cordially dislikes them, but his closest link with affairs outside the desert is his landed property on the Euphrates. He fears that if the Hindiyah escape, a part of Sir W. Willcocks's scheme of Mesopotamian irrigation, were to be put into execution, his gardens at Ghazázah might be partly submerged, and he was inclined to blame the English for their share in that project. He could only with difficulty be reassured on this head, and shown that the better distribution of the water would be of benefit to himself in common with all other landowners. 622 101 619

A more striking personality is Hákim (Háchim) ibn Muheid, who with Hákim ibn Qeishish rules over the Fed'án, some 3,500 tents in all. Ibn Muheid is possibly second only to Núri esh-Sha'lán in the Anazah federation. He is a man of about 40, vain, money-loving, and strongly pan-Arab. His position on the middle reaches of the Euphrates enables him to close the riverain road to traffic whenever he pleases. Until the Baghdad Railway is completed, this road is the customary, and by far the shortest, means of communication between Aleppo and Baghdad, and is now connected with Constantinople by a railway, broken only by a short interruption on the Taurus. The Sibá' are less numerous, some 1,800 tents all told; their ruling families are the Beni Murshid and the Beni Hudeib (Hadeib).

Upon all the Anazah the Ottoman Government levies, so far as it is able, a sheep-tax and a camel-tax. The great sheikhs receive Ottoman subsidies, paid with something less than regularity. The sums are not large. A man like Núri may be given about £20 a month, yielded his fate against his Dhumaneen, who were the necessary for the purchase of necessary supplies which he sends out to his chief in the desert. The Ruweilah, who raise no crops, are entirely dependent on Damascus for provisions. 601 433 622

The paramount Anazah sheikhs, Ibn Sha'lán, Ibn Hadhdhál, Ibn Sumeir, and Ibn Muheid, could each of them put into the field from 1,500 to 2,000 men, armed and mounted on camels, with a small proportion of horses. The Sibá' sheikhs could muster another 1,000. The united Anazah forces would therefore number about 9,000 men, if it were conceivable that they could ever be 622 619 701

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701 gathered together at the same time—an exceedingly improbable
619 contingency in regions where there are no adequate means of
622 communication, and none but a loose tribal organization. Nor are the conditions of pasturage and water-supply prevailing in the Hamād suitable to large concentrations of men and animals. The
[231] total number of camels among the Ruweilah, 'Amārāt, Fed'ān, and Sibā' must be greater than in any other part of Arabia. They cannot, all told, be reckoned at much less than an average of 50 to a tent. The Wuld 'Ali are not so well supplied, but they may own about 20 to a tent. At this estimate the camel-herds of the northern Anazah would touch a very large figure—some 600,000 animals.

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ANAZAH

DHANA MUSLIM

Tribe.	*Sub-Tribe.*	*Clan.*
Ruweilah. 3,500 tents Sh. Nūri esh-Sha'lān	*Mur'idh*, 500 tents Nūri esh-Sha'lān el-Mur'idh	*Nā'if* Nūri's tribe *Zeid* 'Arsān Abu Jizlab *Mijwal* *Meshēr* *Mu'abbil*
	Nuseir, 500 tents Ibn Nuseir	
	Nāsir, 200 tents Munāhi ibn Nāsir	*Redhān*
	Dur'ān, 200 tents Sālim ibn Maalat	
	Furjah, 500 tents 'Asaf el-Fureij	*Khulā'ān Filitta* Ghāzi el-Fuleita
	Dughmān 'Arsān ibn Dughmi	
	Manāyi' Māni' el-Khidhr	
	Ka'ka', 800 tents Hayyān el-Ka'ka' ibn Ghoshm	
	Kuweikib, 400 tents Māni' el-Kuweikib	*Wotaiza*
	Mehitta, 150 tents Ibn Mushaik	
Muhaiāf. 1,500 tents Ibn Ma'jil Ibn Majid Ibn Jandal	*Ashja'*, 450 tents Qasim ibn Ma'jil	*Mahayah* *Sala'ig*
	'Abdillah, 400 tents Mughāthi ibn Majid	
	Suwāma, 400 tents Fayyādh ibn Jandal	
	Badēr, 2–300 tents Ibn Ma'jil	

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Tribe.	Sub-Tribe.	Clan.	Military Value. Horsemen.	Camel-riders.	Armed men.
Beni Sakhr. Telāl ibn Fā'iz. (Not recognized by all the clans as paramount).	*Aghbein*	*Fā'iz* Telāl	90	150	
		Hāmid Ibn Quftān	95	20	
		Jahawashah 'Ajāj	7		180
		Dahāmshah	4		40
		Muteirāt Fanhūr	20		70
700–800 tents	*Ghufl Zeben'* Falāh	*'Athmān* Shaubash; *'Abd el-Qādir* Hamd ibn Qam-'ān	110	200	
	Heqeish	*Zeidān* Fahad ez-Zeidān; *Beshir* 'Aqīlah ibn 'Eitān; *Sālim* Fahhād ibn Ma-'eishah; *Mōr*	80	250	
	Khadhir Qablān ibn Dakhthāni	Clans and numbers not known			
(Ka'abnah) 120 tents	*Khurshān*, 120 tents Hadīthah el-Khu-reishah				
320 tents	*Jubūr*, 320 tents Sālim ibn Izheir Fureij	*Fureij* *A'qumah* *Dīkah* *Ghayālīn*	60		300
1,140–1,240 tents			466	620	590
	Serdiyah, 150 tents Ghālib ibn Mi-'ab el-Qanj		40		250[1]
Salelah. 100 tents	*Rusheid* Ghathuyān	*Radhāya* (at Lej-jān and Umm er-Rusās)			
	Abu er-Rujeilah Jau'id				

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The political influence of Hā'il has decreased notably since the death of the Emir Mohammed, in 1897. At the height of his power he ruled over Riyādh and the Qasīm, and levied tribute from the Northern Harb, the Huteim, Fuqara, Wuld Suleimān, and Beni Wahhāb. The Southern Shammar tribes, great breeders of sheep and camels, number something under 4,000 tents. The villages of J. Shammar contain probably not much over 20,000 souls. Both tribesmen and villagers are devotedly loyal to the Emir. The subject tribes from whom he might be able, on occasion, to raise fighting men number at most 1,200 tents. Teima, which is subject to him, must have a population of from 1,500 to 2,000. 619 101 622

At a rough estimate Ibn Rashīd could probably raise from 500 to 800 fighting men from the villages, and 2,000 from the Shammar tribes. He might obtain another 500 or 600 from the tribes between Jebel Shammar and Teima, though their support would always be doubtful. The tribesmen would bring their own camels, but they would depend on the Emir for food and ammunition. The villagers he would have to mount and arm as well as feed. His own camel herds, seriously reduced in numbers since the days of the Emir Mohammed, may now amount to about 1,000 camels, including those which are not yet fit for service. The Shammar tribes are not as rich in camels as the Anazah, but they must average some 20–30 camels to a tent, which would bring the numbers up to 80,000 or rather more, including breeding camels and calves. 619 101 622 701

The relations between the Shammar and the Muteir are usually hostile. With the Dhafīr the Shammar are always at feud, but the Muntefiq were recently on good terms with Ibn Rashīd. The Huteim are out of hand and raid Shammar territories when the Emir is occupied with distant expeditions against the Ruweilah or the Dhafīr. On the western borders, the Huweitāt are the foes of all Shammar, except the sub-tribe of Rammāl, with whom one of their Paramount Sheikhs is connected by marriage. The B. 'Atīyah are hereditary enemies, and the Juheinah and Billi raid both the Wuld Suleimān and the Shammar.

Arab tribal federations or states, however, are held together only by an autocratic ruler, and their strength increases or diminishes in exact ratio to his weight and capacity. The Southern Shammar had their day under the Emir Mohammed. Since his death they have been handicapped by the violence and folly of their leaders. But, nevertheless, their numbers, their great tradition, and the support of the Ottoman Government make them still one of the chief factors in Central Arabian politics.

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'AJMĀN

Sub-Tribe.	*Fighting Strength.*
Ma'idh	2,700
Suleimān	1,270
Mahfūdh	1,200
Hillān	1,150
'Arjah	650
Shāmir	600
Hādi	500
Dhā'in	400
Sifrān	300
Hammād ibn Rāshid	300
Rusheid	200
Miora'	200
Miftih	100
Saleifi	100
Salēm	100
Bureih	100
Heiraf	100
Hayyān	100
Shawāwlah	80
Khuweitir	50
Total	10,200

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7. *Beni Hajar*

The **BENI HAJAR** (or Hājir, often pronounced by Bedouins Hāyir) are nomads of bad reputation, ranging Hasa and part of El-Qatar, south of the 'Ajmān, with whom they have an agreement allowing them to use the 'Ajmi dīra, if provided with authorized *rafiqs*. They were always troublesome to the Turks, and are so now to both Ibn Sa'ūd and the Sheikhs of El-Qatar.

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They are pastoral and breeders, but are said also to make excursions into piracy. They allow their women great liberty. Their extreme range is from 'Odeid to the 'Ajmān limit in Hasa; but by consent they wander as far north as Koweit. They have no one Paramount Chief. Their total strength is about 6,000 souls, and they claim to have 1,500 fighting men; the two sub-tribes are at feud. *For their small settlements in Najd see Chap. XVI, p. 608.*

BENI HAJAR

Sub-Tribe.	*Clan.*
Malhalhah (mainly in El-Qatar).	*Dāhirah.*
	Fahrid.
	Hamrah.
	Hazzyin.
	Jarārhah.
	Khaggāria.
	Mahāfirah.

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travels *in forma pauperis* he can avail himself, more than one who takes his own tents and servants, of the protection which Arab usage enjoins a Bedouin to extend to one who has touched as suppliant any part of his tent or belongings or eaten of his food. Strictly the efficacy of the last safeguard expires on the third day, when all that was eaten on the first is supposed to have passed out of the body. It is often worth while to appeal from the men to the women, whose instincts of hospitality, independence, and freedom of action are pleasing features of Bedouin life.

It is worth while to remember that no Bedouin society is wholly self-supporting. Even if it can supply itself with sheer food from its own dira, or some purely Arabian oasis—which it rarely can—it is dependent on the outer world for other necessaries, as well as for any sort of simple luxury. Clothing materials, coffee, tobacco, and, to a great extent, arms and munitions can only reach it from ports, or from the settled districts on the fringes of Arabia. Those, therefore, who control such ports or districts can always exercise an influence upon the desert men, however inaccessible, command their behaviour in the long run and punish their hostility.

From a military point of view Bedouins make very valueless auxiliaries of trained troops, except as scouts and raiders, or, if long, hot, and waterless stages have to be covered, as messengers.

Settled Folk.

The principal settlements will be dealt with in the special chapters on localities (see Chaps. IV ff.), followed by detailed descriptions of the tribes themselves (see Chaps. XIII ff.)

The ubiquity of nomads in Arabia explains and partly excuses common ignorance about the real extent and importance of its urban and village societies. To say that all the Arabs of the peninsula are Bedouins, or that its society is either nomadic or semi-nomadic, is far from the truth. Not only do the fertile coastal districts in the south-east and south-west of the peninsula contain numerous urban and village communities, rooted to the soil and engaged in agriculture and trade, while the goals of the Pilgrimage, Mecca and Medina, with the port of Jiddah, are considerable towns; but, as has already been pointed out, the three groups of oases in the centre support urban settlements, several of which have over 5,000 inhabitants apiece, besides many agricultural villages, large and small.

It is, however, true that all settled communities in Arabia are affected, in various degrees, by the nomad society, which is never far from them, and often surrounds them. There is much intermarriage between the settled and the unsettled folk: chiefs and

Summer Raiding Season

are examined from every angle. If a majority of the leaders are con- 622
vinced of the soundness of the plan, the matter is settled, and a con- 721
centration of all fighting men takes place at a prearranged rendezvous, to carry out the plan agreed upon. Only the old and very young remain behind to guard the tents and camels.

A tribal army or force is called a *Qaum* (pronounced *Gaum*), e.g 704
"Gaum ibn Sa'ud"—Bin Sa'ud's army.

The actual force that raids or attacks is known as a *Ghazzu*.

The term *harbiyah* is unknown among the Badawin of Najd, though it is commonly used in Iraq.

If Bin Sa'ud as king were in command of war operations in Najd, the tribes would be moved about at will, until launched to the attack, and at the point decided on by him. The actual method of attack would be probably left to the tribal leaders.

In warfare between the tribes as opposed to states, the main object 721
is to round up and seize camels, and if you cannot capture stock, to inflict as much damage as possible on the enemy's young men.

During winter few raids take place,

(*a*) Because there is grazing everywhere and strong tribes concentrate where their camels and sheep are actually feeding, and successful surprise is therefore almost impossible.

(*b*) The movements of the tribes are not dictated by the question of water, which is generally found everywhere (rain pans, shallow pools, etc.).

(*c*) If a tribe is small and weak it can avoid its known enemies and likely attacks, by continually moving about and evacuating areas which may be dangerous.

In summer all Badawin are peculiarly vulnerable, for they must 721
camp with tents closely concentrated over perennial wells, while their 361
camels must of necessity go some distance away for their grazing. This vulnerability increases as summer progresses, for the grazing gets further and further away from the main camp. Nor can the tribe or community camped on water maintain its full armed forces with the camels, as food and water difficulties arise. They are compelled to leave the custody of their stock to patrols, a very unsatisfactory protection, for if the patrol cannot hold the raiders in their first rush, the latter simply round up the whole or part of the flocks and drive

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492 the left. The leftward pull is, of course, accentuated when galloping or when the mount is tugging.

Readers may ask how the rider can control his horse at all without a bit. The answer is that the rough angular chain over its nostrils hurts the animal as the halter is pulled taut. This has the effect of checking the horse, but also of making it turn its head further round to shift the pressure from the top bone of the nostrils to the fleshy part at the side of the mouth.

The only places where bits will be found in use are among certain riverain tribal shaikhs in Iraq, and possibly among some of the Princes and Rulers of Arabia (I have not yet seen them in use in the desert, and Bin Sa'ud himself always rides with a halter, even to-day). The bits that are used follow the style used in Persia, Syria and North Africa, and in place of a curb chain there is a thin circular metal band which is attached to the cross-piece of the bit itself. This latter usually has an unpleasant-looking metal spike, which, as the bit is pulled, engages the roof of the mouth and causes pain. All Arab horses ridden on these bits continually throw their heads up, to the great discomfort of the rider.

SADDLES

492 704 The Badawin rank and file never use saddles or stirrups. All their riding is done barebacked, with only halters to control and guide their mounts. The wild state of non-control when a thousand howling riders is bearing down upon you can be imagined. No one can check the pace of the charge, the full weight of which is felt by the enemy. However damaging the fire, however much the individual rider may desire to pull out and beat a retreat, he is powerless to do so until the mass sense of the charging horses causes them to bear right or left away from the enemy.

704 725 When Badawin horsemen are loosed at each other, both sides ride bang through and go on galloping far beyond on the other side until they are able to pull up.

I once experienced such a wild Badawin charge at the battle of Shu'aiba (Iraq) in 1915.

We had a weak Indian Cavalry Brigade assisted by a horse battery, and had reconnoitred as far as Ratawi Mounds. There we made

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contact with a much superior force of irregular Kurdish and Badawin cavalry who forced us to retire. 704 725

After conducting a steady retreat for a distance of some eighteen miles, we were about to skirt Barjisiyah wood, when our force was suddenly charged in flank by 'Ajaimi al Sa'adun and some thousand Muntafiq mounted men, who, unknown to us, were hiding in that particular wood.

As we were up to that point retiring on a very wide front in line of squadrons at two hundred yards' interval, each squadron covering the movement to the rear of its neighbour by dismounted fire action, our force was too widely extended to change front and present a suitable face to the flank charge, and for a time the direst confusion and chaos existed.

Fortunately for us, an infantry column had come out to assist our retreat, and was entrenched close by. It saved the situation. Otherwise, many of us would not be living to tell the tale, for to give 'Ajaimi and his men full credit, his charge was magnificent, and went right through our force, quite in accordance with the best tradition of cavalry tactics. As it was, our worsted force was driven right on to the friendly infantry trenches, and great was the Badawins' surprise to see themselves suddenly confronted at almost point-blank range by a long line of British bayonets comfortably ensconced in trenches. These turned what looked like a probable *débâcle* for us into a defeat for the enemy, and by their withering fire forced 'Ajaimi's men to beat a precipitate retreat, which was successfully turned into a headlong flight by accurate salvoes from a hidden battery.

Though the ordinary Badawin rides barebacked, the shaikhs and 492
those who can afford it use for comfort a light cloth saddle, known as a *ma'araga*. This has no stirrups and is little more than a padded numdah strapped on to the horse's back.

The *ma'araga* is quite short from front to rear, just allowing a man sufficient room to seat himself.

MODERN WEAPONS, AND THE MOTOR CAR

As already mentioned, stallions or males are not wanted in Arabia, 177
and are sold as soon as possible for draught or pack purposes in the 231

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177 sea coast towns and in those countries still using *arabdnas* or horse-
231 drawn carriages. The market for horses is I fear going to get much worse as motor transport develops in the Middle East. The demand for horses is already so restricted that the Badawin of the interior has now started the miserable practice of killing off his male foals at birth. I am told (1935) by various shaikhs of the interior that this practice has become almost universal. It no longer pays the average Badawin to keep a horse till it reaches three or four years of age, for if he is lucky enough to find a buyer then he will only get Rs.80 to Rs.90 for his animal. As I write in 1935 a second-class (average) Arab horse in the bazaars of Kuwait fetches only about Rs.40 (about £3). Fortunately, Arab horse-racing still flourishes in places like Bombay, Poona, Baghdad and Cairo, and this will for some years to come insure a steady market for the best class of Arab horses. This, however, will only preserve to the world a small percentage of the best animals, and will not save the second-class or average horse.

231 Apart from the woeful killing of males at birth, I had it on the
704 authority of His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud himself in 1932, that Arab
713 mares are also on the high road to extinction since the introduction of the small-bore magazine rifle as a war weapon among the tribes of inner Arabia. As he pithily put it, "In the olden days when tribe fought tribe with spear and sword, the mares, which were always ridden in battle, came to little harm, for man sought to kill his opponent man, not his steed. To-day the fighter, whilst still a thousand yards from his enemy, is greeted with a rain of well-aimed bullets which slays infinitely more animals than riders."

231 Bin Sa'ud also told me that he was fully alive to the danger of the Arab horse becoming extinct, and in order to remedy matters had started five stud farms in Sa'udi Arabia all under his royal patronage. He added that he meant to try hard to better the situation, but was not optimistic.

In 1935, as I write, it is most pleasing to see that the King is still pressing on with this good work, and any one going to Riyadh from Iraq and taking with him one or more good mares, is given a special welcome and receives a good price for his animals. More important still is the help the King affords to his own tribesmen, who happen to have fallen on bad times and cannot afford even to keep their mares

'Ikhwan Tactics

Chap. XXVI

In both cases, the principle of always seizing any Badawin found 723
en route and making him march with the raiders to prevent his spreading news is strictly followed. It is also common for leaders to give out that they are going in one direction and then to double back and pursue a totally different direction when they are a day's march out. Attacks at dawn or in the thick of a duststorm are much favoured. A usual stratagem of the attacked is to seize wells by which the raiders must retire. 'Azaiyiz, the son of Al Duwish, was intercepted and his force destroyed in 1929 at Um ar Ruthumah in this way.

Organised attacks on a township, a fortified camp on water, or on 725
an enemy trying to deny wells to a retiring force, are usually carried out on foot and in a series of lines in imitation of regular troops, horsemen and camelmen being kept in reserve. This form of attack was perfected by the 'Ikhwan and was specially favoured by them. They employed it when they endeavoured to capture Jahrah in 1920 in face of the combined forces of Kuwait, also in the operations leading up to the capture of Hail. On such occasions the first, second and third lines are found by irregular Badawin styled *'Arab* by the faithful, while the supports and reserves consist of the *Mutadayyuin* or "those with religion". These deliver the main stroke. Though invented by the 'Ikhwan, the above method would probably be employed in any future operations in which Sa'udi Arabia forces were engaged.

Flank attacks, rearguard actions and dispersing on the approach of enemy aircraft are well understood, and would no doubt be employed as occasion demanded.

In all forms of attack, water for men and horses is carried on selected 705
camels in *jirbas* or goatskins. Camels get nothing till the attack is over.

The inviolability of women in war has been dealt with in Chapter VII.

For a brief period only during Arab history have women been 721
treated in any other way than with chivalry and consideration; this 562
was in 1925 and the following years, when the fanatical 'Ikhwan, evolved of Bin Sa'ud's genius for furthering his political ends, were at the height of their power and were raiding the Iraq, Kuwait and trans-Jordan tribes, and cutting up scattered detachments of the Muntafiq and Khazail shepherd tribes in the southern desert.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1948) 1948 MG1 Jordan
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609 marry, but that he required two camels as a present for her father to win his consent. The two camels which I and my servant were riding would be perfectly suitable, he hinted. When we halted for food at midday or in the evening, he would sit down, leaning his elbow on his saddle-bags beside him on the ground, and give his orders. "Hobble that camel, unload that gear." For with all their frank and open manners and their honourable customs, bedouins can be haughty and overbearing when they feel they have the whip-hand. Qasim was a man of limited intelligence, and a venal blackguard.

All the same, he had a sense of humour. Twenty years later, when I was commanding the Arab Legion, Qasim was arrested by the police, doubtless for some heinous crime. "You don't know who I am!" he said when the police came to take him away. "I'm the man who employed Glubb Pasha as a herdsman for my camel!"

361 Altogether it was with satisfaction that one morning we
609 emerged from a narrow valley in the sandy and rocky hills and
712 saw before us the dark green of the palm gardens, the little stone fort and the cluster of houses of the oasis of Kaf. The little fort was owned by Ibn Shaalan and garrisoned by his retainers, under the command of Salih ibn Uthman, a native of the oasis of Jauf. He greeted us with a kindness and consideration which was a pleasant contrast to the company of Qasim ash Shemam. The latter wished to return next day to his tribe, so I paid him off in the evening. But he shouted that the money was not enough and that he would seize our camels. Salih ibn Uthman intervened, and Qasim was persuaded to leave the room. Outside I could hear a loud altercation and a scuffle. Qasim disappeared during the night, taking with him a selection from our gear—my saddle and water-skin and Trad ibn Shaalan's warm gloves.

712 There was an Arab Legion post at Kaf, outside the village in a fortified camp on top of a steep hill. I paid them a visit and had tea with the officers. The evening was spent with Ibn Shaalan's retainers, sitting on the floor round the open hearth in the castle hall. On the glowing embers were ranged a row of coffee-pots. Outside howled that wind which had seemed to us so dreary as it whistled the stinging sand into our faces in the open desert.

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MARKAB

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Akin to the *dhalla* and *maksar*, but of far greater interest, is the *markab* of the 'Anizah tribe, more especially of the Ruwala. It consists of a light wooden frame and is covered with the feathers of the *na'am* or Arabian ostrich.

The *markab* is known as the Ark of Ishmael, in honour of the first Arab nomad, and when the 'Anizah go into battle, a maiden (daughter of the shaikh) rides in it and moves forward in the centre of the force to spur the warriors on to deeds of valour.

When the battle is joined the camel bearing the *markab* is said to be hobbled with a chain so that it cannot retreat from the scene or flee.

Should the battle go against the Ruwala, retirement is only allowed as far as the *markab*—there everyone must rally and fight, if necessary, to the last, in defence of the *markab* and the lady seated in it. The *markab* of the Ruwala has undoubtedly a pre-Islamic origin.

The Shaikh of Kuwait told me on the 10th January, 1935, that a similar *markab* was last used by Bin Sa'ud at the battle of Jarāb in the spring of 1915. Also that a *markab* was used by Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait a few years before he died when Bin Rashid threatened to attack Jahrah; one of the fairest of the Al Subah* ladies was put in it with hair flowing, head uncovered and face unveiled. Had not Bin Rashid withdrawn, the Subah would have rallied round their *markab* to a man.

There can be little doubt, however, that both Bin Sa'ud's *markab* and that of Mubarak al Subah were merely glorified and richly decorated tribal litters, and should be more properly called *maksars*. The Ruwala are the only tribe I know of who use the true *markab* as a tribal fetish or banner. Carl Raswan, in his book *Black Tents of Arabia*, gives some excellent photographs of the Ruwala *markab*.

Shaikh Khalid al Hithlain of the 'Ajman told me on the 5th December, 1934, that the 'Ajman tribe still use the *markab* when going to war, but call it by the ordinary name of the women's camel litter, *maksar*. Like the Ruwala, however, they put up their fairest maiden unveiled and with hair flowing to encourage the warriors to extra bravery, and to shame the laggards into pushing forward to the forefront of battle.†

* Mashera bint 'Ali, wife and first cousin of Shaikh Mubarak.

† My wife and I visited Ibn Shaalan of the Ruwala in 1945, and were shown the famous Markab.

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 M1 1 Kuwait
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177 sea coast towns and in those countries still using *arabbas* or horse-
231 drawn carriages. The market for horses is I fear going to get much worse as motor transport develops in the Middle East. The demand for horses is already so restricted that the Badawin of the interior has now started the miserable practice of killing off his male foals at birth. I am told (1935) by various shaikhs of the interior that this practice has become almost universal. It no longer pays the average Badawin to keep a horse till it reaches three or four years of age, for if he is lucky enough to find a buyer then he will only get Rs.80 to Rs.90 for his animal. As I write in 1935 a second-class (average) Arab horse in the bazaars of Kuwait fetches only about Rs.40 (about £3). Fortunately, Arab horse-racing still flourishes in places like Bombay, Poona, Baghdad and Cairo, and this will for some years to come insure a steady market for the best class of Arab horses. This, however, will only preserve to the world a small percentage of the best animals, and will not save the second-class or average horse.

231 Apart from the woeful killing of males at birth, I had it on the
704 authority of His Majesty King Bin Sa'ud himself in 1932, that Arab
713 mares are also on the high road to extinction since the introduction of the small-bore magazine rifle as a war weapon among the tribes of inner Arabia. As he pithily put it, "In the olden days when tribe fought tribe with spear and sword, the mares, which were always ridden in battle, came to little harm, for man sought to kill his opponent man, not his steed. To-day the fighter, whilst still a thousand yards from his enemy, is greeted with a rain of well-aimed bullets which slays infinitely more animals than riders."

231 Bin Sa'ud also told me that he was fully alive to the danger of the Arab horse becoming extinct, and in order to remedy matters had started five stud farms in Sa'udi Arabia all under his royal patronage. He added that he meant to try hard to better the situation, but was not optimistic.

In 1935, as I write, it is most pleasing to see that the King is still pressing on with this good work, and any one going to Riyadh from Iraq and taking with him one or more good mares, is given a special welcome and receives a good price for his animals. More important still is the help the King affords to his own tribesmen, who happen to have fallen on bad times and cannot afford even to keep their mares

Showing 5124
Munkhing

Donkey Riders

619 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the
101 Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in
283 good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawiyah lying east of Samawa.

497 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more
494 suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of
283 sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sukubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

795 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not
457 much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawíl al Dhafir and Tawíl al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq-Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba-Bani Salema, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Shazaifat, Juarin, Bani Malik, Allbu Salah and 'Azman pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are
713 perhaps the Budur, the Juarin and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Hussain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Mashhad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

H Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Ali I Kuwait
Bedouins MSS
Muslim

tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hadra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and hardy, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

Appendix I

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Ibn Sa'ud in 1929-30 under Faisal al Dawish. The other half remained loyal under Ibn Musaiyis, Ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Ibn Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Ibn Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929-30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Ibn Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Ibn Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Ibn Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Ibn Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929-30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(a) The imprisonment of Faisal al Dawish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.

(b) The confiscation by Ibn Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Sharaf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They own the famous breed of *Kruk* horses, and up to the 1929-30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shummar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929-30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'Ajman (Singular 'Ajmi)

Paramount Shaikh—IBN SHUBAIB* (from Shaikhly Clan AL MA'ZIM, subsection MAZAR).

* In also pronounced Shubaiba.

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713 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Ibn Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Ibn Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:
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(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of
291 rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious
562 feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Shei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929–30 Ikhwan rebellion against Ibn Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Miara section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Ibn Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Ibn Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI4

Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

B 281 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 ('Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 619 The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 619 641 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of

B 619 641 Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929-30 'Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the 'Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B 823 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MANA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAZI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 718 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MURAILIM.

101 *Present incumbent*—'ABD IBN MURAILIM (Senior) and MUTLIQ IBN MURAILIM.

221 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[622] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

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619 and their men for their knowledge of the country. Hence they make excellent guides and hunters. During the Ikhwan movement half of the tribe left Kuwait and threw in its lot with the Munair. To-day (1937) they have come back to Kuwait territory to their old allegiance. The tribe is
● 713 well armed with a variety of British and Turkish rifles. A few Martini-Henry carbines also exist among them.

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SHAMMAR (singular Shammari)

Divisions.	*Principal Sheikhs.*
(1) ABDA group	Ibn 'Ali
	Ibn Shuraim
	Ibn J...ran
	Ibn 'Ajil
(2) ASLAM group	Mishal ibn Twila
(Al Seiyah)	Muhammad al Waja'an
(3) SINJARA group	Ibn Rimli
	Ibn Thunaiyan
(Tumán)	Mishal al Timiki
(Timiki)	Ibn Aiyish
	Mitr'ab al Ruba'a

[641] *Note.*—(*a*) The above owe allegiance to Ibn Sa'ud, King of Sa'udi Arabia. The large and important group of Shammar Jarba, whose habitat is between Baghdad and Mosul (on the left bank of the Euphrates), owes allegiance to Iraq, and so are not included in the above list.

(*b*) Close inter-connection is always maintained, however, between Shammar Jarba and the *Najd* group of Shammar mentioned above. This especially applies to marriage.

Surrender

Chap. XXVI

WAR CRIES

Every Arab prince and Arab tribe has a special war cry. Some have several and some a single one. 721 192

These war cries, called *nakkwa* and *'iewak*, are yelled out in the heat of battle, and especially during the wild charge of horsemen.

The war cry is supposed to strike terror into the foe. It also enables the individual warrior to recognise friend from enemy in the general *mêlée* that follows a charge—for every man as he goes into action muffles up his face till only his eyes are seen, and no uniforms distinguish combatants or differentiate friend from foe. [724]

SURRENDER

Among the Badawin the equivalent of the European or Westerner's "Hands up" is for a man to drop his rifle on the ground and place *the thumbs of both hands simultaneously between his teeth with the fingers of each hand extended outwards towards the person to whom he is surrendering.* This is the normal method, when for instance a man is a fugitive and is about to be caught up and killed by his pursuers. The meaning of the act is that he realizes that all is up, he has been caught, he knows death is his portion, nevertheless he casts himself on God's mercy and on that of his enemies. In nine times out of ten he will be spared. 726 516

Even in the heat of battle a man on the losing side can escape death if he recognises an old friend or acquaintance in the opposing ranks, by shouting out to him and saying, *Ya fulan, ana fi wajh-ak* (O So-and-So, I put myself under your protection). If the person so called upon has sufficient influence with his comrades to grant such protection, he replies, *Atainak wajhki aallam nafagnak* or *aalahak* (I have given you my protection, hand over your rifle, or arms). Under such circumstances the suppliant is absolutely safe, and his guarantor goes bail for his life. 572 726

Should the man appealed to not be of sufficient importance among his fellow fighters to guarantee the life of the suppliant, he will call out to him and advise him to demand protection from someone more influential than himself, i.e. *Udab wajh fulan* (Call upon the

12: Globe G-3 (1930-1968) 1948 MG1 Jordan
BEDOUINS MJY

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A sheperd in the Desert Period
(from the painting by W. A. Dunn)

P 40 (O)

113, 101, 221, 619, 184, 565, 701, 721 Bedouin MJ4

[For information on the Bedouin see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 197-204.]

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

264 On occasion when supplies are plentiful the Badawin
146 eat copiously, because the time and scale of the next meal may be
147 uncertain. In general, the standard of nutrition of the Badawin is low—in the opinion of some, below the level necessary in other regions to sustain life. As a result, the Badawin are small, even stunted, and lightly built, though their physical powers and endurance are great. Life is, however, very hard; and by forty, particularly in the case of women, old age has begun. Fifty years is a long life for a nomad.

721 One means of supplementing the deficiencies in arid areas is by raiding. Amongst Badawin the *ghazw* (*razzia* or *rezzou*) is a recognised activity amounting almost to sport, but it also fulfils a definite economic function. The effects of a bad season are mitigated, as when rains have failed in the desert, the Bedu has a choice of taking what he requires by force from other people, or of starving. The word 'sport' has been used, because although fundamentally a serious matter, Badawin raids are conducted under certain conventions—almost, one might say, rules.[1] Rapid, unlooked-for coups, using cunning and guile, are most favoured: bloodshed is as far as possible avoided, though goods, womenfolk, and children become the property of the victors under a kind of slavery. Successful leadership in tribal raids
[554] is the means by which personal reputation and power is built up: King Ibn Saud, originally a dispossessed desert nomad, has gained absolute power in Arabia through successful tribal encounters on an increasingly
721 large scale. Badawin raids may be directed against other tribes, but
651 frequently, toll is levied on agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert. Less able to resist, and with more at stake than the nomad, settled cultivators sometimes remain under permanent tribute to Badawin tribes, and supply a quantity of needed foodstuffs to their overlords. The name *khawa* (tribute of friendship) is applied to such transactions. Raiding is now declining, because of increasing control by local governments, but in addition to the political problem presented in controlling outbreaks, there is the economic factor of providing alternative occupation to ensure a livelihood.[2] Though declining, the practice is still not extinct. For as recently as 1946, J. C. Crowfoot could write, 'Arabs are now raiding each other in Fords and Chevrolets'.

[1] There are only three sources of amusement or diversion in Badawin life: conversation round a coffee hearth, family life, and raiding.

[2] Cf. the decline in population of the Barbary coastlands since the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean. There, precisely the same economic factor was involved.

361 going in the wake of profound political, economic and social
x166 changes
178 a. political

The national governments of the Bedouin-inhabited countries, unwilling to have the tribes under their territorial jurisdiction remain as a separate social unit outside the national community, consider their permanent settlement on land absolutely essential to insure stability and progress. They are aware that, once the nomads become tied to the soil, the tribal system will begin to disintegrate and cease being a "state within a state." By controlling the Bedouin and encouraging their settlement, the administrations are putting an end to the special political status which the tribes enjoyed on the borders of the desert.

b. economic

361 With the conquest of the desert by modern means of trans-
x166 portation the camel-breeding industry of the true Bedouin has
178 been severely hit. Enforcement of public security destroyed
1133 additional sources of livelihood, such as the plunder of caravans, inter-tribal raiding and the extortion of tribute[1] from village communities and weaker semi-nomadic tribes. Extension of cultivation in the area is rapidly limiting the wandering territory of the tribes and thus adversely affecting their traditional pastoral economy.

● 721 1. Bedouin raids are usually directed against other tribes or
728 caravans which are attacked and plundered. The toll which is frequently levied on the agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert is called by the term khuwa, protection money.

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the two countries, unless either of the two governments should find it necessary to restrict this freedom of movement in the interest of public order and for the reasons of economic necessity." 1)

The earlier Hadda agreement of 1925 2) mentions specifically the Wadi Sirhan. Article 4 of the Hadda Agreement reads:

> "The government of Nejd undertake to maintain all established rights, that may be enjoyed in the Wadi Sirhan by tribes not under their jurisdiction, whether such rights appertain to grazing or to habitation or to ownership, or the like. The government of Transjordan undertake to extend identical treatment to Nejd subjects who may enjoy similar established rights in Transjordan territory."

Cross-border migration of the Bedouin tribes is similarly regulated by bi-lateral treaty arrangements between Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Iraq and Syria, Syria and Turkey and wherever such custom has been established.

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In fact, the tribes seem to increase their customary routine of movement whenever necessary. In 1935, for example, a considerable number of the Irqui Amarat tribe entered Transjordan and even penetrated the Amman region. The Amarat had been at feud with the Transjordanian tribes for centuries, and never before had they been able to cross the frontier unmolested. 3) As recently as 1937 the Amarat raided the Beni Sakhr and the Beni Sakhr counter-raided the Amarat. 4)

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1. Command Paper 2775
2. Command Paper 2644
3. Report, 1935, p. 327
4. Report, 1937, p. 74

8: Neubart S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East M
BEDOUINS MJ4

At the beginning of 1929 practically the whole of the powerful 221
Rwala tribe entered Iraqi territory and encamped east of the
Wadin area. The Rwala were soon followed by the Sha'a, another
great tribe of the Anezeh. These unusual movements were caused
by lack of good grazing in Syria.[1]

Political boundary lines thus do not appear to have seriously 131
affected tribal mobility. On the contrary, public security has 221
enabled tribes to wander beyond their dirah into territories 659
where in the past they would not have dared to camp. The Trans-
Jordanian tribes which, according to Epstein, were prevented from
migrating to the Wadi Sirhan may have feared to cross the border
line. It must be understood that states may sign agreements
which the tribes have no intention to observe.

It happened both before and after the establishment of 221
frontiers that Transjordan camels were attacked and plundered 721
in their Wadi Sirhan grazing areas by hostile tribes of Hejaz.
Due to the frequency of such occurrences the tribes customarily
moving for the winter to the Wadi Sirhan were not forced by the
authorities to disarm because their lives and possessions could
not be protected by British and local forces while away from
Transjordan territory.[2]

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1. Report, 1929a, pp. 35-36
2. Report, 1930, p. 139

648 Political authorities have made no serious efforts to interfere with tribal migrations which follow the law of economic need.
221 The governments stopped raiding, but not grazing.

With the establishment of public security, tribal movements have been facilitated where fears of attack may have prevented them before.[1]

Economic of raiding, slavery and extortion as affecting Bedouin economy

721 Raids fulfilled a definite economic function in Bedouin
434 society. Especially in times of drought, the booty taken in raids contributed, according to the Bedouin way of thinking a welcome source of income. In reality, however, the desert people did not suffer a great economic loss from the stoppage of raiding. In speaking of raiding Major Glubb correctly states that "some lessons risk, some were ruined; there is a net loss on the whole."[2]

More significant than the economic loss incurred to the Bedouin when importation of Slaves was outlawed.

434 The economic situation of the Bedouin on the whole was not
131 seriously affected by the establishment of political boundary lines and enforcement of public security. Economic adjustments were made within the pastoral economy where the decline of the demand for the camel made this necessary.

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1. However, in spite of the vigorous actions of the Saudi regime raiding in the Arabian Desert has not yet been completely stopped.
2. Glubb, 1935, p. [illegible]

COOperating.

361 A decisive change in the opposite direction occurred in the economic structure of the Howeitat when Sheikh Alian Ibn-Jazi and Sheikh Ibn-Fajr evinced more interest in settling them in peaceful agricultural pursuits. In a short time the Howeitat became one of the most warlike tribes in North Arabia and the Syrian Desert. Cultivation was discarded, the tribesmen became robust, fierce in fighting and twenty and they themselves roamed the desert.[1]

X166 241 Since the end of the First World War the Howeitat have been returning to the land. The tribesmen again engaged in the agricultural work, and their transition to a completely settled existence should not be difficult to accomplish.

422 By 1938 all sections of the Beni Sakhr[2] were settled on their X166 land, in that year 3 000 bales bales having been issued to the 241 tribal cultivators.[3] In the drought years of 1932 and 1933 the flocks of the Beni Sakhr were severely hit. Like the situation among all the big tribes of Transjordan, the Beni Sakhr were economically ruined, but while them they were willing to take up cultivation. Government financial assistance was requested to enable the tribe to develop its fertile lands, but no considerable help was forthcoming.

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1. Pere Jaussen observed the Howeitat in 1908 after they had resumed their nomadic existence. He his statement that "the Howeitat after jamais tendent in observed" (The Howeitat never tendent the plow) Ed. Jaussen, 1908, p. 321 is incorrect.
2. The Beni Sakhr have about 800 tents and dwell in 'Ajlun, one of the most fertile parts of Transjordan. They own about 772 000 dunams of land.
3. Report, 1938, p. 193

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

XXV

Honour among Thieves

At Deyr-ez-Zor I was eventually able to arrange for the transfer of the young stallion to Egypt by way of Aleppo and Beyruth. It was a tremendous journey, as it had to be done on its own feet; but by slow stages the Arab, who accompanied the horse, succeeded in delivering him in good condition to my friends in Egypt. 000

Meanwhile Ali and I roamed further afield and rode to the pasture-grounds of the Fid'an, then camped at the northern foot of the Bishri Mountains, west of the Euphrates. There, also, the tent of Mijhem ibn Meheyd was pitched, and he received us hospitably. We spent several pleasant days with him.

He then led his tribe southwards into the Wudian area, east of the Hamad. We accompanied them through the Jabal Bishri and camped with them south of these hills. There I decided to say farewell to Ibn Meheyd, and bade Ali buy three especially strong *dhaluls* (racing-camels) and two mares. With Ali alone, and these animals, I struck through the Hamad desert, to make my way to the Ruala and to Damascus. On the first day we fell in with a small caravan of four men with twenty-odd camels and six stallions. [221] 443 [492]

From this combination alone (for Bedouins never ride stallions on a raid) it was clear they were peaceful travellers. In fact, they were *Akheyl* or camel-traders from Inner Arabia, who had purchased camels and young [721]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

443 stallions from various Bedouin tribes in the Euphrates.

Their kind is found everywhere in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Almost invariably the *Akhayl* hail from Anayza and Buraida, two large oasis-towns of Kasim in the heart of Arabia.

[437] During spring they[1] travel among the nomad Arabs and barter rice, coffee, sugar, arms, munitions, and gold [493 for camels and colts. Bedouins have only begun to sell 177] mares since the arrival of the automobile, which has displaced the horse for raiding purposes.

These traders travel unmolested throughout Arabia and they pay the *sheykh* of the tribe from which they purchase animals a small sum for the privilege of pursuing their business. Each trader has his own special tribe which he visits every year.

•721 On the second day, when we came on some rain water left in the rocky hollows of a *wadi*, we decided to rest awhile and let our mares drink their fill. We had hardly dismounted when two strange Bedouins on horseback suddenly appeared. Ali jumped on his mare's back at once, and deserting me and our animals, galloped away in the opposite direction from which the Bedouins had come, obviously seeking cover.

"A *ghazu!*" he yelled, as he rode away.

The two strange Bedouins were armed. They were obviously not traders, as Ali had immediately perceived. More horsemen appeared and they began to fire at Ali and myself. My "Powerful" protector, ducking low over his horse's neck, made a comical picture. The hostile [291] Bedouins were Fid'an, as I knew from their striped shepherd's cloaks. To defend ourselves was useless, as we

1-[The Akhayl or camel and horse traders--Analyst]

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 1934

were surrounded. I threw my rifle on the ground and, 721
dropping my arms with the palms turned outwards, I gave the Ghazu horsemen to understand that we meant to offer no resistance. When they came within hearing I shouted to them:

"We are *dakhil* (inviolable). We ride under the countenance of thy *sheykh* and our brother Mijhem ibn Meheyd."

But neither the leader nor his men took notice, but seized Ali (whom they had easily caught) and myself, and struck us for not taking off our clothing quickly enough. As Ali was being stripped, he cried to their leader:

"Hast thou no pity, plundering the friends of thy *sheykh* like this?" The man only laughed and said mockingly:

"I know not of whom thou speakest. We know nobody, and pity we have left to God alone."

"Thou wilt be answerable for this act," Ali shouted. "Hasten thou to return our property, our horses and camels, and take thy hands from off my friend, the guest of thy master."

In answer, the leader flung away the garment, the pockets of which he was rifling, seized his rifle and with its butt hit Ali such a blow on the back of his head that he fell as dead, and remained inert on the ground. The Fid'an's savage temper was aroused, and he continued to belabour the prostrate body with blows and kicks.

I sprang at the brute and tried to pull him away. One of his comrades, however, thrust his rifle into my back. I staggered, and before I could regain my balance, a

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

721 hefty blow nearly broke my arm. The same blow caught me a glancing stroke on the head, hard enough to knock me out. I must have remained unconscious for hours. When I came to, the evening was already fading into twilight, and I found myself lying stark naked on the sand. Happily, it had not been a hot day, for the sky was clouded. Nevertheless, I felt wretched enough, and my head and arm ached. The blow had merely grazed the muscles of my arm, but I had a nasty wound over my temple.

Not far from me Ali was lying on his back. To my horror, he looked quite dead.

Still numb, I tottered over to him. Thank heaven, he was very much alive and able to talk. The Fid'an had handled him worse than me, but his unfailing good humour was already returning. "They have taken everything from me," he said, "except their cursed lice"; and he commenced to scratch himself all over his naked body, protesting the while that he had left Aleppo quite clean.

"The sunburns are itching," I said, with a laugh; "it cannot be the vermin of our friends."

In the deepening dark, I noticed that a fire was burning behind a rise in the ground several hundred yards away, and I concluded that the Fid'an were camping there.

577 Ali was still feeling too weak to walk with me, and I made my way alone to the fire. As I came near, I recognized the Fid'an sitting round the coffee-hearth.

"Dakhil! Protection!" I cried out.

One of the Bedouins sprang up, rifle in hand. He made

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 1934

meekly handed over the watch, which Ali put on his own wrist. "Let me take care of it for thee," he said to me, in his protective manner. He is actually "taking care" of my watch to this very day!

Our Fid'an hosts numbered seventeen horsemen and eight camel-riders, who had come on the scene after the attack on us. A gang of typical desert outlaws.

At the evening meal they spread a large leather camel-saddle cover for a tablecloth. Previously the dough for our bread had been kneaded on it. At other times it served as manger and watering-trough for the horses and camels, for it could be suspended by leather loops, one at each of the four corners.

The *Akid* poured sour camels' milk from a goat skin into a wooden basin and handed it round. The few *dhalals* were lying close to us. The red campfire threw a glow of light over them and their long shadows melted into the blackness of the night. For a moment I imagined myself surrounded by strange monsters.

When I closed my eyes and heard only the belching and grunting of my table-companions, I could scarcely distinguish them from the camels chewing the cud. And Ali was the noisiest feeder of them all!

Next morning the Fid'ans proposed that they should join us with the idea of entering Ruala territory and lifting some camels. Nothing remained for Ali and myself but to make the best of these unwelcome proposals. We had to endure their company in the pious hope that somewhere we should fall in with the Ruala Bedouins.

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal,

and shouted, though with his rifle still at the ready, "Wesh entum? (What are you?)" The strangers were thrown into some confusion, but one of them slipped from his camel and advanced on Qasim, also with his rifle ready. Both men had their kerchiefs tied over their faces, so that only their eyes were visible. They advanced towards one another intently and cautiously, like fighting cocks waiting for an opening. "Wa ent wesh ent?" replied the other. ("And you, who are you?") The rest of the other party had couched their camels out of sight in another hollow. They did not look like raiders, but I could not but hold my breath as the two advanced towards one another. Then suddenly the tension relaxed. "Dhana Muslim, sons of Muslim," said the other man—it was the name of the division of Aneizah of which the Ruwallah formed part. Qasim lowered his rifle.

"Are you Ubaid?"

"You're Qasim."

"Keif ent? (How are you?)"

"God bless you."

"May you be well?"

"How are the boys?"

The two ragged, bearded ruffians slowly kissed one another, first on one cheek and then on the other.

"How are you?"

"God keep you."

"May God bless that face."

We stood up. The members of the other party advanced, reassured, dragging their camels by their head-ropes. Such were the daily incidents of desert life. Ten years later the Iraq Petroleum Company's pipeline passed this way, a pumping station had been built in this waste, and English ladies were taking their tea out for a picnic in these stony valleys. That ten years was to see the passing of an era.

Meanwhile Qasim ash Shemam was becoming increasingly domineering and threatening. He regarded us with ill-concealed contempt, as might an old deep-sea fisherman a couple of landlubbers who had never been to sea before. He repeatedly informed us that he was courting a girl, whom he shortly hoped to

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1940) 1948 MG1 Jordan BEDOUINS M34

After the first shyness had disappeared, conversation became free and general. The growing danger from the Ikhwan was anxiously debated—a raiding party had recently been seen at the well of Garagir, only a few miles south of Kaf. It was at this same well that Khalid ibn al Waleed had watered 1,300 years before, during the first Muslim invasion of Syria. Then, to forget the fears and anxieties of the day-to-day world, the one-stringed violin was brought out, and with a fresh round of tea began the poetry and music. In Central Arabia there is a story to every poem, and before reciting the ballad itself, the story should be told. One of the best stories told that night was the tale of Ibn Hadi's daughter.

Two of the most powerful tribes of Central Arabia are Ateiba and Qahtan, whose shaikhs, Ibn Humaid and Ibn Hadi, used in the old days to be perpetually at war. Once upon a time the then Ibn Hadi had a beautiful daughter, who resolutely refused to marry any of the numerous suitors who presented themselves for her hand. Ibn Humaid, head of the rival tribe, was a young man and a famous raider, and had carried plunder and devastation through the camps and flocks of Qahtan. His prowess was the talk of every camp and fireside in Nejd. In Ibn Hadi's tent many long and anxious debates were held to discuss how to resist the daring assaults of Ibn Humaid and Ateiba, and the Qahtan shaikhs swore to sacrifice a camel each as a thank-offering if their relentless enemy should ever fall into their hands. One day, yet another suitor presented himself at the tent of Ibn Hadi to solicit the hand of his daughter, and her father came to consult her. But she rejected the proposal contemptuously, and swore that she would never marry at all, unless her suitor were a bedouin shaikh, who was at the same time the most gallant in war, the most generous, the most handsome and the most witty of the Arabs. The suitor retired discomfited.

But a Sulubbi, a tinker of Arabia, a member of that menial tribe the members of which pass from camp to camp unmolested even in war-time, had overheard the conversation. "Ya amaimati! (My little Aunt)," he whined, "there is only one man who answers the description you have given, and that is Ibn Humaid." "Oh, if only I could once see him," said the daughter of Ibn Hadi.

12: Glubb G-3 (1930-1948) 1948 MG1 Jordan MG1
BROWNS MSS

B 609 576 J 609 I decided, in spite of my reception, to stay for the night in the Beni Sakhr tents, both in the hope that more intimate acquaintance would overcome this inauspicious beginning and also to learn more about the Beni Sakhr, a tribe which I had never met before. The shaikh in the car drove off after lunch, and by the time we had had dinner and were sitting in a circle round the fire, the atmosphere had become more cordial.

B 192 J 192 Sitting over the coffee-pots, I noticed a long, slim, dark-complexioned youth, with those fine features which distinguish a certain type of Nejdi nomad, and which were in contrast to the fairer complexions and thicker build of the Beni Sakhr. When an opportunity offered, I enquired about his origin, and was told that he came of the tribe of Mutair. My work in southern Iraq had brought me into contact with this tribe, though usually as enemy raiders, and I knew the names of their leaders and the geography of their country. The boy's face glowed with pleasure when he heard once more the names of his tribesmen and the news of their latest raiding exploits. He then told me his story.

B 921 J 921 He had joined a large raiding party which had attacked Trans-Jordan the year before, and which included several war banners of Mutair. A Beni Sakhr camp had been surprised and overwhelmed at dawn, and many killed. During the battle, he was hit by a bullet and fell unconscious from the back of his camel. When he recovered consciousness, he felt very cold. He looked around him. It appeared to be shortly after dawn, but the sun had not risen yet. He was stark naked and lying on the ground, with corpses and dead animals strewn around. A short way from where he lay were some black bedouin tents, from which a few wisps of smoke showed that the occupants were already awake. Shivering with cold, dazed and weak, he staggered towards the nearest tent. A man was kneeling in the tent with his back to him, blowing up the embers of a fire.

B 576 When the wounded boy was some ten paces from the tent, the man looked round. With a savage cry he sprang to his feet, snatched a rifle and ran towards him. But in his excitement he fumbled with the bolt and safety-catch. The naked Mutairi staggered past him and embraced the tent pole. "I am under the protection of this house," he cried. The Sakhri threw his rifle

The Badawin's Code

577

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his near neighbour (*gasir*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*dhifa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafig*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wajh* and *dakhila*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*ghazu*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, [721] and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyah*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all 157
charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of [565]
teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yargad wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male 582
society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate 724
families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most 521
dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked 558

A. Dickson G-5 (1939-47) 1951 Mil I Kuwait
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already gone ahead to spy out the land, the grazing and the water. 707
Assuming that there is no enemy near or danger imminent, the baggage- 221
camels and women folk follow fairly close on their heels. After the women and camp gear, the herds of camels and sheep follow on a broad front, slowly grazing along till they reach their new camp. There they find everything ready and the tents pitched. A strong guard is, of course, left with the herds. As in the case of the individual tent owner, the shaikh decides on where the camp is to be, and on the spot where he kneels his camel and gift-saddles, his own tent will be pitched.

A tribe in camp is not concertinaed up but scatters out over a wide 722
space, each group of family tents being about two hundred yards from its neighbour if the ground is broken, and possibly four hundred yards apart in flat open ground. Hence a body of Badawin having, say, four hundred tents will cover a wide area when camped. This is the procedure in winter or spring when no enemy is about and likely to attack. In summer, on the other hand, when the tribe is camped on water, it literally surrounds the wells with tents, leaving only sufficient space for the camels and sheep to drink. Tents on such occasions are close together and generally in a series of lines, with tent ropes almost touching those of their neighbours. The widely scattered camp formation of 723
winter may make it difficult for the fighting men to concentrate suddenly, but is ideal for passive defence. A sudden surprise raid cannot penetrate deeply into such a camp, as each tent becomes a small fort from which fire is directed on the intruders, who soon find themselves fired on from all sides. (The German pill-box system during the first Great War proved the efficacy of the method.) Badawin methods of fighting are discussed in Chapter XXVI.

NOTE.— 104

Asaiz—the man who goes ahead to look for best grazing ground.

Sallâf—the leader of the tribe or head of family on the march. He always rides alone at head.

Makhâ—is name given to the family baggage-camels as opposed to *Al Abe'ir*, milch and loose camels on march.

Al Ghanam—the sheep on the march.

Al Bolam—the lambs who march separate from the ewes.

so, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin 349
in the transition stage to a more settled existence. 361

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of 341
sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents 139
as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Shariff stock
such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their [82]
members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and
regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the 645
pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter un- 849
doubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has
grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots
of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi,
are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-
bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs.
The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions 349
involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as 574
host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging 956
in the city.

Akahwa al Rada, is a common cry heard among the 'Arab-
dawin of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their
neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially [121]
their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful,
for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather
than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and
lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin
rider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is
an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or
defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with 235
either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the 623
tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either 619
of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As
sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which
they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined
than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds
has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

613 father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the
427 dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her
593 *walad 'am*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and do the deed.

613 Between *hawi 'am* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man
604 must never seize and bind one of his *'awam* even though he be a
721 thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'awam* by a *dawn*
628 attack or raid him after *midnight*. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *hawi 'am* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiya*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'ud, Al Dualan, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'AM

601 (1) *Walad 'Am*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'AM

613 (1) *Bint 'Am*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—
592 on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.

[601] A man always has the right to marry *ibn bint 'am*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'am*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

Duty Towards Tent Neighbour

621 force, though the *gasir* will be well advised, if he can get hold of the shaikh of his protector's tribe, to kill a camel and invite him to a public meal. The shaikh will then see that everyone knows that the stranger is now under the tribe's protection.

The new tent-neighbour becomes, as it were, the guest of the particular Badawin who has given him permission to camp near him as his *gasir*. He is henceforth an *'aziz* (a dear one), and like the *rafiq* or *khawi*, he enjoys special privileges and is not subjected to the rules and regulations of the protector's tribe, and the "*gasir's* stick is now his sword" (*'asa-hu saif*).

The Badawin householder must protect the *gasir* against all comers, and in return the *gasir* must protect his benefactor against any raiders, even raiders of his own tribe.

Any cases or complaints now lodged against the *gasir* must be preferred through the person protecting him. "Sue me," says the protector, "but not my *gasir*, for I am in his place."

628 If any animal or thing is stolen from the *gasir's* tent, and the latter
672 complains to his protector, the protector must either find the stolen animal or article, or make it good.

Should a stranger, or even one of his own relatives or tribesmen, insult a woman of his *gasir's* tent and she cries out for help, the protector must immediately respond and come to aid her, whether her husband is with her or not. If the protector happens to kill the person insulting or harming the woman, he is not liable to pay blood money (*'idiyat*), nor is he exposed to any penalties from the slain man's relatives. On the contrary, the murdered man's kin must themselves pay any blood money due, as it was one of them who outraged the tent of a *gasir*. Public opinion in the desert will always make an offender pay up.

629 If raiders attack a man's *gasir* and carry off camels and mares, the
721 protector must make these good from booty he himself will capture in the next successful raid he engages in.

If the camels are stolen by camel thieves and a neighbouring tribe is suspected, the protector must himself join in the search and hire men to spy them out (*bil ass*) at his own expense.

If a *gasir* happens to kill a man of his protector's tribe, and then comes to his protector's tent and asks his help, the latter must help

b Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1961 MS I Kuwait
Bedouins 1634

him to make his escape to safety, if necessary calling in all his own 621
family for the purpose. Or if the *gaab* says he will pay blood money 721
in settlement, then the protector must protect him until the negotiations are put through.

If a *gaab's* tribe declares war on his protector's tribe, and later the *gaab's* camels are captured by raiders belonging to the protector's tribe, then the latter is absolved from returning the camels and vice versa, unless both protector and his *gaab* make public declaration before their respective shaikhs that they are tent-neighbours (*gaawa*) and each will make good any damage suffered by the other party. If, then, the tribe of either party accidentally or purposely captures camels or mares from either of the men, they must return the loot when asked to do so.

The protector must make this public declaration to his own shaikh in person, and if the *gaab* cannot get through himself he must send neutral messengers to his own shaikh and people and do likewise.

Should the protector have in his employ a strange Badawin to herd his camels or sheep, and raiders of the herdsman's tribe suddenly appear and carry off the herd, then because the man in charge is their own fellow-tribesman the raiders must restore three she-camels to the herdsman, one for riding on and two for milking.

Certain desert tribes, notably the Dhafir, are particularly proud 554
of the name they have won for protecting their tent-neighbours. 619
They have become famous in this respect, as the following stories 622
will show. (The chief actors in both cases were well known to me, 623
though Hamud al Suwait has now been dead some years.) 577

The uncle of Hamud al Suwait, the Shaikh of all the Dhafir tribe, once threatened in public *majlis*, to impale himself on his sword which he had drawn for the purpose, unless *his own son* were brought before him and slain in his presence, because the son had killed his tent-neighbour in the heat of a foolish quarrel. The various members of the family tried hard to shield the youth, but realising that the old shaikh was in deadly earnest, Hamud al Suwait (he became shaikh after his uncle's death two years later) himself seized the boy and with his own hand cut him down before the eyes of his father. Thus was tribal honour satisfied. This incident happened in 1912, and was told

Philby and the Milk

During our talk I discovered that not content with sitting in Najran, Sowaiyan had from there raided south-east as far as Hadhramaut and Dhofar, and had lifted camels from the dreaded Sa'ar and Karab tribes. He himself had brought back five camels as *ghanîmah*, two of which he showed me outside his tent. They were small brown things, with much less bone than their Hasa brothers. Rather remarkable, I thought, seeing camels raided from Hadhramaut grazing in Kuwait! The same Sowaiyan, I was told, had penetrated into Sana, the capital of Yaman, alone as a spy, and had got back safely. 721

Whilst we were talking, there entered the tent Rashîd bin Fahad, cousin of Philby's chief guide and leader on the famous march across the Rub' al Khali. He had many stories to tell of Philby and of the famous milk incident. "What would you," he said, "the she-camel (*nâqat*) would not give her milk the evening Hilby* wanted his drink. Camels are like that, you cannot force them to give their milk. *Allah i ralam*, he Hilby, did not understand, and thought the Badawin of the party had drunk his milk." 000

Philby's friend Falah abu Ja'sha got into serious trouble in August 1935. He was apparently commander of an escort on the Kuwait frontier, which was told off to conduct a Rashidi prisoner from Jeriyah 'Ilya to Hufuf. The prisoner's crime was stealing two Shei[illegible] camels from near Riyadh and making off with them to the Kuwait frontier. 737 [illegible]

When nearing Hufuf, the prisoner cleverly escaped while the escort slept during the heat of the day. Though manacled, he contrived to collect his escort's rifles and ammunition, placed them on one of the camels and got right away to Kuwait and Iraq. He sportingly sent back the rifles and camels to their owners, through a woman living in Kuwait, and by the hand of one Nazzal of the 'Awamra (Rashaida).

As a punishment for his negligence the late Amir 'Abdulla bin Jiluwi, Governor of Hasa, is reported to have ordered that Falah abu Ja'sha's beard, or rather half of it, should be shaved off every Friday for a whole month.

* Mr. Philby is known among the Badawin as 'Abdulla Hilby.

CHAPTER XXVI

Badawin Warfare

Raiding is the breath of life to the Badawin. Prevent him from raiding and he becomes the most melancholy of men.

Just as in the civilised West man must have his various sports, football, cricket, tennis, shooting, etc., to keep himself fit and happy, so in Arabia the primitive Badawin must have his raids. These denote to him everything that is manly and sporting.

A famous raider is honoured above all men, and boys and young men pine for the day when they will be allowed to accompany their elders on forays, and so win their spurs.

Raiding brings out all that is hard, brave and skilful in man, so the occupation is honoured and encouraged, just as everything tending to make a man soft and effeminate is despised by all true desert men.

Desert raids do not as a rule entail much bloodshed. Raiders are primarily inspired by greed for camels, and with this goes the desire to score off their enemies. To lift an enemy's camels is the best way of all to hurt him and add to the raider's own stock, for a Badawin values his camels above everything.

There is no such thing in ordinary desert warfare as men fighting "to the death" or making a "last stand" in defence of wives, children and stock. That would be merely foolish. The Badawin appreciates at once the odds against him. If he knows he can drive off the raider he will stand and do so; if, on the other hand, he sees that he has no chance, he will desert family and camels and bolt into the desert to live to fight another day. He knows his women and children will be safe, why then risk certain death by fighting against odds? He allows his camels to be taken knowing his turn will come another day. *Nakhud wa nawakhid* (We take and are ourselves taken) is his creed.

This is no reflection on the Badawin's courage. He is a brave man, but he has no false notions of standing up against an obviously superior force till he is killed.

326 If he sees that the odds are even, and the raiders are about as strong as he, he will fight, and fight superbly, encouraged by the cries of his women. In the case of the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, he is often helped by his womenfolk who bring him ammunition, water, etc. Women have been known to display remarkable indifference to danger and bullets on these occasions. It is only when he has no chance (and years of this sort of warfare have trained him to size up such a situation quickly), that the Badawin considers discretion the better part of valour.

327 A Badawin's passion is his camel, and if he has lost one by raid, or by simple theft, he will not rest till he has discovered where it is and what sheikh, individual, or tribe has got it in his possession. He has many methods of finding this out, the most common being by the system of *hilwa*, i.e. payment of money to a neutral to go and spy out the land and locate his animal.

As raids are often carried out from a great distance, this process of running down the raiders or camel thieves often takes many weary months. I have known camels which have been taken from near Kuwait located near Jauf, Riyadh, Hi.ef and Hail—each place over 500 miles away. If the raiders are known enemies, time is not wasted trying to locate stolen animals, counter-raid is promptly resorted to till a man gets his own back and more. If the raiders are unknown, or have worked a night surprise, then of course they must be discovered and the camels located, before counter-measures are taken. If peace reigns in the land, the discovered camels will be applied for and recovered by the laws of *'Arafa* (see Chapter XXXIII).

Stealing wandering camels, even though the owners are not at war with a man's tribe, is not wrong—it is merely clever, and a man finding a stray camel will not hesitate to pinch it, and take it along to his home. If the owner finds it eventually, it will be handed over, but if he does not, then so much the better. The 'Ajman and Dhafir are particularly fond of this game.

328 654 In Sa'udi Arabia the strong arm of Ibn Sa'ud has done much to stop indiscriminate raiding and stealing, and this perhaps more than anything else has been responsible for that Ruler's unpopularity to-day. "If you stop us raiding you stop our source of life," says the Badawin, "for we have neither crops nor palm trees, nor are we shop keepers able to sell goods and make money." Not only is this state-

more true, but the situation is yearly getting worse, especially since the motor car has practically killed the camel export trade of Arabia. Thirty years ago many hundred thousand camels were annually sold to Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Persia, and brought money to the Badawin world.

Bin Sa'ud realises the Badawin's grievance in this respect, but steadfastly refuses to sanction indiscriminate raiding, which tends to disrupt his kingdom. He tried to counter the evil by giving subsidies to high and low in the Badawin world, and rewarding all who come to visit him and pay respects. He no doubt hopes in time to get round the danger by developing the mineral wealth of his country, notably oil and gold. But will he succeed?

DECLARATION OF WAR

Should war be imminent between two tribes or primitive Arab States, there are regular rules which have to be observed. There must be a proper and honourable declaration of hostilities. The word *nigs* is used to denote a declaration of war. It is never used between individuals. The offended tribe, either by letter or verbal message, informs the tribe it wishes to fight that *nigs* has been sent them. This literally means the "warning of war". It is bad form and contrary to Arab honour to start a war by means of a surprise attack. *Nigs* is the opposite of *hidna*, which means "cessation of war". *Aliag* means a "truce". The expression *Marshad al nigs 'alaikum* is the official warning of war, and was commonly heard in the desert in the old days.

I am told that in August 1933 when H.M. King Bin Sa'ud declared war on Yaman, the Imám Yahya sent the King a letter with the following words, *Marshad al nigs 'alaikum, wa wuladna Saif al Islam Ahmad yuwalkum* (The war warning is sent you and my son, Saif al Islam Ahmad, will come to you). Bin Sa'ud is reported to have sent reply, "Your son is welcome. We also have a son Sa'ud, who will be pleased to meet him on arrival." The tale certainly was brought me by some Badawin friends from Riyadh, though the wording of the messages may have been the result of a too keen imagination.

When a tribe sends a challenge of *nigs* to another, it is sometimes the custom to add by word of mouth or letter, that "such and such a

721 renowned warrior will also be coming up against you". The shaikh
724 of the challenged tribe then calls together his warriors and elders and gives them the news of the declaration of war. He then fills a cup of coffee and calls out, "This cup stands for such and such warrior on the other side, who of you will drink it? Who will take him on in single combat?" A local brave who thinks to win his spurs will call out, "I am ready", and the cup is passed to him to drink. Similarly champions are found for every other well-known enemy warrior named as coming up against them.

Eventually when the battle is about to be joined, the opposing champions of each side come out, and after caracolling about and showing off on their horses' paces, will engage in single combat with their opposite numbers.

Hajj 'Abdullah Fadil* told me that he saw such an incident among the Dhafir (from whom he took his present wife) some years ago. The Shammar and 'Aniizah, like the Dhafir, are also fond of issuing challenges to their enemy to single combat before battle.

CONCENTRATING FOR WAR OR A BIG RAID

622 Firstly it should be remembered that, as I have already explained,
777 though every tribe admits the paramountcy of a certain section or *hamula* of the tribe as the one that always provides the shaikh (such as the Hithlain, Dushan or Suwait), it will only agree to follow that particular shaikh who possesses what they term the necessary "Luck" or "Good Fortune" in war. For instance, the Mutair always followed Faisal al Dywish in the past, because he proved himself times without number to be a "lucky" general. Had he not had this reputation the tribe would have selected another member of the Dushan clan and discarded Faisal.

622 Secondly, the chieftain of a tribe cannot simply send messages to
721 the various sections of the tribe and order them to concentrate preparatory to his leading them on some distant raid or expedition. They would not obey. In practice he sends for the leaders of the tribe and discusses his plans with them in secret for a week, fifteen days or even a month, while the pros and cons of the proposed operations

* Mr. Williamson, the well-known English Muslim intelligence officer of World War I—now residing in Basra.

Summer Raiding Season

are examined from every angle. If a majority of the leaders are con- 622
vinced of the soundness of the plan, the matter is settled, and a con- 721
centration of all fighting men takes place at a prearranged rendezvous, to carry out the plan agreed upon. Only the old and very young remain behind to guard the tents and camels.

A tribal army or force is called a *Qaum* (pronounced *Gaum*), e.g 704
"Gaum ibn Sa'ud"—Bin Sa'ud's army.

The actual force that raids or attacks is known as a *Ghazzu*.

The term *harbiyah* is unknown among the Badawin of Najd, though it is commonly used in Iraq.

If Bin Sa'ud as king were in command of war operations in Najd, the tribes would be moved about at will, until launched to the attack, and at the point decided on by him. The actual method of attack would be probably left to the tribal leaders.

In warfare between the tribes as opposed to states, the main object 721
is to round up and seize camels, and if you cannot capture stock, to inflict as much damage as possible on the enemy's young men.

During winter few raids take place,

(*a*) Because there is grazing everywhere and strong tribes concentrate where their camels and sheep are actually feeding, and successful surprise is therefore almost impossible.

(*b*) The movements of the tribes are not dictated by the question of water, which is generally found everywhere (rain pans, shallow pools, etc.).

(*c*) If a tribe is small and weak it can avoid its known enemies and likely attacks, by continually moving about and evacuating areas which may be dangerous.

In summer all Badawin are peculiarly vulnerable, for they must 721
camp with tents closely concentrated over perennial wells, while their 361
camels must of necessity go some distance away for their grazing. This vulnerability increases as summer progresses, for the grazing gets further and further away from the main camp. Nor can the tribe or community camped on water maintain its full armed forces with the camels, as food and water difficulties arise. They are compelled to leave the custody of their stock to patrols, a very unsatisfactory protection, for if the patrol cannot hold the raiders in their first rush, the latter simply round up the whole or part of the flocks and drive

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721 361 them off, long before any supporting body can reach them from the main camp.

It follows that from a European airman's point of view desert targets will also always be bad in the winter season, for tribes then pitch their tents singly or in twos and threes, over a large area of country, each group of tents being separated from its neighbour by a distance of anything from a quarter to half a mile. This is done for support purposes in case of Arab attack, and to ensure that camels are well scattered, and get full benefit from the grazing. Therefore, just as the Badawin is difficult of location and attack in winter and spring, from the point of view of his own Arab enemies, so a European force operating from the air against Badawin would be handicapped and affect little real damage during the cold season, as the scattered nature of camps would assist the defence, and if necessary immediate and further dispersion would be an easy operation. The opposite is of course the case in summer.

RAIDS

726 For a raid pure and simple, the Badawin relies on the element of surprise for success. If he has reason to suppose his movements are known and are being anticipated he will abandon his project without hesitation.

For long-distance raids only camels are employed, and a stroke may be delivered from a hostile concentration 250 miles or more away, day and night marching being the custom. For short-distance raids, camels and horses are employed in equal strength, a horseman riding behind each camelman, and the horses being led until the force is within striking distance of its quarry. The horsemen then dismount and make their final charge on horseback. The camelmen act the role of the supporting force, and cover the horsemen when driving off the enemy's camels.

Camel and horse raids can be carried out from a distance of anything up to 100 miles.*

* A notable instance of such long-distance horse and camel raid was when Ajemi al Sa'adun swooped down on Basra from Khamisiyah near Suq esh Shuyukh on the Euphrates, a year or so before World War I.

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In both cases, the principle of always seizing any Badawin found 723
en route and making him march with the raiders to prevent his spreading news is strictly followed. It is also common for leaders to give out that they are going in one direction and then to double back and pursue a totally different direction when they are a day's march out. Attacks at dawn or in the thick of a duststorm are much favoured. A usual stratagem of the attacked is to seize wells by which the raiders must retire. 'Azaiyiz, the son of Al Duwish, was intercepted and his force destroyed in 1929 at Um ar Ruthumah in this way.

Organised attacks on a township, a fortified camp on water, or on 725
an enemy trying to deny wells to a retiring force, are usually carried out on foot and in a series of lines in imitation of regular troops, horsemen and camelmen being kept in reserve. This form of attack was perfected by the 'Ikhwan and was specially favoured by them. They employed it when they endeavoured to capture Jahrah in 1920 in face of the combined forces of Kuwait, also in the operations leading up to the capture of Hail. On such occasions the first, second and third lines are found by irregular Badawin styled *'A'arab* by the faithful, while the supports and reserves consist of the *Mutadaiyanin* or "those with religion". These deliver the main stroke. Though invented by the 'Ikhwan, the above method would probably be employed in any future operations in which Sa'udi Arabia forces were engaged.

Flank attacks, rearguard actions and dispersing on the approach of enemy aircraft are well understood, and would no doubt be employed as occasion demanded.

In all forms of attack, water for men and horses is carried on selected 705
camels in *jirbas* or goatskins. Camels get nothing till the attack is over.

The inviolability of women in war has been dealt with in Chapter VII.

For a brief period only during Arab history have women been 721
treated in any other way than with chivalry and consideration; this 562
was in 1925 and the following years, when the fanatical 'Ikhwan, evolved of Bin Sa'ud's genius for furthering his political ends, were at the height of their power and were raiding the Iraq, Kuwait and trans-Jordan tribes, and cutting up scattered detachments of the Muntafiq and Khazail shepherd tribes in the southern desert.

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In these attacks the 'Ikhwan unpardonably butchered numbers of women and children. In mitigation of their offence it may be said that most of the women and children were shot down when the 'Ikhwan poured their first heavy volleys into the camps, preparatory to charging home, as was their wont, with the sword and dagger.

I have since had it on the authority of many of the then 'Ikhwan leaders that their killing of women was considered quite inexcusable, and many of them at the time felt deep shame and regret for their action. Some indeed of the more moderate fanatics went out of their way to spare and even save women and babes from their more fanatical brethren, while others deserted the cause of the 'Ikhwan and came into Kuwait. On my asking why they had so far forgotten their honour as to act as they did, I have been given reply by more than one, "We were infected by a great sickness, the Imám (Bin Sa'ud) had so filled us with rage and bitterness against all mankind who were not of our faith, and especially those holding the Shi'ah creed, that we were literally mad, and quite incapable of forming proper judgment. We had again and again been told of the great reward that would come to us from God for every infidel we slew, and we believed what we were told implicitly. Nay more, we were promised immediate Heaven and glorious *húris* there, if we were fortunate enough to get killed. Do not, therefore, blame us for those matters overmuch, for it shall never happen again."

Now that the 'Ikhwan have disappeared, or at any rate now that the movement has been definitely checked, and brought under control by the King, we may assume that the old Arab chivalry towards women in war or raiding has once again reasserted itself. The Arab of the desert says to-day that 'Ikhwanism is dead, and my own investigations and enquiries also confirm this. We must thank God that this is so.

I have myself such complete confidence in Badawin chivalry that I have for several years regularly taken my own wife and children into camp, and have left them there without guard or escort for days at a time, often as far as fifty miles away from Headquarters and on the very borders of Sa'udi Arabia. That they will always be safe I am quite certain; they are doubly safe because I leave them with Arab women for companions and friends. The Badawin world knows this and honours my trust.

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Surrender

Chap. XXVI

WAR CRIES

Every Arab prince and Arab tribe has a special war cry. Some have several and some a single one. 721 192

These war cries, called *nakhwa* and *'iswah*, are yelled out in the heat of battle, and especially during the wild charge of horsemen.

The war cry is supposed to strike terror into the foe. It also enables the individual warrior to recognise friend from enemy in the general mêlée that follows a charge—for every man as he goes into action muffles up his face till only his eyes are seen, and no uniforms distinguish combatants or differentiate friend from foe. [714]

SURRENDER

Among the Badawin the equivalent of the European or Westerner's "Hands up" is for a man to drop his rifle on the ground and place *the thumbs of both hands simultaneously between his teeth with the fingers of each hand extended outwards towards the person to whom he is surrendering*. This is the normal method, when for instance a man is a fugitive and is about to be caught up and killed by his pursuers. The meaning of the act is that he realizes that all is up, he has been caught, he knows death is his portion, nevertheless he casts himself on God's mercy and on that of his enemies. In nine times out of ten he will be spared. 726 516

Even in the heat of battle a man on the losing side can escape death if he recognises an old friend or acquaintance in the opposing ranks, by shouting out to him and saying, *Ya fulan, ana fi wejh-ak* (O So-and-So, I put myself under your protection). If the person so called upon has sufficient influence with his comrades to grant such protection, he replies, *Ataitak wejhhi sallam tufagtak* or *salahak* (I have given you my protection, hand over your rifle, or arms). Under such circumstances the suppliant is absolutely safe, and his guarantor goes bail for his life. 572 726

Should the man appealed to not be of sufficient importance among his fellow fighters to guarantee the life of the suppliant, he will call out to him and advise him to demand protection from someone more influential than himself, i.e. *Utlub wejh fulan* (Call upon the

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572 protection of So-and-So), and he will forthwith point out where he
726 is and who he is. Success is also assured this way.

When the 'Ikhwan were predominant in Najd, especially from 1920 to 1930, and for a time upset the laws of God and man, appeals such as the above went unheeded, and whether a man surrendered or not he was put to the sword.

The man granting protection to an enemy on the field of battle can always reserve the right to add such provisos as, "Your life or rifle only are guaranteed, not your horse," or "Your life alone is safe, not your weapons or horse," or "I give you your life subject to my master, the shaikh's final orders".

FAMOUS RAIDERS I HAVE KNOWN

721 (1) Shaikh Muhammad ibn Salim al Uthain of the Misra sept of the 'Ajman is perhaps the most dashing raider I have met. He did Bin Sa'ud's cause incalculable harm during the 1929–30 rebellion of the 'Ikhwan. A cheerful man and always laughing—short, of immense width of shoulder, with straight nose and a rather long jet-black beard with a pretty curl at the end of it.

His best piece of work was his raid from the borders of Kuwait (Wafra) to a point east of Abu Jifan Wells, on the direct Hufuf–Riyadh route. There he held up and captured several camel convoys, and ended by attacking, on 5th August, 1929, twelve cars full of armed men near Rumah as they proceeded across the Dahana sands from Riyadh to Hufuf. He captured and burnt them all, none of the crews escaping.

I happened to meet him on 22nd August, 1929, a fortnight after the event, when he tried to see the Shaikh of Kuwait in company with Farhan ibn Mashur, and beg supplies. He wore a large white turban after the fashion of the 'Ikhwan, and merrily told me how he had brought off his coup. He finished his story by handing me some sixty letters and cypher telegrams which the king had sent to Bahrain for despatch. These, he said, he took off a dead man. I was sorely tempted to take the telegrams and despatch them for the king myself, but thought better of it.

For several years after the above rebellion was put down, Muham-

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mad ibn Uthain lived in exile in Iraq. Later he lived in the Kuwait hinterland. Recently (1935) I advised him to accept Bin Sa'ud's amnesty to the 'Ajman, and return and make his peace with the king. He took my advice. 721

(2) Another famous raider acquaintance of mine was Faisal al Duwish, late Shaikh of all the Mutair and a veritable king among the Badawin, a man who did more than any other Arab to help Bin Sa'ud to rise to power and fame, the conqueror of Madina for Bin Sa'ud, and perhaps, after Bin Sa'ud himself, the greatest Badawin strategist the century has produced in Arabia. In appearance broad-shouldered, short and with a remarkably big nose and head. Dour and silent, he scarcely ever spoke to those around him, yet he was worshipped by his own clan, the Dushan, and by all the Mutair tribe wherever found, as a super-leader and hero. As he walked, he gave one the appearance of being slightly hunch-backed, and he had a decided limp, due to an old leg wound. He died, a prisoner, in Riyadh in 1932. May his soul rest in peace!

I myself first met him near Subahiyah on 31st August, 1929, during the 'Ikhwan rebellion of that year against Ibn Sa'ud, when he, with the whole Mutair and 'Ajman rebel force, crossed over into Kuwait territory and camped round the Subahiyah wells. His army was very hungry and had no supplies, and he hoped to be allowed to buy food from the port of Kuwait. He must have had fully three thousand tents with his force, and camels could not have been less than a hundred thousand. It was an inspiring sight and one I shall never forget. Having reported the influx of this large force into Kuwait State, I was told by H.M.G. to warn the redoubtable Faisal al Duwish that he must withdraw across the frontier within forty-eight hours, or he and his people would be bombed by the R.A.F. stationed in force at Shu'aiba (Basra).

Against the Shaikh of Kuwait's very strong advice (he told me he feared treachery), I motored out to Malah,* where I had asked Faisal to meet me. At the last moment the Shaikh of Kuwait followed after me with four of his slaves, as if harm befell me he felt, he said, that he ought to share my fate. Faisal al Duwish arrived at the rendezvous

* 15 miles south of Kuwait town.

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out to the camp of the Chief of the R.A.F. Air Staff, Iraq Command (now Air Vice-Marshal Sir S. S. Burnett, K.C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.), who was directing operations, and handed over his sword.

Before being flown to Basra as a prisoner, later in the day, Faisal entrusted his wife, three sisters, two small children and twenty-seven other female relatives to me with the solemn injunction, *Ahli fi thimatak ya Abu Sa'ud* (I leave my womenfolk in your personal care and honour, O Abu Sa'ud). I took charge of these thirty-one high-born Arab ladies and their children and kept them as my guests in Kuwait for over a month and till such time as H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud sent lorries and servants to convey them to his capital.

The King appreciated, and warmly thanked us by letter, for what my wife and I had done for these noble ladies, for in such matters Bin Sa'ud is without reproach and full of Arab chivalry.

Much adverse criticism and at times bitter condemnation has since been levelled at Faisal al Duwish by people who suffered at his hands, more especially the inhabitants of Iraq. Yet lest future historians criticise him unfairly, I should like to place it on record that what I saw of him personally was favourable. I was one of two Englishmen, I believe, who ever saw him and had personal contact with him prior to his surrender, and I was privileged to have had two long heart-to-heart talks with him, which gave me insight into his mind.

Faisal was undoubtedly a great desert general. He was worshipped by his people and held great and noble ideas for Arabia's future. He fell out with Bin Sa'ud, his equally great master and king, because he was too earnest in his ideas, and could not see things from a politician's point of view. He genuinely believed that Bin Sa'ud was playing a dangerous and double game by having friendly dealings with the infidel English, and he could not reconcile his leaders' policy with the stern Wahhabi creed as preached and practised by the 'Ikhwan.

I believe also that though he was latterly such a thorn in Bin Sa'ud's side, the King will, to his dying day, respect his memory above all people in Sa'udi Arabia, and will remember only the boy that Faisal was in his childhood days in Kuwait, and later the mighty warrior and leader of men that he became.

Next to the famous twenty-three paladins who assisted Bin Sa'ud

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721 to recover his capital Riyadh, Faisal al Duwish was in very fact his most constant companion, adviser and leader, in the score of other military undertakings which enabled Bin Sa'ud to reach his kingdom. Bin Sa'ud is too great a soldier to forget.

Perhaps Faisal al Duwish's most famous raid was when he reached the Red Sea from his headquarters, Artawiyah. The account of this raid was given me by Ibn Musailim, Shaikh of the Rashaida at Kuwait, on 27th January, 1935. I regret I did not make a note of the exact date of the raid in question. We were talking about long-distance raids and I had asked if he had ever done anything especial in the distance line. He said no, but pointing to a man in his tent he told him to tell me the story of his great four months' raid with Faisal al Duwish eight years previously. The man, nothing loth, recounted how his party under Al Duwish himself, left Artawiyah, moved to Ajibba, left Hail on the left, and proceeded by very rapid marches to Wejh on the Red Sea. The raiding party then swung north and raided a Billi concentration, surprised some Bani Attiya and returned finally with tremendous loot in camels via Lina, Arkhaimiyah, Hafar al Bátin and the Summán. The raid, he said, lasted almost exactly four months from start to finish, and the distance covered must have totalled at least 1,500 miles. "But those were in the good old 'Ikhwan days", added the man with a quiet twinkle in his eye.

(3) 'Abdul 'Aziz, son of Faisal al Duwish (universally known as "'Azaiyiz").

'Azaiyiz was the eldest son of the great 'Ikhwan leader, and a fair-haired, fine, upstanding lad. His father doted on him, and some say that the collapse of the 'Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 definitely began on the day young 'Azaiyiz was killed. The father (according to the Mutair), after he received news of his son's death, became morose, despondent and would eat little. He certainly seemed incapable of further thought or action, and a fatal indecision seemed to take hold of him. From that day the belief came upon him, so it was said, that he could not win, and he began advising all who would to leave him and make the best terms they could with the King.

Though only about twenty-five when he died, 'Azaiyiz had already done well in many a raid with his father. The story of his last and

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epic raid was told me by Ibn Ashwan, Shaikh Mutluq al Sur and 721
Faisal ibn Shiblan, all three of whom accompanied him.

On the 15th August, 1929, just before the rebel 'Ikhwan had attempted to cross into Kuwait territory, Faisal al Duwish decided to send his son on a long raid into the Harb, Shammar and Southern 'Anizah country for the purpose of convincing doubters that the 'Ikhwan rebellion was a serious and great menace to Bin Sa'ud, and that it behoved those sitting on the fence to join up with "the Elect".

'Azaiyiz was given a picked force of six hundred and fifty camel riders, the cream of the young men of the Mutair and 'Ajman, and was sent off in a north-westerly direction, accompanied by some experienced older men as advisers, such as Faisal ibn Shiblan, Ibn Ashwan, Mutluq al Sur and Abu Hagutta ('Ajman), to see that he did not allow keenness to override caution.

The raiding party started from Ark in the Kuwait Neutral Zone, and leaving Hafar al Bátin on the right, they passed through the Bashuk area, left Lina wells on the right, Al Turbiya wells on the left and reached Hazil (north of Hail). From here they turned north to the wells of Lifiya, captured vast herds of Shammar and Amarat camels as well as a Sa'udian convoy conveying ten thousand Rials' worth of *zakát* treasure to Hail, and started for home again, this time leaving Lauqa on the right, Jumaima on the left, and Lina on the right. Their intention was to halt at Um ar Ruthuma wells south-west of the Iraq Neutral Zone and water their camels. When near Lina they heard that Ibn Musa'ad, Bin Sa'ud's Governor of Hail, was trying to intercept them by seizing wells, and had moved across their line of retreat, with the intention of cutting off their most likely water. To this end Ibn Musa'ad had, it was reported, seized and strongly fortified the very wells they wanted to reach. The news was serious, for the August heat was intense, their riding camels had not drunk for four days; marches had been very long, and the vast herds of captured camels were falling and dying of exhaustion by the way. A council of war was accordingly held, at which old Faisal bin Shiblan counselled an immediate change of direction if they were to save their lives, and advised a north-easterly march via the Ṭawal al Dhafir towards Arkhaimiyah and Rigai (south-west corner of Kuwait), after which they would double south-east again, and try and reach the

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721 friendly Neutral Zone south of Kuwait. It was their only chance, advised ibn Shiblan, while ibn Ashwan and others strongly supported him. 'Azaiyiz, on the contrary, was for having a dash at Ibn Musa'ad's force, for "God", he said, "was on the side of the 'Ikhwan his Elect, and it would be *'aib* to avoid battle". In vain the older men pleaded, and high words followed. Last of all, four of their scouts brought positive news that the Um ar Ruthuma wells were held by a force fully thrice as numerous as the raiders. This decided the older warriors, and Faisal ibn Shiblan gave out that he intended going north-east with his own contingent in any case, and invited all wise men to accompany him. Hot-headed 'Azaiyiz still refused to follow, and ibn Shiblan, Ibn Ashwan and others departed with some one hundred and fifty men, and several hundred captured camels. The unfortunate 'Azaiyiz with now only five hundred men to rely on pushed forward swiftly in spite of exhausted and dying camels, and reached the vicinity of the Um ar Ruthuma wells at midday. The scouts' reports turned out to be all too correct, over fifteen hundred fresh Shammar, Harb and Hathar Badawin were holding the wells and had thrown up entrenchments all round the water area. The situation was a desperate one. The heat was intense. Camels had to have water, and men likewise. A survivor told me afterwards that at this point all water-skins kept in reserve for men had been long since empty and none of 'Azaiyiz's force had drunk for the last eight hours.

'Azaiyiz now called a halt within sight of the enemy who, knowing his strength, were curiously watching to see what would happen. Then 'Azaiyiz ordered the call to prayer, and the parched force knelt to pray. Hunger, thirst, privation and the prospect of a terrible encounter did not deter them for an instant. "Are we not of the Brotherhood, and the Elect of God?" cried their leader. "We must on and win the water, the Almighty will help his children." It was an agonizing moment. Half an hour later, 'Azaiyiz, taking farewell of his precious mare, which with one or two horses only had accompanied the force, ordered the attack to be delivered with all the courage and *élan* still left to them. He gave a last command to the slave who led his mare to save *her* if possible, and the dreadful assault of the five hundred thirst-maddened men began. The defenders, as may be supposed, easily had the advantage, and with cool courage met

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the charge of the 'Ikhwan. The latter were aided by the shimmering mirage which prevented good shooting and got to hand grips. A terrible and confused midday battle followed. For a time the wild and fanatical courage of the 'Ikhwan nearly won the day, but slowly and surely numbers began to tell, and Ibn Musa'ad brought up group after group of fresh reserves. The end came as the pitiless sun was going down. 'Azaiyiz, having lost over three-quarters of his men and seeing that the day went against him, was led exhausted from the field by five of his own personal servants, faithful determined men who made a last effort to save their beloved leader. They were never seen again alive, but their dried-up bodies and those of their riding camels were found two months later in the heart of the Hajira desert. They had perished of thirst.

The remainder of the 'Ikhwan died where they fought, and inflicted dreadful losses on the victors. Of the original force of five hundred men who joined battle, four hundred and fifty were killed where they fought. Ten men who, accompanied by Shaikh Mutluq al Sur and the wounded Shaikh Hazza ibn Badr (shot in the neck a week earlier by mistake by one of his own men, a Bara'asi) were guarding the *chessib*, or captured camels, and had halted five miles in rear of the main body, got away by moving swiftly after sunset via 'Aiwid, 'Arkhaimiyah, Rigai to Jahrah (in Kuwait), i.e. in the steps of Ibn Shiblan.

They eventually got to Ark with most of the captured camels, and reported to Faisal al Duwish.

This left forty odd men, all more or less wounded, whose adventures are recounted below.

As the sun went down and darkness fell over the field of battle, the forty escaped into the neighbouring sand dunes and lay low till next day. Mad with thirst they returned at dawn to try and get water, but found a Shammar rearguard of Ibn Musa'ad's force on the wells who gave them *wejh* (quarter), but disarmed them; Ibn Musa'ad with his main force had retired during the night towards 'Ajibba.

A day later this rearguard also followed, leaving the forty unarmed men behind. These were fortunately joined by one Shafi with rifle and ammunition, another fugitive. With three others he had escaped in the dark on the back of a mare, but had fallen off and lost himself.

Ibn Musa'ad, learning from his Shammar rearguard that the forty

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721 unarmed men were still at Um ar Ruthuma wells, sent back six men to shoot them. These arrived at midday and were met by Shafi, who, hiding his rifle, allowed the six to draw near. As soon as they started shooting the defenceless men (they killed two), he suddenly let fly in their backs, dropped two men and a *dhalúl* and captured a second *dhalúl* loaded with four water-skins. The four remaining murderers bolted. The capture of the water-skins and camel enabled the thirty-eight wounded survivors to get away and eventually reach safety. Eight of the survivors had the ill-luck to be killed at Ingair a month later, when Faisal al Duwish fell upon the 'Awazim tribe. Ibn Musa'ad's force lost over five hundred killed in this battle alone, including such well-known personages as Ibn Nuhaiyir, Ghubaib, Ibn Arhan, Zubar al Zamil, Majid al Qahtani, Naif al 'Utaibi and Saiyah al Qahtani.

'Azaiyiz's thoroughbred mare, and his slave, eventually reached Kuwait via Jahrah—a truly marvellous ride. In spite of the fact that she got only one drink on the morning of the battle, the mare managed to travel a distance of 180 miles across wild open desert without water to Jahrah (20 miles from Kuwait) in three days. When one realises that the month was August, and the desert sun temperature by day anything up to 170° F., the feat must, to my mind, rank as one of the most notable ever put up by an Arab, whether horse or mare.

So ended the great adventure of 'Azaiyiz. Shaikhs Faisal ibn Shiblan (whose life I saved some six months later), Hazza ibn Badr, Mutlug al Sur, Ibn Ashwan and Abu Hagutta got safe away; also, by different routes, another two hundred men, with the booty they had with them. In fact, the forlorn hope of 'Azaiyiz saved Ibn Shiblan and party as well as Mutluq al Sur's ten men, for the victors had supposed that the whole 'Ikhwan force was present at the battle. The wounded Hazza was later brought into Kuwait and was taken into hospital and cured of his neck wound by the local doctor. It was touch and go with him.

The mare of 'Azaiyiz was brought into Kuwait from Jahrah a week after the battle, and it was my privilege to have her secretly stabled in a house near my own, where I fed and tended her for three months. She was just skin and bone when she was first brought in, and had a running sore the size of one's open hand in the centre of her back. My wife and I tended her till she got well. We gave her nothing but

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lucerne grass, dates in the form of a mash, and milk to drink for the first fortnight of her stay with us. She was a beautiful animal with mouth and nostrils so small that they would easily go into a man's two hands held cup-fashion. She had great round eyes, full of sense and intelligence, with broad forehead. Her colour was dark bay, and her age was about thirteen years.

Her new owner, for she was secretly sold to avoid her falling into Ibn Musa'ad's hands, took her eventually to Iraq, where I saw her on several occasions during the next two years, though Ibn Musa'ad, the Mutair and the Dhafir tribe all claimed her by right of conquest, and wrote letters to Kuwait about her.

To return to the raid. I calculate that 'Azaiyiz's raid totalled 900 miles as far as distance went, though I have not been able to find out actually how many days it took from start till disaster overtook it. The ten different survivors who gave me details of the story were all unable to give reliable figures, their sufferings had been too much for them, I think, and they had lost count.

Another version of the escape to Jahrah of 'Azaiyiz's mare is as follows:

She originally belonged to a Dhafiri resident at Artawiyah, by name Fahad Husaini. The latter sold her to 'Azaiyiz, through one Thaifallah al Mutairi, just after Al Duwish raided the Sbei tribe at Ga'iyah the previous year. 'Azaiyiz promised to pay for her after returning from his great raid—and never actually took the mare with him. 'Azaiyiz never returned alive, nor did Thaifallah.

Fahad, the Dhafiri, after 'Azaiyiz's death, went to Faisal al Duwish and demanded the money promised by 'Azaiyiz. Bandar, second son of Faisal al Duwish (now Shaikh of the Mutair), to save the mare, claimed that he had handed her over to one Ghadaiyir al Nafah. The latter is said to have taken her (ten days after the battle) from Al Haba to Jahrah (a distance of 160 miles) in three days, on learning that Fahad the Dhafiri was claiming her back.

At Jahrah the mare was hidden for a fortnight and eventually sold to Farhan al Rahama (my man), when he married Hussa bint Sanaithan abu Sifra.

The above is placed on record lest my story of the escape of 'Azaiyiz's mare from Um ar Ruthuma is ever challenged or proved

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721 wrong. Both stories have been told me by supporters of both versions. 'Azaiyiz's slave's evidence is hard to refute, so I personally favour the former version. As a matter of fact, whether the mare did her 160 miles or her 180 miles without water is immaterial, seeing that either feat would be very remarkable under a midsummer sun.

The gallant end of 'Azaiyiz filled the Badawin world and even the King himself with admiration, and it is interesting to record that the dead leader's two wives, Hussa bint Sahan al Mutluq and Al Jázi bint Faraj al Shiblan, were, at the close of the 'Ikhwan operations, taken in marriage by H.M. the King and his brother 'Abdullah al Sa'ud respectively. This act, which to our Western eyes may sound strange and heartless, was in reality a great honour to the widows, as well as a sure sign to the world that the King was the conqueror.

(4) Suwaiyan abu Jum'ah of the Mahfudh section of the 'Ajam (see Chapter XXII). This youth proceeded in 1934 to Najran with the Amir Sa'ud. From there he succeeded in penetrating to Sana, the Yaman capital, in supposed search of his brother but really as a spy. On his return to Najran proceeded with a raiding party of 'Ajman to the hinterland of Hadhramaut and raided the Sai'ar and Karab tribes of that district, bringing back camels as loot. I myself saw these camels near Kuwait. I met Suwaiyan abu Jum'ah in the spring of 1935 (29th April). He told me of his adventures in South Arabia, and their truth was vouched for by several 'Ajman leaders in a tent full of 'Ajman tribesmen. They all assured me that the man's story was true and not exaggerated.

(5) Farhan ibn Mashhur al Sha'alan of the Ruwala tribe 'Anizah, was at one time a favourite of the King, but joined the rebels under Faisal al Duwish early in the revolt. He eventually got back to his country via Baghdad, though in doing so he let down King Faisal of Iraq rather badly. He was slain near Damascus by Fawaz ibn Nawaf al Sha'alan on 20th April, 1935. He was undoubtedly a renowned raider, but not a very pleasant man to meet. He always struck me as insincere, and to this day I am convinced that he went over to Bin Sa'ud and then to the 'Ikhwan, not from real religious motives, but in the hope that he would some day succeed to the shaikhship of the

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Ruwala when the Amir Nuri died. Ibn Mashur married an 'Ajman girl, 72.1 the daughter of Muhammad ibn Uthain. She died in Iraq in 1933.

(6) Al Dahaina of the 'Utaiba tribe bore a good name in the Badawin world as a skilful and daring raider. He was one of Faisal al Duwish's stalwarts before and during the 'Ikhwan rebellion, and was present with Ibn Mashhur in the battles of Al Ritha and Ingair in Hasa, when the combined 'Ajman and Mutair tribes attacked the 'Awazim in their own home.

After the collapse of the rebellion al Dahaina fled to Iraq, and was given a pension by H.M. King Faisal. He was still there in 1935. I met him only once.

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CHAPTER XLI

The Sulubba

The word *Sulubba* is a generic term. The singular of the name is *Sulubbi*, and the plural *Sulaib*. 565 619

Much has been written about this low-class tribe, or more properly community.

They are found all over the northern half of the Arabian Desert roughly from a line drawn east and west through Madina and Riyadh in the south, to another line drawn from Aleppo to Mosul.

In the south they are more despised and looked down on than in the north, and their worldly possessions are less.

Practically every tribe within the area described has a community of Sulubba living with it, as they are found useful as menders of pots and pans, hunters and trackers. [463]

Chief among the Sulubba's characteristics is their uncanny knowledge of the secret water-holes of the country they live in. They are valued for this knowledge by the tribe which protects them, as it is a great asset in war, and most useful on long raids. Some Sulaib, for this reason, are nearly always taken with a raiding party. [721]

Similarly a Sulubbi hunter is nearly always to be found in the entourage of a shaikh, as he usually knows better than others where gazelle and ostrich are to be found. [224]

The Sulubba are said to be Muslims, but few pray properly, and it would probably be true to say that they possess no religion, except when it is diplomatic to appear to have one as in Najd and Kuwait. [795]

The Sulubba men are in general a miserable fawning lot; they affect endearing and diminutive Arab terms of address, and are cringing in their manner.

Both men and women are good-looking above the average, especially the women, among whom there are often very pretty girls indeed. Their usually half-starved appearance is repellent, and gives colour to the Arab story that they eat offal and "animals they find dead".

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exactly the same wound and with a sword on D's head as D inflicted on C. He must not exceed his right in taking his vengeance by one jot or tittle, else he himself lays himself open to counter punishment, and the feud proceeds.

The Shaikh of Kuwait told me the following rather harrowing story of an event which took place in Kuwait about 1927, and which illustrates the stern determination of the Badawin of the desert to enforce what they deem the just law of retribution.

A Mutairi tribal woman living in Kuwait had three sons (the father had died some years previously). One day the eldest son quarrelled with the second son in the market place, and in a fit of rage shot him through the heart. The shot man died almost immediately and the murderer was arrested. The mother, on being asked by the shaikh what sort of punishment she wanted him to inflict on her eldest son replied that she demanded his life, and straightway called upon him to order her youngest son to shoot his elder brother. The shaikh, filled with horror at the woman's unnatural demand, and especially at the idea of turning the youngest boy also into a fratricide, pleaded for several days with the woman. At the same time he pointed out that it was quite unnecessary for her to lose two of her sons at one stroke, seeing that the killing was unpremeditated. He therefore asked her to allow him to judge the matter as he thought fit. The mother was, however, adamant. Consequently the third boy, who was greatly devoted to his two elder brothers, was given a rifle and ordered to shoot his surviving brother in the heart, and in the public market square. He refused point blank, and repeatedly threw the proffered rifle on the ground. Finally on being pressed he fainted, and the execution had to be carried out by the shaikh's own guards. Local Badawin opinion fully agreed with the mother's decision, and the way the execution was carried out, but the unhappy mother was left with only her third son, who, hating her for her ferocity, refused to live with her or even to support her any more.

It is understood among the Badawin of to-day that no blood money can legitimately be claimed in the case of a man killed in regular battle between two tribes at war. This is simply because it is impossible for men to recognise one another in a long-range fight with modern firearms. Nevertheless if a man be recognised in the course

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Ma'adan

721 of such battle as having deliberately engaged and killed another
628 in single combat, then he should be on his guard for the rest of his life, for the dead man's relatives may some fine day try to take vengeance as they have the right to do.

I know the case of one such man, a Rashidi named Id al 'Awaiyid. He killed five men (an 'Utaibi, a Dhafiri, a Mutairi, a Harbi and an 'Ajmi) in various 'Ikhwan raids and was recognised as having done so. To-day he is always shy of camping alone in the desert and tries to be the *qasír* or tent neighbour of another man or men wherever he goes, so as to ensure their defending him if he should ever be attacked or set upon.

To prevent possible recognition every Badawin goes into battle with his *kaffiyah* (head cloth) wound tightly across his face and the ends tucked into the *'agál* (black hair head-rope) on top of his head. This hides all but his eyes and so gives him a feeling of security should there be hand-to-hand fighting.

628 Among the Ma'adan, or primitive marshmen of Iraq, the following pleasant custom exists for ending a family blood feud. The murderer, after paying full blood money to the injured relatives, offers in addition his sister or daughter as wife to the nearest male relation of the killed man. Marriage is then consummated, and the children of the union are supposed to wipe out for ever any blood estrangement that may still exist between the various members of the two families. As far as I know, this is never done among the Badawin, or the Sharif Arabs.

628 Certain well-known royal and princely houses in Arabia, from
721 earliest times, have always refused to accept *'idiyah* in any form. Nor will battle excuse the slayer, if he is known. His life must be sought and taken. The Al Sa'ud, the Ál Subah and the Ál Khalifah families may be cited as instances of this.

Similarly the slayer of Shaikh 'Ali al Salim al Subah of Kuwait at Riqai in 1927 by a man of the Braih section of the Mutair is known and is still (in 1936) being sought for by the ruling house of Kuwait.

This refusal among the great to accept *'idiyah* for one of their relatives slain in battle, or otherwise, is due no doubt to a desire to maintain their prestige and honour unimpaired among neighbouring tribes and the Arab world generally.

It may be mentioned in passing that a man who steals a slave of a

Thieving

It may be mentioned in passing that a man who steals a slave of a prince or prominent Arab, whether in war or by underhand means, is never forgiven, and his death will be sought for and encompassed, if the original owner has to search for the culprit all his life and to the ends of the earth.

THEFT

Common thieving, whether from enemy or friend, is considered *'aib* or a shameful thing among the true Badawin and is simply "not done".

The lifting of horses and camels from other Badawin with whom an ancient feud or enmity exists is not theft: it is a *ghazzu*, or honourable raid. The appropriation of other people's property never takes place between persons or tribes who are on terms of friendship or alliance.

Given a strong central government such as in Sa'udi Arabia, and raiding becomes at once unfashionable, but if there is the least loss of control at the centre then out go the raiders, all intent on fun and *chessib* (loot).

Common thieving is punished by the loss of the right hand for the first offence, and so on for subsequent offences, and this punishment has the sanction of the Shari'ah Law behind it. The method is in force throughout Sa'udi Arabia to-day, in Yaman and in some of the neighbouring Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

Among the Northern Badawin of Arabia, if an accused man denies a theft, and there is no proof either way, the shaikh of a tribe or community sometimes orders the accused to stand the ordeal by fire. A sword or ramrod is brought and the end heated red hot in a fire and applied for a couple of seconds to the accused's tongue. If he is innocent he will not be hurt and will depart honourably acquitted and with head held high. If guilty his tongue will at once be badly burnt and the crime will be brought home to him.

I only once had a case of this brought to my notice. Shaikh Mahruth ibn Fahad Beg al Hadhal, of the Amarat ('Anizah), had a sword stolen from him when camped near Kerbela in 1922. As Political Officer Middle Euphrates I had a man from Musaiyib arrested on suspicion, the theft having been laid at his door by Shaikh Mahruth himself. No definite evidence was forthcoming and I was about to release the

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4.
Muntafiq

619 101 233 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawíyah lying east of Samawa.

492 144 233 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sulubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

795 439 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawál al Dhafir and Tawál al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq–Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba–Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarín, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Aunan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 713 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarín and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

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Bedouins MI4
Munlafig

tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq 721
al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough 713
breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October 221
of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the 233
southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole 462
of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of 484
the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys [432]
laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in [291]
contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the [854]
march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

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Appendix I

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Saud

in 1929–30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under 721
ibn Musaiyis, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and [713]
German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Bin Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Bin Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929–30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Bin Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the 'Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Bin Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Bin Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Bin Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the 669
latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929–30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(*a*) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.
(*b*) The confiscation by Bin Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Shuruf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able 726
to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They 231
own the famous breed of *Krush* horses, and up to the 1929–30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear 291
a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and 562
once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman 619
were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929–30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'Ajman (Singular 'Ajmi) 619

Paramount Shaikh—ibn hithlain* (from Shaikhly Clan al ma'idh, 101
subsection najiah). 622

* Is also pronounced Hathlain.

Appendix I

713 *Arms.*—The tribe is particularly well armed with modern rifles, the majority of the men having the Turkish mauser, while the long .303, short .303, German mauser, and Turkish cavalry mauser are to be found. The British short .303 is not popular, it being considered too clumsy for horsemen to carry.

Ammunition appears to be fairly plentiful, but in wartime would be the first supply to fail. No doubt Bin Sa'ud would remedy this by a general issue. The 'Ajman look upon the 'Awazim, the other powerful tribe in Hasa, as their hereditary serfs, but Bin Sa'ud has given the latter the status of an independent tribe. Great enmity exists to-day between the two communities in consequence.

619 The best-known characteristics of the 'Ajman are:
186

(*a*) Their hot-headedness in attack, which is liable to get them into difficulties.

(*b*) Their loyalty to each other. "Touch one and touch all" may be called their motto.

(*c*) Their remarkable propensity for chattering. They love a joke.

231 The tribe breeds large numbers of camels and a few horses, but practically no sheep.

342 Their tents are usually black or brown, the side pieces and inner partitions having several broad white horizontal stripes in the centre, peculiar to themselves. 'Ajman women cover their faces with a shiny cloth mask of 291 rather unattractive appearance as opposed to the black hanging *burqa* of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Rashaidah, which looks well.

609 The individuals of the tribe are hospitable to strangers, and the women, like the Mutair, will mix freely with guests, once the preliminary suspicious 562 feelings are removed. They very much dislike their women going into the towns, however.

619 The 'Ajman look upon the Dhafir perhaps as their principal enemies, but are also hostile traditionally to Mutair, Shammar, Sbei, and Sahul tribes.

721 In the 1929–30 'Ikhwan rebellion against Bin Sa'ud about half of the 'Ajman allied themselves with the Mutair, half remained staunch.

In the same rebellion the 'Ajman, though camped close to the Kuwait border, carried out several daring and successful long-distance raids to the vicinity of Riyadh and Hufuf, both distant three hundred and fifty miles from their base, proving their well-known talent and capacity for distant forays. In one of these raids the Shaikh of the Al Misra section (ibn 'Uthain) destroyed fourteen of Bin Sa'ud's cars in the Dahana between Riyadh and Hufuf.

641 The 'Ajman, with the collapse of the 'Ikhwan movement, may be said to be sullenly hostile to Bin Sa'ud, and the northern sections would like to

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619 the Euphrates into the country south-west of Mosul, where they reside
101 to-day under the name of Shammar Jarba (Shaikh Ajil al Yarwar).*
173 3. The town of KHAIBAR is the earliest-known centre of the 'Anizah tribe, and to this day its two main "quarters" are called Al Bishr and 'Ijlas.

619 4. The 'Anizah tribe is the greatest of all Badawin tribes as regards strength and the numbers of their camels. They have a pretty story that their ancestor Wail chanced on the right moment in the Night of Destiny (Lailat al Qadr) the 27th of Ramadhan (Fast Month), when God will always fulfil the prayers of men. Placing one hand on his she-camel and the other on a certain part of his own person, he prayed that her seed and his own should be fruitful and multiply: God heard his prayer with to-day's wonderful results.

It is said that the 'Anizah to-day number 37,000 males, and their camels approximately one million.

● 721 5. The 'Anizah between themselves are always at war, but will combine
619 against any foreign aggressor. For example, the Amarat—Sba'a—and Fida'an are at enmity with the Ruwala and will combine against them. Similarly the Dahamsha, though of Amarat origin, do not fight the Ruwala (because of an ancient grievance against the Ibn Hadhal, then the titular overlords).

[628] 6. The great external enemy of the 'Anizah are the Shammar, whether found in the north or in the south. This is a hereditary feud.

7. The Hawaitat tribe, lying south-west of the 'Anizah country between Wejh and the Amman border, are also enemies from old time, but are not strong enough to worry them much, hence there is a sort of perpetual truce between them.

APPENDIX II

000 BADAWIN SHAIKHS WE HAVE KNOWN INTIMATELY

'Anizah	Fahad Beg al Hadhal (dead) Mahruth al Hadhal	Amarat group.
	Nuri as Sha'alan Farhan ibn Mashur (dead) Fawaz ibn Nawaf as Sha'alan	Ruwala group.
Dhafir	Hamud as Suwait (dead). Hantush as Suwait. Jada'an as Suwait. Jali ibn Juraiyid.	

* Now Shaikh Sfug ibn Ajil.

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MJ 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

~~Appendix~~ XV

APPENDIX XV

THE TRIBAL "WAR CRY" (NAKHWA)

721 192 The following are a few war cries of the more important Tribes of Arabia:

(a) The House or Clan of the Al Sa'ud. "Al Auja", "Ana Akhu Nura", "Ana ibn Mijrin".

(b) The House of Al Subah. "Ana ibn Salim", Ana akhu Mirriam".

(c) The Shammar Tribe. "Sanayís", (common to the whole tribe).

(d) The 'Ajman Tribe. "Mu'assa al Haddán, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Mafras al Hadid, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Sifar safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhala", "Safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhaila".

(e) The Mutair ('Ilwa) "Ilwa, Hal Raddat".
(Jiblan) "Khayal al Sabha",* "Al Jibili".
(Muwaha) " 'Awlad al Muwaihi", "Al Batha",† "Ana ibn Madwash".‡
(Wasil) " 'Awlad Wásil", "Ar Rahman wa ana ibn Wásil".
(Bani Abdilla) " 'Awlad 'Abád".
(Al Sa'aran) "Al Ashwa",§ "Ana ibn Ali".
(Al Sahabba) "Khayal Sabhat Mushabi".

(f) Awazim. "Atwi", " 'Awlad 'Atta" (elided to "Alladatta").

(g) Rashaida. "Al Daaiji", "Murr al Dalála Da'aiji", "Khaiyal Sabhat Da'aiji".

(h) Harb. "Ana ibn 'Ali".

(i) 'Utaiba. "Ahl al 'Atiyah, wa ana ibn Ruq".

(j) Sbei. "Al 'Arfa Sbeiy".

(k) Dhafir. "Al Garwa, Suwaiti", "Sabha Tammah".

* Name of a hill in Najd used as a rendezvous.
†Name of Al Duwish's own camel.
‡ The name of a famous ancestor.
§ Pet name of a she-camel.

Note on (d) above.—The "Nakhwa" common to Ajman and Murra, which may be termed a rallying cry or appeal to fight, is "Ayál Marzuk."

APPENDIX XVI

BLOOD OF THE BIRZAN SECTION OF MUTAIR

A FURTHER NOTE

164 757 826 Shaikh Sabah al Nasir, discussing the question on May 11, 1950, made the following statement:

1. Rabies was unknown in the Hasa, Riyadh, and Rub' al Khali part of Arabia, and appeared to be confined to northern border of Sa'udi Arabia, South Iraq desert and Kuwait.

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

151 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back
721 to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only
577 just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival.
609 But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious
574 and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and
264 then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how
[271] quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once
576 we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when
[486] everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he
577 would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

609 treachery. This is probably a slander, inspired by the constant enmity which characterizes their relations with their neighbours; but they certainly deserve their reputation for godlessness, for they never fast nor pray, declaring that the Prophet gave their forefathers exemption from both.

231 We now sat looking down on the busy scene around the well, and those Arabs who
521 had finished watering strolled over and joined us. They asked us what we thought of their herds, and were soon deep in technicalities with my companions. They spoke of individual camels owned by Arabs four or five hundred miles away, of the different breeds, their milk yields and powers of endurance, of prices in Dhofar, Najran and on the Trucial Coast, of pasturage, and of camels taken in raids on other tribes. We heard details of the
● 721 recent raid upon the Yam and of how Mabkhaut, nicknamed the Cat, had remained behind to hold up the pursuit and had been killed when his rifle jammed. He had been the greatest raider in the southern desert and his exploits and daring were legendary among the tribes. I had known him well, for he had guided us the year before from Salala to Dhofar. They spoke of raids across the waterless eastern steppes, and among the giant dunes to the north. They told of pursuits and battles in the dark, of ruthless killings, of blood-feuds and murder. They mentioned famous guides, and waterholes and routes across the sands, where the oryx herds still
574 roamed. Meanwhile, a young lad had blown up the embers of the fire and set the long-necked coffee pot to boil. His uncovered hair fell to his naked shoulders and framed an impish laughing face. Our elderly host had roasted the coffee beans and passed them round for us to sniff, before pounding them up in a wooden mortar and putting them in the pot. He flavoured his coffee with crushed ginger as is the custom in the Hadhramaut. He also gave us parched grain and beans to eat; all that he had with him, for on such simple fare do the Bedu travel.

080 We lingered with them till the sun was nearly set and then descended past the well, deserted now, except for a bent old woman and two small children, who were loading the last of their water-skins on a young and restive camel. Tomorrow there would be the endless bargaining for camels and arguments with prospective guides, and ahead of us lay all the hardships and difficulties of the desert crossing. But my companions were content, and being happy in the present broke into song as they approached the camp-fires through the dusk.

p 400 (B)

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

619 defeat, and in the following year marched against the Rwala. This time it was
622 to be finally decided who should command, and therefore the Kwačbe marched
173 with their families, tents, and flocks, and established a war camp, manah, and Haw'a (or al-Hawa) to the east of the settlement of Skâka.[32] The Rwala had previously occupied all the wells for a considerable distance around. The Kwačbe, together with the Sammâr, made several attacks on the encampment of the [72] Rwala, but each time they were repulsed. The Rwala, who were commanded by a war-chief ('azid al-harb) Fheyd eben Ma'abhel, never attacked but so pressed their adversaries closer and closer that they were unable to obtain water anywhere. Then the elders of Kwačbe sent a messenger to Fheyd with a request for peace, and offered the Rwala half their herds. Fheyd agreed and peace was concluded. This harsh war is known as Manah az-Zren, "Battle-camp of the Two Starvations." The Sammâr, the allies of the Kwačbe, did not accept the peace and threatened them with war. Al-Sreyfi then decided that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Rwala and would join them entirely. His daughter Kut married Fheyd and his Kwačbe encamped together with the Rwala.[33]

Still it is important to note what Burckhardt says of the Seyh of Wuld 'Ali, who in his time had their winter quarters on the Hagg road as far as Kal'at Zerkâ;[34] according to him "their sheikh, is named el Teyar: he occupies the first rank among their chiefs, and is therefore styled Abou el Aeneze, or 'Father of the Aenezes'." [35] According to Lawrence, "Nuri Shaalan, the great Emîr of the Rwala, who after the Sherif [36] and Ibn Saud [36a] and Ibn Rashid [37] was the fourth figure among the precarious princes of the desert." [38]

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32 Sakâka: 50 km northeast of Gowf; Arabic *H*.

33 On the tribe of ar-Rwala consult Musil, *Manners and Customs etc.*; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, pp. 234, 271, 358, 376, 388, 565; vol. 2, pp. 37, 92, 134, 205, 269, 326; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, pp. 19-24; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 14-16; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 113; *The Military Handbook, etc.*, p. 53; Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, vol. 1, pp. 62-130.

34 Kal'at az-Zerkâ, close to the spring of that name (Trans-Jordan).

35 Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

36 Hussein Eben 'Ali (1856-1931): first king of the Hegâz (1916-1924) and founder of the modern Arab Hshimite dynasty; Grand Sherif of Mecca (1908-1916) as a result of the Young Turk movement. In the World War he first sided with the Turks; later, on advice of his son Feisal and of Colonel T. E. Lawrence, he joined the Allied cause.

36a 'Abd-al-'Aziz ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmân al-Faisal ibn-Sa'ûd (b. 1880?): King of Saudi Arabia (from 1932); born Riyadh, son of 'Abd-ar-Rahman; Wahabi sultan of Negd. In World War I he sided with the British against the Turks; invaded and conquered (1924-1925) the Hegâz, forcing abdication of King Husein and his son 'Ali; proclaimed himself King of Hegâz (1926); changed his title from Sultan of Negd to King of the Hegâz and Negd; by decree (1932) he proclaimed the official name of Hegâz and Negd as Kingdom of Saudi

22:Ruswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

133 162 group of the Weld 'Ali, for instance, in certain winters wander with their powerful allies, the Ruala, southward to the neighborhood of Teyma', returning north again after their mares and camels have foaled.

133 619 162 233 178 The third great natural feature is the chain of hills (Ar-Rawaq, Abu Rijmen, and Jebel Bishri) which stretches in an almost straight line from Damascus to Deyr az-Zor on the Euphrates. Sheep-breeding Bedouins are found north of these hills, camel breeders to the south. The sheep breeders occupy a steppe-like rolling country, rich in pasture which lasts into the beginning of summer. Settled areas are nowhere far distant to east and west, and the tribes occupying these steppes will undoubtedly be the first to establish permanent settlements. As far north as Tel el-Abyadh near the Turkish frontier the writer has noticed members of the Fed'an intermarrying with settlers of that region. Mijhem ibn Mheyd, chief of the Fed'an, owns many villages in Syria, and several thousand of his Bedouins are even now at work in the fields, although the majority prefer tending live stock to plowing. The Tayy, one of the purest, most aristocratic Bedouin tribes from central Arabia, are now found in Mesopotamia, far north near Nisibin, where they seldom fold their tents, pack them on camels, and carry them to new pasture grounds. Half of their tents are "permanently" fixed, with reed and clay walls supporting the goat's-hair canvas. Indeed, the Tayy have become a degenerate people!

The Bedouins with the largest pasture circles (those bordering on the Nafud) will probably survive longest as true nomads. These are the great camel breeders, the Ruala and some of the Shammar, who hold the vast tracts of Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan between the Nafud and the northern line of hills.

Political Changes

178 If the problematical political frontiers between the British and French spheres of influence in northern Arabia are maintained, changes may be expected in the migration territories of the Bedouins. The following, in my opinion, might well take place. The tribes whose territories are now cut by the 30th parallel would split, part of them remaining in Ibn Sa'ud's domains and the rest migrating to the 721 north. The continuance of yearly warfare (for the most part in the 178 spring) between the Zana Muslim (Ruala and Weld 'Ali) and other 'Aneze tribes would finally result in an agreement that would assign to the Ruala who remain in Syria the entire Hamad and western part of Al-Wudiyan. The rest of Al-Wudiyan would be given to the 'Amarat, and the steppe country north of the hills to the Fed'an and Sba'a. First the Fed'an and then the Sba'a would gradually become

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

settlers, and the 'Amarat might ultimately be induced by the government of 'Iraq to settle in Mesopotamia after the new irrigation projects have been developed. The Ruala would undoubtedly hold out the longest against any such policy, many of them preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to their brothers in central Arabia rather than adopt the life of the settlers. The Weld 'Ali sheep breeders would settle in the neighborhood of Homs and Hama', and the camel breeders among them would remain with the Ruala.

Three hundred years have sufficed to bring the Bedouin tribes who left their central Arabian homeland to the brink of an abyss in which all the romance, beauty, and liberty of their nomadic life will disappear. Whatever one may think about the "backward, medieval, puritanical" rule of Ibn Sa'ud, the domain of this Wahhabi descendant of the Zana Muslim will some day be the last refuge for the few true Bedouin clans that love the old, free, glamorous, roving life better than the stale and degrading existence of the settlers in territories under French or British control.

NOTES ON THE MAPS[1]

Plate V shows tribal boundaries, natural features, and place names. Owing to the confusion resulting from the overlapping of the tribal areas, Figures 1, 2, and 3 have been added representing these territories as differentiated by shading. On these maps reference numbers are given to the following notes explaining certain points of interest in connection with the movements of each tribe. The place names mentioned in these notes will all be found on Plate V.[2]

Detailed tables revealing the internal subdivisions of the various tribes into subtribes, clans, etc., will be found in "A Handbook of Arabia," pp. 45–95, and also scattered through the various volumes of Alois Musil. In many instances these classifications do not correspond. Since the pages on which the tables are found in Musil's publications are not readily determined from the indexes, the following references are included for the benefit of those wishing to make a critical study of the organization of the tribes whose territories are shown on the accompanying maps:

Figure 1. 'Aneze Tribes. Zana Muslim, including the Ruala and Weld'Ali, A. D., pp. 14–16; Weld'Ali, A. D., p. 84. 'Amarat, A. D., p. 52. Fed'an, A. D., p. 55. Sba'a, P., pp. 55, 91. Weld Sleyman, N. N., p. 95.

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[1] On the maps and in the text of this article Musil's renderings of the spelling of place names and tribal names have, in general, been followed. The transliteration, however, follows the English rather than the continental scheme, even in quotations from Musil's works.

[2] The abbreviations are as follows:

A. D., Alois Musil: Arabia Deserta, *Amer. Geogr. Soc. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 2*, New York, 1927.

A. P., *idem:* Arabia Petraea, 3 vols., Kaiserliche Akad. der Wiss., Vienna, 1908.

M. E., *idem:* The Middle Euphrates, *Amer. Geogr. Soc. Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 3*, New York, 1927.

N. H., *idem:* The Northern Hejaz, *ibid. No. 1*, New York, 1926.

N. N., *idem:* Northern Nejd, *ibid. No. 5*, New York, 1928.

P., *idem:* Palmyrena, *ibid. No. 4*, New York, 1928.

Handbook, "A Handbook of Arabia." Vol. 1, General, compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, British Admiralty, London, 1920(?).

Doughty, C. M.: Doughty: Travels in Arabia Deserta, 2 vols., London, 1888; 3rd edition, 1923.

101 that the Sulubba believe that they originated
144 from the Hasa Province, on the Persian Gulf,
173 but I have not heard this story. The few Sulubba I have asked usually replied that they came from an old people who were not Moslems. I imagine, however, that this was merely conjectural; I would not attribute these answers to ancient tradition. Two Sulubba once surprised me by saying that they were descended from Crusaders! But on pressing them for the origin of their statement, they admitted that they had been told so by a French officer in Syria!

101 The Sulubba are to be found in an area extending roughly from Damascus to Mosul in the north, down to Jauf, east of the Nefud, Hail, Persian Gulf, the Euphrates, the Tigris above Baghdad, and Mosul.

101 They are scarcely ever found in Trans-Jordan
144 west of the Wadi Sirhan; I believe that they do not exist in the Hejaz or in the western half of Arabia. This distribution might reinforce the legend of their origin from Hasa Province on the Persian Gulf, from which they might well have emigrated north to the more fertile lands in Syria or Iraq, but would have been unlikely to have emigrated to the Hejaz, which is less fertile than the Hasa itself.

563 The Sulubba have long been regarded by the
463 Beduins as a subject race. Many of them work as
721 tinkers for the Bedûin tribes and perform other menial duties. They have never taken part in the wars and feuds, which have occupied the greater part of the Beduins' lives for centuries. A Sulubbi, like a woman, was a creature with whom it was too inferior to fight. The Sulubba maintained a strict neutrality in raids, and, for fear of being beaten, told all raiders what they knew of the nature of the country and the movements of their enemies.

29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
724 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
563 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
157 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

837 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
548 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

221 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
[10] the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 [262] 291 463 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

433 231 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 178 During the last ten years, the desert belonging to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 797 721 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst

797 of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. The
563 Beduin manifested his enthusiasm by declaring
721 that all Moslems were equal before God, and hence that the Sulubba were equal to "free men," i.e. Beduins. Ibn Saud, anxious to increase his fighting men, backed this idea (in fact he may have originated it), and raised fighting forces from the Sulubba and gave them war banners. The Sulubba took part in a number of war-like operations, and it was said that, in the massacres which usually followed a Wahhabi victory at this time, the Sulubba were the most cruel and bloodthirsty.

The outbreak of fanaticism, however, died down from 1925 to 1929, and it is believed that these Nejd Sulubba have again fallen back to their original condition.

342 In order to escape unwelcome Beduin guests,
574 the Sulubba live in tiny tents, many of them
563 scarcely larger than a blanket. They show great
609 skill in pitching these tents in the beds of ravines or behind rocks so as to be invisible to passers-by. The more important Beduin sheikhs take pride in pitching a large tent in a prominent place, which conveys not only defiance of enemies but a distant welcome to guests. According to Beduin interpretation the Sulubba reveals his baseness by concealing his camp from both strangers and guests.

Sulailat

101 These consist of a tribal section, who
563 usually camp with the Amarat branch of the Anaiza in the Iraqi desert west of the Euphrates. These people are said to be descended from a man of the Anaiza tribe, who married a Sulubba

000 ordinary Beduin. While the Beduin is very
156 jealous of his dignity in public, the Sherari is often prepared to make himself ridiculous for the amusement of his betters or in hopes of a reward. He is sometimes quite amusing, and is famous for his rather vulgar and undignified but irrepressible and often pointed witticisms (rather like the London cockney).

221 Like the Sulubba, the Sherarat, who are more
463 intimate with the desert than the real Beduins,
511 are excellent guides. They too prefer to spend the summer far away in the desert, beside some distant water-hole known only to themselves. It is not uncommon to meet a Sherari and his wife with a flock of camels deep in the desert, with no tent and no gear, living on the milk of the camels and sleeping in the open. The Beduins require more luxury, and after living thus for a short time, begin to want food, coffee, and a tent.

563 While the Sherarat thus bear a good deal of
721 resemblance to the Sulubba socially, unlike the latter they carry arms and defend themselves
[651] from attack. Until recently, however, they paid tribute to the Beduins in whose areas they encamped. Sherarat, living as servants with Beduins, will accompany their masters on raiding parties, something to which the Sulubba were prohibited.

During the past decade in the Jauf area, Ibn Saud has aimed at raising the status of the Sherarat, doubtless with a view to increasing his fighting men.

231 The Sherarat, who own great numbers of camels,
511 used to be famous for the quality of their swift riding camels. Although some individuals are comparatively wealthy, they spend very little, live only in tiny tents, wear ragged clothes, and beg, cadge, or hire themselves out as laborers or carriers.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
BEDOUINS MJ4

609 northern Hasa; and there are certain districts, containing but few
486 wells, where several tribes, each having a right of watering, cross and recross each other's dīras, without committing thereby acts of trespass, though not without engendering frequent friction. Such, for example, are the steppe west of Jebel Shammar and that north-east of the same district towards the lower Euphrates valley. For the right of crossing a dīra the traveller is expected to pay in money or kind to the chief, who often drives a very hard bargain, but should not be regarded as levying blackmail. After all, in return for the payment, he and his tribe concede protection and allow the traveller to consume some of their very scanty supply of fodder and
621 water. All Arab society is patriarchal. Some one man can answer for each unit, and among the best Arabs for very large units. The traveller's chief danger arises where tribes are small or so broken up that not more than one or two families recognize a chief.

486 There is, however, one recognized exception to this sanctity of
721 dīras, namely, the right of every tribe, or even section of a tribe, to raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, unless
577 barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship. To go
621 out on raid (*ghazwah*) is the young man's chance of proving himself, and to provide him with that opportunity is virtually obligatory on all tribes, except the meanest. The greater chiefs, like their ancient cousins, the Assyrian kings, make an annual practice of the Raid. The farther afield it goes, the greater the glory in a society punctiliously sensitive to public opinion. Raiding parties may, therefore, be met very far from the ranges of their own people, and no district is quite safe from them. They may generally be recognized by their travelling light, without women, and on high-bred camels. The *rafīq* is powerless against them in his own dīra, except possibly through some lucky friendship on his part or the repute of his tribe. But raiding parties are not very particular. They will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attack, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognized part of the game, and entails no slur on the courage of any members of the party.

486 The more the traveller can learn and retain in his mind of the
181 genealogy of individuals and tribes, in a land where pedigrees are very widely known back to a hoar antiquity and inordinately valued,
574 the better for his safety and the impression he will make and leave on his hosts. He should know also, as far as possible, the political grouping of tribes and recent desert history. If, like Doughty, he

To 369 162 439 443 [181]

ladies' lingerie, but he has little use for some of the strange products of the West. For the townsman, who is living in a mixed community of Arabs from many parts of the Persian Gulf, Persians and Indians, it is a different proposition, and his materialism has made Dibai a small British export area, though mostly for the less refined goods that are unable to find buyers on a more discriminating market.

B 101 186 721 661

The primitive bedouins who live by the foothills of the main mountain range, who owe allegiance to no one, are a constant cause of worry to the sheikhs, from whom they extract levies in return for protection; if the money is not forthcoming they raid the villages and carry off goods, camels and children. On the whole, however, the people of the coast seem to have a peaceful enough existence, making their living by, among other things, pearling, fishing and boat-building.

To 361 396 226

To 312 576

At several points along the coast the wells are some distance inland, and water has to be transported to the villages by camel or donkey. Though brackish and unpalatable, it is expensive; the cost of buying water is a burden on the poor, and they take only sufficient for their minimum needs. Even so, the water-pot is always at hand when a traveller passes by — a simple hospitality that is often very touching. The lot of the dogs, a wretched one at the best of times in the

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P. 191 (B)

S: Codral G-3 (1946-1950) 1950 MK1 Oman
Trucial Oman MK4
Bedouin MJ4

000 Arab World, is made ghastly by this local scarcity of water, and they can be seen watching, and sometimes licking, the gloss which is the only indication of a slight trickle from a hole in the side of a house. At other times they try to keep cool by lying at the edge of the sea, until their thirst proves too great, and they take their last drink.

TO 162 567 191 595 144

Slavery still Exists

The population is predominantly Arab, but Persians, Baluchis, Somalis and Negroes make up a considerable section of the coast-dwellers. Many of the latter are slaves, and in this polyglot society, practising polygamy and concubinage, the Arab's blood is seldom free from non-Arab strains. Although the importation of slaves from Africa and Persia is officially said to have been abolished, there is no reason to suppose that this form of trading has ceased entirely; for Britain no longer exercises her right to search vessels, and the chances of any law-breaker getting caught are very small. In addition, children are still abducted from their villages by bedouin raiders, and are sold in the market at Biraimi, the neutral region in the desert about one hundred miles to the

B 721 TO 721 567

P. 192(A)

E: Codral G-3 (1948-1950) 1950 MK1 Oman
Trucial Oman MK4
Bedouin MJ4

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south of Sharjah. Certificates stating that they have been born into slavery (a lucrative business for the signatories) are purchased by their owners and the unfortunate victims may then be legally transferred elsewhere in 'Oman, or even to Saudi Arabia, where they are said to fetch a higher price. Most of the slaves who *are* the children of slaves are well treated, and are faithful to their masters, so that their existence is often a better one than that of the poorer 'Omanis.

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Within the next few years the search for oil is going to open-up this little-known country, and 'Westernization' will suddenly appear before its people: but, with conditions as they are, it will be some time before the way is prepared for the geologists and drillers. In the meantime, their appetites wetted by concession subsidies, the rulers of the Trucial Coast are fixing the boundaries of their lands, in order to avoid battle in the event of "liquid-gold" being found. In 'Oman proper it is more difficult, and unless the Imam and those in control of the rebel tribes can be won over, they may be expected to oppose not only the oil people but the Sultan himself.

TO
[131]

p. 192(B)

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI

517 (*dhabi*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves
224 on fresh *leben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war,
262 then of course this utopian existence is at once changed, and the tribe
● 722 moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared
for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining
[202] and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come
into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks
before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were
able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and
622 assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on
its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp.
His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

622 No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was
157 the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not neces-
183 sarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the
family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-
paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the
shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan
or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father
and become shaikh after him must prove:

that he has the necessary courage;
that he has powers of leadership;
that he has *hadh* or luck.

777 The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership
622 in plenty if *hadh* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman
157 wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in
peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is
bound up in this word *hadh*. The great Bin Sa'ud, the present Lord
of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with
a large quantity of *hadh*, or so says and believes every Badawin of
Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot
be compared with the all-embracing Luck.

622 The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MI4
Muntafiq

484 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
361 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
233 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[722] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

221 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
233 the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
648 Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhabîhah wa manîhah*, consisting of gifts of
431 young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakât* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakât*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

836 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

'Ikhwan Tactics

Chap. XXVI

In both cases, the principle of always seizing any Badawin found 723
en route and making him march with the raiders to prevent his spreading news is strictly followed. It is also common for leaders to give out that they are going in one direction and then to double back and pursue a totally different direction when they are a day's march out. Attacks at dawn or in the thick of a duststorm are much favoured. A usual stratagem of the attacked is to seize wells by which the raiders must retire. 'Azaiyiz, the son of Al Duwish, was intercepted and his force destroyed in 1929 at Um ar Ruthumah in this way.

Organised attacks on a township, a fortified camp on water, or on 725
an enemy trying to deny wells to a retiring force, are usually carried out on foot and in a series of lines in imitation of regular troops, horsemen and camelmen being kept in reserve. This form of attack was perfected by the 'Ikhwan and was specially favoured by them. They employed it when they endeavoured to capture Jahrah in 1920 in face of the combined forces of Kuwait, also in the operations leading up to the capture of Hail. On such occasions the first, second and third lines are found by irregular Badawin styled *'A'arab* by the faithful, while the supports and reserves consist of the *Mutadaiyanin* or "those with religion". These deliver the main stroke. Though invented by the 'Ikhwan, the above method would probably be employed in any future operations in which Sa'udi Arabia forces were engaged.

Flank attacks, rearguard actions and dispersing on the approach of enemy aircraft are well understood, and would no doubt be employed as occasion demanded.

In all forms of attack, water for men and horses is carried on selected 705
camels in *jirbas* or goatskins. Camels get nothing till the attack is over.

The inviolability of women in war has been dealt with in Chapter VII.

For a brief period only during Arab history have women been 721
treated in any other way than with chivalry and consideration; this 562
was in 1925 and the following years, when the fanatical 'Ikhwan, evolved of Bin Sa'ud's genius for furthering his political ends, were at the height of their power and were raiding the Iraq, Kuwait and trans-Jordan tribes, and cutting up scattered detachments of the Muntafiq and Khazail shepherd tribes in the southern desert.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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492 the left. The leftward pull is, of course, accentuated when galloping or when the mount is tugging.

Readers may ask how the rider can control his horse at all without a bit. The answer is that the rough angular chain over its nostrils hurts the animal as the halter is pulled taut. This has the effect of checking the horse, but also of making it turn its head further round to shift the pressure from the top bone of the nostrils to the fleshy part at the side of the mouth.

The only places where bits will be found in use are among certain riverain tribal shaikhs in Iraq, and possibly among some of the Princes and Rulers of Arabia (I have not yet seen them in use in the desert, and Bin Sa'ud himself always rides with a halter, even to-day). The bits that are used follow the style used in Persia, Syria and North Africa, and in place of a curb chain there is a thin circular metal band which is attached to the cross-piece of the bit itself. This latter usually has an unpleasant-looking metal spike, which, as the bit is pulled, engages the roof of the mouth and causes pain. All Arab horses ridden on these bits continually throw their heads up, to the great discomfort of the rider.

SADDLES

492 704 The Badawin rank and file never use saddles or stirrups. All their riding is done barebacked, with only halters to control and guide their mounts. The wild state of non-control when a thousand howling riders is bearing down upon you can be imagined. No one can check the pace of the charge, the full weight of which is felt by the enemy. However damaging the fire, however much the individual rider may desire to pull out and beat a retreat, he is powerless to do so until the mass sense of the charging horses causes them to bear right or left away from the enemy.

704 725 When Badawin horsemen are loosed at each other, both sides ride bang through and go on galloping far beyond on the other side until they are able to pull up.

I once experienced such a wild Badawin charge at the battle of Shu'aiba (Iraq) in 1915.

We had a weak Indian Cavalry Brigade assisted by a horse battery, and had reconnoitred as far as Ratawi Mounds. There we made

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contact with a much superior force of irregular Kurdish and Badawin cavalry who forced us to retire. 704 725

After conducting a steady retreat for a distance of some eighteen miles, we were about to skirt Barjisiyah wood, when our force was suddenly charged in flank by 'Ajaimi al Sa'adun and some thousand Muntafiq mounted men, who, unknown to us, were hiding in that particular wood.

As we were up to that point retiring on a very wide front in line of squadrons at two hundred yards' interval, each squadron covering the movement to the rear of its neighbour by dismounted fire action, our force was too widely extended to change front and present a suitable face to the flank charge, and for a time the direst confusion and chaos existed.

Fortunately for us, an infantry column had come out to assist our retreat, and was entrenched close by. It saved the situation. Otherwise, many of us would not be living to tell the tale, for to give 'Ajaimi and his men full credit, his charge was magnificent, and went right through our force, quite in accordance with the best tradition of cavalry tactics. As it was, our worsted force was driven right on to the friendly infantry trenches, and great was the Badawins' surprise to see themselves suddenly confronted at almost point-blank range by a long line of British bayonets comfortably ensconced in trenches. These turned what looked like a probable *débâcle* for us into a defeat for the enemy, and by their withering fire forced 'Ajaimi's men to beat a precipitate retreat, which was successfully turned into a headlong flight by accurate salvoes from a hidden battery.

Though the ordinary Badawin rides barebacked, the shaikhs and those who can afford it use for comfort a light cloth saddle, known as a *ma'araga*. This has no stirrups and is little more than a padded numdah strapped on to the horse's back. 492

The *ma'araga* is quite short from front to rear, just allowing a man sufficient room to seat himself.

MODERN WEAPONS, AND THE MOTOR CAR

As already mentioned, stallions or males are not wanted in Arabia, and are sold as soon as possible for draught or pack purposes in the 177 231

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

619 wander into the lands of a hostile tribe, so it has to keep up alliances
221 with tribes who are on good terms and will allow it to graze over their *dirahs* when forced to do so. Hence it follows that groups or confederations of tribes are formed, friendly to each other and hostile to other similar groups. These groups, with their corresponding alliances, are often of century-old standing and serve a most useful purpose. They have, moreover, stood the test of war, drought and trouble. Examples of such groups are given below, and all Arabia may be said to be parcelled up into similar protective alliances.

(*a*) Harb—Mutair (Ilwa)—'Ajman tribes.
(*b*) Bani 'Abdilla (Mutair)—'Utaiba.
(*c*) Dhafir—Shammar and 'Awazim.
(*d*) 'Ajman—Murra—Najran tribes (a blood federation).*
(*e*) The various 'Anizah groups of the north, such as Dahamsha, Fida'an Amarat, Ruwala, Sba'a and Zana Muslim.

619 When the Central Government is strong, like the present Sa'udi regime, then tribes are made to keep the peace and behave themselves,

701 * The 'Ajman claim to be able to turn out over 10,000 fighting men is obviously exaggerated. Their full fighting strength is probably about 8,000. They once claimed to be able to muster 2,000 mounted men, but that is not so to-day.

● 726 The 'Ajman have several *nakhwas* or war cries, of which the three commonest are—"Garás al hadid wa ana ibn al 'Ajám", "Sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh" and "Sufar sáfi al maut wa ana lathâleh"—meaning "Cutter of iron, and I am the son of the 'Ajman", "Death cleared all and I still survive" and "Death is whistling and I am still surviving".

The 'Ajman tribe when about to join battle have a custom of tying up their side locks (*gurun*) over their heads in a tall knot, which they bind round with a *red* cloth. They call the head-effect thus caused "Al Ganaza".

619 The 'Ajman, whom some authorities would connect, and I think rightly, with the
[173] Qahtan, state that they are descended from the Shurafa of Najran, and claim with the Murra to have one ancestor, Yám. They certainly look upon the Murra as their blood brothers and each will help the other always. Should either the Murra or 'Ajman desire the help of the other against a common enemy, it is customary to send a messenger to the other tribe on a camel with *a red scarf or scarlet rope* bound round its neck. The messenger cries aloud to those he wants to rouse the words '*Aiyál Marzuk!*, the sacred call of the descendants of Yám, and all know what the signal means—even if 'Ajman and Murra were themselves fighting against each other, a not uncommon occurrence, they would at once fraternise and combine against the common foe.—(Authority Shaikh Fuhaid al Fahad al Hithlain 30.6.38). Their tribal strength and undoubted war prowess makes their alliance valuable and their enmity a serious danger; but in politics they are a shifting and inconsistent factor, being as they themselves have been known openly to profess, "the friends of those who treat them best".

175 During the Ottoman occupation of Hasa and Qatif, the 'Ajman were constantly recalcitrant, in spite of subsidies doled out to their shaikhs, and they inflicted several serious defeats on the army of occupation.

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If she is pretty, attractive and the daughter of So-and-So, she will 562
easily find a dozen other men ready to marry her. 587

As for her children: she retains the small ones till they reach the 586
age of eight, and then hands them over to their father's care, but they are never far from her, and are allowed to come and see her as often as they like. Nay, if she is a clever girl she will keep on quite friendly terms with her former husband, and call and see his new wife regularly. That is quite common practice.

Where the Badawin housewife has distinctive rights, is in the 562
management of the tent; she is *um al 'aiyál* (mother of the family) 462
as well as *raiyat al bait*. She holds the honour and good name of her husband in the hollow of her hand. Upon her falls the duty of providing for the guest, of cooking choice and tasty dishes, of turning out good *leben*, and generally bringing the good name of her husband into prominence among his fellow Arabs.

The mistress of the house never sees or mixes with stranger guests, 562
but she knows all that is going on, for only a curtain partition separates 574
the women's from the guest's quarters.

The personal name of the lady of the house is never mentioned by the guest, or even by the host's men friends, she is *Um al 'Aiyál* or *Raiyat al Bait* only. Should a friend wish to ask after a man's wife, he will merely say to the husband, *Kaif hal illi warrak?* or *Shlaun um al 'aiyál?* ("How is she who is behind you?" or "How is the mother of the children?"). Unpleasant badinage is taboo.

Even more carefully guarded and shielded are a man's marriageable daughters. They are never seen at all, except by those on very intimate terms.

Jokes about a man's getting married, and so forth, are quite com- 562
mon, and the young Lothario about to get spliced is always the butt 522
of his companions, but never is the woman's name brought into this form of rough chaff. That would be *'aib* (a shameful thing).

The sanctity of a woman and her good name is more immediately 562
apparent in cases of war or hostilities between two tribes. 726

She it is who encourages her menfolk to go forth and fight bravely for her and come back triumphant. She it is, if the tribe has to be rallied, who uncovers her face, lets down her hair, and mounts the *markab* of the tribe wildly to encourage the young and old men to

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

562 victory once more. On these occasions the men will go mad for
726 her, and if she happens to be the shaikh's daughter they will die, but never give way.

Should a camp be suddenly raided and overrun by a horde of screaming enemy horsemen, the Badawin woman has absolutely nothing to fear for herself. The laws of the desert hold her inviolable. Her men may be killed, her sons may have to scatter and flee for safety, but the women of the tent are safe. On such occasions they sit about in their tents, moaning and crying softly, but they know that the victors will not touch a hair of their head. The carrying off of women is impossible in Arab warfare. The victorious raiders having rounded up and driven off the camels and sheep, are allowed by definite laws to seize certain articles of property, and these only, from the tents. This legitimate loot includes carpets, coffee-pots and spare tents, if a family has more than one. They may also take foodstuffs if there is a plentiful supply, but they must leave one tent overhead for the mistress of each family and sufficient food to see her provided for a definite period of time.

No part of the personal clothing which the women are wearing may be taken, and not a finger must be laid on any woman. It follows that any article of jewellery which a woman is wearing is entirely safe, and so also is her camel saddle (*maksar*).

These rules are all very explicitly and minutely laid down. To break them would be to dishonour the good name and *sharaf* of the attackers who have to-day brought their enemy low. No one can afford to risk such dishonour in the desert.

Shaikh Hzam al Mashari al Sa'adun of the Muntafiq, himself a well-known desert warrior of the old days, told me that in 1917 (in the days of the Turks) he had cut down one of his own raiders who, in the excitement of the charge and victory, so far forgot himself as to try to take a bangle off a girl's arm, she being of the Badur tribe, and of the vanquished side.

Few such cases actually happen in desert warfare, however, but those that have occurred have been most severely dealt with, and almost invariably have resulted in the death of the culprit, who forgot himself and infringed the rules of desert warfare.

This inviolability of women in war has been naturally evolved

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during years and centuries of raid and counter-raid. Men always 562
knew that to-day they might be top-dog and to-morrow the under- 726
dog. It was but wise and natural to declare women sacred. The Badawin world valued wives and daughters above all other possessions, so the principle of "You let my womenfolk alone, and I will not harm yours" gradually became established. The rule holds good to-day all over Arabia. Unfortunately the fanatical 'Ikhwan, during the few years in which their influence was in the ascendant, a menace to both friend and foe in Najd, did much to upset this and many other excellent customs which are dear to the true Arab.

PROTECTION OF AN ENEMY WHO HAS SURRENDERED

The laws relating to surrender are dealt with in Chapter XXVI. 726
Suffice it to here say that a Badawin surrendering to another either in battle or raid, or if pursued and overtaken, is safe and entitled to good treatment.

In surrendering a man will definitely say to one of the other side: *Ya fulan ana fi wejh ak* (O So-and-So, I place myself under your protection). If he gets the reply: *Inta fi wejh hi, sallim saldhak* (You are under my protection, hand over your arms), the matter is finished, and the person who has accepted the surrender must go bail for his captive with his life. He has given him his *wejh* (face), and it would go hard with any member of his own tribe who harmed the prisoner later, and so blackened the protector's face.

The rules regarding surrender are very similar to those of *dakhála*. The man who surrenders is in the position of a suppliant, and an Arab dare not ignore the fact. The only difference between the two is that when the enemy asks for quarter in battle, you may or may not grant his request. Once *wejh* is granted, however, the prisoner must be protected. A man who breaks this law is liable to a very heavy fine in camels or money, and he is never forgiven by his own tribesmen.

THE RAFIQ OR KHAWI

The laws relating to the *rafiq* and *rufga* generally, are equally 572
stringent, and are comparable to those of hospitality, only here the 484

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CHAPTER XXVI

Badawin Warfare

Raiding is the breath of life to the Badawin. Prevent him from raiding 721
and he becomes the most melancholy of men.

Just as in the civilised West man must have his various sports, football, cricket, tennis, shooting, etc., to keep himself fit and happy, so in Arabia the primitive Badawin must have his raids. These denote to him everything that is manly and sporting.

A famous raider is honoured above all men, and boys and young [554]
men pine for the day when they will be allowed to accompany their elders on forays, and so win their spurs.

Raiding brings out all that is hard, brave and skilful in man, so the occupation is honoured and encouraged, just as everything tending to make a man soft and effeminate is despised by all true desert men.

Desert raids do not as a rule entail much bloodshed. Raiders are 721
primarily inspired by greed for camels, and with this goes the desire 422
to score off their enemies. To lift an enemy's camels is the best way of all to hurt him and add to the raider's own stock, for a Badawin values his camels above everything.

There is no such thing in ordinary desert warfare as men fighting 726
"to the death" or making a "last stand" in defence of wives, children and stock. That would be merely foolish. The Badawin appreciates at once the odds against him. If he knows he can drive off the raider he will stand and do so; if, on the other hand, he sees that he has no chance, he will desert family and camels and bolt into the desert to live to fight another day. He knows his women and children will be safe, why then risk certain death by fighting against odds? He allows his camels to be taken knowing his turn will come another day. *Nakhud wa nanwakhid* (We take and are ourselves taken) is his creed.

This is no reflection on the Badawin's courage. He is a brave man, but he has no false notions of standing up against an obviously superior force till he is killed.

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726 If he sees that the odds are even, and the raiders are about as strong as he, he will fight, and fight superbly, encouraged by the cries of his women. In the case of the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, he is often helped by his womenfolk who bring him ammunition, water, etc. Women have been known to display remarkable indifference to danger and bullets on these occasions. It is only when he has no chance (and years of this sort of warfare have trained him to size up such a situation quickly), that the Badawin considers discretion the better part of valour.

721 A Badawin's passion is his camel, and if he has lost one by raid, or by simple theft, he will not rest till he has discovered where it is and what shaikh, individual, or tribe has got it in his possession. He has many methods of finding this out, the most common being by the system of *bilasa*, i.e. payment of money to a neutral to go and spy out the land and locate his animal.

As raids are often carried out from a great distance, this process of running down the raiders or camel thieves often takes many weary months. I have known camels which have been taken from near Kuwait located near Jauf, Rutba, Hu.uf and Hail—each place over 500 miles away. If the raiders are known enemies, time is not wasted trying to locate stolen animals, counter-raid is promptly resorted to till a man gets his own back and more. If the raiders are unknown, or have worked a night surprise, then of course they must be discovered and the camels located, before counter-measures are taken. If peace reigns in the land, the discovered camels will be applied for and recovered by the laws of *'Arafa* (see Chapter XXXIII).

Stealing wandering camels, even though the owners are not at war with a man's tribe, is not wrong—it is merely clever, and a man finding a stray camel will not hesitate to pinch it, and take it along to his home. If the owner finds it eventually, it will be handed over, but if he does not, then so much the better. The 'Ajman and Dhafir are particularly fond of this game.

721 656 In Sa'udi Arabia the strong arm of Bin Sa'ud has done much to stop indiscriminate raiding and stealing, and this perhaps more than anything else has been responsible for that Ruler's unpopularity to-day. "If you stop us raiding you stop our source of life," says the Badawin, "for we have neither crops nor palm trees, nor are we shop keepers able to sell goods and make money." Not only is this state-

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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ment true, but the situation is yearly getting worse, especially since 721
the motor car has practically killed the camel export trade of Arabia. 656
Thirty years ago many hundred thousand camels were annually sold to Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Persia, and brought money to the Badawin world.

Bin Sa'ud realises the Badawin's grievance in this respect, but steadfastly refuses to sanction indiscriminate raiding, which tends to disrupt his kingdom. He tried to counter the evil by giving subsidies to high and low in the Badawin world, and rewarding all who come to visit him and pay respects. He no doubt hopes in time to get round the danger by developing the mineral wealth of his country, notably oil and gold. But will he succeed?

DECLARATION OF WAR

Should war be imminent between two tribes or primitive Arab 721
States, there are regular rules which have to be observed. There must 726
be a proper and honourable declaration of hostilities. The word *niga* is used to denote a declaration of war. It is never used between individuals. The offended tribe, either by letter or verbal message, informs the tribe it wishes to fight that *niga* has been sent them. This literally means the "warning of war". It is bad form and contrary to Arab honour to start a war by means of a surprise attack. *Niga* is the opposite of *hidna*, which means "cessation of war". *Allag* means a "truce". The expression *Mardud al niga 'alaikum* is the official warning of war, and was commonly heard in the desert in the old days.

I am told that in August 1933 when H.M. King Bin Sa'ud declared war on Yaman, the Imám Yahya sent the King a letter with the following words, *Mardud al niga 'alaikum, wa waladna Saif al Islam Ahmad yusalkum* (The war warning is sent you and my son, Saif al Islam Ahmad, will come to you). Bin Sa'ud is reported to have sent reply, "Your son is welcome. We also have a son Sa'ud, who will be pleased to meet him on arrival." The tale certainly was brought me by some Badawin friends from Riyadh, though the wording of the messages may have been the result of a too keen imagination.

When a tribe sends a challenge of *niga* to another, it is sometimes the custom to add by word of mouth or letter, that "such and such a

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721 726 renowned warrior will also be coming up against you". The shaikh of the challenged tribe then calls together his warriors and elders and gives them the news of the declaration of war. He then fills a cup of coffee and calls out, "This cup stands for such and such warrior on the other side, who of you will drink it? Who will take him on in single combat?" A local brave who thinks to win his spurs will call out, "I am ready", and the cup is passed to him to drink. Similarly champions are found for every other well-known enemy warrior named as coming up against them.

Eventually when the battle is about to be joined, the opposing champions of each side come out, and after caracolling about and showing off on their horses' paces, will engage in single combat with their opposite numbers.

Háji 'Abdullah Fathil* told me that he saw such an incident among the Dhafir (from whom he took his present wife) some years ago. The Shammar and 'Anizah, like the Dhafir, are also fond of issuing challenges to their enemy to single combat before battle.

CONCENTRATING FOR WAR OR A BIG RAID

622 777 Firstly it should be remembered that, as I have already explained, though every tribe admits the paramountcy of a certain section or *hamula* of the tribe as the one that always provides the shaikh (such as the Hithlain, Dushan or Suwait), it will only agree to follow that particular shaikh who possesses what they term the necessary "Luck" or "Good Fortune" in war. For instance, the Mutair always followed Faisal al Duwish in the past, because he proved himself times without number to be a "lucky" general. Had he not had this reputation the tribe would have selected another member of the Dushan clan and discarded Faisal.

622 721 Secondly, the chieftain of a tribe cannot simply send messages to the various sections of the tribe and order them to concentrate preparatory to his leading them on some distant raid or expedition. They would not obey. In practice he sends for the leaders of the tribe and discusses his plans with them in secret for a week, fifteen days or even a month, while the pros and cons of the proposed operations

* Mr. Williamson, the well-known English Muslim intelligence officer of World War I—now residing in Basra.

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721 them off, long before any supporting body can reach them from the
361 main camp.

It follows that from a European airman's point of view desert targets will also always be bad in the winter season, for tribes then pitch their tents singly or in twos and threes, over a large area of country, each group of tents being separated from its neighbour by a distance of anything from a quarter to half a mile. This is done for support purposes in case of Arab attack, and to ensure that camels are well scattered, and get full benefit from the grazing. Therefore, just as the Badawin is difficult of location and attack in winter and spring, from the point of view of his own Arab enemies, so a European force operating from the air against Badawin would be handicapped and affect little real damage during the cold season, as the scattered nature of camps would assist the defence, and if necessary immediate and further dispersion would be an easy operation. The opposite is of course the case in summer.

RAIDS

726 For a raid pure and simple, the Badawin relies on the element of surprise for success. If he has reason to suppose his movements are known and are being anticipated he will abandon his project without hesitation.

For long-distance raids only camels are employed, and a stroke may be delivered from a hostile concentration 250 miles or more away, day and night marching being the custom. For short-distance raids, camels and horses are employed in equal strength, a horseman riding behind each camelman, and the horses being led until the force is within striking distance of its quarry. The horsemen then dismount and make their final charge on horseback. The camelmen act the role of the supporting force, and cover the horsemen when driving off the enemy's camels.

Camel and horse raids can be carried out from a distance of anything up to 100 miles.*

* A notable instance of such long-distance horse and camel raid was when Ajemi al Sa'adun swooped down on Basra from Khamisiyah near Suq esh Shuyukh on the Euphrates, a year or so before World War I.

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Surrender

Chap. XXVI

WAR CRIES

Every Arab prince and Arab tribe has a special war cry. Some have several and some a single one. 721 192

These war cries, called *nakhwa* and *'irwah*, are yelled out in the heat of battle, and especially during the wild charge of horsemen.

The war cry is supposed to strike terror into the foe. It also enables the individual warrior to recognise friend from enemy in the general mêlée that follows a charge—for every man as he goes into action muffles up his face till only his eyes are seen, and no uniforms distinguish combatants or differentiate friend from foe. [714]

SURRENDER

Among the Badawin the equivalent of the European or Westerner's "Hands up" is for a man to drop his rifle on the ground and place *the thumbs of both hands simultaneously between his teeth with the fingers of each hand extended outwards towards the person to whom he is surrendering.* This is the normal method, when for instance a man is a fugitive and is about to be caught up and killed by his pursuers. The meaning of the act is that he realizes that all is up, he has been caught, he knows death is his portion, nevertheless he casts himself on God's mercy and on that of his enemies. In nine times out of ten he will be spared. 726 516

Even in the heat of battle a man on the losing side can escape death if he recognises an old friend or acquaintance in the opposing ranks, by shouting out to him and saying, *Ya fulan, ana fi wejh-ak* (O So-and-So, I put myself under your protection). If the person so called upon has sufficient influence with his comrades to grant such protection, he replies, *Atsitak wejhhi sallam tufagtak* or *salahak* (I have given you my protection, hand over your rifle, or arms). Under such circumstances the suppliant is absolutely safe, and his guarantor goes bail for his life. 572 726

Should the man appealed to not be of sufficient importance among his fellow fighters to guarantee the life of the suppliant, he will call out to him and advise him to demand protection from someone more influential than himself, i.e. *Utlub wejh fulan* (Call upon the

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572 protection of So-and-So), and he will forthwith point out where he
726 is and who he is. Success is also assured this way.

When the 'Ikhwan were predominant in Najd, especially from 1920 to 1930, and for a time upset the laws of God and man, appeals such as the above went unheeded, and whether a man surrendered or not he was put to the sword.

The man granting protection to an enemy on the field of battle can always reserve the right to add such provisos as, "Your life or rifle only are guaranteed, not your horse," or "Your life alone is safe, not your weapons or horse," or "I give you your life subject to my master, the shaikh's final orders".

FAMOUS RAIDERS I HAVE KNOWN

721 (1) Shaikh Muhammad ibn Salim al Uthain of the Misra sept of the 'Ajman is perhaps the most dashing raider I have met. He did Bin Sa'ud's cause incalculable harm during the 1929–30 rebellion of the 'Ikhwan. A cheerful man and always laughing—short, of immense width of shoulder, with straight nose and a rather long jet-black beard with a pretty curl at the end of it.

His best piece of work was his raid from the borders of Kuwait (Wafra) to a point east of Abu Jifan Wells, on the direct Hufuf–Riyadh route. There he held up and captured several camel convoys, and ended by attacking, on 5th August, 1929, twelve cars full of armed men near Rumah as they proceeded across the Dahana sands from Riyadh to Hufuf. He captured and burnt them all, none of the crews escaping.

I happened to meet him on 22nd August, 1929, a fortnight after the event, when he tried to see the Shaikh of Kuwait in company with Farhan ibn Mashur, and beg supplies. He wore a large white turban after the fashion of the 'Ikhwan, and merrily told me how he had brought off his coup. He finished his story by handing me some sixty letters and cypher telegrams which the king had sent to Bahrain for despatch. These, he said, he took off a dead man. I was sorely tempted to take the telegrams and despatch them for the king myself, but thought better of it.

For several years after the above rebellion was put down, Muham-

Appendix I

About half of the Mutair took part in the rebellion against Bin Saud
in 1929–30 under Faisal al Duwish. The other half remained loyal under 721
ibn Musaiyis, ibn Shuqair and others. The fortunes of the tribe suffered a temporary eclipse when the rebellion was put down, but it should not be long before it recovers its former strength.

The Mutair are well armed with modern rifles, mostly Turkish and [713]
German Mauser carbines with a sprinkling of .303 supplied by Bin Sa'ud, and though partially disarmed by Bin Sa'ud after the rebellion of 1929–30 have already largely replaced shortages.

Ammunition to-day appears to be scarce, but this is because it is Bin Sa'ud's policy to keep his tribes short of this commodity, until there is need for a general issue.

During the 'Ikhwan movement, the Mutair became the most fanatical and best of Bin Sa'ud's fighters. With the collapse of the movement they, like the 'Ajman and 'Awazim, have gone back to their old love and would like to come under Kuwait, from whom Bin Sa'ud managed to entice them away on the death of Mubarak, the great Ruler of Kuwait.

Sullen hostility to Bin Sa'ud is to-day (1937) marked in spite of the 669
latter's treating the Mutair well. The chief cause of the present hatred dates from the rebellion of 1929–30 and its aftermath, and may be summed up in the following:

(*a*) The imprisonment of Faisal al Duwish and death of their beloved leader in Riyadh.
(*b*) The confiscation by Bin Sa'ud of their almost sacred herd of camels known as the *Shuruf*.

The best-known characteristic of the tribe is the capacity for being able 726
to deliver a surprise attack from a far-distant base. As an individual the Mutairi is manly and brave but inclined to be sullen. He is not good in defence. The tribe breed mainly horses and camels and a few sheep. They 231
own the famous breed of *Krush* horses, and up to the 1929–30 rebellion could probably put six hundred horsemen into the field. The women wear 291
a black hanging soft *burqa* over their faces of attractive appearance, and 562
once satisfied of a guest's credentials will allow him to mix freely with them. This is one of the pleasing traits they are proud of.

The Shammar and Dhafir are the chief enemies of the Mutair. The 'Ajman 619
were formerly hostile, but their recent alliance (1929–30) has healed the breach of the past, at any rate for the time being, and marriages between the two tribes are not uncommon.

'AJMAN (Singular 'AJMI) 619

Paramount Shaikh—IBN HITHLAIN* (from Shaikhly Clan AL MA'IDH, 101
subsection NAJIAH). 622

* Is also pronounced Hathlain.

Appendix I

GENERAL REMARKS

B 231 The 'Awazim are famous for the fine camels and sheep they breed. They are reported to possess some 100,000 camels and 250,000 sheep.

B 726 The tribe has a good name among Badawin for defensive warfare, but are not considered any good in attack. This is probably because they have no horses, and are confined to a very definite region on the coast. They put up a most magnificent and determined stand against the combined 'Ajman and Mutair attack at Ingair in 1929 ('Ikhwan Rebellion).

B 619 The tribe is not considered a Sharif tribe, and only the Hutaim of West Arabia and the Rashaidah will marry with them.

K 611 B 619 611 About two thousand 'Awazim are established in Kuwait town and environs and these are now looked upon as *Hadhar* or townsfolk. They still inter-marry with their nomad relations. They consider the Ruler of Kuwait as their true overlord, but through fear of Bin Sa'ud are forced to show allegiance to Sa'udi Arabia. They, like the Mutair, were weaned away after Mubarak died. They would undoubtedly throw over their personal allegiance to Bin Sa'ud if safe opportunity offered, as Kuwait is their natural supplying town.

B 619 Characteristics—staunch, uncouth, with rather rough humour, not very hospitable.

Till Bin Sa'ud got control of the 'Awazim they were looked upon as the servants of the more noble 'Ajman. To break the idea and to weaken the latter, Bin Sa'ud honoured the 'Awazim with the title of an independent tribe, and armed them all with modern weapons and distributed much ammunition amongst them. Over 1,500 .303 rifles bought from Great Britain in 1929 were issued to the 'Awazim during the 1929–30 'Ikhwan Rebellion when they remained loyal to the King.

The 'Awazim joined the 'Ikhwan movement out of policy when it was at its heyday, but never really had their heart in it.

B 863 The tribe has a distinct shepherd community "Ahl al Ghanam", whose senior Shaikh is IBN MÁNA, as opposed to a camel community "Ahl al Bayir" (IBN JAMI), the latter being considered of more consequence.

B 619 713 The tribe's hereditary enemies are the 'Ajman and Mutair (Buraih). The tribe is well armed, most of their weapons being .303 long. They also possess Turkish mausers, with a sprinkling of .303 Martini carbines.

RASHAIDA (Singular RASHIDI)

B 619 *Paramount Shaikh*—IBN MUSAILIM.

101 *Present incumbents*—'ASI IBN MUSAILIM (Senior) and MUTLUQ IBN MUSAILIM.

221 *Strength*—Approximately 1,200 fighting men.

[622] *Habitat*—In winter, the tribe ranges from Safwan in the north of Kuwait

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CHAPTER XIV

Death, Burial and the Hereafter

If conditions permit, and water is available, a dead person is always washed, clothed in new linen, and then buried. If, as commonly occurs among the Badawin, these preliminaries are not possible, a hole is dug near the tent and the corpse buried with all speed. B 764

Women wash the bodies of women, and men those of men, never otherwise.

After a desert battle, the victors endeavour to bury their own dead but never those of the enemy, which are left to be eaten by the birds of the air and hyenas, as occurred in the battle of Ingair in 1929. The defeated party may, if they can, come and bury their dead at a later date—but this is of rare occurrence. B 764 727

Among the Badawin, mourning continues for three or four days, the women weeping and the men receiving guests who come to offer condolence.

On the evening of the death, a dinner must be given to the mourning guests, according to the means of the family.

Among Muslim townspeople generally (but not in Najd or Kuwait), a regular burial service, led by an *'alim* or priest, is held at the time of the burial, after which members of the family come to the grave every Friday and recite prayers or verses from the Qur'an. A 765

Those holding the Wahhabi doctrines and more especially the 'Ikhwan, bury simply and quickly, believing that once a man is dead his body is of no further account. A tomb is therefore anathema to the Wahhabis and they tolerate no monuments of any sort.

Among Kuwait Shi'ahs, and also in Iraq, a death is followed by a period of three days' mourning of an official family nature (*fathiha*). Crowds gather daily to pay condolences and mourn, and on the third night a priest recites prayers and recitations. A well-to-do person gives free lunches to his neighbours each day, and a big dinner on the third night to relatives and special mourners. K 765

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Appendix VII

in war or peace, and are at all times guarded with the greatest care and have their own special herdsmen. 223 825

The *Shuruf* can best be compared to the famous *Markab* or "Ark of Ishmael" which goes before the Rawala host when the latter tribe migrates to new regions or marches to war, and which is really nothing but a glorified ladies' camel litter, decked all over with black ostrich feathers (see under chapter dealing with the Tent and its treasures), but held in the deepest reverence by every single man and woman of the tribe.

As in the case of the *Markab*, the *Shuruf* is the rallying point of the tribe if attacked or in difficulties. The herd must be defended at all costs, and the tribe will cheerfully lose all its other camels in a battle or raid provided the *Shuruf* are safe.

In the attack, and especially if such be in the nature of a forlorn hope, the *Shuruf* have the place of honour always and lead the van. No Mutairi ever rides them, and they just move forward in a compact well-trained black mass ahead of the fighting men as if perfectly understanding the game. The latter will follow straight on to victory or death in their wake. The *Shuruf* seem also to know that they afford a sort of moving wall of protection for the footmen in their rear, and never scatter.

In peace time the famous black herd always grazes alone and under specially selected guards, always too as far from the common gaze as possible. It is said that should other strange camels get mixed up with them, the black herd will attack them and drive them out. Nor are the cows of the herd allowed to breed except from their own males.

To-day the *Al Shuruf* are in the hands of the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud —King and Lord of Arabia. They were taken away from the Mutair as the most severe punishment that could be meted out to them after Faisal al Duwish's rebellion of 1929–30, and are to-day (1939) most carefully guarded and looked after for the King by the faithful Shaikh Faisal bin Shiblan, head of the Jiblan sept of the great Mutair. Actually the King handed the *Shuruf* over to his brother Muhammad al Sa'ud for safe keeping after the above-mentioned rebellion, but this was a mere formality, for H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz' brand adorns the rear off hind quarter of each camel like this, ₀|₀, and the herd remains the King's property, much as in the occident any war flags captured from an enemy are handed over to the King. 687 233 425 727

As far as I am aware, my wife and I are the only Europeans living who have had the opportunity of setting eyes on this jealously guarded herd and semi-sacred tribal emblem of the Mutair. This was on 7th April and 14th April, 1939, when, by special invitation of His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait, King Bin Sa'ud sent his private camels numbering seventy-five *Raiyah* or herds, together with the *Shuruf* (some 4,500 all told) into the Araifjan and Shu'aiba districts of Kuwait to graze, the act being a gracious appreciation on the part of Shaikh Ahmad for Bin Sa'ud's good will and 825 233

361 going in the wake of profound political, economic and social
X166 changes:
178 a. political

The national governments of the Bedouin-inhabited countries, unwilling to have the tribes under their territorial jurisdiction remain as a separate social unit outside the national community, consider their permanent settlement on land absolutely essential to insure stability and progress. They are aware that, once the nomads become tied to the soil, the tribal system will begin to disintegrate and cease being a "state within a state." By controlling the Bedouin and encouraging their settlement, the administrations are putting an end to the special political status which the tribes enjoyed on the borders of the desert.

b. economic

361 With the conquest of the desert by modern means of trans-
X166 portation the camel-breeding industry of the true Bedouin has
178 been severely hit. Enforcement of public security destroyed
433 additional sources of livelihood, such as the plunder of caravans, inter-tribal raiding and the extortion of khuwa[1] from village communities and weaker semi-nomadic tribes. Extension of cultivation in the area is rapidly limiting the wandering territory of the tribes and thus adversely affecting their traditional pastoral economy.

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721 1. Bedouin raids are usually directed against other tribes or
728 caravans which are attacked and plundered. The toll which is frequently levied on the agricultural settlements on the fringe of the desert is called by the name khuwa, protection money.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

where wells are somewhat close together and the for- 312
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these 283
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair 342
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage 234
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised, 439
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is 262
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les- 574
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty 231
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an 556
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure luxury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk just as humans do. They are kept and treated as household pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail 731 ●
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou- 789
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a 262
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the land. Little children die because there is no food suitable for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed, and the whole community waits and prays for more rain the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a 511
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a mere trifle.

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members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he imposes and collects his own levies.[1]

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Bedouin tribe Abu Kishk that owned 20 000 dunams of land in the Sharon.[2] The sheikh's family in whose name the land was registered, sold 10 000 dunams to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunam orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh.

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CHAPTER XI

Attitude of the Tribesmen towards Settlers

The Bedouin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Transjordan Bedouin was desperate; 1946/47 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen

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1. Himadeh, 1950, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted to: sheep and goats — 40%, cattle — 45%, camels — 50%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1949, p. 10

241 that were willing to engage in agriculture after the economic
731 catastrophes of either the early 30's or the late 40's, because this tribal group is not yet ready for settlement. Similarly in Syria, as has been pointed out above, the calamitous season 1931/32 did not appreciably accelerate sedentarization. While the experienced Bedouin will take livestock losses and subsequent starvation in the desert as a matter of course, the novice cultivator will not face a harvest failure with the same equanimity.
x166 In 1936 many Transjordan nomads had taken up cultivation for the
731 first time, but the loss of their crops discouraged them so much, that they returned to the desert.[1]

241 Profound changes are, nevertheless, taking place in the
x166 mentality of the Bedouin. As a result of tribal disintegration
178 many nomads have become increasingly interested in sedentary life. When the nomad sees the sheikh, alienated from the tribe, enjoy luxuries beyond his dreams, he may also want to improve his standard of living and enjoy the "comforts" of the settled villager whose existence is prosperous compared by the Bedouin's standard of life. Pride may keep the nomad from working on the land, but nevertheless there are now hundreds of Iraqi and Syrian villages inhabited by people who were formerly nomads. Some of them still maintain tribal customs although they have been settled for a long time and severed the relations with their original tribes.[2]

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1. Report, 1936, p. 349
2. El-Shihaby, 1950, pp. 278 seq.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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CHAPTER XXXIV

Locusts

Truly blessed are those countries and states which know not the Locust, nor have experienced his visitations. 731

When the word locust crops up, the average person thinks of the plagues of Egypt, and recalls vivid descriptions in the Old Testament. He pictures a mighty swarm of flying grasshoppers which settle on fruit trees, hedgerows, vegetable gardens and wheat fields, and after taking their fill, pass on. This is not an entirely false picture, but the reality is far worse. In a country like Arabia visitations are comparatively common, and one locust year is invariably followed by a second, third, and possibly a fourth. Locusts destroy not only all living bushes and available green grass, each blade of which is vital to life in a desert country like the Arabian peninsula, but cause untold hardship to townsmen and villagers. Sheep die in hundreds after a visitation because there is no more green or dry grass left for them to feed on. Though I speak with particular feeling for the Arabia I love, the locust problem is not confined to that country. Locusts annually devastate large tracts and districts of North Africa, Central and South Africa, Baluchistan, India, Persia, Iraq and Turkey.

The insect's home seems, however, to be Africa, and as far as Arabia is concerned, the general route followed by these pests in migration would seem to be from Abyssinia to Yaman in the first place. Thence the swarms apparently select one of two routes—one swarm going to Baluchistan and India via the South Arabian seaboard, and the other moving up into the Hijaz, Najd, North-Eastern tracts of Arabia, and on into Iraq and Persia. There are naturally many subsidiary migrations, but in the main as far as Arabia proper is concerned, I think—though I speak with diffidence—the theory of swarms coming over from Abyssinia and then dividing into two main streams, is fairly near the truth. This is the theory generally accepted among desert Arabs. 136 825

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Bedouins MJ4

who arrived in Kuwait on 27th February reported that he had seen further large flights in South Hasa and Qatif at the end of January and early in February, also that Hufuf had had a bad visitation in January. K 731

"It was thus anticipated that March would see another invasion of Kuwait.

"Very fortunately except for the swarm mentioned above no locusts actually reached Iraq or Kuwait and the previous years' invasions were not repeated."

"On 23rd May Professor B. P. Uvarov of the South Kensington Natural History Museum, visited Kuwait to collect data regarding the previous three years' visitations, and the lines of approach of the various swarms up from S.W. Arabia to Najd and Kuwait. He prophesied that Kuwait would see no more locusts in 1932 or for another three or four years, as all evidence went to prove that they appeared in cycles of three years at a time. His prophecy came remarkably true, and between 1932 and 1935 there have been no locust visitations at all. Let us hope that 1936* will not see a reappearance."

So much for my own experience, and the damage done to town dwellers, and owners of gardens and sheep.

The Badawin proper, that is to say the great migrating camel tribes, do not mind the locusts much, in fact they rejoice in a way when they see them, for they indicate that the year is going to be a good one. Locusts, they say, only come in prosperous years. B 825

It does not worry these nomads if large tracts of country are denuded of fodder; they simply move off to country which has not been visited. They know that the damage done by locust swarms is more or less local, and that the insect will move to more favourable country lying to the north (Iraq) and will not bother them for long. They also enjoy the wonderful opportunity to satisfy for once in a while their ever-prevailing hunger. Nor is this all, for their horses, camels and dogs all get their fill, as well as foxes, bustard, monitor lizards, kites, shrikes and a dozen other denizens of the desert. B 731 261

I remember once, when coming home with my wife from the Bátin by car, meeting a swarm of locusts flying very low, moving across the plain west of Jahrah. It was near sunset, and we saw several

* They did not appear in 1936 or 1937.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

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full-sized *dhabb* and *warral* monitors on the side of the track chasing the flying locusts and jumping in the air to catch them. We were so much interested at the sight that we stopped our car and watched for some five minutes. There were eight large monitors, and in their excitement they appeared oblivious of our presence.

On another occasion I remember visiting a Badawin camp which had just received a visitation of Carmine or Red Locusts. The whole camp had turned out to slay and collect the insects for food, and from the numbers collected it was evident that they had had a most successful day. The roofs of all the black tents were strewn from end to end with dead locusts spread out to dry, every available mat, rug and *lahdf* was also laid out to take the excess catch, and camels, dogs, mares and human beings were hard at work eating the insects, whilst cooking pots, bags, paniers and water-skins were crammed to overflowing with dried ones.

I, personally, never could fancy locusts much, but my wife and daughter, especially the daughter, revelled in them. I am told that even the Badawin enjoy them for a few days only, after which their gorge seems to rise against the food, and they give the remnants of their catch to their animals.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

if the Bedouins were willing to settle down to that sort of existence.

But the Bedouin, even though he knows of these places, does not care to give up his free desert life for the hard and disagreeable labor of the towns. He is faithful to his camels, and to his goats and sheep if he is fortunate enough to have them. He loves these animals and not one of them lacks a personal name. The little lambs and kids will be carried in his arms when the road is rocky or steep. The work of a cultivator, however, he hates, and he will nearly starve before descending to such a level as to engage in it. He looks down upon the townsmen with a lofty scorn and thinks of their hard labor as unworthy of men, fit rather for animals. This remarkable man regards himself as heaven's favorite, and he exhibits a contempt for the rest of the world and a satisfaction with himself and his life that would be sublime if they were not terribly pathetic.

Yet far from being ridiculous this Bedouin of the desert is one of the most splendid figures of our time. Out of that fearful poverty which amounts to constant semi-starvation, out of a lack of cleanliness that is continual degradation of the spirit, out of an isolation and an ignorance that make him a provincial in spite of himself, he stands as the world's supreme example of that Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that have been the dream of the ages. Tied down and limited by the lack of all material things, his spirit looks on them with indifference and cheerful contempt and pines away only when immersed in the obese and self-satisfied materialism of the town. He rises triumphant over his environment by the sheer strength of his spirit. Ignorant of all the wis-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

dom of books, he has attained to that supreme wisdom which is a secret hidden from most schoolmen. He has learned that the world and all its material blessings are trifles compared to the things of the spirit; that the only things that are important for us to know are how to worship God and how to associate with our fellow men.

It is by the things of the spirit that the Bedouin lives. Take him away from his beloved desert with its poverty and death, its aridity and loneliness, and he will languish although his stomach may be full and his bed soft. Let him breathe the air of the desert's freedom and equality and hospitality, and his cheerfulness is unquenchable, even though his belt is tightened because of hunger and his flocks and herds are dying of thirst. The Bedouin's cheerfulness in the face of adversity is a proverb. His happy-go-lucky spirit bows to the pressure of no adverse material conditions whatever. Perhaps it is because he has so few of the various luxuries of this world to enjoy that he looks on them with such great contempt. Doubtless also his poverty has much to do with the emphasis he puts upon the things of the next world as compared to the affairs of this one. His hopes are centered the other side of the grave. To the Bedouin God is actually the greatest reality in the universe, and the greatest task of life is to please Him. Few men anywhere in the world consider their religion a matter of such vital moment as do the Sunnis, or orthodox Mohammedans, of the Arabian desert, particularly in the inland regions which have been shaken recently by the great *Akhwan* revival. We shall have occasion in later chapters to discuss the religious conceptions and practices of the Arab in more detail, but no description of desert life would be

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Horrors of Summer

THE ANNUAL MOVES

312 During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September
361 and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concen-
283 trates on its wells (*gulbán*), which in each case are groups of wells
182 lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here
221 they camp (*igaiyathun*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *musábilah* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring
735 them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the
651 time when the *zakát* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *sarîya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer.

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

221 At long last October, or the *wasm* season (the rains) arrives and
182 small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

181 thoroughbreds. No race prizes lineage higher, yet they are the most
554 democratic people in the world and the most individualistic. Among
them there is real equality. To certain families, by virtue of their descent,
177 they accord certain privileges, but as a courtesy, not as a right, and Badu
577 sheikhs command respect only as long as they merit it. The traditional Arab way of life, fast vanishing to-day in contact with the West, owed much to Badu concepts, for the villagers and townsmen of Arabia, who form by far the greater part of her population, live close to the desert and were profoundly affected by it until motor-cars and aeroplanes removed for ever the need for camel journeys. Most of them are, indeed, of Badu origin, for the desert tides have always stranded the weak and broken upon the fringes of the Sown. Everywhere the Arabs have, at all times, judged honour and chivalry and hospitality by the standards of the tribesmen. Their love of liberty, their freedom from prejudice of class and caste, and their enthusiasm for poetry have come to them from the desert.

157 It is impossible to assess the character of the Badu, for among no other
577 race have so many contradictory qualities been fused together. I myself
81 have witnessed their courage and self-reliance, their endurance and pride of race, and I remember their patience, generosity, and unselfishness. But often I have been exasperated by their avarice and wearied by their endless
• [935] importunities. No Badu thinks it shame to beg, and usually he will look disparagingly at the gift which he has received and grumble, "Is this all
[937] that you are going to give me?" Grasping and avaricious, they will talk unceasingly of money and argue heatedly for days about a dollar, then they will slaughter a camel worth 150 dollars to feed a stranger. Loyal to each other, they are yet without regard for human life and will knife an unarmed herdsboy with a jest. Cheerful and easily amused, they are generally good-tempered, though passionate when roused and quick to resent an injury.

166 I have often wondered as I rode across the desert what the future, and even the immediate future, holds for my companions and their kinsmen. The discovery of oil on the Persian Gulf is going to affect them profoundly and make it impossible for them to continue in their old ways, even if they would. I think myself that the oilfields will empty the desert. This movement of tribes from the Yaman and the Hadhramaut towards the north and the north-east is a movement which has been going on for thousands of years. It probably started even before the great migration of the Qahtan tribes, when, overwhelmed by calamity in their homes round Marib, some of them pushed across the deserts and occupied Oman. In recent years tribes such as the Awamir, Ruashid, and Manahil have left their homelands in the steppes to the north-east of the Hadhramaut and moved out into the sands to escape from the incursions of more powerful
166 tribes pressing on them from the west. Having accustomed themselves to
177 life in the sands, they have penetrated ever further and further into the Empty Quarter. In the past twenty or thirty years as conditions have become more settled in the north, due to the extension of Ibn Saud's influence over the powerful Murra tribe, they have grazed their herds round the Liwa oasis and in the sands near the Trucial Coast. Now the money to be earned on the oilfields along the Gulf is drawing the Badu

.21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Badouin MJ4

Strict discipline, necessary both in everyday routine and because of liability to attack, has left its mark on Badawin ways of thought. In religion, there is little room for compromise or doubt—a strong, vivid, and intolerant faith is held. Similarly, there is a strict code of behaviour. Hospitality, in an environment without fixed routes or settlements, is a highly regarded virtue, and ordinary social intercourse has been developed into an elaborate code of manners and conduct. In view of the vagaries of human existence amongst the Badawin, it is hardly surprising that superstition and fatalism are also strongly marked. The operation of the 'evil eye' and malevolent spirits is seen in everyday life—nothing is praised directly without attributing its excellence as due to God—and men and animals wear charms.[1]

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Possibly as a result of reduced physical strength, and their enforced preoccupation with household tasks, the status of women is low. Although not veiled, like the women of the settled areas, Badawin women are regarded as in all things the inferiors of men. It may be significant that among pastoral communities, religious deities are regarded as masculine in attribute. Only in the religious systems of non-pastoral peoples do we find female deities—mother-goddesses of wide influence—with a corresponding rise in importance of women above the level of mere drudges and bearers of children.

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Though Badawin life is hard and unrewarding, those who follow it value it highly. A true Bedu looks down with disdain on other ways of life, particularly that of cultivators in better watered districts, for whom he often has a profound contempt as effete and subservient. Despite their own strict social organisation, the Badawin can contrast the dull routine of agricultural practice, and the looseness and self-indulgence of city life with their own courage, independence of thought, abstemiousness, and mobility.

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Nomadism is a special response to environment, by which the frontier of human occupation is pushed farther within a region of increasing difficulty. In the past, nomadism has often been regarded as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture; it was believed that primitive man passed from a life of hunting and collecting first into a stage of pastoralism, and later, in places where conditions were favourable, to the fullest development of a life based on cultivation. In the opinion of H. J. Fleure and others this view must be modified—pastoralism may, in some instances, represent a special, later development *from* agriculture—a dynamic response to environmental

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[1] Even Arab taxis in the cities carry a charm on the radiator.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Drinking muddy water or infected water is another cause, especially among those who go off to the Haj. It is pitiful to see the numbers of men and women who return from the Pilgrimage with dysentery, colitis, and so forth. 757 164

Constipation, of course, is very common.

It must be clearly understood that only the fringe of this interesting subject has been touched upon, but enough, I hope, to show that the most crying of all needs in Arabia to-day, and especially among the Badawin, is good medical attention, hospitals in cities and travelling motor clinics, which can move about among the nomad population and treat them in their homes. The medical branch of the American mission (Dutch Reformed Church) for long established in the Persian Gulf, has done wonders, but much, much more is required.

One of the most interesting features of the Badawin's attitude towards sickness, and especially wounds and sores, is his firm belief that certain pleasant smells or scents have a directly harmful effect on the progress towards recovery. It is in consequence a common sight to see Badawins entering the town of Kuwait, etc., with their nostrils stuffed up with dirty pieces of rag, inserted in the form of "plugs". A sufferer religiously keeps these in his nose until such time as he can escape out of the town again. The "smell of a woman", as he calls it, is a particularly dangerous form of scent to a wound, etc. 751 753

If a man is recovering from smallpox, on the other hand, it is believed that certain human smells, and certain foods, have a highly beneficial effect on the convalescent. He does not, however, know what this food is, or what particular person's odour will help him, so he goes out to receive visits of all the women in the neighbourhood, and is given every possible change of diet, in the fond hope that he will accidentally light on the right thing to effect a cure. This treatment was tried for Nazzal al Rashidi's illness in 1932. 751 757

In my various wanderings among the Badawin, I have always carried a few common medicines, notably of a purgative kind. These have always proved useful. Aspirin too I have found invaluable, as strange though it may seem sun-headaches appear to be fairly common among tribal folk, especially among the women.

Simple Fractures are dealt with fairly satisfactorily by the Badawin. He understands the use of splints, and usually before putting the 752

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1-
Bedouins MJ4
Saudi Arabia MJ1

will rush at man, emitting a fierce hissing sound like a cobra. It can move very fast when in flight. It is the great enemy of the dhub lizard, which it attacks at sight, and three times out of four defeats and kills it after a battle of giants. K 136 SA 136

The wurral's bite is said by all the Badawins to be poisonous, but it only occasionally kills a human being. Its bite causes great pain, and a person bitten gets no relief "either from shade or sun" (to use a Badawin expression). The wurral is considered unclean and is not eaten, it is rather preserved because it rids the neighbourhood of snakes. The wurral feeds on grass (*'ashib*), snakes and insects, and like the dhub is very fond of locusts. [B 262]

In 1933, during the flight of a swarm of locusts west of Jahrah near Al Atraf, I saw five wurral and three dhubs, all full sized, madly rushing about and jumping into the air catching the flying insects. I was in a car with my wife, and we stopped and watched them for twenty minutes, at a distance of less than fifty yards. In their excitement they forgot all about fear of the car and human beings.

The wurral is sandy coloured and has a long, powerful but smooth tail, salmon coloured but verging into scarlet near the tip. Round the tail is a series of dark rings. It has a cream belly, and possesses no scales.

After the dhub, the wurral's chief enemy is the snake, non-poisonous or poisonous, which it eats. If bitten by a poisonous snake, it is said straightway to go off to the *ramrâm* bush, and roll itself well in the bush and eat some of the leaves. This is said by the Badawin to act as an antidote to the snake's poison. In any case, the wurral apparently comes to no harm if bitten by the most poisonous of snakes. From watching the wurral's methods and its ability to escape the consequences of the snake's poison by eating and rolling in the *ramrâm* bush, the Badawin has learned to value the *ramrâm* as an anti-snake medicine, apparently with satisfactory results. The *ramrâm* is the *Heliotropium cignosum* of the botanist. [B 152]

THE DHUB, OR SPINE-TAILED MONITOR

This interesting lizard is known by its snub-nosed head, and massive tail covered with horny spikes, which forms its main defensive weapon.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Attitude to Sickness

Chap. XL

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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 M1 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

782 splints on he packs the broken limb with a concoction of barley flower, salt and eggs. After the expiration of some twenty-five days the bandage is loosened and the splints removed. Whilst the bone is setting the patient feeds on *laben* (sour milk) or camel's milk only. He must not eat dates or sweet things. He must also plug up both nostrils.

Wounds.—A small wound is known as a *nawli*.
A bad or large one is known as a *jerah*.
A wounded man is known as a *nawli*.

As related above, certain scents (*rihe*) or smells harm the wound, and open it up again. A man, therefore, who is suffering from a wound or broken bone is always placed on the windward side of the tent, and he must keep his nostrils plugged up. As with fractures, sweet dishes and food must be avoided, otherwise the wound will fester. Particularly harmful is the close approach of a man who has had sexual intercourse and has not as yet had time to wash himself. Similarly, a menstruous woman is a danger. Both are unclean, *najis*, and so are harmful.

[141] [838]

Certain smells are not considered harmful, such are:

(*a*) Smoke from burning camel manure (*jelle*), used universally when making coffee.
(*b*) Tobacco smoke.
(*c*) Smell of the tar concoction they put on camels for mange (*jerad*).
(*d*) The smell of roasting coffee and food generally.

In peaceful times the urine of small children is sometimes applied to wounds, as a sort of antiseptic wash. On a *ghazzu* or raid, the companions of a wounded man will wash his wounds with their own urine for the same reason. But to gain the best results it must be urine of young heroes, not of elderly men.

[816] The wounded man is greeted with such expressions as, *Allah i al'afiah*—*Allah yifa'ad a sharr an ak*—*Allah yanik al a'afiah*, etc.

Snake Bites.—When a person is bitten by a snake which is known to be poisonous the following precautions must be immediately taken:

(i) The spot bitten must be deeply cut with a knife and blood made to flow.
(ii) Two tourniquets must be applied to the limb (arm or leg) above where the snake has bitten the person.

Cures

Chap. XL

752 (3) A sheep must be slain at once and the whole of the wounded limb must be wrapped in the skin of the sheep whilst still warm. Better still, if the person can wrap his whole body in the skin. This is to make him or her perspire thoroughly. If the weather is cold and sweat comes slowly, the patient is made to lie down and two fires are lit close on either side.

(4) The patient is given tea from the *ramrâm* plant, if available, and the actual spot where the bite shows is covered with *ramrâm* paste.

Care must be taken to prevent the bitten person from sleeping, and for twenty-four hours he must be kept awake at all costs. After twenty-four hours the skin is removed, but the tourniquets are kept on night and day, in spite of the agony and swelling of the limbs, for twenty days.

A woman of the Rashaida tribe, from Qatar, who was bitten by a cobra on the ankle, told me that she underwent the above treatment, and that eventually her foot swelled to such an extent that it burst (her expression) at the instep, and black pussy liquid in very large quantities flowed away. That was considered to be the snake poison leaving her, but it was more probably gangrenous pus which had accumulated as a result of stopping the blood circulation.

Among the Diyahin tribe, a sept of the Mutair (Braih), I knew another woman, Nura Um Mubarak (a relation of Hillal al Mutairi), who had survived three bites from the horned viper. She underwent the same treatment each time.

CURING SORE EYES

757 Rifa'a, the wife of Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra of the Rukhman section of the Mutair, told me the following on 24th April, 1937, in course of general conversation. For ordinary sore eyes caused by flies and dirt generally the best cure was:

(1) In case of a child, for the mother or another woman to put a few drops of her milk daily in the child's eyes. This soothed and had a definitely curative effect.

757 784 (2) In case of a man, the same thing applied, but it must never be the milk of his own wife. That was sinful and results would be worse than the cure. Another woman's milk was necessary.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XLIV

Curious Customs and Stories

MAD DOG BITE

752 826 If a person is bitten by a dog suffering from rabies, he must immediately find a man of the Birzan section of the Mutair, and drink a coffee-cup full of his blood (which he pays for). The blood of a Birzani so taken is regarded among all the tribes of North-East Arabia as an infallible cure.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.
Confirmed by the Shaikh of the Birzan, the late 'Ali al Shuwairibat, in 1935

DIVISION OF SPOIL, GIFTS, ETC.

425 Among the Badawin the method adopted for the just division of spoil is to send one person some distance away, so that he cannot see what article is selected. Another will then call out "Who shall have this?" holding up or pointing at a particular article. The man must then in reply name one of the party. This custom has religious or *Shari'ah* sanction behind it.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.

MAKING DECISIONS

787 To decide whether a journey or other enterprise shall be undertaken, the counting of beads (odd or even) three times, is common among the Shi'ahs.

Among the Badawin the following method is adopted: A man will shut his eyes and hold his hands out in front of him, palms towards him, and fingers of the two hands pointing toward each other. He will then try slowly and with his eyes shut to bring the fingers together, so as to make the tip of the centre finger of one hand *exactly*

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

757 *Girmiz*—A pink dye, used a good deal in towns for sore eyes among children and grown-ups.

Branding—Is universally used for aches, pains in the stomach and tubercolosis. The operation is usually done with red-hot tent pins (*khillal*).

Ramrâm—A wild flowering plant. Used for sore mouth, tender gums, mouth blisters in children and mouths sore from scurvy (contracted on the pearl banks in the Persian Gulf).

For grown-ups, the plant is boiled with water, and the resulting thin soup is used as a mouth-wash when cool. For children the *ramrâm* is crushed into a paste with pestle and mortar, mixed with *girmiz*, and applied to the sore place with the finger.

Al Ja'ada—A wild bush. Boiled in water gives a very useful purgative. The Badawin consider it also a cure for "Basra fever" (presumably malaria).

Fish soup—Is commonly drunk by women living near the sea to increase their milk. Sun-dried sprats are given to cows for the same reason throughout the Persian Gulf.

Shark's meat—Among the *hadhar* is said to cure impotency in man.

Cure for the Evil Eye—A man or woman upon whom the evil eye is supposed to have fallen is commonly treated as follows: [753]

A bowl of cold water is obtained, and in the water is placed a pair of scissors (*mugas*) bought from the town, a woman's comb (*mishi*), the head of a woodcutter's chopper (*tabbar*), a small needle (*ibra*), a large sailmaker's bodkin (*makhait*) and a round yellow pebble (*kharza ma al nigat*).

The bowl is then placed on the patient's head and ½ *waggiyah* (1½ lb. approximately) of molten lead is then poured into the cold water. The bowl is held on the head for a few seconds, and removed. The evil eye is said to go straight out of the patient into the bowl and the various articles it contains.

Among the Badawin every new-born child must have a piece of steel placed close to its side when it sleeps or lies in its cot. This nearly always consists of a naked dagger stuck upright in the ground close to its head, or laid alongside its body if in a cot.

Donkey's caul—The caul of a baby donkey is much valued for its medicinal virtues. It is taken and dried, and has properties such as the healing of wounds, or the bringing of boils to a head. A piece of the caul is cut off, soaked in water and salt and applied to the wound or boil, and kept in position by a bandage. Excellent results are reported.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

Chap. X tribal shaikhs, on the other hand, usually content themselves with one wife. In Kuwait, for instance, the ruler's Queen is a lady of the Al Subah. She is never divorced—such a thing would be a disgrace to the family as a whole. She remains the Shaikhah always. She magnanimously, however, allows the Shaikh Ibn Subah to take three other tribal wives, to amuse himself with, and to change them as often as he likes, provided he does not bring them into the town of Kuwait itself. They must remain in the desert. In this way her pride is satisfied. She remains the Queen. Here is an object lesson to the West. K 643 587

At the birth of a child to a Badawin mother, a dagger, piece of steel, or even a needle or bodkin, must be placed in the cot or attached to the clothes of the baby. The mother cannot move the child without this piece of metal going with it. Iron or steel, is the thing that counts. Gold, etc., will not do. The idea is that it wards off the Evil Eye. The custom is universal among the Mutair, Dhafir, Shammar, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, and probably will be found to exist among all the desert tribes. B 844 753

A woman is said to be *hámila* or *habla* when she is pregnant. She is said to have *walddat* or *thind'at* when the child is born. The term *thina* is always used for the unborn child. B 843

CIRCUMCISION

Among the Badawin circumcision is performed when the boy is between three and a half and seven years. B 304 852

The operation is usually done by one who has had previous practice. The day is looked upon as a family holiday, and according to a man's means, guests and neighbours are invited to a meal, best clothes are donned, and the womenfolk dance among themselves till a late hour, except the mother, who runs away (*tinhash*) and hides herself. The boy is now a "proper Muslim".

The season for the circumcision ceremony is nearly always June (*al Sifári*) when the *bárih* or dry north-west wind is blowing. The wound is supposed to heal quickly then. If the sea is near by, the boy is encouraged to bathe, the salty nature of the water acting as an antiseptic.

Among some Badawin the feasting of guests and neighbours goes on for the number of days that the boy has years, i.e. if he is six years

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Drinking muddy water or infected water is another cause, especially among those who go off to the Haj. It is pitiful to see the numbers of men and women who return from the Pilgrimage with dysentery, colitis, and so forth. 757 164

Constipation, of course, is very common.

It must be clearly understood that only the fringe of this interesting subject has been touched upon, but enough, I hope, to show that the most crying of all needs in Arabia to-day, and especially among the Badawin, is good medical attention, hospitals in cities and travelling motor clinics, which can move about among the nomad population and treat them in their homes. The medical branch of the American mission (Dutch Reformed Church) for long established in the Persian Gulf, has done wonders, but much, much more is required.

One of the most interesting features of the Badawin's attitude towards sickness, and especially wounds and sores, is his firm belief that certain pleasant smells or scents have a directly harmful effect on the progress towards recovery. It is in consequence a common sight to see Badawins entering the town of Kuwait, etc., with their nostrils stuffed up with dirty pieces of rag, inserted in the form of "plugs". A sufferer religiously keeps these in his nose until such time as he can escape out of the town again. The "smell of a woman", as he calls it, is a particularly dangerous form of scent to a wound, etc. 751 753

If a man is recovering from smallpox, on the other hand, it is believed that certain human smells, and certain foods, have a highly beneficial effect on the convalescent. He does not, however, know what this food is, or what particular person's odour will help him, so he goes out to receive visits of all the women in the neighbourhood, and is given every possible change of diet, in the fond hope that he will accidentally light on the right thing to effect a cure. This treatment was tried for Nazzal al Rashidi's illness in 1932. 751 757

In my various wanderings among the Badawin, I have always carried a few common medicines, notably of a purgative kind. These have always proved useful. Aspirin too I have found invaluable, as strange though it may seem sun-headaches appear to be fairly common among tribal folk, especially among the women.

Simple Fractures are dealt with fairly satisfactorily by the Badawin. He understands the use of splints, and usually before putting the 752

,21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

Strict discipline, necessary both in everyday routine and because of liability to attack, has left its mark on Badawin ways of thought. In religion, there is little room for compromise or doubt—a strong, vivid, and intolerant faith is held. Similarly, there is a strict code of behaviour. Hospitality, in an environment without fixed routes or settlements, is a highly regarded virtue, and ordinary social intercourse has been developed into an elaborate code of manners and conduct. In view of the vagaries of human existence amongst the Badawin, it is hardly surprising that superstition and fatalism are also strongly marked. The operation of the 'evil eye' and malevolent spirits is seen in everyday life—nothing is praised directly without attributing its excellence as due to God—and men and animals wear charms.[1]

Possibly as a result of reduced physical strength, and their enforced preoccupation with household tasks, the status of women is low. Although not veiled, like the women of the settled areas, Badawin women are regarded as in all things the inferiors of men. It may be significant that among pastoral communities, religious deities are regarded as masculine in attribute. Only in the religious systems of non-pastoral peoples do we find female deities—mother-goddesses of wide influence—with a corresponding rise in importance of women above the level of mere drudges and bearers of children.

Though Badawin life is hard and unrewarding, those who follow it value it highly. A true Bedu looks down with disdain on other ways of life, particularly that of cultivators in better watered districts, for whom he often has a profound contempt as effete and subservient. Despite their own strict social organisation, the Badawin can contrast the dull routine of agricultural practice, and the looseness and self-indulgence of city life with their own courage, independence of thought, abstemiousness, and mobility.

Nomadism is a special response to environment, by which the frontier of human occupation is pushed farther within a region of increasing difficulty. In the past, nomadism has often been regarded as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture; it was believed that primitive man passed from a life of hunting and collecting first into a stage of pastoralism, and later, in places where conditions were favourable, to the fullest development of a life based on cultivation. In the opinion of H. J. Fleure and others this view must be modified—pastoralism may, in some instances, represent a special, later development *from* agriculture—a dynamic response to environmental

[1] Even Arab taxis in the cities carry a charm on the radiator.

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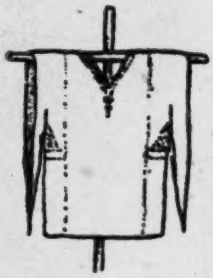
in which the Crusaders were worsted, and were carried off into slavery by the desert Arab, and that the present-day Sulubba are their descendants. Shaikh 'Abdullah will quote to prove his point,

B 565 619 174

(*a*) The fact that the "cross" is the symbol of the Sulubba.
(*b*) That the plural of their name "Sulaib" is clearly the same as the Arab name for the Christian cross which is known as *Salib*, the word *sulaib* being merely a diminutive form of *Salib*.



There is perhaps something to say for the theory, but it would be dangerous to form conclusions pending the collection of more data about these interesting people. In particular would it be interesting to collect extensive anthropometric measurements.

The Sulubba women are accused of having (i) the power of casting the Evil Eye (*'ain*), (ii) special knowledge in preparing poisons and love potions for those who want them (*saqwa*), and (iii) above all of being versed in the devilish lore of witchcraft (*sahar*).

B 565 754

(i) The first accusation is probably due to the fact that many young Badawin men have lost their heads over pretty Sulubba girls and have had to flee their tribes. (ii) and (iii) are probably fairly true accusations, for they certainly claim to have the power of making one person love another, as well as of divination. On the other hand, they are a useful target for the public, if something evil happens to a prominent person. "It must be a Sulubba woman who has cast a spell on so-and-so", they say.

B [186]

The Sulubba must not be confused with the Kauliyah or Gipsies. These latter are to be found all over Iraq and its borders, and are, I think, without doubt one and the same as the Romany Gipsies of Europe and England. They dress like Badawin and live in small

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CHAPTER XLIII

The Supernatural

SPELLS (SAHAR)

754 Among the Badawin it is widely believed that certain women (mostly though not necessarily Sulubbiyah*), can cast spells over men, and can also remove them at will. Such a woman is known as a *sahdra*. For example, one Dehila was a famous spell-weaver of the 'Utaiba tribe, and was known all over Najd and North-East Arabia, including Kuwait. She was finally slain by the Shaikh of the 'Utaiba, Sultan ibn Humaid, at Ghaghat, when 'Ikhwanism was at its height (probably about 1929).

An old 'Ajman shaikh told me on 26th March, 1935, in general conversation on this subject, that the wife of the Amir Ajlan, Rashidi Governor at Riyadh, took vengeance in the following way on 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (the present King) for slaying her husband and capturing the city. She begged Bin Sa'ud to accept a *dushak* and *mukhaddah* (mattress and cushion) of her own make as a present. She took care previously to place inside the pillow certain necessary writings and other articles such as needles, coloured threads, etc., which could cast a spell *sahar* and kill. She got these from a woman skilled in the business. Bin Sa'ud and the 'Ajman shaikh who had helped him to capture Riyadh, one Manahi ibn Mijlád, both leaned on the pillow, which was placed between them. Manahi got the spell, sickened rapidly and died. Bin Sa'ud was struck with agonising pain in head and eyes, but was saved by the spell-breaker, Hitlan al Dausari. In the process of being released from the spell, Bin Sa'ud got rid of small black worms like caterpillars, which fell out in quantities from his nose, also small white worms were coughed up out of his throat. The *sahar* had nearly worked successfully on Bin Sa'ud also, and from the King downwards everyone knew what had happened. 'Abdul 'Aziz, with true chivalry, did not kill the woman, but sent her home

* See Chapter XLI.

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to Hail. The above story is to-day widely believed among all Badawin of Arabia, especially among the 'Ajman. 754

H.E. the Shaikh of Kuwait on 28th March, 1935, described how, among the Badawin, women, more especially when there were two wives, often tried to buy spells to keep their husbands' love. Such spells often succeeded so well as eventually to kill the man by the violence of their action. It was necessary for a successful spell that the wife should get a hair from her husband's head or beard when he was asleep, and give it to the spell-weaver. The latter put it in a concoction to be drunk by the man. 754 832

'Ali al Shuwairibat, famous Shaikh of the Birzan section of the Braih, Mutair (Wasil), had a spell put on him by his adoring wife somewhere in February 1935. The spell made him love her so greatly that it slowly killed him, it is said. He was brought into Kuwait on 21st March, 1935, in a dying condition. Shaikh Ja'alan, his cousin, and the man who brought him in, came and saw me and told me the whole story. 'Ali al Shuwairibat died on 14th April, 1935, after having tried in vain to get a local woman spell-breaker to cure him. He had refused to take my advice at first and see Dr. Mylrea of the American Mission, though actual symptoms suggested that he was suffering from galloping consumption. He later did see Mylrea, who confirmed that the man had advanced phthisis, but refused to be treated properly. He preferred the spell-breaker. 'Ali's wife was later killed by his brother, in spite of her having taken refuge in the tent of Bin Sa'ud's Commandant of Sariya at Hafar al Batin. The accusation against her was that she had cast a spell on her husband and caused his death.

A very grave but curious case of *sahar* came under my personal notice at Kuwait on 26th March, 1936, and was all the more remarkable because the chief actor was Mr. A, one of the most enlightened and well-read persons, who had always shown himself to be a most educated, fair and responsible man and, to my certain knowledge, had always been against all forms of witchcraft, tyranny and slavery, and had often told me of the number of slaves he had freed, and of his steady efforts to put down even domestic slavery. 754

Apparently in this case the superstition which is always deeply inherent in every Arab mind, and the belief that he had got hold of a

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754 genuine case of *sahar* or witchcraft, made him forget all his nice new-born ideas.

It happened in this wise:

Mr. B, uncle to Mr. A, was camped for the spring season some miles from Kuwait, and Mr. A was camped in the vicinity. The lady X, B's sister, was staying, as she often did, in A's tent. Now the lady X had long been *za'alan*, or angry, with her brother, for his attentions to one of her own pretty female slaves. This girl cooked for him, cared for his clothes, arranged all the household matters and generally ran the establishment. For the lady X this was hard to bear, as she herself had for long been in the position of the Shaikhah, or head of B's establishment. The lady X undoubtedly felt herself being slowly supplanted by the comely Abyssinian slave-girl, hence she had more and more stayed away and lived in A's tent.

Nor was this all. The lady X had long been in ill health due in the first instance to bad pyorrhœa, and undoubtedly she was getting more and more feeble and definitely beginning to lose her looks, her temper and her amiability.

This combination of jealousy and bad health began to work on her mind, and slowly but surely she conceived the idea that the slave-girl had bewitched her brother, Mr. B, and had cast a *sahar* over herself, which unless counteracted would bring about her death at no distant date. She began to pour out her woes to her nephew, Mr. A, and the latter as slowly but surely began to believe she was right. Now Mr. A was very fond of his young aunt (who was unmarried), and was anxious to do all he could to help. At length, as the lady X got more and more morose, and was obviously failing seriously in health, he determined to try what he could do. He told X, his aunt, to send a car to Mr. B's camp to fetch her slave. The slave-girl readily came and, entering her mistress's tent, asked what she wanted. The lady X told her that Mr. A was in a neighbouring tent and wanted to speak with her. What followed can only be surmised, but according to slaves' talk, she was accused of having concocted and cast a spell over lady X so as to gradually kill her, and supplant her in her brother B's affection and favour. The slave-girl, who strenuously denied the tale, was most unmercifully

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beaten all over, especially on the head, by men slaves. After what must have been a truly terrible ordeal, the miserable girl died and her body was sent off to her old father and mother for burial covered up with her *'abba* in a car. Mr. B was furious when he heard of the deed, and Mr. A, in a stormy interview, is reported to have taken the line that by his deed he had saved his uncle B's honour, and his aunt's life to boot, and that therefore his act was a virtuous one and justified. 754

The Ruler, H.H. Shaikh Ahmad, is reported to have been very angry indeed when he heard of the incident, and took suitable action against the offenders. It is doubtful whether this will have any permanent result, however, for the prejudice against witchcraft and anyone tampering with *sahar* is locally very great, and Mr. A is sure to make the most of popular prejudice. Already the story is going about that the actual spell used by the slave-girl to kill her mistress was found sewed inside lady X's pillow just where she placed her head. This trumped-up yarn was of course spread to deceive and influence public opinion.

JINNS, GHOSTS, ETC.

Dhuwaihi ibn Kharmit of the 'Awazim impressed on me (21st April, 1935) that it was always wise to avoid Badawin burial places, especially at night. He explained that during darkness, and especially about midnight, the spirits of the dead often came out of their tombs and sat on them, conversing with one another. Should a person of this world happen to go near, or pass close by, the spirits often shouted after him and abused him. They went further, and forcibly prevented a man from going about his business by throwing stones at him. 776 769

THE 'AUSAJ BUSH

Among the Badawin of Hasa and Kuwait the *'ausaj* bush is considered to be under the special protection of Jinns (spirits). It is never cut nor are branches ever broken from it. It is believed that anyone injuring it will be followed and tormented, especially at night, by hostile Jinns. The Badawin, on approaching an *'ausaj* bush, will always invoke God's protection by a *bi'smi 'llah al Rahmân al Rahîm* (In the 776 824

Light-hearted Chaff

522 755 Once when my wife, Zahra and I visited Junaifir's tent, I asked to see 'Abdullah's wife, who had cooked our lunch so nicely. We were all taken to the women's portion of 'Abdullah's tent and met Shagha, a pretty comely girl who had had four children, all of whom had died, in spite of her having according to 'Ajman custom eaten a portion of the ear of the last arrival to keep it alive. I knew from others that Shagha was afraid that 'Abdullah intended taking another girl to wife, so I determined to help her.

522 *Abdullah:* When, O Abu Sa'ud, see you going to give me the rifle you promised me last year?

Self: When I hear from the lips of your wife that you deserve one.

'Abdullah to Shagha: Speak up, woman, and say that I am the best of husbands, and should have the rifle.

Shagha: He is a good man, O Abu Sa'ud, please give him his wish.

Self: I will certainly, and for your eye's sake, but a bird told me he desires the daughter of Murait (a local beauty), and neither God nor Um Sa'ud (my wife) here would agree to this so long as you are living. (A general titter from the women and roars of laughter from Junaifir, father of 'Abdullah.)

Junaifir: By God, O Abu Sa'ud, you speak the truth, though whence you have heard the rumour God alone knows. She shall not be ill-treated, and you may make a condition of giving 'Abdullah the rifle, that he does not divorce our Shagha.

Self: So, 'Abdullah, I have found you out. The rifle shall be yours as soon as you bring me a paper *wasqa* sealed by your seal, saying that you will not marry bint Murait or put away Shagha. (Much laughter and joy on Shagha's part.)

'Abdullah: Very well, Abu Sa'ud, a rifle is worth more than all women put together. The *wasqa* shall be brought you. But don't forget also some cartridges.

NOTE.—The rascally 'Abdullah proceeded to Riyadh in June 1936 and married a young thing there. Shagha has been told she will still be considered *Raiyat el Beit*, or head of the tent. Fortunately 'Abdullah has not yet got his rifle: I don't think he will now.

After this amusing passage Junaifir ups and says, "Ya Abu Sa'ud, I have found you the 'Ajman girl, whom we are going to marry you to". "Where?" says I. "Ho, you *niswa* (Oh, you wenches) bring along my sister the beloved Samha and show her to the Gonsul" (Consul). The proffered bride was duly brought along, an old crony of some

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ings turn black and remain so for about twenty days or a month. To wash the mixture off, no soap is used, only water. B 302

The use of henna is primarily a form of beauty culture, but for the feet especially it is recognised as hardening the surface of the skin, and rendering the soles immune to cuts and scratches. K 302

Men employed in pearl fishing always henna the palms of their

Common henna pattern for the hand among the shaikhly ladies of Kuwait. Applied to Zahra Dickson's hand by the sister of Shaikh Hamed al Mubarak. 7-14-33

Black henna pattern used for the feet

Black henna used for the feet.

hands to make the skin hard, and less liable to blister when rowing and hauling up the divers.

In Kuwait (1935) a German black hair dye recently made its appearance. This has come into use as a quick method of applying dye to feet and hands. It is not, however, nearly as satisfactory as the vegetable product, and only lasts four or five days. The best henna comes from Mecca, and the next best from Basra. K 302 439

BADAWIN MEDICINES AND CURES

Camel's urine—The urine of the she-camel is widely used as a purgative, also as an eye-wash and a wash for wounds. It is the common hair-wash and general tonic among the Badawin. It kills head vermin instantly. B 767

Kuhal or *kuhl*—An antimony paste which is normally used for blackening and beautifying the eyes, is applied also to the inside of the eyelids as a remedy for conjunctivitis, etc. It is supposed to keep off the sun's glare.

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757 *Girniq*—A pink dye, used a good deal in towns for sore eyes among children and grown-ups.

Branding—Is universally used for aches, pains in the stomach and tuberculosis. The operation is usually done with red-hot tent pins (*khillal*).

Rawrdw—A wild flowering plant. Used for sore mouth, tender gums, mouth blisters in children and mouths sore from scurvy (contracted on the pearl banks in the Persian Gulf).

For grown-ups, the plant is boiled with water, and the resulting thin soup is used as a mouth-wash when cool. For children the *rawrdw* is crushed into a paste with pestle and mortar, mixed with *girniq*, and applied to the sore place with the finger.

Al Ja'ado—A wild bush. Boiled in water gives a very useful purgative. The Badawin consider it also a cure for "Basra fever" (presumably malaria).

Fish soup—Is commonly drunk by women living near the sea to increase their milk. Sun-dried sprats are given to cows for the same reason throughout the Persian Gulf.

Shark's meat—Among the *hadhar* is said to cure impotency in man.

Cure for the Evil Eye—A man or woman upon whom the evil eye is sup-
[753] posed to have fallen is commonly treated as follows:

A bowl of cold water is obtained, and in the water is placed a pair of scissors (*mugas*) bought from the town, a woman's comb (*mishi*), the head of a woodcutter's chopper (*sakkar*), a small needle (*ibra*), a large sailmaker's bodkin (*makhait*) and a round yellow pebble (*kharza ma al nigur*).

The bowl is then placed on the patient's head and ½ *waggiyat* (1½ lb. approximately) of molten lead is then poured into the cold water. The bowl is held on the head for a few seconds, and removed. The evil eye is said to go straight out of the patient into the bowl and the various articles it contains.

Among the Badawin every new-born child must have a piece of steel placed close to its side when it sleeps or lies in its cot. This nearly always consists of a naked dagger stuck upright in the ground close to its head, or laid alongside its body if in a cot.

Donkey's caul—The caul of a baby donkey is much valued for its medicinal virtues. It is taken and dried, and has properties such as the healing of wounds, or the bringing of boils to a head. A piece of the caul is cut off, soaked in water and salt and applied to the wound or boil, and kept in position by a bandage. Excellent results are reported.

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are never washed. The Badawin mother uses *kohl* or antimony to keep the trouble away, also a concoction resembling red ink watered down, which is smeared all over the infant's eyes. Continual sore eyes often result in the lashes growing inwards, and then only operation by a qualified surgeon is of any use (The American Mission Hospital at Kuwait deals with hundreds of eye cases annually among infants). [See also note at end of this chapter, "Curing Sore Eyes."] 754 755

(b) *Worms* or snakes (*dôd*, plural: *dîdan*) as the Badawin call them, are in most cases the result of drinking impure water. Symptoms are anæmia and fits of giddiness. This disease does not cause the parents much anxiety.

(c) *Scabies of head* is fairly common among Badawin children, and sundry concoctions of clarified butter, charcoal, etc., are tried as a cure. A visit to a hospital is the only hope. The scabies is said to go away by itself when the patient reaches fifteen years of age.

(d) *Whooping cough* (*Abu Hamaiyir*) is quite common during the spring and summer months, and usually runs its course.

(e) *Smallpox* (*Jidri*).—This is the most dreaded disease among the Badawin, yet even if they are near the towns it is difficult to persuade them to get vaccinated. The Badawin segregates anyone attached with smallpox and puts the patient in a tent alone and a quarter of a mile distant from other tents. He also inoculates the patient from the serum of another smallpox victim. This more often kills, but also definitely effects cures at times.

(f) *Measles* (*Hasbah*).—A common complaint, rarely fatal. A child with measles must only eat a limited amount of certain foods. It must not be allowed to smell any other kind of food. Even a whiff of such "scent" may kill the child, or so its mother believes.

Ordinary stomach-ache in a child is usually treated by branding.

Circumcision sores.—These are sometimes very grave, and are caused by *dirt and flies*. The Badawin is usually circumcised at seven years and in the month of July, when it is very hot and many flies are about (see Chapter X).

DISEASES OF GROWN-UP MEN AND WOMEN 756

Apart from the children's diseases, to which grown-ups are equally subject, the following are peculiarly common to adults:

(a) Consumption or Phthisis.
(b) Syphilis.

Badawi Hygiene

Chap. XI.

(c) Cataract, Trachoma, Conjunctivitis.
(d) General stomach disorders.

164 The ravages of the first two diseases are serious among the Badawin of Arabia. (a) *Consumption* is primarily due, I think, to malnutrition, to sharing the same coffee cup with others and the prevailing habit of covering the head completely with the quilt or *lakef* when sleeping at night in winter. The Arab has the further unhealthy habit of sleeping under the same *lakef* as his wife, each breathing the other's breath throughout the night. This bad custom is universal, and a wife would be sorely wounded if her husband were to sleep on a separate couch or under another *lakef*.

Another possible cause of consumption may be the quantity of dust and sand the average man and woman breathes during the course of the year, especially during the summer months, when by day and night dust lies heavy over the camps and sandstorms are of almost daily occurrence.

(b) *Syphilis*, known as *halaal* among the Badawin, and *firingi* (the Franks' disease) among townsmen, is said to have been rare in Arabia some years back, but it is certainly common among the great Mutair, 'Ajman, Dhafir, Shammar, all important tribes of North East and North Central Arabia to-day. Philby talks in one of his books of the rareness of the disease in Najd, which I think was correct some years back. On the other hand, both Dr. Dame and Dr. Mylrea, of the American hospitals in Bahrain and Kuwait, have assured me that from the number of Badawin patients that they now treat for the disease the scourge must be very widespread indeed.

It cannot be doubted that the sea-coast towns have given the disease to Najd *[illegible]* and this has been encouraged of late by the huge motor traffic between Mecca and Riyadh, for which Ibn Sa'ud has been responsible.

There is little doubt too, I think, that the Turks introduced the disease into the province of Hasa prior to 1913, though some of it must have also come from Bahrain.

● 165 164 The following is the common Badawin method of treating these two diseases.

Consumption is known as *dig, ail, marradh al khabiis*. As soon as a person develops a cough with continuous low fever *fir* is curious

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how much more often women and girls seem to get the disease than men), the relatives take the patient and place two straight small brands on the left wrist opposite the thumb like this | |. If this does not bring about an improvement in fifteen days or so, two more brands, similar to the above, are placed on the right wrist. Lastly, if no improvement is seen the bottom of the tongue is similarly branded. This operation is terribly painful, it causes the mouth to swell up, and for days the patient cannot speak at all. After this no more is done for the affected person. If she or he dies, well, it is *maktub 'alai* (it is written that his time has come).

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I have seen many sad cases of apparently hale and hearty lasses, beginning with a slight cough, developing a worse and finally dying within the space of a month. They rarely appear to think they are going to die, and cheerfully offer you coffee from the cups they daily drink from. I recollect the tragic death of Wadha bint Murait and wife of 'Abdullah al Junaifir in 1932 very clearly, and shall never forget the end of that very sweet and attractive young wife. We did all we could for her, but it was no good. A similar and equally distressing case was my wife's 'Ajman girl friend Ghazaiyil, wife of 'Abdullah al Ghalaifan. She left us to die in Hufuf in 1933.

One of the first difficulties these poor folk are up against is that they have not the wherewithal to go on a strictly milk diet, which, I believe, is one of the first essentials when treating phthisis. The poorer Badawin cannot simply afford to buy a couple of milch goats or sheep out of the season, and even in the cold weather they are lucky if they can raise one goat which gives milk.

Syphilis.—While the townsman knows more or less how to treat this disease, and can to-day get neosalvarsan and bismuth treatment if he chooses to go to the various mission hospitals in the coast towns of the Gulf, the unfortunate Badawin for the most part neglects the disease, and passes it on to his wife and children.

An outstanding example of how whole families can be afflicted with the scourge is the case of the Al Shuqair clan of the Al Muhammad branch of the Dushan ruling family of the Murair. Practically the whole clan has inherited the disease, and other Badawin fight shy of having anything to do with them. One of the leading members of the family, Shaikh Majid al Aqqar, though far gone in 1933, was at last

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● 357 persuaded to come into Kuwait for a course of treatment. He checked the disease in himself, I believe, but immediately passed it on to his wife and to his son, Mutluq, a fine young lad. Another shaikh, Faisal al Shuqair, came into Kuwait for treatment in 1935. The affliction of Al Jazi's son, Bandar, who is deaf and dumb, can most certainly be traced to the family infection.

According to the Shaikh of Kuwait, who has frequently discussed these questions with me, by far the most dreaded disease of all is smallpox. The appearance of this terrifies the Badawin to an extraordinary degree, and the tent that has contracted the malady is placed far apart from the others, and no one is allowed to go near it or to leave it. Food and water is placed for the occupants by friends some 300 yards off, and the inmates of the tent come and take it. On the other hand, the Badawin seems to have no dread at all of consumption, syphilis or any form of social disease. He seeks no cure unless in an advanced stage of infection.

(*c*) *Cataract of the Eye, Conjunctivitis, Trachoma.*—As in the case of small children, eye diseases form a large part of the Badawin's daily troubles.

Cataract appears to affect the aged to a common degree, and I think may largely be put down to the fine particles of dust which strike the retina; from early childhood he has to endure sandstorms of a type not dreamed of in the West.

The gallant mission doctors deal with a great many of these cases. But unfortunately Persian and other quack doctors in Kuwait and other towns of Arabia do a terrible amount of harm, and many cases of total blindness result from their efforts.

The fact that such quacks are Muslims, and also that they always preach, "No results, no payment", seems to appeal to the Arab.

The disease appears to be worse in the towns than among the nomad population.

Conjunctivitis and *Trachoma.*—These are terribly common especially among the young women of the towns, and the mission doctors at Kuwait and Bahrain do much relief work in this connection.

(*d*) *General Stomach Disorders.*—All varieties of these are common, and may be put down to the Badawin habit of bolting food, and eating enormous quantities when they do get a chance to allay their hunger, say at a shaikhly feast, etc.

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Drinking muddy water or infected water is another cause, especially among those who go off to the Haj. It is pitiful to see the numbers of men and women who return from the Pilgrimage with dysentery, colitis, and so forth. 757 164

Constipation, of course, is very common.

It must be clearly understood that only the fringe of this interesting subject has been touched upon, but enough, I hope, to show that the most crying of all needs in Arabia to-day, and especially among the Badawin, is good medical attention, hospitals in cities and travelling motor clinics, which can move about among the nomad population and treat them in their homes. The medical branch of the American mission (Dutch Reformed Church) for long established in the Persian Gulf, has done wonders, but much, much more is required.

One of the most interesting features of the Badawin's attitude towards sickness, and especially wounds and sores, is his firm belief that certain pleasant smells or scents have a directly harmful effect on the progress towards recovery. It is in consequence a common sight to see Badawins entering the town of Kuwait, etc., with their nostrils stuffed up with dirty pieces of rag, inserted in the form of "plugs". A sufferer religiously keeps these in his nose until such time as he can escape out of the town again. The "smell of a woman", as he calls it, is a particularly dangerous form of scent to a wound, etc. 751 753

If a man is recovering from smallpox, on the other hand, it is believed that certain human smells, and certain foods, have a highly beneficial effect on the convalescent. He does not, however, know what this food is, or what particular person's odour will help him, so he goes out to receive visits of all the women in the neighbourhood, and is given every possible change of diet, in the fond hope that he will accidentally light on the right thing to effect a cure. This treatment was tried for Nazzal al Rashidi's illness in 1932. 751 757

In my various wanderings among the Badawin, I have always carried a few common medicines, notably of a purgative kind. These have always proved useful. Aspirin too I have found invaluable. as strange though it may seem sun-headaches appear to be fairly common among tribal folk, especially among the women.

Simple Fractures are dealt with fairly satisfactorily by the Badawin. He understands the use of splints, and usually before putting the 752

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752 (3) A sheep must be slain at once and the whole of the wounded limb must be wrapped in the skin of the sheep whilst still warm. Better still, if the person can wrap his whole body in the skin. This is to make him or her perspire thoroughly. If the weather is cold and sweat comes slowly, the patient is made to lie down and two fires are lit close on either side.

(4) The patient is given tea from the *ramrâm* plant, if available, and the actual spot where the bite shows is covered with *ramrâm* paste.

Care must be taken to prevent the bitten person from sleeping, and for twenty-four hours he must be kept awake at all costs. After twenty-four hours the skin is removed, but the tourniquets are kept on night and day, in spite of the agony and swelling of the limbs, for twenty days.

A woman of the Rashaida tribe, from Qatar, who was bitten by a cobra on the ankle, told me that she underwent the above treatment, and that eventually her foot swelled to such an extent that it burst (her expression) at the instep, and black pussy liquid in very large quantities flowed away. That was considered to be the snake poison leaving her, but it was more probably gangrenous pus which had accumulated as a result of stopping the blood circulation.

Among the Diyahin tribe, a sept of the Mutair (Braih), I knew another woman, Nura Um Mubarak (a relation of Hillal al Mutairi), who had survived three bites from the horned viper. She underwent the same treatment each time.

CURING SORE EYES

757 Rifa'a, the wife of Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra of the Rukhman section of the Mutair, told me the following on 24th April, 1937, in course of general conversation. For ordinary sore eyes caused by flies and dirt generally the best cure was:

(1) In case of a child, for the mother or another woman to put a few drops of her milk daily in the child's eyes. This soothed and had a definitely curative effect.

757 784 (2) In case of a man, the same thing applied, but it must never be the milk of his own wife. That was sinful and results would be worse than the cure. Another woman's milk was necessary.

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Appendix XV

APPENDIX XV

THE TRIBAL "WAR CRY" (NAKHWA)

721 The following are a few war cries of the more important Tribes of Arabia.
192 (a) The House or Clan of the Al Sa'ud. "Al Auja", "Ana Akhu Nura", "Ana ibn Mijrin".

(b) The House of Al Subah. "Ana ibn Salim", Ana akhu Mirriam".

(c) The Shammar Tribe. "Sanayís", (common to the whole tribe).

(d) The 'Ajman Tribe. "Mu'assa al Haddán, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Mafras al Hadid, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Sifar safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhala", "Safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhaila".

(e) The Mutair ('Ilwa) "'Ilwa, Hal Raddat".
(Jiblan) "Khayal al Sabha",* "Al Jibili".
(Muwaha) "'Awlad al Muwaihi", "Al Batha",† "Ana ibn Madwash".‡
(Wasil) "'Awlad Wásil", "Ar Rahman wa ana ibn Wásil".
(Bani Abdilla) "'Awlad 'Abád".
(Al Sa'aran) "Al Ashwa",§ "Ana ibn Ali".
(Al Sahabba) "Khayal Sabhat Mushabi".

(f) Awazim. "Atwi", "'Awlad 'Atta" (elided to "Alladatta").

(g) Rashaida. "Al Daaiji", "Murr al Dalála Da'aiji", "Khaiyal Sabhat Da'aiji".

(h) Harb. "Ana ibn 'Ali".

(i) 'Utaiba. "Ahl al 'Atiyah, wa ana ibn Ruq".

(j) Sbei. "Al 'Arfa Sbeiy".

(k) Dhafir. "Al Garwa, Suwaiti", "Sabha Tammah".

* Name of a hill in Najd used as a rendezvous.
†Name of Al Duwish's own camel.
‡ The name of a famous ancestor.
§ Pet name of a she-camel.

Note on (d) above.—The "Nakhwa" common to Ajman and Murra, which may be termed a rallying cry or appeal to fight, is "Ayál Marauk."

APPENDIX XVI

BLOOD OF THE BIRZAN SECTION OF MUTAIR

A FURTHER NOTE

164 Shaikh Sabah al Nasir, discussing the question on May 11, 1950, made the
757 following statement:
826 1. Rabies was unknown in the Hasa, Riyadh, and Rub' al Khali part of Arabia, and appeared to be confined to northern border of Sa'udi Arabia, South Iraq desert and Kuwait.

Appendix XVI

2. Three years previously (1947), a pack of wolves, some forty-seven in number, affected with rabies, attacked the inmates of many Harb tents in Ajibba region south-west of Hafar al Batin. The pack bit ninety-two persons. The King sent out troops in cars who destroyed the wolves. Eighty-seven of the bitten persons were given Birzan blood to drink; five did not drink. The eighty-seven survived and are well to this day. The odd five all developed rabies after fifty days and died. Shaikh Sabah gave other instances proving efficacy of Birzan blood if drunk in time by bitten persons. 164 757 826

3. A Birzani retainer who was called up by Shaikh Sabah made the following statement.

   (*a*) I am pure bred on my father's and mother's side since 1,500 years ago. I am in demand when a case of rabies occurs among the Badu.

   (*b*) When I am called in to give my blood, I cut a small artery in my wrist. The charge for this is 1 Rial. Afterwards the patient who has drunk my blood waits forty days. If all is well then he pays me Rs. 300 or a she-camel costing that amount. For not till then does he know if he has been cured or not.

   (*c*) It is very necessary to drink a Birzani's blood within twenty days of being bitten. After that it may be too late, although in rare cases a longer time has been known to elapse and no harm has come to the bitten person.

   (*d*) To know if a wolf, dog, fox has rabies, the heart should be cut open and if inside are found white maggots, then undoubtedly the animal has got rabies. If there are no maggots then it is not mad.

   (*e*) I have given over three hundred coffee cups of my blood to persons bitten by mad dogs or wolves.

   (*f*) A human developing rabies, hates the sight of water, barks and whines. His brain remains fairly clear. Some of those affected cry out "I'm going to bark" or "I'm going to bite", but not all.

   (*g*) No one ever recovers if he develops rabies. He is put out of his misery by being taken away behind the tents and a handful of ashes are placed on his head. This causes immediate collapse and death. Why is not known.

   (*h*) The Prophet Muhammad who had a great kindness done him by a Birzani, said to him, "I ask God to grant that to you and your descendants be given the power of curing a person bitten by a mad dog, wolf, etc., by drinking your blood". Since that day this power of effecting a cure has been divinely granted. But the blood must be drunk within twenty days, and the donor must be of absolute pure descent on both sides.

The above story proves, among other things, that rabies was known to exist in the Prophet's time.

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Appendix XXIII

APPENDIX XXIII

Ref. Chapter XL (bottom of p. 507)

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "SYPHILIS"

On May 26, 1949 Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib of the Mutair 757
(Buraih section) told me that the dried leaves of the three well-known desert 824
plants

(*a*) Geysúm (*Artemisia herba*)
(*b*) 'Ashiyeh (*Artemisia sp.*)
(*c*) Al Harmal (*Rhazya stricta Dene*)

were used with very good effect by the Badu for syphilis, when smoked in a pipe.

APPENDIX XXIV

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel food, p. 416

In the vicinity of the great wells of Hafar al Bátin, and in the Wadiyán 233
region (Iraq–Sa'udi Arabian frontier) the "Geysúm" bush is only eaten by camels, when they first leave the vicinity of wells in the autumn. It is never eaten in the early spring.

Sheep will, on the contrary, eat the "Geysúm" bush throughout the summer.

Authority Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib. (Mutair Buraih), May 25, 1949.

APPENDIX XXV

Ref. Chapter XXXIII, p. 443

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "MANÍHA"

The term "Maníha" when used alone and not with "Dhabíha", means 476
the loan of a ewe and lamb by one person to another who requires milk in 426
his tent. Such ewe is returned when she has no longer any milk. Such friendly loans are commonly made by men rich in flocks and herds to their poorer tent neighbours or friends.

It is important to know this custom.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

565 but rather an unaffected equality among all members of the community and a good fellowship and free association on that basis which is one of the most beautiful
562 things in the world. The women share this freedom, and are engaged with the men in practically every activity that is useful in keeping the wolf from the door. Men and women fight side by side for a naked existence, and there is no submission to anything or anybody, except to God above.

562 It is a hard life, but the desert is a maker of men.
157 Women may express their feelings, their joys and their griefs, but men are expected to remain silent and self-controlled, and magnificent Stoics some of them are. An
•758 old patriarch came to the Bahrein Hospital bringing for
855 treatment his only son, the pride of his life and the joy of his heart. They had come a long distance, two weeks' journey. The old man had the light of a father's pride in his eye and the shadow of a father's anxiety was there, too.

"My boy has been sick for some time. I have brought him here for you to cure."

My heart sank at the boy's appearance. "Does he cough?"

"Yes, he coughs a great deal. That is the trouble."

"Does he cough up any blood?"

"Yes, he has done that several times."

It gave me almost the sensation of physical faintness that one feels when in an elevator that is shot down rapidly, to see that fine old man standing there and to know what we would have to tell him, but we examined the boy carefully first. There were large cavities in both lungs. He was far beyond all hope. The whole faculty of Johns Hopkins could not have helped him. "My

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

758 865 father," I said, "I have no medicine that will do the boy any good."

It was easy to see that the reply was not entirely unexpected, but already I talked to a different man. "Is there perhaps some operation you can perform for him?" asked the old man slowly and gravely. "We have heard that you do many marvelous things by means of the knife."

"My father, it is quite true that we operate here on many people and use the knife a great deal, but there is no operation that will do him any good either."

"Then," said the father, "will he die?"

"Yes, he will die. He has only a few days or months at the outside. No doctor can do him any good. He is in the hands of God."

"Yes," said the old man quietly. "Praise the Lord anyway," and he turned to leave, a bent and pitiful old man. The light had died out of his eyes, and the spring had gone from his steps; he was the picture of broken grief, but there was not a tear nor a complaint, nor did his steady eyes waver as he looked straight into my own. We tried to get him to stay for a few days and rest before starting on the return journey, but his reply was simple and final. "No," he said, "we appreciate your hospitality, but the boy would rather die in his own country with his mother."

593 [595] By far the most beautiful family life in Arabia is found among the Bedouins. Poverty enforces a monogamy which their religion does not require, and as might be expected, divorce is less common and the whole atmosphere of society infinitely cleaner than in other Arab communities. Often a family life is found that is very beautiful. The loyalty of the various members of such

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

which would alleviate the fever. As the child's strength declined, the 159
silent grief of the mother was a sore thing to see. I tried hard to persuade her to take him to the doctor in Kuwait, but in vain. One morning according to my custom I came to visit the sick child. As 761
I approached Sarah's tent, Sarah came out to greet me dressed in her best festive garments. Smiling and dry-eyed, she invited me as usual into her portion of the tent. Her father was away. I sat down, suspecting something, I knew not what, but I said nothing. Sarah made coffee and brought it to me to drink. She even joked and told an amusing story. Presently I said "Where is little 'Abdullah? How is he?" Poor Sarah with a great effort choked down a sob and pointed to a small heap of earth not twenty yards from the tent. "There he lies," said she, "half an hour ago I laid him to rest; God gave him to me, and God has taken him, thanks be to God."

Just then Sarah's father came up, and when I expressed my sorrow and sympathy to him, he laughed loud and gruffly and said, *Al hamd ul'Illah* (the praise be to God). "He will give us another, and perhaps many more. We 'Ajman are fighting men, and God in his mercy does as he pleases, we must always laugh at death, whether it comes by sickness, or by bullet." The whole picture left an indelible mark on my mind and it will be long before I forget the dry-eyed sorrowing Sarah.

The poor girl lost her husband a year later—he divorced her because 159
he couldn't return from Iraq. Little Sarah eventually went to Najd and Riyadh, and there married one of Bin Sa'ud's principal *fiddwis* or guards. She wrote and told me a year after, that she had got another little boy. My diary records also that in October 1933 she presented her husband with a little girl. In 1936 I heard through her father that smallpox had carried off one of the children. Poor Sarah.*

PRAYER

The Badawin is very punctilious about his prayers. Whether in 788
camp or on the march, he solemnly prays five times a day according

* Sarah came up to Kuwait from Riyadh in February 1938, and once again we saw our old friend. She came with her father and showed us her new baby boy. She said she had a girl of four also, whom she had left in her aunt in the desert.

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Bedouins MJ4

Mourning

B 765 When a man dies, the widow has to seclude herself from all for a period of four months and ten days. Well-to-do families confine the K 765 wife to the house for this period while Badawin women hide themselves as much as practicable in their tents. The townswoman of Kuwait actually shuts herself in a room, devoid of comforts such as carpets, etc., and can only be attended by another woman who brings her food and water. She must not see a man, or male relative, or hear a male voice.

K 775 765 Among the lower classes the belief about this *'ada* or custom of shutting the widow up is, that as soon as a man dies and goes to the other world, he is chained by an iron chain round his neck. This chain can only be removed by his widow's observing a proper course of mourning, for four months and ten days.

The very poor classes in Kuwait do not pay much attention to the above rule, and forty days' seclusion generally meets the case with them.

K 769 776 Graveyards are always looked upon as places of ill-omen and must be avoided, especially at night, as *jinns* or spirits are believed to be moving about them.

B 769 776 The great western graveyard at Kuwait, where the shaikhs bury their dead, is especially notorious for *jinns*, and many an eerie tale is told of people who have dared to go too near the place and have been pursued and e[illegible]d by these evil spirits.

It is parti[illegible] put your foot on a grave, and to do so after dark o[illegible] so-called "madness". When young Mutlug ibn Majid al [illegible]a of the Mutair at Jariya went mad for the love of a lady (see page 149) many said, and he himself is supposed to have believed, that he had accidentally set foot on a Badawin grave when he went out of his tent after dark to attend to nature.

B 763 761 Among the Badawin the person dying usually passes away peaceably in grave and dignified manner; this especially applies to the old. I was present at the death of one of Shaikh Hillal bin Faja'an al Mutairi's Badawin relatives, a poor man of over eighty. I was camped at Araifjan among my Badawin friends Salim al Muraiyin's family, and the old man's tent was close by. Salim was away in Najd when the old man suddenly collapsed and gave out that his time had come. There were only women and children about and the Dhafiri camel

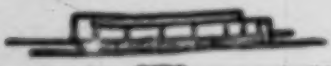
Death-Bed Scenes

herdsmen. These and me the old man called around him, and after making the women prop him up in a sitting posture, he began to bid each person farewell in simple and quiet manner. He then addressed himself to me and asked me to give his salaams to Salim, Hillal al Mutairi, Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim, and others whom I did not know; he also sent messages to my wife and to my son Sa'ud. He then asked for a cup of coffee. After drinking it he lay down, closed his eyes and just ceased to breathe. His farewells, *balagh salami 'ala Hillal, wa 'ala Ahmad al Jabir*, etc., were simple and fine.

After his death Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim, who was camped a mile off, sent his servants to wash and bury the old man. This was considered a good and generous act, for of course the women could not do this.

I was not a little moved by this simple death-bed scene of the desert, which reminded me of the Old Testament. No doubt Abraham died thus, sending messages to all and sundry up to the very last.

In Kuwait and in other Muslim towns, when a corpse is being carried to the cemetery for burial, any person lending a hand and assisting in shouldering the bier, a sort of open stretcher affair,



BIER

derives great merit. So at a funeral procession it is usual to see men changing places rapidly and often, each anxious to shoulder the bier for a short time.

Townswomen go off the deep end in truly alarming style when a relative dies. They tear their hair, beat their heads and breasts and rend their garments in a manner which is quite incomprehensible to us. This is partly due to the more emotional nature of the Arab woman, and partly because it is considered the right thing to do.

I have seen some women fall down and have to be carried away apparently bereft of all sense and reason, so grief-stricken have they been. When her brother-in-law was killed in a well whose sides fell in and crushed him (September 1933) our servant-girl Hamda even tore out her gold earrings and broke her gold bracelets and flung

L Dickson G-5 (1929-37) 1951 Ali I Kuwait
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ready and the body is let dov . to the bottom by men. If the dead person is a woman a sheet is held round the grave so that men's eyes do not see her, and a woman, or man neighbour if she has no sons or brother, goes down into the grave itself to prepare the dead person for her last resting place. This woman removes the covering from ears and breast, turns the corpse on to her side, face towards Mecca, and places her right hand under her right cheek. The body now rests in the hollowed-out nook facing the open grave.

This operation done, the cavity (*al lahad*) containing the corpse is closed by mud, bricks, stones and mud (not by *'arfaj* as among the Badawin) so that earth will not enter therein. Lastly, the gr e is filled in and everyone goes home.

An important point to realise is that a husband must not under any circumstances see his wife's face after death. This is considered a grievous sin in the same way as if she had been divorced from him. Hence the uncovering of the dead woman's face must be done by another woman, or by her brother or son. Should a very poor man or woman die without relatives then it is incumbent on the next-door neighbour (*jár*) to arrange the washing and burial. This I understand is laid down in the Qur'an. Nothing is done by way of combing or plaiting the hair, but the person washing the body must go through the ceremony of *talqin* while doing so, that is, she or he must sing the praises of the dead person, the good works he or she did in this life, how he or she fasted and prayed, and call on God to give the dead peace in everlasting heaven. It is commonly believed that a person who has lived a good life, has not spoken evil of his neighbours, and has been generous with this world's goods, will after death remain soft and pliant as if still alive up to the hour of burial. If the opposite has been the case, the body, arms and feet will become immediately stiff. Hence, when it is found easy to bend the right arm and place the right hand under the right cheek of the dead person, all men know that the deceased has lived a good and virtuous life; if the operation is done with difficulty then that person is known to have been a non-virtuous person, and God will know how to reward him or her hereafter.

The sight of a dead person has not the frightening effect on Arab children that it may have on their Western brothers and sisters.

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Familiarity with Death

Chap. XIV

Children regularly see the faces of dead persons in Arabia, and before they are many years old they become quite callous in this respect. This way may be the best after all. It certainly makes for easy dying when the final call comes to man and woman, and it is rare to find an Arab man or woman showing fear of the future as the end draws near.

L Dickson G-9 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Mustafq

Tribe Etymologies

A GOOD WATCH-DOG

To make a Badawin dog fierce and a good watch-dog, his ears are 231
cut off when young. A piece is then cooked and given him to eat. This, according to the Arab, turns him into a good watch-dog and especially a good barker by night. (See Chapter IV.)

THE NUMBER ELEVEN

A curious thing about the 'Awazim tribe is that they never will use 801
the word *ahada 'ashar* for eleven. They always say *'ashra wa wahad* (ten and one). The rest of the numerals they name as other Arabs do. I have not yet been able to find out the reason for this avoidance of eleven.

Kuwait, October 30, 1933.

HOW AN 'AJMAN WOMAN SAVES HER CHILDREN

Among the 'Ajman, if a woman's children are dying apparently 761
without reason, a piece of the ear above the lobe is cut off from the latest born infant, placed inside a date, and given to the mother to eat. The child is then known as *Al Jida'* (the cut-off one).

Mazeira bint 'Iyda al Fa'aran al Hithlain, wife of Hamad al Mishwan, had had this done. She thereafter ceased to bear children. Kuwait, 18th August, 1935.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME DHAFIR, THE GREAT DESERT TRIBE SOUTH OF THE EUPHRATES

101
174

The name means a "collection of many oddments", and is derived from the same root as:

Tadhafaw—they were plaited together.
Dhafar—to plait.
Dhafeyir—a woman's plait.

Similarly we have Mantafiq from *intifaq*, a coming together.

NOTE.—This describes exactly how these two great tribes were originally formed. They grew out of a collection or confederation of a number of small desert units in the first instance, and of a number of marsh tribes in the second, under Sa'adun leaders.

h. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 Ml 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJH

Mourning

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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait NLI
Bedouins MJ4

visit the grave of a dead relative once he has been buried. Even the shaikhs' graves suffer like neglect, and in the great cemetery between the Naif gate and the Jahrah gate outside the wall, few can point out the graves of Shaikhs Mubarak, Jabir and Salim, the last three Rulers of the principality. There is nothing at all to distinguish their tombs from those of any man and woman who has been buried in the same place. It is interesting to know that Shaikhs Muhammad and Jarrah, slain by Shaikh Mubarak, lie in the *Safat* or Market Square of Kuwait with nothing to indicate their burial place but a few stones flush with the ground.

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Among the Badawin when a woman's husband dies, the widow keeps herself shut up in her tent, and wears a green undergarment. She goes out only when all strange men are out of sight; she must cover her hands and feet with a sort of glove and sock when she moves with her family; this is known as *hddad* or *hdkim* (*tahddad* or *tahdkim*—she is mourning).

OTHER INTERESTING POINTS CONNECTED WITH A BADAWIN DEATH

(a) In the desert water is usually dropped into the mouth of a person about to die.

(b) The eyes of the dead person are not closed as in the West.

(c) The Badawin greatly dislikes having to bury his own dead. If he can, he will get some non-Badawin, a settled Arab for instance, if one is

at hand, to do the work for him. Similarly, to touch a dead body is revolting to him.

(d) A woman's grave must be deep enough to hide her bosom if she were placed upright.

(e) A man's grave need be only 4 feet deep, i.e. up to a man's middle, or his knees, if there is no time to bury him properly.

(f) No woman ever accompanies a dead man's funeral procession, and as few persons as possible attend any actual burial. This is unlike the *hadar* (town) custom, when friends all go to see a man buried, and vie with each other to carry the body, if only for a few seconds.

(g) Up to the third day after a man's death his friends visit his son and console with him by quoting various regular forms of comforting phrases,* such as: "He was a good man, and this has happened from Allah." "It happens to all men and to all people born of woman." "May Allah replace him who has passed away." If a man has lost his son the words "may Allah grant you another son in his place", etc., *Allah yikhlif 'alaikum* are used. The man condoled with will reply, "Thanks be to Allah, Allah is omnipotent".

The Badawin's idea of Heaven or Paradise is simple and pleasing and I have often discussed this subject with him.

Paradise means to him a land where it is always spring (*rabi'*), with plentiful and permanent green grazing (*'ashab*), water flowing in abundance from springs and small rivulets, a place where no unpleasant things are met with such as are prevalent in this world (hunger, lack of water, dried-up pasture, camel disease, etc.).

In Paradise all a man's tribe live together in pastures green, he meets all his friends and relations. No one grows old—all live for ever. They marry and give in marriage, and every person has an extra large tent, large herds of camels and sheep and many children. Should a person have lost children in this world, he or she will meet them in Paradise, grown to the age they would have been if they had lived, and the children will welcome and greet their parents as at the end of a journey.

I once asked Amuba, wife of Salim al Munaiyin, if she would be Salim's wife in heaven, as she was here. She replied that she would know him and her children, and live close to him, and visit her children

* Such formulae of condolence are: (i) *Allah i 'awkum ajrakum* (when grown up boy died, such as a son); (ii) *Allah yuhsin ajrakum* (for child's death); (iii) *Allah i 'awkum ajrakki* (for woman).

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CHAPTER XIV

Death, Burial and the Hereafter

If conditions permit, and water is available, a dead person is always washed, clothed in new linen, and then buried. If, as commonly occurs among the Badawin, these preliminaries are not possible, a hole is dug near the tent and the corpse buried with all speed. B 764

Women wash the bodies of women, and men those of men, never otherwise.

After a desert battle, the victors endeavour to bury their own dead but never those of the enemy, which are left to be eaten by the birds of the air and hyenas, as occurred in the battle of Ingair in 1929. The defeated party may, if they can, come and bury their dead at a later date—but this is of rare occurrence. B 764 727

Among the Badawin, mourning continues for three or four days, the women weeping and the men receiving guests who come to offer condolence.

On the evening of the death, a dinner must be given to the mourning guests, according to the means of the family.

Among Muslim townspeople generally (but not in Najd or Kuwait), a regular burial service, led by an 'alim or priest, is held at the time of the burial, after which members of the family come to the grave every Friday and recite prayers or verses from the Qur'an. A 765

Those holding the Wahhabi doctrines and more especially the 'Ikhwan, bury simply and quickly, believing that once a man is dead his body is of no further account. A tomb is therefore anathema to the Wahhabis and they tolerate no monuments of any sort.

Among Kuwait Shi'ahs, and also in Iraq, a death is followed by a period of three days' mourning of an official family nature (*fatiha*). Crowds gather daily to pay condolences and mourn, and on the third night a priest recites prayers and recitations. A well-to-do person gives free lunches to his neighbours each day, and a big dinner on the third night to relatives and special mourners. K 765

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herdsmen. These and me the old man called around him, and after making the women prop him up in a sitting posture, he began to bid each person farewell in simple and quiet manner. He then addressed himself to me and asked me to give his salaams to Salim, Hillal al Mutairi, Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim, and others whom I did not know; he also sent messages to my wife and to my son Sa'ud. He then asked for a cup of coffee. After drinking it he lay down, closed his eyes and just ceased to breathe. His farewells, *balagh salami 'ala Hillal, wa 'ala Ahmad al Jabir*, etc., were simple and fine. R 765 761

After his death Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim, who was camped a mile off, sent his servants to wash and bury the old man. This was considered a good and generous act, for of course the women could not do this. B 764

I was not a little moved by this simple death-bed scene of the desert, which reminded me of the Old Testament. No doubt Abraham died thus, sending messages to all and sundry up to the very last.

In Kuwait and in other Muslim towns, when a corpse is being carried to the cemetery for burial, any person lending a hand and assisting in shouldering the bier, a sort of open stretcher affair, K 3 764

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derives great merit. So at a funeral procession it is usual to see men changing places rapidly and often, each anxious to shoulder the bier for a short time.

Townswomen go off the deep end in truly alarming style when a relative dies. They tear their hair, beat their heads and breasts and rend their garments in a manner which is quite incomprehensible to us. This is partly due to the more emotional nature of the Arab woman, and partly because it is considered the right thing to do. k 765

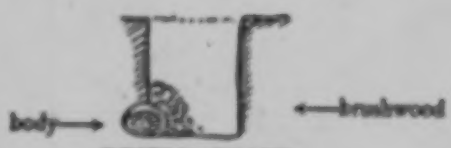
I have seen some women fall down and have to be carried away apparently bereft of all sense and reason, so grief-stricken have they been. When her brother-in-law was killed in a well whose sides fell in and crushed him (September 1933) our servant-girl Hamda even tore out her gold earrings and broke her gold bracelets and flung

J. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI 1
Bedouins MJ4

them away without knowing that she had done so. The neighbours' and onlookers' opinion of the bereaved woman rises in proportion to the amount of grief and emotion she displays.

The women of the desert, and especially those living in or on the borderland of Wahhabi-land (Sa'udi Arabia), act in exactly the reverse manner. I have already described the scene when Sárah bint Junaifir, who had just lost her small boy, greeted us with a laugh and smile as she pointed to the newly dug grave thirty feet away. It was not because she did not feel—she did keenly—but it was against the strict Wahhabi tenets to mourn her dead.

In the desert the grave is dug usually to a depth of four feet, not more. At the bottom a nook is hollowed out in the side of the grave to take the body, the idea being not to crush it with earth as the grave is filled in. The body having been placed in the nook, brushwood is next filled in up against the body, after which the grave is filled in with sand.



DESERT GRAVE

Should the Badawin family be able to afford it, they will, as I have said, wash the body and clothe it in a new piece of white cotton cloth. Should they be far from water, and unable to afford the shroud, they will just bury it unwashed or unshrouded. If a Mutawa'a (priest) is at hand, they will request him to hold a simple service over the dead; if not, no service is said.

No monuments nor even headstones are placed on graves in the desert, only a slight heap of earth, eight inches above the level of the ground. In Kuwait, and in Najd towns and villages generally, a rough piece of stone is placed at the head and feet, usually a piece of uncut coral or lump of lava. This not so much to mark the grave as to prevent other persons being buried on the same spot; for wind and rain rapidly wear away the low mounds of earth which mark a grave.

Once a person is buried in the desert, relatives never visit the grave. Wahhabi influence is so strong in Kuwait that no one ever goes to

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(α) In the desert water is usually dropped into the mouth of a person about to die.

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(d) A woman's grave must be deep enough to hide her breasts if she were placed upright.

(e) A man's grave need be only 4 feet deep, i.e. up to a man's middle, or his knees, if there is no time to bury him properly.

(f) No woman ever accompanies a dead man's funeral procession, and as few persons as possible attend any actual burial. This is unlike the *hadhar* (town) custom, when friends all go to see a man buried, and vie with each other to carry the body, if only for a few seconds.

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I once asked Amsha, wife of Salim al Musaiyin, if she would be Salim's wife in heaven, as she was here. She replied that she would know him and her children, and live close to him, and visit her children

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k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI4

Mourning

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K 775 765 Among the lower classes the belief about this *'ada* or custom of shutting the widow up is, that as soon as a man dies and goes to the other world, he is chained by an iron chain round his neck. This chain can only be removed by his widow's observing a proper course of mourning, for four months and ten days.

The very poor classes in Kuwait do not pay much attention to the above rule, and forty days' seclusion generally meets the case with them.

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It is particularly bad to put your foot on a grave, and to do so after dark often results in so-called "madness". When young Mudhg ibn Majid al A'sga of the Mutair at Jariya went mad for the love of a lady (see page 149) many said, and he himself is supposed to have believed, that he had accidentally set foot on a Badawin grave when he went out of his tent after dark to attend to nature.

B 763 761 Among the Badawin the person dying usually passes away peacefully in grave and dignified manner; this especially applies to the old. I was present at the death of one of Shaikh Hilal bin Faiz'an al Mutairi's Badawin relatives, a poor man of over eighty. I was camped at Arsiljan among my Badawin friends Salim al Muzaiyin's family, and the old man's tent was close by. Salim was away in Najd when the old man suddenly collapsed and gave out that his time had come. There were only women and children about and the Dhafiri camel

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BIER

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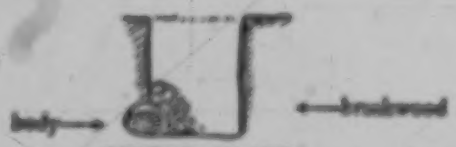

DESERT GRAVE

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The Badawin Paradise

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L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MJ1
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DESERT GRAVE

Should the Badawin family be able to afford it, they will, as I have said, wash the body and clothe it in a new piece of white cotton cloth. Should they be far from water, and unable to afford the shroud, they will just bury it unwashed or unshrouded. If a Mutawa's (priest) is at hand, they will request him to hold a simple service over the dead; if not, no service is said.

No monuments nor even headstones are placed on graves in the desert, only a slight heap of earth, eight inches above the level of the ground. In Kuwait, and in Najd towns and villages generally, a rough piece of stone is placed at the head and feet, usually a piece of worn coral or lump of lava. This not so much to mark the grave as to prevent other persons being buried on the same spot; for wind and rain rapidly wear away the low mounds of earth which mark a grave.

Once a person is buried in the desert, relatives never visit the grave. Wahhabi influence is so strong in Kuwait that no one ever goes to

visit the grave of a dead relative once he has been buried. Even the shaikhs' graves suffer like neglect, and in the great cemetery between the Naif gate and the Jahrah gate (outside the wall, few can point out the graves of Shaikhs Mubarak, Jabir and Salim, the last three Rulers of the principality. There is nothing at all to distinguish their tombs from those of any man and woman who has been buried in the same place. It is interesting to know that Shaikhs Muhammad and Jarrah, slain by Shaikh Mubarak, lie in the *Safat* or Market Square of Kuwait with nothing to indicate their burial place but a few stones flush with the ground.

The washing of dead bodies in Kuwait is carried out by a regular body-washer (*ghassal*), male or female as the case may be, who is immediately sent for on a death taking place. This person is very business-like and gets to work at once. Persian (Shi'ah) men are washed in a room adjoining the mosque, while women are taken to special buildings provided for this purpose. The body-washer places the male body on a large wooden table and pours water over it in quantities. Then with a gauntlet of coarse wool which he puts on his hands, he scrubs the corpse all over with soap and water, rousing it over and over again with copious douches of water. After this procedure he dries the body well, and dresses it up in its new white cotton shroud, or perhaps unless members of the family to do this. For preference the washing is done after dark, but this is not obligatory.

Among the Badawin when a woman's husband dies, the widow keeps herself shut up in her tent, and wears a green undergarment. She goes out only when all strange men are out of sight; she must cover her hands and feet with a sort of glove and sock when she moves with her family; this is known as *hiddad* or *hiddim* (*mahiddid* or *mahiddim*—she is mourning).

FUNERAL DECORATIONS POINTS CONNECTED WITH A BADAWIN DEATH

(a) In the desert water is usually dropped into the mouth of a person about to die.

(b) The eyes of the dead person are not closed as in the West.

(c) The Badawin greatly dislikes having to bury his own dead. If he can, he will get some non-Badawin, a settled Arab for instance, if one is

Spirits of the Dead

beaten all over, especially on the head, by men slaves. After what 759
must have been a truly terrible ordeal, the miserable girl died and her body was sent off to her old father and mother for burial covered up with her 'abba in a box. Mr. B was furious when he heard of the deed, and Mr. A, in a stormy interview, is reported to have taken the line that by his deed he had saved his uncle B's honour, and his aunt's life to boot, and that therefore his act was a virtuous one and justified.

The Ruler, H.H. Shaikh Ahmad, is reported to have been very angry indeed when he heard of the incident, and took suitable action against the offenders. It is doubtful whether this will have any permanent result, however, for the prejudice against witchcraft and anyone tampering with *sahar* is locally very great, and Mr. A is sure to make the most of popular prejudice. Already the story is going about that the actual spell used by the slave-girl to kill her mistress was found sewed inside lady X's pillow just where she placed her head. This trumped-up yarn was of course spread to deceive and influence public opinion.

JINNS, GHOSTS, ETC.

Dhawahi ibn Khamis of the 'Awazim impressed on me (21st 776
April, 1955) that it was always wise to avoid Badawin burial places, 769
especially at night. He explained that during darkness, and especially about midnight, the spirits of the dead often came out of their tombs and sat on them, conversing with one another. Should a person of this world happen to go near, or pass close by, the spirits often shouted after him and abused him. They went further, and forcibly prevented a man from going about his business by throwing stones at him.

THE 'AUSAJ BUSH

Among the Badawin of Hasa and Kuwait the *'ausaj* bush is con- 776
sidered to be under the special protection of Jinnis (spirits). It is never 824
cut nor any branches ever broken from it. It is believed that anyone injuring it will be followed and tormented, especially at night, by hostile Jinnis. The Badawin, on approaching an *'ausaj* bush, will always invoke God's protection by a *ki'ami 'llah al Rahmân al Rahîm* (In the

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dom of books, he has attained to that supreme wisdom which is a secret hidden from most schoolmen. He has learned that the world and all its material blessings are trifles compared to the things of the spirit; that the only things that are important for us to know are how to worship God and how to associate with our fellow men.

It is by the things of the spirit that the Bedouin lives. Take him away from his beloved desert with its poverty and death, its aridity and loneliness, and he will languish although his stomach may be full and his bed soft. Let him breathe the air of the desert's freedom and equality and hospitality, and his cheerfulness is unquenchable, even though his belt is tightened because of hunger and his flocks and herds are dying of thirst. The Bedouin's cheerfulness in the face of adversity is a proverb. His happy-go-lucky spirit bows to the pressure of no adverse material conditions whatever. Perhaps it is because he has so few of the various luxuries of this world to enjoy that he looks on them with such great contempt. Doubtless also his poverty has much to do with the emphasis he puts upon the things of the next world as compared to the affairs of this one. His hopes are centered the other side of the grave. To the Bedouin God is actually the greatest reality in the universe, and the greatest task of life is to please Him. Few men anywhere in the world consider their religion a matter of such vital moment as do the Sunnis, or orthodox Mohammedans, of the Arabian desert, particularly in the inland regions which have been shaken recently by the great *Akhwan* revival. We shall have occasion in later chapters to discuss the religious conceptions and practices of the Arab in more detail, but no description of desert life would be

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complete without at least an indication of the tremendous significance of his religion in the life of the desert nomad.

If the Bedouin were a symbol-loving Oriental, he would worship the desert. Being rather a practical and materialistic Semitic, he worships the God of the desert. Mohammedanism is little more than the Bedouin mind projected into the realm of religion. The Arab faces God as he faces the desert. Here is a vast omnipotent environment, which rules his life and which reduces him to insignificance and even nothingness in comparison. By conformity to its laws he hopes to live, and as a usual thing he can. But there is an element of caprice about the desert which makes it at times utterly cruel and ruthless, and from that ruthlessness no amount of humble acquiescence or of vigilant effort will save him. This is exactly the picture of the Moslem God. Unlimited omnipotence, governed as a usual thing by law, and usually rewarding obedience with His favor, He is still tinged with unaccountable and unpredictable caprice, and is essentially pitiless in His power and magnificence. It is the image and superscription of the desert. Long before Mohammed wrote this picture of God into the Koran, God Himself created it in the desert, and so stamped it on the Bedouin's heart. It is because Islam contains that picture that it has marched victoriously through thirteen centuries and faces the chaotic modern world with its pride and power still unbroken.

,21: Fisher 3-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
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Strict discipline, necessary both in everyday routine and because of liability to attack, has left its mark on Badawin ways of thought. In religion, there is little room for compromise or doubt—a strong, vivid, and intolerant faith is held. Similarly, there is a strict code of behaviour. Hospitality, in an environment without fixed routes or settlements, is a highly regarded virtue, and ordinary social intercourse has been developed into an elaborate code of manners and conduct. In view of the vagaries of human existence amongst the Badawin, it is hardly surprising that superstition and fatalism are also strongly marked. The operation of the 'evil eye' and malevolent spirits is seen in everyday life—nothing is praised directly without attributing its excellence as due to God—and men and animals wear charms.[1] 577 711 776 954 751

Possibly as a result of reduced physical strength, and their enforced preoccupation with household tasks, the status of women is low. Although not veiled, like the women of the settled areas, Badawin women are regarded as in all things the inferiors of men. It may be significant that among pastoral communities, religious deities are regarded as masculine in attribute. Only in the religious systems of non-pastoral peoples do we find female deities—mother-goddesses of wide influence—with a corresponding rise in importance of women above the level of mere drudges and bearers of children. 862

Though Badawin life is hard and unrewarding, those who follow it value it highly. A true Bedu looks down with disdain on other ways of life, particularly that of cultivators in better watered districts, for whom he often has a profound contempt as effete and subservient. Despite their own strict social organisation, the Badawin can contrast the dull routine of agricultural practice, and the looseness and self-indulgence of city life with their own courage, independence of thought, abstemiousness, and mobility. 186 559

Nomadism is a special response to environment, by which the frontier of human occupation is pushed further within a region of increasing difficulty. In the past, nomadism has often been regarded as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture; it was believed that primitive man passed from a life of hunting and collecting first into a stage of pastoralism, and later, in places where conditions were favourable, to the fullest development of a life based on cultivation. In the opinion of H. J. Heure and others this view must be modified—pastoralism may, in some instances, represent a special, later development *from* agriculture—a dynamic response to environmental 000

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Faults and Virtues

656 Dirty he and his wife always are; it is thrice in the dirt of the field, a thing totally different from the dirt of the town. He never washes his clothes till they are about to drop off, and then he replaces them. He and his good wife are covered with body lice, and reek of camel manure and other choice odours, but the important parts of the body are kept clean, and the wife bathes her hair once a week in she-camel's urine, and thus rids her head of vermin for a few days.

657 Both the Badawin and his women are envious to a degree, and cupidity is the breath of life to them. Both are as full of *hasad* and *nawa'* (envy and cupidity) as anyone in this world could be, and they never tire of saying that others around them suffer from these vices but never they themselves. *Hasad* takes the form of backbiting at every opportunity, and disparaging the efforts and good name of anyone who happens to be better off. His *nawa'* is proverbial and has caused him to be dubbed by certain Westerners "the arch parasite of world society". True it is that you can make a Badawin man or woman do pretty well anything in this world except (and here I speak for the desert only) sacrifice his or her honour, by the offer of money.

Yet with all these faults I have found the Badawin and his wife to be the most lovable and delightful of all people, just primitive Adams and Eves, like their ancestors.

• 771 The true Badawin is a deeply religious man, and his hard life in the desert with its perpetual dangers to man and beast increases his sense of nearness to and dependence on his Maker. The grim scenery which surrounds him, the wide sandy deserts, the blood-colour of blazing sunsets, the deep yellow-black of the dust storms, a very incarnation of monstrous evil, and last but not least the devilish flicker of the witch's oven, as it rumbles above the ground, with its cruel sinuo the ever-deceiving mirage, all tend to convince him that the One and Indivisible God is near him always and if only he be a true Moslemin will help him when peril is about. The thought of God is always with him, and the name of Allah is perpetually on his
[778] lips. He prays ceremonially five times a day. He can and will do
577 nothing without invoking God's aid. After his duty towards God, comes duty towards his neighbour, and to a lesser extent towards himself. His whole code can be summed up in the following few sentences:

The Will of God

thing comes from God, both good and evil. This belief permeates his whole life; hence his stoical calm and resignation when he is faced suddenly with death, loss or ruin.

"God gave, God has been pleased to take away", is an expression continually on his lips.

This piety and resignation to the will of God is one of the most striking traits in the desert man's make-up, and I confess has affected me deeply on more than one occasion, as the following little story will show.

My wife and I became very friendly with a certain 'Ajman family in 1930. They roamed about the hinterland of Kuwait and North Hasa, and camped almost every summer on the wells of Abu Halaifa, thirty miles south of Kuwait, or alternatively at Shu'aiba, another ten miles further south. The head of the tent was of the Al Maifoth branch of the 'Ajman, and was a fine handsome old man of rugged countenance, about sixty years of age. He had four grown-up sons* and one daughter. The daughter, Sarah, was one of the most charming and attractive Badawin girls we had ever met in the Kuwait desert. She was married to a shaikh, Fahad al Fa'aran, a member of the Hithlain or ruling clan of the 'Ajman.

Her husband, a rebel against Ibn Sa'ud, had fled to Iraq as a fugitive in 1929, and little Sarah kept house for her father. We often used to visit Sarah's tent, and when no strange men were about, she invariably spread her scarlet bedding or *lahaf* in the women's portion of the tent for us to sit on. She, her father and we, used to discuss desert affairs over a cup of coffee which Sarah invariably handed round herself. Her brothers we rarely saw, as they spent most of their time with the camels.

Sarah had an only boy called 'Abdullah, a pretty trusting little child of two. One day, during the absence of my wife in England, 'Abdullah fell sick with a deadly sickness. I used to go and see him almost daily and did what I could for him, but the child grew worse. When he was fighting for his life it was wonderful to see the love, care and anxiety that both grandfather and mother showered on the child. He was the world to them both, and Sarah used silently to weep as I stood by trying to persuade the boy to drink some soothing medicine

* Two of these died in 1934 and 1933 respectively.

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Bedouin MJ4

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a 577
quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do,
they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel,
gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and 626
public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert 203
there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word
is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, 156
they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that
happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so
that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian
Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the
borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat 231
their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too
precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will
often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be
hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their
own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived
in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals
which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot
even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the
desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes,
looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that
lovely!" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten
bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian
he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative 538
race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a 181
heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if 521
someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their
hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. 771
Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than
pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them
without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their
religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed
the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded
that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I
asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he
answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant 141
struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is 582
unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At 157
any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away.
Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the
desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch among the wind-
blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood
with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as
thoroughbreds.

at hand, to do the work for him. Similarly, to touch a dead body is revolting to him.

(d) A woman's grave must be deep enough to hide her bosom if she were placed upright.

(e) A man's grave need be only 4 feet deep, i.e. up to a man's middle, or his knees, if there is no time to bury him properly.

(f) No woman ever accompanies a dead man's funeral procession, and as few persons as possible attend any usual burial. This is unlike the *hadhar* (town) custom, when friends all go to see a man buried, and vie with each other to carry the body, if only for a few seconds.

(g) Up to the third day after a man's death his friends visit his son and console with him by quoting various regular forms of comforting phrases,* such as: "He was a good man, and this has happened from Allah." "It happens to all men and to all people born of woman." "May Allah replace him who has passed away." If a man has lost his son the words "may Allah grant you another son in his place", etc., *Allah yikhlif 'alaikum* are used. The man condoled with will reply, "Thanks be to Allah, Allah is omnipotent".

The Badawin's idea of Heaven or Paradise is simple and pleasing and I have often discussed this subject with him.

Paradise means to him a land where it is always spring (*rabi'*), with plentiful and permanent green grazing (*'ashab*), water flowing in abundance from springs and small rivulets, a place where no unpleasant things are met with such as are prevalent in this world (hunger, lack of water, dried-up pasture, camel disease, etc.).

In Paradise all a man's tribe live together in pastures green, he meets all his friends and relations. No one grows old—all live for ever. They marry and give in marriage, and every person has an extra large tent, large herds of camels and sheep and many children. Should a person have lost children in this world, he or she will meet them in Paradise, grown to the age they would have been if they had lived, and the children will welcome and greet their parents as at the end of a journey.

I once asked Amnha, wife of Salim al Muzaiyin, if she would be Salim's wife in heaven, as she was here. She replied that she would know him and her children, and live close to him, and visit her children

* Such formulae of condolence are: (i) *Allah i 'awhaum ajrakum* (when grown up has died, such as a son); (ii) *Allah yahsin ajrakum* (for child's death); (iii) *Allah i 'awhaum ajrakih* (for woman).

by him, and he supremely happy, only she could not cohabit with him, as in Heaven Salim would have to live with his first wife, who died long ago, and before he took her. This seemed no hardship to her, however, and was taken for granted.

The Badawin idea of Hell is equally satisfactory. A man going to hell will meet with, and find there as his constant companions, everything he hated in this world, and every natural difficulty that made life a curse for him in this world.

There will be perpetual hot and blistering summer, his camels and sheep will always be short of grazing, he will never see green grass or springs of water, and he must for ever and ever break his back drawing water for his thirsty flocks and family from wells which are deeper than anything in this world. He will be a bondman all his existence and servant to an "inferior" tribe, without *sharaf*, *ism* or *'ashira* (honour, name or tribe). He will have no decent herds or flocks.

In Heaven the sun, moon and stars always shine; in hell never. Allah the One and the Almighty keeps close touch with the inhabitants of both Paradise and Hell, and sometimes allows them out to visit in dreams their loved ones still on earth.

DEATH AND BURIAL IN KUWAIT TOWN

In Kuwait when the body of a man or woman has been washed (*maghassil*) by the professional washers, it is clothed in a long sort of nightgown (*thaub*) extra liberally cut, of fine new white cloth sewn together. A hole is torn for the head to pass through, and it is thus prepared for burial. A dead woman's forehead is bound round with a white piece of cloth (*assaba*) such as women wear when they are sick, and a headcloth is placed over the head and sewn under the neck and down the front as in a child's *bubbug*, and a piece of cotton wool with camphor is placed under each armpit. A dead man is treated in the same way except that a white headcloth (*kaffiyah*) is put over his head and tied under his chin. In both cases the finger-nails (*alhafir*) are then carefully cleaned by the washers—this is most important—and arms are folded across his or her chest. Lastly, a white shroud (*chifan*) is placed over the body and the corpse (*jinaza*) is carried off by men to the burial place (*maqbarah*). There the grave (*gabr*) is got

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CHAPTER XI

Faith and Prayer

The Badawin groups are all Sunnis, either of the Hanbali or Maliki schools, as opposed to the Shi'ahs of Iraq, the Zaidis of Yemen and the Biyadiyahs of Oman and adjacent country.

Though fierce in battle and ever ready to raid and kill, the Badawin has one of the strictest codes of honour in the world. His belief in the One Great Almighty God, Indivisible, All-seeing and Ever-present, is impressive.

Throughout his life the name of God is constantly on his lips, and heard in almost every sentence he uses. Recurrent phrases are:

(a) *Wallah, Billah, Ek Billah Wallah* (all meaning "By God") to emphasize that he speaks the truth.

(b) *Ma'ana Illah*—In the peace of God.
Hafizh-kum Allah—God guard you.
Fiki'an Allah—In the custody of God.
To speed a parting friend or guest, and as general terms of farewell.

(c) *Tawakkal al Allah*—Put your trust in God.
Tawakkal-na al Allah—We put trust in God.
At the commencement of an undertaking, or journey, etc.

(d) *Allah Karim*—God is merciful.
To express resignation, or hope, when things seem to be going wrong, etc.

(e) *Sa'ad-kum Allah*—God assist you.
Ganawi Allah abbreviated to *Al Ganaw*—God strengthen you. Used by way of greeting and to encourage a person doing some special work.

(f) *La hawla wa la quwwata illa B'Illah al 'aali w'al azim.*—There is no might nor majesty except in God the most High and Wonderful.
To express astonishment at some strange sight, etc.

(g) *Sadd'ifir Allah*—God forbid.
La-ilaha-Il-l' Allah—There is no God but God.
To ward off evil, etc.

The Badawin, like every Arab or true Muslim, believes that every-

Mourning

B 765 When a man dies, the widow has to seclude herself from all for a period of four months and ten days. Well-to-do families confine the 765 wife to the house for this period while Badawin women hide themselves as much as practicable in their tents. The townswoman of Kuwait actually shuts herself in a room, devoid of comforts such as carpets, etc., and can only be attended by another woman who brings her food and water. She must not see a man, or male relative, or hear a male voice.

R 715 765 Among the lower classes the belief about this *'ada* or custom of shutting the widow up is, that as soon as a man dies and goes to the other world, he is chained by an iron chain round his neck. This chain can only be removed by his widow's observing a proper course of mourning, for four months and ten days.

The very poor classes in Kuwait do not pay much attention to the above rule, and forty days' seclusion generally meets the case with them.

R 769 786 Graveyards are always looked upon as places of ill-omen and must be avoided, especially at night, as *jinns* or spirits are believed to be moving about them.

B 769 786 The great western graveyard at Kuwait, where the shaikhs bury their dead, is especially notorious for *jinns*, and many an eerie tale is told of people who have dared to go too near the place and have been pursued and even attacked by these evil spirits.

It is particularly bad to put your foot on a grave, and to do so after dark often results in so-called "madness". When young Mathug ibn Majid al A'ega of the Mutair at Jariya went mad for the love of a lady (see page 149) many said, and he himself is supposed to have believed, that he had accidentally set foot on a Badawin grave when he went out of his tent after dark to attend to nature.

B 763 761 Among the Badawin the person dying usually passes away peaceably in grave and dignified manner; this especially applies to the old. I was present at the death of one of Shaikh Hilal bin Faja'an al Mutairi's Badawin relatives, a poor man of over eighty. I was camped at Araifjan among my Badawin friends Salim al Muzaiyin's family, and the old man's tent was close by. Salim was away in Najd when the old man suddenly collapsed and gave out that his time had come. There were only women and children about and the Dhafiri camel

bruises all over, especially on the head, by men slaves. After what 759
must have been a truly terrible ordeal, the miserable girl died and her body was sent off to her old father and mother for burial covered up with her 'abba in a car. Mr. B was furious when he heard of the deed, and Mr. A, in a stormy interview, is reported to have taken the line that by his deed he had saved his uncle B's honour, and his aunt's life to boot, and that therefore his act was a virtuous one and justified.

The Ruler, H.H. Shaikh Ahmad, is reported to have been very angry indeed when he heard of the incident, and took suitable action against the offenders. It is doubtful whether this will have any permanent result, however, for the prejudice against witchcraft and anyone tampering with *sahar* is locally very great, and Mr. A is sure to make the most of popular prejudice. Already the story is going about that the actual spell used by the slave-girl to kill her mistress was found sewed inside lady X's pillow just where she placed her head. This trumped-up yarn was of course spread to deceive and influence public opinion.

JINNS, GHOSTS, ETC.

Dhuwaihi ibn Khamis of the 'Awazim impressed on me (21st 776
April, 1955) that it was always wise to avoid Badawin burial places, 767
especially at night. He explained that during darkness, and especially about midnight, the spirits of the dead often came out of their tombs and sat on them, conversing with one another. Should a person of this world happen to go near, or pass close by, the spirits often shouted after him and abused him. They went further, and forcibly prevented a man from going about his business by throwing stones at him.

THE 'AUSAJ BUSH

Among the Badawin of Hasa and Kuwait the *'ausaj* bush is con- 776
sidered to be under the special protection of Jinns (spirits). It is never 824
cut nor are branches ever broken from it. It is believed that anyone injuring it will be followed and tormented, especially at night, by hostile Jinns. The Badawin, on approaching an *'ausaj* bush, will always invoke God's protection by a *bi'asmi 'llah al Rahmân al Rahîm* (in the

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate) and will cast a stone into the bush. Hence *'ausaj* bushes are always seen surrounded by a pile of stones at the base. Though men will usually joke about this if questioned, the superstition remains nevertheless deep in their hearts, and they take no risks.

HAUNTS OF JINNS

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There are two spots believed to be special haunts of Jinns in North-East Arabia:

Abrag al Khalijah is vaguely but widely reputed to be a place where a meteorite fell some seventy years ago. I have not yet visited it, but its position lies in Sa'udi Arabia, at the southern end of the Shaqq depression and close to the south-west corner of the Kuwait Neutral Zone. Every Kuwait Badawin knows the place but pretends to fear to go near it as it is said to be the home of Jinns. It has been flown over and examined from the air by certain geologists (in 1932), who were greatly interested.

According to them it consists of a hole in the ground some 4 acres in extent with cliff-like sides about 24 feet high. The 'Awazim and 'Ajman particularly fear to approach the place.

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'Ain al 'Abd.—This lies about 30 miles east and slightly north of Abrag al Khalijah, and stands on the southern edge of the Kuwait Neutral Zone close to the marshy area known as the Maqtah, which is undoubtedly caused by various salty springs. The whole marsh is covered by *'ausaj* bushes, the plant which, according to Badawin lore, is dangerous to cut lest you be haunted by evil spirits. The actual 'Ain consists of a pool of water 40 feet across and some 6 feet below the surface of the surrounding country. In the centre of the pool there is a spring which surges out of the ground. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur and smells like bad eggs for a mile round. The pool flows away by a channel, whether natural or artificial I do not know, and eventually the water finds its way to the sea some 10 miles away.

The Arabs tell the story of how a "black thing", they know not what, lives in the centre of the pool with head like a Negro. This animal or Jinn every now and then comes to the surface, shows itself and disappears again. At other times the thing is said to come out of

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the pool and sit on the bank itself. Those who have seen it say it looks like a black man from afar. The water of the 'Ain being unfit to drink and therefore useless, the place is avoided by man. A series of tests carried out by Captain Papworth, R.E., in 1934, proved that approximately 1,000 gallons of water per hour flowed from the spring. I have myself visited the haunted spot twice, but needless to say saw nothing alarming. My escort all refused to approach nearer than 300 yards, except one man, the stalwart Mirshid al Shammari (ibn Twala).

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517 (*dhabi*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves
224 on fresh *leben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war,
262 then of course this utopian existence is at once changed, and the tribe
722 moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared
for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining
[202] and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come
into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks
before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were
able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and
622 assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on
its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp.
His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

622 No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was
157 the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not neces-
183 sarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the
family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-
paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the
shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan
or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father
and become shaikh after him must prove:

that he has the necessary courage;
that he has powers of leadership;
that he has *hadh* or luck.

=777 The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership
622 in plenty if *hadh* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman
157 wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in
peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is
bound up in this word *hadh*. The great Bin Sa'ud, the present Lord
of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with
a large quantity of *hadh*, or so says and believes every Badawin of
Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot
be compared with the all-embracing Luck.

622 The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

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721 726 renowned warrior will also be coming up against you". The shaikh of the challenged tribe then calls together his warriors and elders and gives them the news of the declaration of war. He then fills a cup of coffee and calls out, "This cup stands for such and such warrior on the other side, who of you will drink it? Who will take him on in single combat?" A local brave who thinks to win his spurs will call out, "I am ready", and the cup is passed to him to drink. Similarly champions are found for every other well-known enemy warrior named as coming up against them.

Eventually when the battle is about to be joined, the opposing champions of each side come out, and after caracolling about and showing off on their horses' paces, will engage in single combat with their opposite numbers.

Háji 'Abdullah Fathil* told me that he saw such an incident among the Dhafir (from whom he took his present wife) some years ago. The Shammar and 'Anizah, like the Dhafir, are also fond of issuing challenges to their enemy to single combat before battle.

CONCENTRATING FOR WAR OR A BIG RAID

622 777 Firstly it should be remembered that, as I have already explained, though every tribe admits the paramountcy of a certain section or *hamula* of the tribe as the one that always provides the shaikh (such as the Hithlain, Dushan or Suwait), it will only agree to follow that particular shaikh who possesses what they term the necessary "Luck" or "Good Fortune" in war. For instance, the Mutair always followed Faisal al Duwish in the past, because he proved himself times without number to be a "lucky" general. Had he not had this reputation the tribe would have selected another member of the Dushan clan and discarded Faisal.

622 721 Secondly, the chieftain of a tribe cannot simply send messages to the various sections of the tribe and order them to concentrate preparatory to his leading them on some distant raid or expedition. They would not obey. In practice he sends for the leaders of the tribe and discusses his plans with them in secret for a week, fifteen days or even a month, while the pros and cons of the proposed operations

* Mr. Williamson, the well-known English Muslim intelligence officer of World War I—now residing in Basra.

meet the tip of the centre finger of the other hand. If this happens, 787
the undertaking will be attended with good luck. If exact contact does not take place, then on no account must the undertaking be carried out. This test is usually made three times.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11 August, 1932.

NOTE.—Friday journeys or undertakings are quite legitimate but 777
only after noonday prayer has been performed. Never before.

TO BRING LUCK

When a Badawin eats dates, he throws the stones over his shoulder, believing that each stone so thrown means a camel acquired in a raid

Shaikh of Kuwait, 28th May, 1935.

TO BECOME A GOOD SHOT

If a Badawin wants to become a good shot, the common method 789
is to light a piece of cloth (cotton or wool) made up into a small ball. This as it smoulders is held very close to the right forearm, four inches behind the wrist knuckle bone. The ball should not be alight, but only smouldering, nor must the actual cloth ball be applied to the flesh. The heat of the burning piece of cloth soon raises a large blister about the size of a small matchbox. When this happens the operation is complete and the burning cloth is removed. Later the blister bursts and leaves an oblong raw spot, which in turn when it heals, leaves a scar to the man's dying day. This painful ordeal is considered among the Badawin to insure that the patient becomes a good shot with the rifle.

The present Shaikh of Kuwait had the operation done to him as a young man, and certainly he is a remarkable shot.

TO ACQUIRE COURAGE

Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah told me on 12th November, 1938, that 828
among certain Badawin it was not uncommon for a man to eat the liver of a wolf to make him brave.

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East Bedouin MJ4

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but
flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much 272
social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity 252
for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if 415
not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the 514
equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material 291
is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the 312
Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which 515
are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a 782
substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most im- 262
portant are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese —of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread— and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally [437]
a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads them- [241]
selves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are [231
in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, 471]
not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using 264
his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they 562
are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin 000

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel. [271]

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop. [241]

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks. [826]

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

tired and dozed off again. Again I woke, and again I dozed off, till the 231
barking of the dogs became a sort of rising and falling echo in my tired and sleepy brain. Once I heard the camels, which were kneeling close behind Salim's tent, jump up in alarm and bolt 50 yards, but the reassuring voice of Salim calmed them, and I dropped off to sleep again. Presently I heard him shouting: *Ya Nasir, shunnu illi khawaf al bil?* (Oh Nasir, what frightened the camels?). *Ma'aku shai*, came the reply (Nothing at all). I went on dozing the night long, hearing many and strange sounds, but too tired to move. It is always thus, my first night with my Badawin friends; I cannot sleep. Before dawn I 512
heard Salim calling to prayer, and shortly afterwards, though it was [782]
still very dark, the goatskin of milk, rocked by one of the women to make curdled milk (*leben*) and butter, started its song. Rug-rug-rug- [252]
rug, the skin protested, and yet again, Rug-rug-rug. It was the old sound I knew so well, and it gave me a strange feeling of homeliness and comfort. They were awake before daylight, these simple people; they never seem to sleep—they also had prayed, and now they were watching for the dawn.

Presently I heard the shepherds calling their flocks of sheep to- 512
gether, and the camelmen talking to their camels. Both sheep and 233
camels had slept in the open in front of Salim's and Dhuwaihi's tents, the ewes close to their young. *Hirr, hirr*, cried Faláh, as he started calling the mother sheep to feed their lambs, before going out to graze for the day. The lambs all began to bleat at once, it was the hour of their morning meal. After this they will get nothing till nightfall, so they must drink now deep and well. Presently, with the first glimmer of dawn the daily counting of the sheep began. Aha! a cry, "Ya Salim, there are two short. Come quick, a ewe and a lamb are missing." A hurrying of feet, then eager talking. A further cry, "A wolf, it is a wolf". "A wolf has done this in the night." From right 233
under their noses, a he- and she-wolf had clearly visited the camp and carried off the animals in the dark. A quick cast round and the enemies' pug-marks were found. The he-wolf had cleverly given the watch-dogs his scent on the side from which the wind was blowing, and as soon as the dogs had rushed after him into the night his cunning spouse had crawled close up to the tents on the other side, much as a cat crouches and creeps after a mouse (except that the wolf seems

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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it on over his old one, and since none of his garments are ever removed, the older garment gradually falls to pieces and after a while disappears altogether. This story, like much of the fiction of the world, though not strictly accurate is based on painful truth, for baths are not so frequent in the Bedouin's life as they should be, and the laundering of clothes is still less adequate.

But it is easy to blame the Bedouin for being dirty. Dirty he certainly is and his clothes even more so, but what is to be expected when water is so scarce that for lack of it animals frequently go thirsty, and sometimes even men? We forget that cleanliness is a luxury, and a very expensive luxury at that. Through the summer the Bedouin women wash their hair in camel's urine because water is so precious that it cannot be wasted for such a purpose. The men apparently go without washing. Clothes require no comment, for their condition is what might be imagined. By far the commonest hunting in Arabia is the hunt for wild game in the hair and clothes. It is always successful. The ablutions required before prayers are commonly performed with sand. The delight of such people upon arriving at some place where water is abundant and where bodies and clothes can be washed is a good thing to see.

The diet of these desert Arabs is ordinarily very frugal. A drink of camel's milk and a handful of dates are a day's rations for an adult, and more is not expected. There will also be an occasional drink of coffee, of which the Bedouin is inordinately fond. Even the poorest Bedouin tent will have some sort of a battered and worn coffee pot for this purpose. Bread is a rare luxury in such homes, and meat even a rarer one. A feeble old camel on the verge of dissolution will render a last service

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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But if the Bedouin has a great contempt for the townsman, the townsman on his part reciprocates most cordially. He regards the unwashed and unkempt nomad of the desert as little better than a wild beast. Incidentally he fears the wild religious fanaticism of the despised tribesmen exceedingly, and not without reason. "Infidel," said one of the Bedouins to a small shopkeeper in Hasa who sat comfortably smoking his big waterpipe in the door of his shop. "Infidel, shall I break it over your head, or smash it here on the ground?" and the shopkeeper having indicated a preference for the ground, the fanatical Wahabi, to whom tobacco is the very essence of sin and uncleanness, smashed the waterpipe to pieces on the floor. A waterpipe is a quite expensive affair, being an ornamented glass jar of about a quart capacity. Those accustomed to their use insist that in no other way can tobacco be properly smoked. The time was when the inhabitants of the oasis towns were more religious than the Bedouins, but that time is past, and now the Bedouin in his religious zeal looks on them as next to infidels. "Those are the men," the city dweller will explain with great scorn, "who think they are competent to instruct us in matters of religion. They do not know the simplest prayers. Their heads are so full of lice that room could scarcely be found for more. Their clothes never get washed. Their women go about unveiled. They are nothing but wild animals."

The underlying changes that have brought about this transformation from desert conditions to those of the oasis are two. There is a divison of labor, and a certain differentiation into sections and cliques is inevitable on account of that, but a far more significant thing is the fact that agricultural land in the oasis is held as private property, whereas in the desert land is free as the air.

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

Sheykh Tai' threw several handfuls of sand over the spilled blood—for so desert custom demands. Blood is *haram,* that is, "forbidden." Opening the jaws of the dead animal and pointing to the wicked fangs, he said: "Thou and I are kinsmen for the traces which thou leavest behind are the same as mine." (We are both robbers, he meant—like all despised Bedouins.)

Later in the day, as we galloped on, we sighted in the distance what at first we took for some of our mounted hunters driving wolves towards us. But they did not move.

I thought I could recognize riderless horses, watching us with raised heads. But Sheyk Tai' laughed and cried out to me that they were neither horses nor horsemen, but wild asses. I would not believe him at first, for the animals seemed too high in the leg.

Sheykh Tai' pointed out to me that the troop had a leader and this became apparent when the shy creatures ran off. We did not follow, and they disappeared into the clear distance of the Sinjar Mountains.

Fleeting shadows cast from above now hurried across the plain before our horses. I knew them of old from raids in the inner part of Arabia. They were the "Sharers of the Prey."

Shading my eyes with my hand, I looked up to the sky, where on motionless pinions the great vultures were sailing. They knew well the purpose of our ride; and they were sure of their feast of dead wolves. A widespread cloud of dust rose on the horizon and moved towards us. These were the beaters, whose semicircle stead-

1 - [of a wolf killed in a hunt--Analyst]

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'Anizah Taboo

K 136 SA 136

It is found over the whole of North-Eastern Arabia, and prefers hard gravelly ground to loose sand. It lives in a hole, anything up to 4 feet in depth, which it excavates in spiral fashion. It is a common sight to see this animal basking in the summer sun close to its hole, and silently diving into its recess on the approach of danger. It disappears entirely during the winter months and reappears during the late spring and summer months, so it would seem to hibernate. It grows to a length of approximately 3 feet, and is very fierce.

Its greatest enemy is the wurral, or snake-headed monitor. The dhub has an ordinary-shaped tongue, and is armed with a row of vicious-looking sharp teeth, but its principal weapon of defence is its tail.

It has long, sharp claws and a white stomach, and hisses loudly when angry. When it first appears in spring, after hibernation, it is brilliant yellow-ochre in colour, and as summer arrives it develops a grey-green tint with pale yellow bands across its back. Rings of the same pale yellow go round its tail between rows of spikes.

Its name is not to be confused with *ddb*, the Badawin name for snake, or with *dhabi*, a gazelle.

The dhub lays between fifty and sixty eggs at a time in the sand, and covers them up. When the young are about to hatch, the mother is said to come back again and eat them all up except three, which she places on her back—one on her head, one on the middle of her back and one on her tail. This curious story is vouched for by the Badawin, but I have so far failed to find a dhub lizard with young, and cannot verify the statement.

The dhub will eat a certain amount of grass, but its natural food is obviously grasshoppers and other insects. It certainly devours voraciously any locusts that it comes across. All Badawin consider it fit for food.

B 262 619 784

Throughout Arabia there is a saying that the dhub is held in special sanctity by the 'Anizah tribe. Certain it is that no member of that tribe will kill, much less eat, this lizard.

Hence when wanting to annoy or anger an 'Anizah tribesman, rival Badawin will say that the dhub is his ancestor (*Al dhub jidd al 'Anuz*). This jibe refers to the story that an 'Anizah ancestor was

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turned into a dhub by the Prophet. The true reason for the sanctity of the dhub is obscure.

AL KHASWI

Al Khaswi is a small lizard delicately built; when full grown does not exceed 7 inches in length. It is commonly met everywhere in the desert of North-East Arabia, and is very fast. It may be seen rushing about at lightning speed from one *'arfaj* bush to another, switching its long thin tail from side to side. It has a fine skin, spotted on the back, and is greyish white in colour.

K 136 SA 136

Another variety of this lizard has lines along its back, and is pale salmon pink in colour under the tail. Among the Shammar Badawin the same lizard is known under the name of *Al Sulaimanîyah.*

[B 104]

ROLLER BEETLE

The desert is full of roller beetles, especially where Badawin camps exist. This beetle is locally known as *Abu Jalla* (Father of camel manure) or Abu Ja'al.*

It usually appears in spring, and is to be seen everywhere, rolling fresh bits of manure (camel, horse, donkey or even goat) into a perfect ball, and carting it off backwards at an amazing and feverish pace. When the beetle comes to a nice soft spot, it starts digging a sloping hole in mad fashion, sufficiently large to take its manure ball. When the hole is ready it rolls the ball down the slope of the hole, where it comes to rest 8 to 10 inches from the entrance. The digging is done with the beetle's strong fore-feet, and to get earth out it turns round and shovels out earth with head and snout. It is extremely fussy, and works as if life depended on getting the hole dug in a minimum of time. When rolling the ball along, the beetle's hind quarters and legs are cocked up against the ball and guide the latter in the proper direction, the beetle's strong head and claws which are on the ground do the pushing. The roller beetle always moves backwards at an amazing pace if ground is smooth.

It usually has several small fly-parasites on its back, which appear to have their abode in the join between head and body.

* Roller beetle appeared in 1937 on February 19th and just after good rain. Clearly they come out of the ground where they hibernate for six months.

Cures

Chap. XL

752 (3) A sheep must be slain at once and the whole of the wounded limb must be wrapped in the skin of the sheep whilst still warm. Better still, if the person can wrap his whole body in the skin. This is to make him or her perspire thoroughly. If the weather is cold and sweat comes slowly, the patient is made to lie down and two fires are lit close on either side.

(4) The patient is given tea from the *ramrám* plant, if available, and the actual spot where the bite shows is covered with *ramrám* paste.

Care must be taken to prevent the bitten person from sleeping, and for twenty-four hours he must be kept awake at all costs. After twenty-four hours the skin is removed, but the tourniquets are kept on night and day, in spite of the agony and swelling of the limbs, for twenty days.

A woman of the Rashaida tribe, from Qatar, who was bitten by a cobra on the ankle, told me that she underwent the above treatment, and that eventually her foot swelled to such an extent that it burst (her expression) at the instep, and black pussy liquid in very large quantities flowed away. That was considered to be the snake poison leaving her, but it was more probably gangrenous pus which had accumulated as a result of stopping the blood circulation.

Among the Diyahin tribe, a sept of the Mutair (Braih), I knew another woman, Nura Um Mubarak (a relation of Hillal al Mutairi), who had survived three bites from the horned viper. She underwent the same treatment each time.

CURING SORE EYES

757 Rifa'a, the wife of Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra of the Rukhman section of the Mutair, told me the following on 24th April, 1937, in course of general conversation. For ordinary sore eyes caused by flies and dirt generally the best cure was:

(1) In case of a child, for the mother or another woman to put a few drops of her milk daily in the child's eyes. This soothed and had a definitely curative effect.

757 784 (2) In case of a man, the same thing applied, but it must never be the milk of his own wife. That was sinful and results would be worse than the cure. Another woman's milk was necessary.

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784 She added also that for a woman to taste her own milk was sinful and would cause her husband to stop caring for her, similarly no woman should allow her husband ever to taste her milk, however small the quantity. This was "unlawful" according to the Shari'ah law, or so said the *Mushaiyikh* or Holy Priests of Najd.

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Shaikh Thuwairan abu Sifra of the Mutair, and by Shaikh Khalid al Hithlain of the 'Ajman a few days later.) 173

Shagha married Sultan al Duwish, and became by him the mother of the famous Faisal al Duwish of the Mutair, the conqueror of Madina for the present king. Before her marriage, Shagha is said to have had a dream, in which she gave birth to an iron *mishd'ab* stick.* On telling her father Hzam al Hithlain and her mother, they asked for details of the dream. The girl, frightened, said that as the iron rod in her dream came away from her, it grew a fiery "red hot" colour and started emitting great sparks, which beat on and burnt up the tents of her people the 'Ajman. Her father, knowing something of dreams, comforted her, and said that her firstborn would be a son, and a famous man, and that he would be a thorn in the flesh of the 'Ajman, yet a friend in time of need. 173 787

A year later she married Sultan al Duwish, Shaikh of the Mutair, and gave birth to Faisal al Duwish, than whom no tribal leader in Arabia has been greater or more famous. All his life Faisal, the son of the 'Ajman lady Shagha, spent his time alternately raiding the 'Ajman and making peace with them. The tribe reverenced and admired him because of his mother, and hated him because his father was an enemy and a Mutairi. To the day of his death in 1932 the 'Ajman called him the "iron camel stick" who scourged their tribe, and proved his mother's dream to have been prophetic. 173

Wadha became the mother of Sa'ud al 'Arafa, by 'Abdul 'Aziz bin Faisal bin Turki al Sa'ud (first cousin of His Majesty the present King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud). Hence Sa'ud al 'Arafa's preference for his mother's tribe, and the saying that he is the real Shaikh of the 'Ajman. He is the husband to-day of Bin Sa'ud's famous sister Nura, and lives perpetually by the King's side, for owing to his mother's blood the King fears him, and with reason, if we read the history of the Araif.

'AJMAN LIGHTHEARTEDNESS

The following trivial incident is typical of the merry lighthearted-ness of the 'Ajman. 522

* A *mishd'ab* is the camel-stick used by every Badawin.

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CHAPTER XXIV

Dreams and their Interpretation

The Badawin pays at all times great attention to dreams, and he will solemnly take any unusual dream to the local interpreter, be it woman or man, to ask its meaning. As an example, see the dream of Shagha, mother of Faisal al Duwish, in Chapter XXII (p. 281). The interpreters of dreams are mostly old women skilled in herbs, midwifery, sickness, in witchcraft and the various methods for averting the Evil Eye.

There are, of course, men interpreters of dreams as well, the most famous probably being the man employed for many years for this purpose by H.M. the King of Sa'udi Arabia, Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz Al Nimr* by name. I am told by the Shaikh of Kuwait that no dream of the King's was allowed to pass without this man's being consulted.

According to the Arab, the interpretation of dreams usually goes by opposites. That is to say, if something untoward happens to the dreamer, the dream is of good omen.

To dream of killing snakes nearly always means that a man will triumph over his enemies, and to dream of quenching a fire is equally propitious. A "dagger" stands for a "woman", a "sword" for a "man", and so on.

Some persons are recognised as having a special gift for dreaming prophetic dreams, and such persons always command respect and attention when recounting their dreams.

I myself was not a little fortunate in that three very vivid dreams of mine in Kuwait, which I was careful to tell beforehand to several persons, including the shaikh, came more or less true after they had been interpreted by a certain Um Mubarak, a local Badawin woman wise in this form of knowledge.

I quote the dreams in question purely as an example of how the interpretation was handled.

* It is uncertain if he is alive to-day, but if dead he will certainly have had a mausoleum.

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singers is used, never the *rabábah*. Men never dance to the tune of the instrument, but only sing to it, either singly or in unison, repeating the words of the soloist, and keeping time by clapping their hands. 534 535 554

It is definitely considered undignified for a pure-bred Arab to play the *rabábah*, and must always be so.

FORTUNE-TELLING AND PROPHECY 787

Fortune-telling and prophecy are commonly practised among Badawin women, the Sulubba especially. A common Mutairi method of telling fortunes (more as a means of amusement than as a serious forecast) is similar to that practised by our gipsies and old folk at home. Cards are not used, but shells, date-stones, bits of pottery, etc., all jumbled together and cast at random on the ground are used to tell a person's fortune.

Maneira Mutairi (Sana) frequently entertained us in camp with her bag of fortune-telling articles. She used

3 large cowrie shells (with backs missing).

3 cowrie shells with backs missing (small size).

9 Zababit sea-shells with faces broken off, e.g.

1 piece of blue pottery ½" to 1" in diameter.

1 piece of red pottery ½" to 1" in diameter.

5 date stones.

The blue piece of pottery represented the sea.

The red piece of pottery represented the land.

A date stone represented a woman.

A date stone with back uppermost represented a man.

A date stone if it fell sideways on ground represented a camel.

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787 If a cowrie fell on ground like this, it represented a girl.

If a cowrie fell on ground like this, it represented a boy.

OTHER INDICATIVE POSITIONS

(a) Denotes sickness in man or woman according as cowrie faces upwards or downwards.
(b) Denotes a pregnant woman (zababit over date stone).
(c) Zababit pointing towards a person denotes a letter for him or her.
(d) Zababit imposed above a cowrie denotes a dinner.
(e) Reverse side pointing towards a person denotes happiness.

A cowrie falling on ground in a propped-up position against a half broken *zababit* shell indicates a shaikh.

The fortune-teller throws three times or five times to tell a person's fortune, scattering her trinkets in a small area, as one would throw dice. She then examines the above articles, and sees how they lie. She then tells a little story such as, "Your small boy is far across the sea, he is now writing a letter to you. It will come by an aeroplane in six days' time. He is missing you greatly, but a kind man is caring for him", or more often a sweetheart and her doings are described in language such as, "The girl you love is pining for you, and is languishing because she cannot see you", etc.

A GAME CALLED AL HAWAILAH

524 Al Hawailah,* which is a favourite Arab game, is played by two players in the following way:

* Possibly it is the original form of backgammon. There is certainly a resemblance.

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CHAPTER XLIV

Curious Customs and Stories

MAD DOG BITE

752 826 If a person is bitten by a dog suffering from rabies, he must immediately find a man of the Birzan section of the Mutair, and drink a coffee-cup full of his blood (which he pays for). The blood of a Birzani so taken is regarded among all the tribes of North-East Arabia as an infallible cure.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.
Confirmed by the Shaikh of the Birzan, the late 'Ali al Shuwairibat, in 1935

DIVISION OF SPOIL, GIFTS, ETC.

425 Among the Badawin the method adopted for the just division of spoil is to send one person some distance away, so that he cannot see what article is selected. Another will then call out "Who shall have this?" holding up or pointing at a particular article. The man must then in reply name one of the party. This custom has religious or *Shari'ah* sanction behind it.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.

MAKING DECISIONS

• 787 To decide whether a journey or other enterprise shall be undertaken, the counting of beads (odd or even) three times, is common among the Shi'ahs.

Among the Badawin the following method is adopted: A man will shut his eyes and hold his hands out in front of him, palms towards him, and fingers of the two hands pointing toward each other. He will then try slowly and with his eyes shut to bring the fingers together, so as to make the tip of the centre finger of one hand *exactly*

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meet the tip of the centre finger of the other hand. If this happens, 787
the undertaking will be attended with good luck. If exact contact does not take place, then on no account must the undertaking be carried out. This test is usually made three times.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11 August, 1932.

NOTE.—Friday journeys or undertakings are quite legitimate but 777
only after noonday prayer has been performed. Never before.

TO BRING LUCK

When a Badawin eats dates, he throws the stones over his shoulder, believing that each stone so thrown means a camel acquired in a raid

Shaikh of Kuwait, 28th May, 1935.

TO BECOME A GOOD SHOT

If a Badawin wants to become a good shot, the common method 789
is to light a piece of cloth (cotton or wool) made up into a small ball. This as it smoulders is held very close to the right forearm, four inches behind the wrist knuckle bone. The ball should not be alight, but only smouldering, nor must the actual cloth ball be applied to the flesh. The heat of the burning piece of cloth soon raises a large blister about the size of a small matchbox. When this happens the operation is complete and the burning cloth is removed. Later the blister bursts and leaves an oblong raw spot, which in turn when it heals, leaves a scar to the man's dying day. This painful ordeal is considered among the Badawin to insure that the patient becomes a good shot with the rifle.

The present Shaikh of Kuwait had the operation done to him as a young man, and certainly he is a remarkable shot.

TO ACQUIRE COURAGE

Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah told me on 12th November, 1938, that 828
among certain Badawin it was not uncommon for a man to eat the liver of a wolf to make him brave.

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515 Dirty he and his wife always are, but theirs is the dirt of the field, a thing totally different from the dirt of the town. He never washes his clothes till they are about to drop off, and then he replaces them. He and his good wife are covered with body lice, and reek of camel manure and other choice odours, but the important parts of the body are kept clean, and the wife bathes her hair once a week in she-camel's urine, and thus rids her head of vermin for a few days.

157 Both the Badawin and his women are envious to a degree, and cupidity is the breath of life to them. Both are as full of *hasad* and *tama'* (envy and cupidity) as anyone in this world could be, and they never tire of saying that others around them suffer from these vices but never they themselves. *Hasad* takes the form of backbiting at every opportunity, and disparaging the efforts and good name of anyone who happens to be better off. His *tama'* is proverbial and has caused him to be dubbed by certain Westerners "the arch parasite of world society". True it is that you can make a Badawin man or woman do pretty well anything in this world except (and here I speak for the desert only) sacrifice his or her honour, by the offer of money.

Yet with all these faults I have found the Badawin and his wife to be the most lovable and delightful of all people, just primitive Adams and Eves, like their ancestors.

771 The true Badawin is a deeply religious man, and his hard life in the desert with its perpetual dangers to man and beast increases his sense of nearness to and dependence on his Maker. The grim scenery which surrounds him, the wide sandy deserts, the blood-colour of blazing sunsets, the deep yellow-black of the dust storms, a very incarnation of monstrous evil, and last but not least the devilish flicker of the witch's oven, as it trembles above the ground, with its cruel sister the ever-deceiving mirage, all tend to convince him that the One and Indivisible God is near him always and if only he be a true Musulmán will help him when peril is about. The thought of God is always with him, and the name of Allah is perpetually on his [188] lips. He prays ceremonially five times a day. He can and will do 577 nothing without invoking God's aid. After his duty towards God, comes duty towards his neighbour, and to a lesser extent towards himself. His whole code can be summed up in the following few sentences:

The Shepherd Boy

Chap. III

At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the 'adhan (call to prayer), 512 [788] 462

with which the day commences. It is still quite dark, but the prayer-call has roused the camp. The women also pray, but in their own tent. After prayers, the woman whose duty it is to make the daily supply of *leben* (sour milk), starts rocking her goatskin to and fro on the *mirjahah* (wooden tripod from the centre of which it hangs). According to the tribe they belong to, some women sing when at this work, others do not.

The woman of the house then orders a little bitter coffee or tea (a 512 modern innovation) to be prepared and gives some to the shepherd [764] and the camelherd, who with the dawn will start off on their day's 233 duties. With the coffee she hands them a supply of dates; part of this 462 is eaten on the spot and part put into a little leather bag as the day's ration. If coffee or tea is scarce, the men are given a bowl of milk. While this is being done, another servant whose duty later will be to go and fetch water, etc., looses the lambs from inside the tent, where each has been attached by a woollen loop to a central rope during the night, and allows each lamb to be suckled by its mother. This done, the lambs are tied up again. The grown-up animals are counted to see that no wolf has stolen one during the night, and off they are sent to graze in charge of the shepherd boy. As the sheep are weak from lack of fodder and the long summer, they will be sent a couple of miles at most. There the shepherd-boy amuses himself one way or another till the sun gets up and makes him feel inclined to rest. He thereupon plants his staff* in the ground and hangs his *'abba* on top. This is enough to deceive the sheep into thinking the shepherd is standing near them and watching. They will not wander; the shepherd goes to sleep. There is no danger by day while he is in sight of the camp.

After the sheep go the camels. A few of these, being in extra poor condition as the result of the summer, find difficulty in rising. They are given a mouthful of dates to encourage them; one or two may have to be helped up, protesting with growls and burblings as their tails are seized and given an upward twist. They are all ready now and the herdsman bursts into song of encouragement and leads the

* Called *mikhyal*. *Mikhyal* is the special stick which shepherds keep to hang their *'abbas* on to prevent sheep and lambs from wandering. Every tent has one.

Najdi and Iraq sheep take no notice of the *mikhyal*, only the black sheep of Hasa and Kuwait. [See Bible. "Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me"—here "staff" is undoubtedly the Arabian *mikhyal*.]

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Rejoicing

III

At length dawn breaks. Prayers, genuine prayers of heartfelt thanks are said and the storm passes away. What a scene daylight brings! Each tent, like a little Noah's ark, is perched safely on its small Ararat, and a sea of fresh water for a couple of miles all round gives the appearance of the Flood of Bible story. Away to the right are some low hills, and to the left one can see the water tumbling down their sides as the various nullahs *sail* (the Arab word for running in spate). You can hear the dull roar of these distant water-courses running full. The summer has ended at long long last. The Badawin world comes to life and is happy once more. "Now we shall see the *fagus* (truffles)", cry the delighted children.

512 [188] 182

(The above was a personal experience of 2nd November, 1933.)

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Method of Skinning Animals

Under (*b*) we get the *'akka*, the *madhara* and the *jerâb*. 415

The *'akka* is the name given to a sheepskin used for storing *dehen* (clarified butter).
The *madhara* is the same but is made out of a lamb skin.
The *jerâb* is made out of a young gazelle's skin, and is used for storing coffee beans.

BADAWIN METHOD OF SKINNING ANIMALS

(*a*) *Sheep and Goats.* 281

The carcase is suspended head down, and the skin is 231 opened up behind the hind legs and under the tail by one single cut. It is then peeled off downwards towards the head. In the finished article, the opening at the neck end becomes the filling end, while the original cut at the tail end is sewn up together with each leg.

(*b*) *Camel.*

The cut is made from the head along back of neck to top of hump and down again to tail. Both sides are then peeled off in outward direction. Finally each side is removed separately by a cut along centre of belly and under the neck.

When killing a camel, the head is drawn round to one of its flanks and tied by the halter in that position. The jugular vein is then cut close down to where the camel's neck comes out of the body. This is the exact opposite to the method used for killing sheep and goats. The incision in their case is made immediately behind the jaw bone.*

When cutting an animal's throat, be it animal or bird, the invocation [788] "Bism Illah al Rahmân al Rahîm" (in the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate) must invariably be made before the cut is made.

* Exactly in centre of the Adam's apple.

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B 515 effect by turning the lips saffron-red. This is more commonly used
K 515 by townswomen than by their Badawin sisters.

DRESS FOR THE HAJ

K 788 Just as the man wears the *'ihrâm*, a white loin cloth and white
292 shoulder wrap when performing the pilgrimage, all Arab women must
B 788 wear a special costume* when they enter the precincts of Mecca on
292 pilgrimage. This consists of

(*a*) Green *sirwâl* (pantaloons).
(*b*) Green *thaub* (muslin over-dress).
(*c*) Green *dishdâsha* (frock).
(*d*) Black *'abba*.
(*e*) *Milfa* (veil).

K 765 When a woman, especially a townswoman, is in mourning she also wears green clothes.

HENNA AND ITS USES

B 302 The use of black henna (*saumar*) for the soles of the feet and hands,
K 302 and red henna (*hinna*) for the tips of the fingers and toes is universal among *hadhar* townswomen. The Badawin girls use only red henna and then only to decorate their hands, finger nails and toe nails. They do not decorate the rest of their feet. Usually the henna is applied three times, so as to get the right shade. The henna is powdered and mixed with water till a fairly liquid paste is made. It is then applied very thickly and carefully, with a wooden stick, on the hands or feet in accordance with the pattern desired. It is then allowed to dry quickly in front of a fire until the paste cracks and falls or is picked off. This is done three times, or four if a very dark colour is required.

Some women prefer that the henna markings should be black, especially for the feet. To arrange this, another paste is made from powdered lime (*nûra*) and powdered crystal ammonia (*shanada*) and is applied over the orange henna markings. At once the orange mark-

K 841 * If a woman has her period when she enters the sacred precinct of Mecca to per-
B 841 form the Haj, then her pilgrimage is null and void, as she is considered unclean. Several Arab ladies of Kuwait have enquired from the lady doctor when about to go on the Haj, if she could give them medicine to delay periods when due.

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which would alleviate the fever. As the child's strength declined, the 159
silent grief of the mother was a sore thing to see. I tried hard to persuade her to take him to the doctor in Kuwait, but in vain. One morning according to my custom I came to visit the sick child. As 761
I approached Sarah's tent, Sarah came out to greet me dressed in her best festive garments. Smiling and dry-eyed, she invited me as usual into her portion of the tent. Her father was away. I sat down, suspecting something, I knew not what, but I said nothing. Sarah made coffee and brought it to me to drink. She even joked and told an amusing story. Presently I said "Where is little 'Abdullah? How is he?" Poor Sarah with a great effort choked down a sob and pointed to a small heap of earth not twenty yards from the tent. "There he lies," said she, "half an hour ago I laid him to rest; God gave him to me, and God has taken him, thanks be to God."

Just then Sarah's father came up, and when I expressed my sorrow and sympathy to him, he laughed loud and gruffly and said, *Al hamd ul'Illah* (the praise be to God). "He will give us another, and perhaps many more. We 'Ajman are fighting men, and God in his mercy does as he pleases, we must always laugh at death, whether it comes by sickness, or by bullet." The whole picture left an indelible mark on my mind and it will be long before I forget the dry-eyed sorrowing Sarah.

The poor girl lost her husband a year later—he divorced her because 151
he couldn't return from Iraq. Little Sarah eventually went to Najd and Riyadh, and there married one of Bin Sa'ud's principal *fiddwis* or guards. She wrote and told me a year after, that she had got another little boy. My diary records also that in October 1933 she presented her husband with a little girl. In 1936 I heard through her father that smallpox had carried off one of the children. Poor Sarah.*

PRAYER

The Badawin is very punctilious about his prayers. Whether in 788
camp or on the march, he solemnly prays five times a day according

* Sarah came up to Kuwait from Riyadh in February 1938, and once again we saw our old friend. She came with her father and showed us her new baby boy. She said she had a girl of four also, whom she had left in her tent in the desert.

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

788 to Muslim rule. If possible he prays in company, as there is more virtue in this than praying alone. The times for prayer are:

(*a*) Before dawn (*al fajar*) when a single hair if held before his eyes can be seen by the person praying.
(*b*) At Noon (*dhuhur*).
(*c*) Afternoon (*'asar*) calculated at three and a half hours after Noon prayers.
(*d*) Sunset (*maghrab*). This is always twelve o'clock to the Arab.
(*e*) After dining (*al 'asha*) this is calculated to be one and a half hours after sunset.

Almost invariably one of the party first gives the regulation prayer-call, and all hurriedly prepare by ablutions if water is near, or by going through the washing motions in sand, if no water is at hand. The sight is a simple and inspiring one, and I for one always remove my European head-dress when in the presence of the Badawin at prayer. Everything gives way to this prayer hour, and often in the midst of the chase or hunting gazelle or *hubara* there is a halt for prayer, and for a time everything is forgotten except man's duty to God.

Every Badawin camp or tent has near it the following mark scored on the surface of the ground:

Mecca.

It indicates the *masjid* or communal prayer ground. The leader of the prayer stands in front of the loop, the bulge of which faces Mecca, and the others stand behind him and parallel to the side lines.

Occasionally one also finds in odd places in the desert the following plain looped figure, which is the mark made by a man praying alone.

Mecca.

Badawin women pray regularly also, but apart from their menfolk and usually in the privacy of their tents.

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Little Hussa bint Salim al Muzaiyin learnt her prayers at the age of 788
twelve, and at thirteen and a half prayed regularly five times a day. Her mother Amsha was equally careful about her prayers, and even went so far (when I was once alone in camp) as to visit me privately and try to convert me. When my wife went to England later, she repeated her talks in this connection, naïvely promising to find me one, two or even three little Badawiyah girls as wives if I joined the Faithful. "You are one of us now," she said, "become a Muslim and be happy, our girls are good, and it is pleasant to live in the desert and have your own children for ever around you." When I said to her "What would Mrs. Dickson say?" the answer came back swiftly, "She will never mind, provided you let her remain the Shaikhah and put the little Badawin brides under her orders. We all do it and understand our place, and the greatest happiness in the world is for man to possess woman."

THE ORIGIN OF THE "CALL TO PRAYER"

My old friend Haji 'Abdullah al Fadhil told me the following story 173
at Kuwait on 9th January, 1934. He said he had got it from the *hadith* 788
(tradition) of Muslim and Bukhari, and that I could therefore accept it as true.

In the early days of the Prophet, and when Islam had just begun to take hold, no one had yet thought how to gather the people to prayer, and there was no method laid down for calling the people together. The problem, however, had to be faced, and the leaders began to talk about it. At an important meeting on the subject, some suggested a bell such as the Christians used, others suggested the blowing of a horn as was the custom among the Jews. Yet others suggested the gong, in vogue among Hindus and others.

Just then Omar came in and said he had had a dream, and in his dream he had been told that the best plan was for a man to get up, take up his post in a prominent position, and call the faithful to prayer in the words "'Allah-u-Akbar", etc. His suggestion was listened to with interest, and was being discussed from every point of view, when 'Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet came in and said he had had a dream similar to Omar's.

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The First Call

173 The coincidence was so remarkable that the elders present decided
788 that Omar's suggestion was quite the best one they had heard. They accordingly referred the matter to the Prophet, who decided in favour of Omar's and 'Ali's method.

The Prophet then called Billal, his freed slave, and having instructed him how to call the Faithful to prayer, Billal mounted a house-top and gave the first call to prayer that was ever sounded. The *'adhan* has remained unchanged from that day.

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CHAPTER XII

Food and Hospitality

262 The well-to-do Badawin, such as our man Salim al Muzaiyin or the shaikh of a tribe, has one square meal a day, usually in the evening. This consists of plain rice cooked in *semen* (ghi), a few dates dipped in butter, some *leben* (butter-milk), finishing up with coffee. In the early morning he starts the day with some *leben* and dates, also coffee. He does not often eat meat himself, because he cannot afford to do [574] so. Should a guest of standing arrive, the host will always kill a sheep or lamb for him, which goes the round of the family after the guest has had his share.

The poor Badawin, and the great majority of Badawin are poor, get one meal a day consisting of dates and camel's milk, with a very occasional dish of plain rice or a piece of bread.

The very poor Badawin, such as the herdsman (*shdwi*) who tends the sheep or camels of the more fortunate, gets nothing but camel's milk. Very rarely he gets some dates also, and still more rarely a bit of rice and meat when his shaikh or employer has a guest, his share being the entrails of the sheep that has been killed.

Speaking generally, in the province of Hasa rice is eaten where possible in preference to bread. The opposite is the case in inner Najd, Qasim, etc. The reason is obvious: wheat is grown in Najd and [264] rice has to be transported there. The Badawin, like all other Muslims, eats with his right hand only and gives it a cursory wash before starting his meal. He is always hungry, and as a result if he can get such things as locusts, edible monitors (*dhub*), game of any sort and even foxes, 788 he will eat them with relish. Speaking generally, the Badawin proper will eat anything that comes his way, especially if no one is looking, though he must always ceremonially cut the throat of any animal or bird he snares or shoots, saying as he does this: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" (*b'ismi'llah al Rahman al Rahim*).

[pages 187 and 188 contain no textual material]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

where wells are somewhat close together and the for- 312
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these 233
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair 342
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage [234
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised, 439]
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is 262
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les- 574
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty 231
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an 556
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure luxury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk just as humans do. They are kept and treated as household pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail 731
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou- 789
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a 262
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the land. Little children die because there is no food suitable for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed, and the whole community waits and prays for more rain the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a 511
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a mere trifle.

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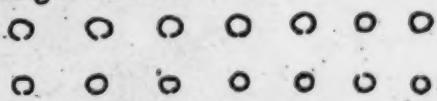
Primitive Backgammon

Chap. XLI

Each player digs in the sand seven small holes in a line, opposite each other, placing in each five stones. 524



Each player in turn picks up all the stones out of any one hole on his side, and distributes them one by one anti-clockwise in the other holes, beginning at the first hole on the right of the one from which he has taken the stones. Should the last stone end in a hole which either contains one or three stones (not two), the player may "take" them, and place them on one side: also if the one immediately next to it on the right, into which a stone has been put, contains either one or three, it may also be taken.

The game is finished when all the fourteen holes are empty. The stones are then replaced, five in each hole, instead of being counted (ready for the next game).

The player whose stones exceed the number needed to fill the holes in his line wins.

Another variety of this game is called Umm al Judairah, in which the holes are placed in a circle with one in centre.

KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAÚD

On 12th December I happened to visit Sálim al Muzaiyin's tents 789
and those of the Al Kharmit ('Awazim). They were all pitched in a hollow on the west side of the Dhahar ridge, some 15 miles from Kuwait. The day was fine and warm.

Outside Salim's tent and opposite the women's quarters I saw a large black ants' nest, with ants busy all over it. There were two main entrances for the ants to go in and out of the nest, some 4 feet apart.

Round the whole nest was drawn a wide circle by means of a shallow trench an inch deep, and inside the circle were placed two ropes in the form of a circle, which are used for binding the poles of the tent together when on the march. They are used for no other purpose.

The large circle had a diameter of about 12 feet, and the small rope circles were about 1 ft. 6 in. in diameter.

k. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Solomon's Circle

●789

"A" Mark on ground in form of shallow trench known as the mark of Solomon, son of David.
"B" The two ropes laid in the form of rings.

I asked the women of the tent what game they or their children had been playing, and they came forward and explained that it was not a game, but "The circle of Solomon the son of David", or "Khitab al Sulaiman bin Dawud", to give it the Arabic name they used.

They explained that they had not noticed the ants' nest when they had pitched their tent; afterwards seeing it, and knowing that the ants would swarm into their tents and steal their rice and grain, etc., they had put the ring of Solomon round the ants to keep them from being a nuisance. This ring would effectually prevent any ants troubling them, they said, for none could or would dare to cross the edge of Solomon's circle. I next asked Atsha, the lady of the house, if any incantation or verse was necessary to be spoken to make the ants obey, and she said simply, "Yes, O Father of Sa'ud, for the circle alone can do nothing": at my request she repeated same. It was as follows:

"Hadha Khitab Sulaiman bin Daud,
Bism'illa al Rahmân al Rahîm,
La tijina wa la nijikum."

(Here is the mark or ring of Solomon, son of David, in the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, do not come near unto us, and we will not come near you.)

A little rice, barley or wheat was then, she said, given to the ants as a present, and they would not harm them or come near them.

When I expressed surprise, and suggested that I was sceptical of the power of the circle, Atsha said reprovingly that I must not doubt the circle's power after the name of God had been invoked. The results were always perfectly satisfactory, and the method was employed by all Badawin everywhere.

I was so interested that I decided to note the phenomenon down.

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Bedouins MJ4

789

I leave my readers to form their own opinion as to the efficacy of the method and the age of the ritual. In fairness I must admit that I certainly saw no ants on the outside of the circle, though they swarmed at the two entrances to the nest. Possibly the present of grain had done the trick.

Ataba further explained that the two small circles inside the large one had to be made by the ropes which were specifically always used to bind the tent poles together, when the family was on the move. Any other sort of rope would be quite useless, and would render the spell ineffective.

meet the tip of the centre finger of the other hand. If this happens, 787
the undertaking will be attended with good luck. If exact contact does not take place, then on no account must the undertaking be carried out. This test is usually made three times.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11 August, 1932.

NOTE.—Friday journeys or undertakings are quite legitimate but 777
only after noonday prayer has been performed. Never before.

TO BRING LUCK

When a Badawin eats dates, he throws the stones over his shoulder, believing that each stone so thrown means a camel acquired in a raid

Shaikh of Kuwait, 28th May, 1935.

TO BECOME A GOOD SHOT

If a Badawin wants to become a good shot, the common method 789
is to light a piece of cloth (cotton or wool) made up into a small ball. This as it smoulders is held very close to the right forearm, four inches behind the wrist knuckle bone. The ball should not be alight, but only smouldering, nor must the actual cloth ball be applied to the flesh. The heat of the burning piece of cloth soon raises a large blister about the size of a small matchbox. When this happens the operation is complete and the burning cloth is removed. Later the blister bursts and leaves an oblong raw spot, which in turn when it heals, leaves a scar to the man's dying day. This painful ordeal is considered among the Badawin to insure that the patient becomes a good shot with the rifle.

The present Shaikh of Kuwait had the operation done to him as a young man, and certainly he is a remarkable shot.

TO ACQUIRE COURAGE

Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah told me on 12th November, 1938, that 828
among certain Badawin it was not uncommon for a man to eat the liver of a wolf to make him brave.

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Appendix XXVIII

APPENDIX XXVIII

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel Wasms

233
619
422

The following additional Wasms should be noted.

1. Under *Mutair Tribe* after (*s*), p. 423, add:
   (*t*) Al Ammásh (Al Ruaichib)
   On left cheek

2. Under *Bani Khalid* after (*b*), p. 425, add:
   (*c*) Ibn Mendíl
   On right thigh

3. Add (13) *Murra Tribe:*
   (*a*) Nigadan (Al Mugasse)
   Low on right thigh
   (*b*) Mohomed ibn Salim
   On left side of neck

APPENDIX XXIX

KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAUD

(End of Chapter XLV)

The method of confining ants to their nest by means of Solomon's Magic Circle, was confirmed to me on April 15, 1948 by Salim al Murri and Saleh al Uhaimir, both trackers of the Murra tribe employed by H.H. the Shaikh of Kuwait when I visited their camp and was chatting to them and their womenfolk over a cup of coffee. 789

Both assured me that the circle did work but (*a*) that the circle must be made anti-clockwise, and that the ants could only be released if the motion of making the circle was again gone through, but this time clockwise. That this was always done when about to strike camp, as then the ants had to be released.

(*b*) The circle could only be made effective by the grown-up children (male and female) of first cousins. For other people to draw the circle was useless, and the ants would take no notice. (*c*) Food had to be given to the imprisoned ants at noon and sunset each day.

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CHAPTER X

Children

BIRTH

842 Every Arab woman's greatest desire in life is to have a child. She is brought up with this idea from childhood. The natural desire to become a mother is reinforced by the reproach attached to childlessness and by a woman's knowledge that she will be divorced if she does not produce a son and heir for her husband.

842 791 If she does not conceive soon after marriage, she often resorts to various herb concoctions made from the grasses of the field, and drinks these: frequently with ill result. The "wise" old women of every tribe are adepts in compounding draughts to stimulate fertility and also in preparing of "love philtres", for those who need them. They also claim to be able to interpret dreams. Most old women go in for this form of helping their younger sisters.

791 Fortune-telling is not uncommonly also practised by these old cronies, though in Wahhabi land it is considered sinful and is not openly pursued.

844 The average girl's strength at the birth of her first and subsequent children is quite phenomenal. I knew of a Mutairi girl, for instance, who came into hospital at Kuwait one evening to have her baby. The child was born at 2 a.m. and two hours later the girl wrapped up her child, slung it over her back, and in the momentary absence of the lady doctor, departed on foot to her people camped twenty miles away.

Among the shepherd tribes of Iraq women produce children while the tribe is on the march. Migration, of course, cannot stop. The woman drops behind, has her baby, at times with only one woman to assist her, and after washing it herself in clean sand, picks it up and follows the tribe. She knows she will be left behind, perhaps to die, unless she keeps up with the others. The recognised birth congratulation formula is *mubárakín fi hal maulud al Sa'aid.*

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XXIV

Dreams and their Interpretation

The Badawin pays at all times great attention to dreams, and he will solemnly take any unusual dream to the local interpreter, be it woman or man, to ask its meaning. As an example, see the dream of Shagha, mother of Faisal al Duwish, in Chapter XXII (p. 281). The interpreters of dreams are mostly old women skilled in herbs, midwifery, sickness, in witchcraft and the various methods for averting the Evil Eye.

There are, of course, men interpreters of dreams as well, the most famous probably being the man employed for many years for this purpose by H.M. the King of Sa'udi Arabia, Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz Al Nimr* by name. I am told by the Shaikh of Kuwait that no dream of the King's was allowed to pass without this man's being consulted.

According to the Arab, the interpretation of dreams usually goes by opposites. That is to say, if something untoward happens to the dreamer, the dream is of good omen.

To dream of killing snakes nearly always means that a man will triumph over his enemies, and to dream of quenching a fire is equally propitious. A "dagger" stands for a "woman", a "sword" for a "man", and so on.

Some persons are recognised as having a special gift for dreaming prophetic dreams, and such persons always command respect and attention when recounting their dreams.

I myself was not a little fortunate in that three very vivid dreams of mine in Kuwait, which I was careful to tell beforehand to several persons, including the shaikh, came more or less true after they had been interpreted by a certain Um Mubarak, a local Badawin woman wise in this form of knowledge.

I quote the dreams in question purely as an example of how the interpretation was handled.

* It is uncertain if he is alive to-day, but if dead he will certainly have had a SUCCESSOR.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

spacious[1] chafes his spirit and he looks with contempt and pity on the poor creatures that are willing to spend their days in the narrow confines of a town. This pity is for the cultivator and equally for the land-owner and the merchant, who so far worship their bodies that they will swathe them in silk and deck them with gold, a thing permissible for women, but contemptible for a man. The hardest work of the desert Arab is concerned with leading his flocks and with breaking up and repitching camp. As a result, he develops a great distaste for manual labor. He regards it as degrading, and no small amount of his dislike for life in a town rests on that fact. Digging up the ground, patiently caring for plants and crops, and all the work of the agriculturist he looks on as beneath him. Free men were created for something better than that.

It is the impression of a stranger to the country that not a blade of grass or a single date palm could be raised in all Arabia except in the oases where the gardeners work. The Arabs tell us that this is far from the truth. There are many places where water can be found close to the surface and where gardening could be carried on profitably. In connection with the *Akhwan* movement of puritan Wahabi Mohammedanism that has swept over all inland Arabia in the last few years, one of the efforts of the leaders has been to settle a certain number of the new converts in towns and villages. Altogether some sixty-five new settlements have been started since the inception of the movement. Doubtless most of these are very small, but there are a few of considerable size, and two or three are small cities of perhaps five thousand inhabitants. The Arabs insist that there are many other such places, where communities might spring up

1 [than the desert -- Analyst]

1; Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XI

Faith and Prayer

The Badawin proper are all Sunnis, either of the Hanbali or Maliki schools, as opposed to the Shi'ahs of Iraq, the Zaidis of Yaman and the Biyathiyahs of Oman and adjacent country. 795

Though fierce in battle and ever ready to raid and kill, the Badawin has one of the strictest codes of honour in the world. His belief in the One Great Almighty God, Indivisible, All-seeing and Ever-present, is impressive. 776

Throughout his life the name of God is constantly on his lips, and heard in almost every sentence he uses. Recurrent phrases are: 195

(*a*) *Wallah, Billah, Eh Billah Wallahi* (all meaning "By God") to emphasise that he speaks the truth.

(*b*) *Fi'aman Illah*—In the peace of God.
Hafath-kum Allah—God guard you.
Fida'at Allah—In the custody of God.
To speed a parting friend or guest, and as general terms of farewell.

(*c*) *Tawaqal al Allah*—Put your trust in God.
Tawaqal-na al Allah—We put trust in God.
At the commencement of an undertaking, or journey, etc.

(*d*) *Allah Karim*—God is merciful.
To express resignation, or hope, when things seem to be going wrong, etc.

(*e*) *Sa'ad-kum Allah*—God assist you.
Gawak Allah abbreviated to *Al Gawa*—God strengthen you. Used by way of greeting and to encourage a person doing some special work.

(*f*) *La haula wa la quwata illa b'Illah al 'aali w'al athim.*—There is no might nor majesty except in God the most High and Wonderful.
To express astonishment at some strange sight, etc.

(*g*) *Stakhfar Allah*—God forbid.
La-ila-il-l'Allah—There is no God but God.
To ward off evil, etc.

The Badawin, like every Arab or true Muslim, believes that every- 000

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XLI

The Sulubba

The word *Sulubba* is a generic term. The singular of the name is *Sulubbi*, and the plural *Sulaib*. 565 619

Much has been written about this low-class tribe, or more properly community.

They are found all over the northern half of the Arabian Desert roughly from a line drawn east and west through Madina and Riyadh in the south, to another line drawn from Aleppo to Mosul.

In the south they are more despised and looked down on than in the north, and their worldly possessions are less.

Practically every tribe within the area described has a community [463] of Sulubba living with it, as they are found useful as menders of pots and pans, hunters and trackers.

Chief among the Sulubba's characteristics is their uncanny knowledge of the secret water-holes of the country they live in. They are [721] valued for this knowledge by the tribe which protects them, as it is a great asset in war, and most useful on long raids. Some Sulaib, for this reason, are nearly always taken with a raiding party.

Similarly a Sulubbi hunter is nearly always to be found in the [224] entourage of a shaikh, as he usually knows better than others where gazelle and ostrich are to be found.

The Sulubba are said to be Muslims, but few pray properly, and it [795] would probably be true to say that they possess no religion, except when it is diplomatic to appear to have one as in Najd and Kuwait.

The Sulubba men are in general a miserable fawning lot; they affect endearing and diminutive Arab terms of address, and are cringing in their manner.

Both men and women are good-looking above the average, especially the women, among whom there are often very pretty girls indeed. Their usually half-starved appearance is repellent, and gives colour to the Arab story that they eat offal and "animals they find dead".

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Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

Donkey Riders

619 101 233 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawíyah lying east of Samawa.

492 144 233 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sulubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

795 439 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawál al Dhafir and Tawál al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq–Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba–Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarín, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Aunan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 713 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are perhaps the Budur, the Juarín and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

Iraq MH1

B 619 101

dismemberment, accompanied by regrouping, is the process which governs all Arab tribal evolution. Within the Bani Malik are two ancient and powerful federations which have from time immemorial been at strife, the Bani Khaiqan and the Mujarrah. There is some doubt as to whether either is of Bani Malik stock, which may account for the secular feud which exists between them.* The Bani Khaiqan are at present gathered under the hold of the Al Mughashghash, a clan of one of their largest sub-tribes, but the Mujarrah are split into a number of inferior groups and have no common head.

B 619 622 101 I 565

The history of the Muntafiq league is inseparably linked with that of the Sa'adun. The very name of Muntafiq, as used in 'Iraq, refers only to the ruling family and to its slaves and dependants who are reckoned to be an integral part of it. No tribesman in 'Iraq would call himself Muntafiq though he might use the word if he were in Mecca or Damascus where his own small tribe would be unknown, while the fame of the Muntafiq would be familiar to every Arabic-speaking community. The position of the Sa'adun, a matter of considerable importance in Southern Mesopotamian politics, has been determined partly by their origins and partly by Turkish official ignorance or intentional misunderstanding of their relation to the tribes. It must be borne in mind that the Sa'adun belong to the social order of the desert and have not succumbed to the local influences which have affected the tribal population of 'Iraq, who are, like themselves, immigrants from Arabia, but usually immigrants of an earlier period, and as settlers on the soil have been brought into more intimate contact with Mesopotamian traditions. The Sa'adun have preserved the characteristics of Badawin Arabia. They are Sunnis and Ahl al Baiyir, people of the camel; their *dirahs* are in the Hamad west of the Hai or south of the Euphrates, where they have dug or re-opened wells in their accustomed camping grounds. Here they repair after the early rains, and here they assume their natural part as independent chieftains of the desert. The 'Iraq tribes, who have acknowledged them as overlords, differ from them in every particular. They are Shi'ahs, settled or half-settled cultivators and marshmen, whose link with the desert people has long been broken; socially inferior,

I 565 B [795] 622

* The Bani Khaiqan are said to be originally 'Ajwad and the Mujarrah to be Bani Sa'id.

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Bedouins MJ4

APPENDIX I

DIVISIONS OF MUTAIR, 'AJMAN, 'AWAZIM, RASHAIDA, SHAMMAR AND 'ANIZAH TRIBES 101

TOGETHER WITH THEIR SHAIKHS, NUMBER OF TENTS, STRENGTH, AND CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

MUTAIR (Singular MUTAIRI)

The Tribe is divided into three main groups:

(A) AL DUSHAN (Ruling or Shaikhly Clan).
(B) AL 'ILWAH.
(C) AL BURAIH.

Paramount Shaikh—AL DUWISH (from Shaikhly Clan of AL DUSHAN). [622]
Present incumbent (1937)—BANDAR BIN FAISAL BIN SULTAN AL DUWISH. [162]
Fighting strength—May be taken at 6,000, though inner Najd figures are very doubtful.

Habitat—In winter the Dushan Mutair 'Ilwa and Aulad Wasil sections of the Buraih as opposed to Aulad 'Ali and Bani 'Abdilla (who are purely inner Najd sections) range from the Dahana sand belt *in the south* up to Kuwait *in the north*, and more or less keep to the eastern side of the Bátin. 619 221 101 They avoid the 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribal country in the coastal region of Hasa province, and claim that the great well areas of Subaihiyah, Tawil and the environs of Kuwait fall within their grazing areas and have done so from time immemorial. In summer above-mentioned groups camp on the well-known wells at Artawiyeh, Qarya, Hafar al Bátin, Safa, Qara'a, Wabra, Jariya Ilya, Jariya Sifla.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI (late 'Ikhwan). [795]

(A) The DUSHAN or Ruling Clan, has no subdivisions but only certain leading families. 619 101

(B) The 'ILWAH MUTAIR group, subdivided into the—

(1) AL MUWAHA and their subsections.
(2) AL THAWIAUN and their subsections.
(3) AL JIBLAN and their subsections.

(C) The BURAIH MUTAIR group is likewise subdivided into the—

(4) 'AULAD WASIL and their subsections.
(5) 'AULAD 'ALI and their subsections.
(6) BANI 'ABDILLA and their subsections.

Appendix I

State as far south as the Tawal-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619 101 221

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyeh, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe.

Religion—Sunni MALIKI. [795]

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619 101

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADBAH (30 tents).
AL GHURAIBAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAID, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HIRSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).
MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters. 641 619

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep. [233]

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks, 619

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life [262] of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, 291 463 his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

433 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work 231 for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 During the last ten years, the desert belong- 178 ing to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism 797 in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst 721

797 of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. The
563 Beduin manifested his enthusiasm by declaring
721 that all Moslems were equal before God, and hence that the Sulubba were equal to "free men," i.e. Beduins. Ibn Saud, anxious to increase his fighting men, backed this idea (in fact he may have originated it), and raised fighting forces from the Sulubba and gave them war banners. The Sulubba took part in a number of war-like operations, and it was said that, in the massacres which usually followed a Wahhabi victory at this time, the Sulubba were the most cruel and bloodthirsty.

The outbreak of fanaticism, however, died down from 1925 to 1929, and it is believed that these Nejd Sulubba have again fallen back to their original condition.

342 In order to escape unwelcome Beduin guests,
574 the Sulubba live in tiny tents, many of them
563 scarcely larger than a blanket. They show great
609 skill in pitching these tents in the beds of ravines or behind rocks so as to be invisible to passers-by. The more important Beduin sheikhs take pride in pitching a large tent in a prominent place, which conveys not only defiance of enemies but a distant welcome to guests. According to Beduin interpretation the Sulubba reveals his baseness by concealing his camp from both strangers and guests.

Sulailat

101 These consist of a tribal section, who
563 usually camp with the Amarat branch of the Anaiza in the Iraqi desert west of the Euphrates. These people are said to be descended from a man of the Anaiza tribe, who married a Sulubba

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Bedouins MJ4
Muntafiq

A GOOD WATCH-DOG

To make a Badawin dog fierce and a good watch-dog, his ears are 231
cut off when young. A piece is then cooked and given him to eat. This, according to the Arab, turns him into a good watch-dog and especially a good barker by night. (See Chapter IV.)

THE NUMBER ELEVEN

A curious thing about the 'Awazim tribe is that they never will use 801
the word *ahada 'ashar* for *eleven*. They always say *'ashra wa wahad* (ten and one). The rest of the numerals they name as other Arabs do. I have not yet been able to find out the reason for this avoidance of eleven.

Kuwait, October 30, 1933.

HOW AN 'AJMAN WOMAN SAVES HER CHILDREN

Among the 'Ajman, if a woman's children are dying apparently 761
without reason, a piece of the ear above the lobe is cut off from the latest born infant, placed inside a date, and given to the mother to eat. The child is then known as *Al Jida'* (the cut-off one).

Maneira bint 'Iyda al Fa'aran al Hithlain, wife of Hamad al Mishwatt, had had this done. She showed me her ear on 16th August, 1935.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME DHAFIR, THE GREAT DESERT TRIBE SOUTH OF THE EUPHRATES

101
174

The name means a "collection of many oddments", and is derived from the same root as:

Tadhafaru—they were plaited together.
Dhafar—to plait.
Dhafayir—a woman's plait.

Similarly we have Muntafiq from *ittifaq*, a coming together.

NOTE.—This describes exactly how these two great tribes were originally formed. They grew out of a collection or confederation of a number of small desert units in the first instance, and of a number of marsh tribes in the second, under Sa'adun leaders.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

K 132 nevertheless and remained very *piano* for the rest of the day. We had our lunch, which somebody had had the sense to cover before the rice and meat had been removed from the cooking-pot, but everything was nevertheless impregnated with the red dust that had come down upon us like a pall, and even the rice had taken on a pretty touch of pink. In an hour the sky was clear again, but the countryside, even to the *'arfaj* bushes, now bore a reddish covering, while the actual surface of the ground had a coating of fine dust like red snow a quarter of an inch deep. On return to Kuwait we learned that the left fringe of the storm had passed over the town and caused some alarm. Dr. Mylrea of the American Mission gave me a graphic description of the splendour of the scene as the scarlet and black cloud rolled across the bay of Kuwait towards the town. But from the very slight deposit of red dust that lay on Kuwait, it was evident that the town had only seen a mild version of the phenomenon, and that we in the south had got the full benefit of the storm; certainly we alone had seen and heard the curious and terrifying electrical discharges and thunder.

Our wheels cut tracks in the red desert surface as we drove back to Kuwait the same evening. It was like driving through snow.

I can only think that the storm originated in the red earth country around Aleppo, some 900 miles away, or possibly it came from round about Petra. I am inclined to favour the first theory, for the wind blew steady from north-west throughout.

B ●205 The year in which this remarkable sandstorm occurred is to-day known among the Badawin as *sanat al hamra*, i.e. the red year. The birth of children and other events are dated by it—thus fixing the Red Year for all time in the annals of North-East Arabia.

7 [1932 cf pages 259-262 -- Analyst]

181 thoroughbreds. No race prizes lineage higher, yet they are the most
554 democratic people in the world and the most individualistic. Among
them there is real equality. To certain families, by virtue of their descent,
177 they accord certain privileges, but as a courtesy, not as a right, and Badu
577 sheikhs command respect only as long as they merit it. The traditional
Arab way of life, fast vanishing to-day in contact with the West, owed
much to Badu concepts, for the villagers and townsmen of Arabia, who
form by far the greater part of her population, live close to the desert and
were profoundly affected by it until motor-cars and aeroplanes removed
for ever the need for camel journeys. Most of them are, indeed, of Badu
origin, for the desert tides have always stranded the weak and broken
upon the fringes of the Sown. Everywhere the Arabs have, at all times,
judged honour and chivalry and hospitality by the standards of the tribes-
men. Their love of liberty, their freedom from prejudice of class and
caste, and their enthusiasm for poetry have come to them from the desert.

It is impossible to assess the character of the Badu, for among no other
157 race have so many contradictory qualities been fused together. I myself
577 have witnessed their courage and self-reliance, their endurance and pride
81 of race, and I remember their patience, generosity, and unselfishness. But
often I have been exasperated by their avarice and wearied by their endless
[135] importunities. No Badu thinks it shame to beg, and usually he will look
disparagingly at the gift which he has received and grumble, "Is this all
[137] that you are going to give me?" Grasping and avaricious, they will talk
unceasingly of money and argue heatedly for days about a dollar, then
they will slaughter a camel worth 150 dollars to feed a stranger. Loyal to
each other, they are yet without regard for human life and will knife an
unarmed herdsboy with a jest. Cheerful and easily amused, they are
generally good-tempered, though passionate when roused and quick to
resent an injury.

166 I have often wondered as I rode across the desert what the future, and
even the immediate future, holds for my companions and their kinsmen.
The discovery of oil on the Persian Gulf is going to affect them pro-
foundly and make it impossible for them to continue in their old ways,
even if they would. I think myself that the oilfields will empty the desert.
This movement of tribes from the Yaman and the Hadhramaut towards
the north and the north-east is a movement which has been going on for
thousands of years. It probably started even before the great migration of
the Qahtan tribes, when, overwhelmed by calamity in their homes round
Marib, some of them pushed across the deserts and occupied Oman. In
recent years tribes such as the Awamir, Ruashid, and Manahil have left
their homelands in the steppes to the north-east of the Hadhramaut and
moved out into the sands to escape from the incursions of more powerful
166 tribes pressing on them from the west. Having accustomed themselves to
177 life in the sands, they have penetrated ever further and further into the
Empty Quarter. In the past twenty or thirty years as conditions have
become more settled in the north, due to the extension of Ibn Saud's
influence over the powerful Murra tribe, they have grazed their herds
round the Liwa oasis and in the sands near the Trucial Coast. Now the
money to be earned on the oilfields along the Gulf is drawing the Badu

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

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name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate) and will cast a stone into the bush. Hence *'ausaj* bushes are always seen surrounded by a pile of stones at the base. Though men will usually joke about this if questioned, the superstition remains nevertheless deep in their hearts, and they take no risks.

HAUNTS OF JINNS

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There are two spots believed to be special haunts of Jinns in North-East Arabia:

Abrag al Khalijah is vaguely but widely reputed to be a place where a meteorite fell some seventy years ago. I have not yet visited it, but its position lies in Sa'udi Arabia, at the southern end of the Shaqq depression and close to the south-west corner of the Kuwait Neutral Zone. Every Kuwait Badawin knows the place but pretends to fear to go near it as it is said to be the home of Jinns. It has been flown over and examined from the air by certain geologists (in 1932), who were greatly interested.

According to them it consists of a hole in the ground some 4 acres in extent with cliff-like sides about 24 feet high. The 'Awazim and 'Ajman particularly fear to approach the place.

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'Ain al 'Abd.—This lies about 30 miles east and slightly north of Abrag al Khalijah, and stands on the southern edge of the Kuwait Neutral Zone close to the marshy area known as the Maqtah, which is undoubtedly caused by various salty springs. The whole marsh is covered by *'ausaj* bushes, the plant which, according to Badawin lore, is dangerous to cut lest you be haunted by evil spirits. The actual 'Ain consists of a pool of water 40 feet across and some 6 feet below the surface of the surrounding country. In the centre of the pool there is a spring which surges out of the ground. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur and smells like bad eggs for a mile round. The pool flows away by a channel, whether natural or artificial I do not know, and eventually the water finds its way to the sea some 10 miles away.

The Arabs tell the story of how a "black thing", they know not what, lives in the centre of the pool with head like a Negro. This animal or Jinn every now and then comes to the surface, shows itself and disappears again. At other times the thing is said to come out of

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823 ETHNOGEOGRAPHY--notions about water; ideas about hydrographic phenomena (e.g., oceans and seas, waves and tides, currents and whirlpools, rivers and streams, lakes and springs, floods); ideas about topographic phenomena (e.g., hills and mountains, canyons and valleys, caves and grottoes, striking natural formations, volcanoes and earthquakes); notions about minerals, metals, and precious stones; geographical and geological lore; directions (e.g., upstream and downstream, cardinal points); ideas about the beauty of nature; associated behavior patterns (e.g., attempts to quell earthquakes); etc. See also:

Geographical environment 13
Settlements 36
Place names 103
Land use 311
Water supply 312
Routes and maps 427
Disaster relief 731
Flood myths and mythical cataclysms . . . 773
Nature spirits and monsters 776
Surveying 804
Development of scientific geology and geography 815

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

parently meeting with no great obstacle on the way. In 574
five minutes everybody is filled to repletion. Pounds of 264
meat have been consumed and bushels of rice. The side
dishes are empty. Enormous wooden bowls of butter-
milk are brought in and the meal washed down with great
draughts of this favorite Arab drink. It is not remark- [513]
able that after a feast everybody expects to take a nap.
So ends the festivity and the Bedouin settles down once
again to his meager and poverty-stricken existence in
the desert.

Life as a nomad shepherd brings the Bedouin into 342
naked and constant contact with nature. He is out of 511
doors almost all of the time, and his tent with its rents
and holes hardly serves to separate him from the outside
world to any significant degree even when he is inside.
The sun over him by day and the moon and stars by
night, the long stretches of sand and the rough rocky
plains, the sand storms which are the terror of the des-
ert, the fierce heat of the summer and the frosts of the
winter, all of these are his constant companions. He 151
learns to know the wilderness as few know it. The
tracks of the various animals in the sand are to him an
easily legible history of the happenings of several days
back. Thus he lives not simply in contact with nature 181
but rather immersed in it. The desert may be cruel, but
he pines away if transplanted. His life may be hard,
but he wants nothing else.

Yet strangely enough, in spite of his intense love for 161
the desert and its freedom, all the beauties in nature 123
around him fall on blind eyes as far as the Bedouin is
concerned. Even the desert sunset and the moon-lit
sand dunes apparently stir no responsive chord in his
heart. It is as if all such things had been stripped off

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

and cast away as useless encumbrances in the stern fight for life. He is the victim of his environment in that he suffers so desperately from poverty and want. His clothes hang in tatters and rags; his tent is cold in winter and hot in summer; his food is reduced nearly to the limit of bare subsistence. Most of his children die because of the unsuitable food, the hard conditions of life and the ignorance of the parents. The dirt and disorder in which he lives beggar description. Out of this soil springs one of the freest and most unconquerable spirits in the world, but even so it is impossible to believe that its finest development is attainable under such handicaps. The terrible thing is not that the condition in which he lives distresses his sensitive spirit, but precisely that it does not distress him at all. The Bedouin may claim to have conquered poverty. He stands forth uncrushed by its heaviest load, but his indomitable spirit has nevertheless paid a price, and a heavy price, for that victory.

Bedouin life, however, in spite of this terrible poverty and lack of the amenities that we are accustomed to regard as necessary even to existence, has in it many characteristics that we of the luxurious and effete West might emulate with benefit. Throughout the earth and almost throughout history, men have dreamed of equality. France ran with blood a hundred and thirty years ago because of man's search for it. Russia is red with the same struggle now. Men talk about it and dream about it wherever men see visions and dream dreams. In inland Arabia men practise it, and there is a charm in the dirty, poverty-cursed, arid desert that will be searched for in vain throughout the pampered and self-satisfied world outside. His sense of equality with all the world is the breath of life to a nomad Arab, and his spirit stands

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173 that it was he, instead of screaming or crying as most women would have done, she merely replied, *Wa na'am ya Abu Turki, wa na'am.* Later indeed she showed more of her pluck, by trying to kill 'Abdul 'Aziz by an evil spell.

On our return journey, and at the end of a pleasant day, we stopped some 'Awazim milch camels by the wayside, and had a drink of milk each. 'Addas disgraced himself by drinking five pint bowls of milk straight off and without a pause. The baby camels were delightful in their friendliness, and nosed their little faces into ours in most affectionate manner—nor were the mothers in any way frightened or anxious.

A CHAT WITH RÁSHID BIN FAHAD

823 During one of my many pleasant journeys among the 'Ajman tribe, I met on 10th May, 1935, an interesting person called Ráshid bin Fahad of the Al 'Arja section of the 'Ajman. I found him in the tent of Anaizan ibn Munaikhir.

Ráshid told me many stories of the Murra tribe and their life and said:

(*a*) Among other things he had been south of Jabrin to Magainama wells (see Philby's *Empty Quarter*), and on to Um al Hadida and even south of that place, and

(*b*) He had heard of *walking stones* (see Philby) but had only seen a few once. This was when he was on a raid with the late Dhaidan al Hithlain, Shaikh of the 'Ajman. His leader and many others had examined the stones carefully, and said they were inspired by Jinns. What they saw were pebbles about the size of a pigeon's egg lying with others on gravelly ground. These pebbles had clearly been dragged or rolled some six feet along the ground, as their tracks showed clear behind them. Only a few selected stones had done this, the others had clearly never moved—so it could not have been a strong gale. Besides, he said, a wind would have obliterated the tracks.

(*c*) He had heard the Murra people talk of singing sands, but had never heard them himself. The Murra had told him the noise was the work of Jinns, who also made other noises in the desert like children crying, and more often than not sounds of pestle and mortar (coffee making), as if a camp was near. Ráshid emphasised that the pheno-

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mena were common to the Al Rimal or Al Ramla (Rub'al Khâli) 823
and were always the work of Jinns (spirits).

(*d*) Individual Murra, he said, themselves often came out of the 828
great desert "mad", which made them sing and laugh in strange
manner. This was undoubtedly due to Jinn influence.

(*e*) The word Rub' al Kháli, he said, was a *hadhar* or townsman's 369
expression, and Badawin did not know the name, and he himself had 103
only once or twice heard it.

(*f*) Ráshid knew seven of Philby's guides personally when he made his great trans-desert journey; one of them, Falah abu Ja'sha, was his cousin. (See page 10 of Philby's book; also first part of this chapter.)

THE DEAD WOMAN WHO NURSED HER CHILD

(Recounted by Dhuwaihi bin Kharmit of the 'Awazim on 21st 539
April, 1935, in camp at Malah, Kuwait.)

A man of the 'Awazim was once travelling near Hail with his young wife. The latter was with child, and in a gorge between some high rocky hills she suddenly gave birth to a baby boy, but in the process died. Her husband did all he could for her, but as he was alone, he could not save her. He buried her by putting her body in a small cave nearby, and filled up the entrance with stones. Loth to remove the child, and knowing it would shortly die for lack of milk, he laid it on its mother's breast with her left arm round it, and put the mother's left breast to the baby's mouth. He then rode away.

Nine months later a party of Badawin of the same tribe happened to wander by and camp close to the spot where the woman and child had been buried. Knowing the story they went to the cave's mouth to see if the wall was intact. To their surprise they found a few stones removed and a hole in the wall; outside on the sand they found the tracks of a child's feet running all over the ground. In great fear and filled with superstition they quickly rode away from the haunted place. In course of time the Badawin told the father, who hastened to the spot, and found the hole in the wall and the small footmarks. Looking inside the cave, he found a live boy-child sitting and prattling beside the mummified form of his dead wife. The mother's body was all dried up, except her left eye and the left side of her face, her left

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beaten all over, especially on the head, by men slaves. After what 754
must have been a truly terrible ordeal, the miserable girl died and her body was sent off to her old father and mother for burial covered up with her *'abba* in a car. Mr. B was furious when he heard of the deed, and Mr. A, in a stormy interview, is reported to have taken the line that by his deed he had saved his uncle B's honour, and his aunt's life to boot, and that therefore his act was a virtuous one and justified.

The Ruler, H.H. Shaikh Ahmad, is reported to have been very angry indeed when he heard of the incident, and took suitable action against the offenders. It is doubtful whether this will have any permanent result, however, for the prejudice against witchcraft and anyone tampering with *sahar* is locally very great, and Mr. A is sure to make the most of popular prejudice. Already the story is going about that the actual spell used by the slave-girl to kill her mistress was found sewed inside lady X's pillow just where she placed her head. This trumped-up yarn was of course spread to deceive and influence public opinion.

JINNS, GHOSTS, ETC.

Dhuwaihi ibn Kharmit of the 'Awazim impressed on me (21st 776
April, 1935) that it was always wise to avoid Badawin burial places, 769
especially at night. He explained that during darkness, and especially about midnight, the spirits of the dead often came out of their tombs and sat on them, conversing with one another. Should a person of this world happen to go near, or pass close by, the spirits often shouted after him and abused him. They went further, and forcibly prevented a man from going about his business by throwing stones at him.

THE 'AUSAJ BUSH

Among the Badawin of Hasa and Kuwait the *'ausaj* bush is con- 776
sidered to be under the special protection of Jinns (spirits). It is never 824
cut nor are branches ever broken from it. It is believed that anyone injuring it will be followed and tormented, especially at night, by hostile Jinns. The Badawin, on approaching an *'ausaj* bush, will always invoke God's protection by a *bi'smi 'llah al Rahmán al Rahím* (In the

H. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

776 name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate) and will cast a stone
824 into the bush. Hence *'ausaj* bushes are always seen surrounded by a pile of stones at the base. Though men will usually joke about this if questioned, the superstition remains nevertheless deep in their hearts, and they take no risks.

HAUNTS OF JINNS

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The Arabs tell the story of how a "black thing", they know not what, lives in the centre of the pool with head like a Negro. This animal or Jinn every now and then comes to the surface, shows itself and disappears again. At other times the thing is said to come out of

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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the pool and sit on the bank itself. Those who have seen it say it 776
looks like a black man from afar. The water of the 'Ain being unfit 824
to drink and therefore useless, the place is avoided by man. A series of tests carried out by Captain Papworth, R.E., in 1934, proved that approximately 1,000 gallons of water per hour flowed from the spring. I have myself visited the haunted spot twice, but needless to say saw nothing alarming. My escort all refused to approach nearer than 300 yards, except one man, the stalwart Mirshid al Shammari (ibn Twala).

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Appendix XXIII

APPENDIX XXIII

Ref. Chapter XL (bottom of p. 507)

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "SYPHILIS"

On May 26, 1949 Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib of the Mutair 757
(Buraih section) told me that the dried leaves of the three well-known desert 824
plants

(*a*) Geysúm (*Artemisia herba*)
(*b*) 'Ashiyeh (*Artemisia sp.*)
(*c*) Al Harmal (*Rhazya stricta Dene*)

were used with very good effect by the Badu for syphilis, when smoked in a pipe.

APPENDIX XXIV

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel food, p. 416

In the vicinity of the great wells of Hafar al Bátin, and in the Wadiyán 233
region (Iraq–Sa'udi Arabian frontier) the "Geysúm" bush is only eaten by camels, when they first leave the vicinity of wells in the autumn. It is never eaten in the early spring.

Sheep will, on the contrary, eat the "Geysúm" bush throughout the summer.

Authority Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib. (Mutair Buraih), May 25, 1949.

APPENDIX XXV

Ref. Chapter XXXIII, p. 443

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "MANÍHA"

The term "Maníha" when used alone and not with "Dhabíha", means 476
the loan of a ewe and lamb by one person to another who requires milk in 426
his tent. Such ewe is returned when she has no longer any milk. Such friendly loans are commonly made by men rich in flocks and herds to their poorer tent neighbours or friends.

It is important to know this custom.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M54

hands and feet in a man,—in fact, his whole appearance 622
was arresting.

For a Bedouin, he had an unusually pale complexion, set off by a brilliantly black beard and raven locks. He 622
preferred to dress almost entirely in black. His Arab 291
head-cloth, sandals, and soft camel-hair cloak were black, as well as the wide shawl wound round his waist. Even his mare was black, a rare thing, for most Bedouins hold black horses in disfavour. Headstalls, halter, saddle, and saddle-cloth—all were black, relieved only by delicate silver embroidery and a few silver ornaments. His silver-hilted sword, too, was carried in a black scabbard. [825]

Sheykh Tai' was vain. He loved arms and horses, but 622
above all he adored his little son, Farhan. According to 157
Ali, he had not much affection for his wives, who were reputed to be beauties; but he was proud of them as he was of all his possessions—his great herds and extensive lands.

The Tai's Bedouins kept relatively few camels, but 233
large numbers of sheep and goat, which suffer much from the depredations of wolves in winter and spring. Sheykh Tai' told me that these nimble-footed robbers from the inaccessible retreats of the Turkish Mountains had come down again into the snow-free lowlands. They had already attacked exposed Bedouin camps and caused great damage, although the watchful herdsmen had been continually on guard.

Sheykh Tai' was, like Nimrod, a "great hunter before 224
the Lord", and liked nothing better than to be riding abroad. On the eighth evening after our arrival, he

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

One of the documents the *sheykh* handed to me was a 574
deed of gift and a token of his friendship; the other set 431
forth the pedigree of the colt. Mishal rose to his feet. He 231
took me by the hand to set me on my way, and together we walked far out into the desert. He spoke no word and I made no attempt to break the silence. My eyes were held by the picture of the powerful young stallion which was being led ahead of us by Naif and a slave. Full of fire and grace, with prancing steps, he looked the living epitome of this wild and romantic land.

When some tribesmen rode by on their mares, the young stallion stopped still, his whole body tense, neck arched, and small head held high. His chest quivered as he neighed in long-drawn silvery notes. His uplifted tail flowed out from his croup like a cascade of water. He was surely as magnificent as any of those aboriginal wild horses, which, according to Bedouin lore, Ishmael caught in the Nufud desert. "Black-skinned antelopes (*kubay-* [825]
lan) they were called of old, by reason of the black rims around the eyes, which make them look as if they had been painted with *kuhl* (pure antimony)."

The *sheykh* at last called to my companions, who had gone ahead, to halt. Looking back, Mishal and I saw the great camp a long way off. The old chief laid his hands in blessing on the forehead of the young stallion, and said to me: " 'Amud,' I have named thy stallion. It [552]
is a name of my people. The peace of God be with thee forever."

Then he kissed both my cheeks and the hoof of the horse, and strode back to his tents.

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

342 yards of it so as to let portions of it lie on the ground: the breeze in
132 this manner percolates into every part of the tent. If the sun is very strong, a locally woven carpet (usually some shade of orange) is hung up near the tent roof between poles and is pinned to the underside of the tent roof. This doubles the thickness of the tent and brings relief.

In very cold weather, on the other hand, the tent can be closed from the front by drawing inwards the embroidered ends of the *qáta* (which already extend several yards outside the tent) and by joining the ends near the middle of the tent side. The top edge is then pinned to the edge of the roof of the tent as is done in the case of the back curtain. This encloses the tent completely and gives great cosiness and warmth to the occupants. Similarly, the ends of the *ruag* are brought right round the guest quarters and the woman's cookhouse respectively, and turn those places into warm corners to sit in.

NOTE.—The men's quarter of a tent or *raba'a* is always situated at the east end of the tent, irrespective of which way the tent is facing. This is the universal rule in Eastern and North-Eastern Arabia.

Similarly it is the rule for a tent to be pitched with its longer axis at right angles to the north-west wind (*Shamál*). In inner Najd, and especially among 'Utaiba tribe, the longer axis facing the north-west is the rule, and the tent is opened at its ends only. The *raba'a* here is at southern end.

THE TENT DOGS

231 Every tent has its watch-dogs, and also (especially amongst the 'Ajman, 'Awazim and Mutair) a *salúqi* or two. The former are fierce, shaggy animals who usually have their ears cut off short to make them good fighters. Their heads are broad, rather like our bull-terrier type, and they are fierce and very powerfully built. These dogs guard the camels and sheep at night from wolves and strangers, and are trained to move round and round the tents all night in a large circle. The incoming or departing guest usually has a busy time keeping off these savage dogs, who bark at his heels in a most disconcerting manner, and are only kept back by a continual motion of his cane behind him, or
231 by the shouts of the occupants of the tent. The watch-dog usually
825 sleeps outside the women's apartments and is fed with little bits of rice, bread and dates that are left over from the meals. It is never allowed inside the tents, being unclean (*najis*). The *salúqis* (pronounced *salúqi*,

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

231 plural: *salag*), on the other hand, are regarded as clean, especially by
825 the Badawin following the Maliki tenets of Islam (who are in the
majority in Hasa and Kuwait), and they are allowed to enter tents and sleep in the women's portion at will. They are valued for hunting purposes, and are taught to kill hare and gazelle for the pot. Great care is taken that there shall be no interbreeding between the tent watch-dogs and the *salûqi*, and when the female *salûqi* of the household is on heat one of her hind legs is attached by a leather thong to her collar, thus forcing her to sit down, which effectually prevents a heavy dog covering her.

A STRANGER ARRIVING AT A TENT

516 A stranger arriving must approach a Badawin tent from the front only. It is the worst of bad form to come up from the back. He must then approach the guest side of the tent and halt and make his camel kneel while some way off. This shows that he wants a night's rest or some food. He must never approach or halt his camel near the women's end of the tent (*muharram*). The purpose of this custom is to give the women time to adjust their *burqas* or veils whilst the visitor is some distance off. Were the visitor to come up from behind, he might come upon an unveiled woman attending to nature or washing her hair, or cleaning kitchen utensils.

FAVOURITE SPOTS FOR PITCHING TENTS

342 In choosing a tent site the proximity of water is, of course, the first essential. Next, the nature of the grazing decides where a man will wish to pitch his tent. If he is migrating with the tribe or part of the tribe, the tent owner leaves the selection of the area to be camped on to the shaikh, but tries for the convenience of himself and his family to get as close as possible to a sandy nullah or dry water course with
342 high banks. This is very important, for it allows the whole household,
515 and especially the women, to attend to their toilet and other sanitary
514 duties out of sight and in sandy surroundings which are ideally healthful. In this connection a Badawin (male or female) never unnecessarily soils the ground, but makes a point of digging a small hole in the sand, which he afterwards fills in. If water is scarce, as more often than not

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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CHAPTER XXXIV

Locusts

Truly blessed are those countries and states which know not the Locust, nor have experienced his visitations. 731

When the word locust crops up, the average person thinks of the plagues of Egypt, and recalls vivid descriptions in the Old Testament. He pictures a mighty swarm of flying grasshoppers which settle on fruit trees, hedgerows, vegetable gardens and wheat fields, and after taking their fill, pass on. This is not an entirely false picture, but the reality is far worse. In a country like Arabia visitations are comparatively common, and one locust year is invariably followed by a second, third, and possibly a fourth. Locusts destroy not only all living bushes and available green grass, each blade of which is vital to life in a desert country like the Arabian peninsula, but cause untold hardship to townsmen and villagers. Sheep die in hundreds after a visitation because there is no more green or dry grass left for them to feed on. Though I speak with particular feeling for the Arabia I love, the locust problem is not confined to that country. Locusts annually devastate large tracts and districts of North Africa, Central and South Africa, Baluchistan, India, Persia, Iraq and Turkey.

The insect's home seems, however, to be Africa, and as far as Arabia is concerned, the general route followed by these pests in migration would seem to be from Abyssinia to Yaman in the first place. Thence the swarms apparently select one of two routes—one swarm going to Baluchistan and India via the South Arabian seaboard, and the other moving up into the Hijaz, Najd, North-Eastern tracts of Arabia, and on into Iraq and Persia. There are naturally many subsidiary migrations, but in the main as far as Arabia proper is concerned, I think—though I speak with diffidence—the theory of swarms coming over from Abyssinia and then dividing into two main streams, is fairly near the truth. This is the theory generally accepted among desert Arabs. 136 825

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MI4

who arrived in Kuwait on 27th February reported that he had seen further large flights in South Hasa and Qatif at the end of January and early in February, also that Hufuf had had a bad visitation in January. K 731

"It was thus anticipated that March would see another invasion of Kuwait.

"Very fortunately except for the swarm mentioned above no locusts actually reached Iraq or Kuwait and the previous years' invasions were not repeated."

"On 23rd May Professor B. P. Uvarov of the South Kensington Natural History Museum, visited Kuwait to collect data regarding the previous three years' visitations, and the lines of approach of the various swarms up from S.W. Arabia to Najd and Kuwait. He prophesied that Kuwait would see no more locusts in 1932 or for another three or four years, as all evidence went to prove that they appeared in cycles of three years at a time. His prophecy came remarkably true, and between 1932 and 1935 there have been no locust visitations at all. Let us hope that 1936* will not see a reappearance."

So much for my own experience, and the damage done to town dwellers, and owners of gardens and sheep.

The Badawin proper, that is to say the great migrating camel tribes, do not mind the locusts much, in fact they rejoice in a way when they see them, for they indicate that the year is going to be a good one. Locusts, they say, only come in prosperous years. B 725

It does not worry these nomads if large tracts of country are denuded of fodder; they simply move off to country which has not been visited. They know that the damage done by locust swarms is more or less local, and that the insect will move to more favourable country lying to the north (Iraq) and will not bother them for long. They also enjoy the wonderful opportunity to satisfy for once in a while their ever-prevailing hunger. Nor is this all, for their horses, camels and dogs all get their fill, as well as foxes, bustard, monitor lizards, kites, shrikes and a dozen other denizens of the desert. B 731 261

I remember once, when coming home with my wife from the Bâtin by car, meeting a swarm of locusts flying very low, moving across the plain west of Jahrah. It was near sunset, and we saw several

* They did not appear in 1936 or 1937.

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1931 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bedouins MJ4

with details of the 'Ajman tribe west of the Dhahar ridge (22 miles from Kuwait) my wife and I saw a considerable number of birds which evidently had remained behind to nest. On 4th and 11th May we actually found sandgrouse nests on the Dhahar ridge (a stony and pebbly ridge some 30 miles long), each containing two to three eggs. K 136

(4) The nests were found mostly on the top of wind-swept mounds (*ajnakat*) covered with sparse scrub and various coloured pebbles (*hasa*), and so were wonderfully well camouflaged, the pebbles being like the back feathers of the male and female birds. The eggs, lying in their small shallow cavities, looked exactly like the surrounding pebbles.

(5) One of these nests we saw lay in the open, another under the lee of a small bush a foot high (*'arfaj*). The nests were not lined with anything, being just a round shallow hole 3 inches across and dug in gravelly sand.

(6) One particular nest was found with eggs broken and freshly eaten, obviously by a bird of the shrike family (migrating also with sandgrouse).

According to our Badawin, if a snake sucks birds' eggs, the shells are not damaged in any way, but if a fox, monitor or other bird finds and eats them, they are invariably crushed. B 825

(7) Other eggs which were brought to us by wandering Badawin almost daily, showed that a considerable number of birds had remained behind during migration, to nest and lay. K 136

(8) The egg is shaped like a pigeon's egg, but is slightly larger; in colour the eggs are cream or sandy buff, with different-sized spots all over the egg. These range from dark brown to shadowy mauve. In every case when we found eggs, the mother bird appeared to be of the pintail variety. She ran off her nest as we approached to about 30 yards distance, and sat watching us. She then flew off uttering a curious cry of alarm, quite different from the ordinary sandgrouse call.

Southward Migration.—Two spotted sandgrouse were snared and brought to me on 16th September, 1934. Three others were seen flighting on 19th September, as we were bathing at Shuwaikh.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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species, but they were to my mind smaller, and had no "spectacle marks" that I could see. K 136

In colour the snakes were sandy, with faint markings all down the back. SA 136

The most noticeable feature of the snakes was the coarse-looking scales down the whole length of the body and especially the back, so typical of the Indian cobra, while the stomach was white, tending to yellow on the sides.

The eyes were gold-yellow, with darker spot in the centre. In both cases the snakes showed *anger*.

NOTE.—The Badawin with me insisted on burying the cobras where we had killed them, in two long shallow graves. They then placed seven white seashells along the length of each grave, as "blood compensation" they said, and to prevent the snake's mate trying to search us out and take vengeance. They said that white pebbles or camel droppings would be equally efficacious. [B 825]

I remember coming across a very interesting specimen of a snake when my wife and I were dining one summer night (28th May, 1934) on the seashore, 12 miles south of Kuwait, with Shaikh Hamad al Mubarak. It was brought to us dead by some servants, who said it had been killed making its way toward the kitchen fire. They had crushed its head somewhat, but the body was in perfect condition. The following is a description taken from my diary:

Length 28 inches, colour sandy-yellow with dark blotches down the centre of the back, and slight blue markings above the dark ones. The head had a distinct dark marking, and at the back of the head on each side were two distinct glands about the size of a cobnut (obviously poison glands).

Although the head was slightly damaged one fang was visible. The snake was skinned and sent to the Bombay Natural History Society for identification on 31st May, 1934, by my wife, and they decided that it was a Saw-scaled Viper, (*c*) above. A feature of the snake was its "rasp"-like looking scales. They were so stiff and coarse as to resemble a file, such as is used to rasp horses' hoofs when shoeing.

On 18th December, 1934, a small snake was found in the Agency at Kuwait. It was sent to Bombay for identification, and turned out to be a non-poisonous variety called *Zameni ventrimaculatus* (vide the Bombay Natural History Society's letter D/15th January, 1935).

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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4. There are no difficulties to be negotiated till cars arrive at the great Dahana sand belt or barrier guarding inner Najd, as the track passes over hard gravelly country most of the way. The Dahana belt is a series of wide soft sandy ridges (eight in number) with harder going between, and has to be negotiated just before Rumah and Rumhiyah* are reached. The sand region to be crossed is approximately 40 miles broad at its narrowest point.

5. The Dahana sands are quite easily negotiated if there has been rain or a series of rainstorms, for the sand then becomes hard, and with good guides to assist a car party, several alternative routes can be taken, each of which is somewhat shorter than the track blazed by the Shaikh of Kuwait, which moved down the east side of the Dahana till the Rumah–Hufuf road was reached, and then turned sharp right (south-west by west) some miles beyond Nadhim al Kanhara.

6. If the weather is hot and there has been no rain at all the Dahana crossing presents great difficulties, and tyres have to be deflated, and progress made on second speed. A supporting car or two with spades and ropes is a necessity.

7. After crossing the Dahana, rocky country is reached and rough stones and boulders hamper cars almost as far as Buwaib Pass, which overlooks the Riyadh plain.

8. Travellers on the Kuwait–Riyadh section should have a full supply of drinking water, food, petrol and spares for an approximate 500-miles journey, as these cannot be got *en route* anywhere except at Jariya 'Ilya and Rumah, where water† only, and that of very poor quality, can be obtained.

APPENDIX VII

THE *AL SHURUF* OR "HONOURED ONES"

(THE FAMOUS BLACK HERD OF CAMELS OF THE MUTAIR TRIBE)

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From very old times the *Al Shuruf* have been the pride and glory of the great Mutair tribe of Central and North-Eastern Arabia, and consist of a very dark, almost black herd of thoroughbred camels numbering close on three hundred animals.

Among the Mutair the *Al Shuruf* or the Honoured Ones are looked upon as a sort of "sacred emblem", or standard, for the tribe to follow

* Rumhiyah is left some miles to the west by those taking the latest and shortest car route.

† In the winter, if rains have been good in the Summán area, water can be obtained from various *dibals* or water-holes *en route*. But this is an unreliable source of supply.

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in war or peace, and are at all times guarded with the greatest care and have their own special herdsmen. 223 825

The *Shuruf* can best be compared to the famous *Markab* or "Ark of Ishmael" which goes before the Rawala host when the latter tribe migrates to new regions or marches to war, and which is really nothing but a glorified ladies' camel litter, decked all over with black ostrich feathers (see under chapter dealing with the Tent and its treasures), but held in the deepest reverence by every single man and woman of the tribe.

As in the case of the *Markab*, the *Shuruf* is the rallying point of the tribe if attacked or in difficulties. The herd must be defended at all costs, and the tribe will cheerfully lose all its other camels in a battle or raid provided the *Shuruf* are safe.

In the attack, and especially if such be in the nature of a forlorn hope, the *Shuruf* have the place of honour always and lead the van. No Mutairi ever rides them, and they just move forward in a compact well-trained black mass ahead of the fighting men as if perfectly understanding the game. The latter will follow straight on to victory or death in their wake. The *Shuruf* seem also to know that they afford a sort of moving wall of protection for the footmen in their rear, and never scatter.

In peace time the famous black herd always grazes alone and under specially selected guards, always too as far from the common gaze as possible. It is said that should other strange camels get mixed up with them, the black herd will attack them and drive them out. Nor are the cows of the herd allowed to breed except from their own males.

To-day the *Al Shuruf* are in the hands of the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud —King and Lord of Arabia. They were taken away from the Mutair as the most severe punishment that could be meted out to them after Faisal al Duwish's rebellion of 1929–30, and are to-day (1939) most carefully guarded and looked after for the King by the faithful Shaikh Faisal bin Shiblan, head of the Jiblan sept of the great Mutair. Actually the King handed the *Shuruf* over to his brother Muhammad al Sa'ud for safe keeping after the above-mentioned rebellion, but this was a mere formality, for H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz' brand adorns the rear off hind quarter of each camel like this, ₀|₀, and the herd remains the King's property, much as in the occident any war flags captured from an enemy are handed over to the King. 687 233 475 727

As far as I am aware, my wife and I are the only Europeans living who have had the opportunity of setting eyes on this jealously guarded herd and semi-sacred tribal emblem of the Mutair. This was on 7th April and 14th April, 1939, when, by special invitation of His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait, King Bin Sa'ud sent his private camels numbering seventy-five *Raiyah* or herds, together with the *Shuruf* (some 4,500 all told) into the Araifjan and Shu'aiba districts of Kuwait to graze, the act being a gracious appreciation on the part of Shaikh Ahmad for Bin Sa'ud's good will and 825 233

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moral assistance rendered at a time when Kuwait was threatened with rebellion and disorder due to the efforts of certain of the Shaikh's enemies to hand over the State to the neighbouring Government of Iraq, and bring about the downfall of the house of Al Subah (autumn and spring of 1938–39).

On the 7th April my wife and I, hearing that the *Shuruf* were grazing at the southern end of the Dhahar ridge and close to Grain wells, made a surreptitious car dash accompanied by Salim al Muzaiyin (Mutairi), and came up with the famous herd shortly before sunset as they were breasting the top of a small rise, on their way to Ibn Shiblan's black tents, on the approach of nightfall. They presented a strikingly pretty sight silhouetted against the setting sun. They marched in a fairly close group, heading the remainder of the King's camels by half a mile or so. No one was about except a herdsman, who told us blandly in reply to our query that the *Al Shuruf* were a day's journey away—nor did any of the guards see us, being as they were on the other side of the rise beating up the stragglers. Being right amidst the herd we got a perfect look at the beautiful black beasts, and recognised the well-known brands of the Al Sa'ud and of the Dushan on them. Having seen what we wanted to see we slipped off north again unnoticed.

On 13th April we arrived at Salim al Muzaiyin's camp near Shu'aiba, intending to spend the night and next day. We had invited five of the Al Subah Shaikhs to dinner. On arrival Salim our man told us that the King's camels were grazing all round him, and that the *Al Shuruf*, which had spent the previous night close to his tents, were grazing over the nearby rise. Lastly, he said that Shaikh Misyar al Shiblan, who was in immediate charge, was waiting in his tent to pay his respects to us. Misyar was rather a wild Jibli, but we gave him dinner that night, and accommodated him in Salim's tent. Determined to see our beautiful black herd of camels once again, we rose early on the 14th April and drove in our car with Salim for about one mile. There in a hollow beneath us we saw the *Shuruf* once again. We had told nobody of our intention, and so as not to attract notice we got out of our car and started walking towards the herd.

I may mention in passing that the surrounding country seemed alive with thousands of other camels, these being the King's herds as well as those of the Shaikh of Kuwait under Al Shaiyah al Jibli.

When still about half a mile from the nearest black camel we heard shouts from an armed man who was fast bearing down on us on a riding camel: we waited for him, and he asked us what we wanted. We replied that we had come to see the *Shuruf*. "They are not here, they are not here," he said, "but away back at Araifjan." He was joined by three other armed men, and lastly by Shaikh Misyar himself, who appeared from nowhere. The latter, when confronted with our request, admitted that the famous black herd was in front of us, but said that he had the strictest orders from King Bin Sa'ud his master to allow no one to approach, much less

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take any photographs. We argued that we were the personal friends of His Majesty and that we felt sure he would feel honoured at the interest we were showing. We also promised not to take any photographs, or even tell a soul that we had seen the *Shuruf* (we, of course, said nothing of the incident of the 7th April).

But Shaikh Misyar was politely adamant, saying that he dared not break the King's commands, even though I had dined him the previous night, and had once saved his Uncle Faisal bin Shiblan's life. However, so as not to hurt my feelings too much, Shaikh Misyar ordered three of the guards to go to the herd and bring back a bowl of milk for my wife and myself. No sooner said than done. We saw one of the famous herd milked, though some way off, and we partook of the wonderful frothy bowl with great relish.

At least we can say that we have drunk the milk of the far-famed *Al Shuruf*. Nor shall we forget the incident or the great honour done to us in the eyes of the Mutair.

APPENDIX VIII

INSECTS OF KUWAIT

By B. P. Uvarov, D.Sc.
British Museum (Natural History)

K 136

The territories of Kuwait and, indeed, of the whole Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, are practically unexplored with regard to the insect fauna, and on it there exist only a few scattered records. It was, therefore, of great scientific interest for collections made there by Mrs. H. R. P. Dickson and Miss Zahra Dickson to be worked out by the specialists. The following list is based on the determinations made mostly by Mr. G. E. Bryant, of the Imperial Institute of Entomology, and by myself. All the specimens were most generously presented by the collectors to the British Museum (Natural History) and placed in its collections.

It will be seen that when collecting insects special attention was paid to Orthoptera, following my special request, and the results can be considered most gratifying. Indeed, a number of species has been found that had not been previously known from anywhere in the Arabian peninsula, and a new species was discovered, representing a remarkable new genus. It was even more interesting to obtain a long list of species definitely known to occur on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, and some of these records are of special value in extending the known range of specific distribution.

True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar but
flavoured with herbs; and its consumption is the occasion of much 272
social activity—the rounding off of the day, and an opportunity 252
for discussion, and the reception of guests. For the Badawin, if 415
not for city dwellers, coffee is truly the 'wine of Islam', and the 514
equipment of all Badawin households includes at least one carpet, which is spread before the hearth, a mortar, and coffee pots and cups. A few cooking pots, and one or two large trays and bowls for communal eating make up the remainder of the culinary equipment.

Clothing of the Badawin is simple. A long robe of thick material 291
is the principal, sometimes in fact the only, garment. In winter a waterproof cloak of woven camel hair is worn. A voluminous headcloth, held in place by a rope or band, is wound round the head so as to give protection to the face and neck, and rawhide, heelless sandals are worn on the feet.

Water is usually too precious for much washing[1]—indeed, the 312
Koran permits the ceremonial use of sand in the daily ablutions which 515
are enjoined on all Moslems—and animal urine is frequently used as a 782
substitute. Badawin food is monotonous and scanty. Most im- 262
portant are milk products: curds, buttermilk, various kinds of cheese —of which *labné*, a kind of cream cheese, is the most widespread— and *samné*, or butter. In addition, wheat, barley, and occasionally [437]
a little rice are obtained by barter, blackmail, or brigandage from agriculturalists, or else grown very sporadically by the nomads them- [241]
selves.[2] Small amounts of dried fruit, usually dates, are also eaten. Meat is provided only as a great luxury, since animals themselves are [281
in effect a kind of fixed capital—owners must live from the yield, 471]
not upon the animal itself. Apart, then, from occasions of high festival, when special slaughtering takes place, only those animals that die naturally are eaten.

Meals are served first to the older men of the tent, each man using 264
his dagger as a knife, and fingers as a fork,[3] after which, when they 562
are satisfied, it is the turn of the younger men and boys. Later still come the women, and finally the girls—the sexes never intermingling during meals. On occasion when supplies are plentiful, the Badawin 000

[1] It has been said of a present-day certain Wahhabi tribe of Arabia that all adult members have at least once in their lifetime been forced to exist on water taken from the hump of a camel. [271]

[2] Patches of ground are roughly sown with grain, and later in the year tribesmen return to harvest the crop. [241]

[3] As far as possible, use of the left hand is avoided in polite Arab society—this hand is employed for menial and unpleasant tasks. [826]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

Sheykh Tai' threw several handfuls of sand over the spilled blood—for so desert custom demands. Blood is *haram*, that is, "forbidden." Opening the jaws of the dead animal and pointing to the wicked fangs, he said: "Thou and I are kinsmen for the traces which thou leavest behind are the same as mine." (We are both robbers, he meant—like all despised Bedouins.) 224 826 [784]

Later in the day, as we galloped on, we sighted in the distance what at first we took for some of our mounted hunters driving wolves towards us. But they did not move. 224

I thought I could recognize riderless horses, watching us with raised heads. But Sheyk Tai' laughed and cried out to me that they were neither horses nor horsemen, but wild asses. I would not believe him at first, for the animals seemed too high in the leg. [136]

Sheykh Tai' pointed out to me that the troop had a leader and this became apparent when the shy creatures ran off. We did not follow, and they disappeared into the clear distance of the Sinjar Mountains.

Fleeting shadows cast from above now hurried across the plain before our horses. I knew them of old from raids in the inner part of Arabia. They were the "Sharers of the Prey."

Shading my eyes with my hand, I looked up to the sky, where on motionless pinions the great vultures were sailing. They knew well the purpose of our ride; and they were sure of their feast of dead wolves. A widespread cloud of dust rose on the horizon and moved towards us. These were the beaters, whose semicircle stead-

1 - [of a wolf killed in a hunt--Analyst]

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XLIV

Curious Customs and Stories

MAD DOG BITE

752 826 If a person is bitten by a dog suffering from rabies, he must immediately find a man of the Birzan section of the Mutair, and drink a coffee-cup full of his blood (which he pays for). The blood of a Birzani so taken is regarded among all the tribes of North-East Arabia as an infallible cure.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.
Confirmed by the Shaikh of the Birzan, the late 'Ali al Shuwairibat, in 1935

DIVISION OF SPOIL, GIFTS, ETC.

425 Among the Badawin the method adopted for the just division of spoil is to send one person some distance away, so that he cannot see what article is selected. Another will then call out "Who shall have this?" holding up or pointing at a particular article. The man must then in reply name one of the party. This custom has religious or *Shari'ah* sanction behind it.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11th August, 1932.

MAKING DECISIONS

787 To decide whether a journey or other enterprise shall be undertaken, the counting of beads (odd or even) three times, is common among the Shi'ahs.

Among the Badawin the following method is adopted: A man will shut his eyes and hold his hands out in front of him, palms towards him, and fingers of the two hands pointing toward each other. He will then try slowly and with his eyes shut to bring the fingers together, so as to make the tip of the centre finger of one hand *exactly*

i: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MJ 1 Kuwait
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APPENDIX XV

THE TRIBAL "WAR CRY" (NAKHWA)

721 The following are a few war cries of the more important Tribes of Arabia.

192 (a) The House or Clan of the Al Sa'ud. "Al Auja", "Ana Akhu Nura", "Ana ibn Mijrin".

(b) The House of Al Subah. "Ana ibn Salim", Ana akhu Mirriam".

(c) The Shammar Tribe. "Sanayís", (common to the whole tribe).

(d) The 'Ajman Tribe. "Mu'assa al Haddán, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Mafras al Hadid, wa ana ibn Al Ajám", "Sifar safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhala", "Safi al Maut, wa ana Ladhaila".

(e) The Mutair ('Ilwa) "Ilwa, Hal Raddat".
(Jiblan) "Khayal al Sabha",* "Al Jibili".
(Muwaha) " 'Awlad al Muwaihi", "Al Batha",† "Ana ibn Madwash".‡
(Wasil) " 'Awlad Wásil", "Ar Rahman wa ana ibn Wásil".
(Bani Abdilla) " 'Awlad 'Abád".
(Al Sa'aran) "Al Ashwa",§ "Ana ibn Ali".
(Al Sahabba) "Khayal Sabhat Mushabi".

(f) Awazim. "Atwi", " 'Awlad 'Atta" (elided to "Alladatta").

(g) Rashaida. "Al Daaiji", "Murr al Dalála Da'aiji", "Khaiyal Sabhat Da'aiji".

(h) Harb. "Ana ibn 'Ali".

(i) 'Utaiba. "Ahl al 'Atiyah, wa ana ibn Ruq".

(j) Sbei. "Al 'Arfa Sbeiy".

(k) Dhafir. "Al Garwa, Suwaiti", "Sabha Tammah".

* Name of a hill in Najd used as a rendezvous.
†Name of Al Duwish's own camel.
‡ The name of a famous ancestor.
§ Pet name of a she-camel.

Note on (d) above.—The "Nakhwa" common to Ajman and Murra, which may be termed a rallying cry or appeal to fight, is "Ayál Marzuk."

APPENDIX XVI

BLOOD OF THE BIRZAN SECTION OF MUTAIR

A FURTHER NOTE

164 757 Shaikh Sabah al Nasir, discussing the question on May 11, 1950, made the following statement:

826 1. Rabies was unknown in the Hasa, Riyadh, and Rub' al Khali part of Arabia, and appeared to be confined to northern border of Sa'udi Arabia, South Iraq desert and Kuwait.

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2. Three years previously (1947), a pack of wolves, some forty-seven in number, affected with rabies, attacked the inmates of many Harb tents in Ajibba region south-west of Hafar al Batin. The pack bit ninety-two persons. The King sent out troops in cars who destroyed the wolves. Eighty-seven of the bitten persons were given Birzan blood to drink; five did not drink. The eighty-seven survived and are well to this day. The odd five all developed rabies after fifty days and died. Shaikh Sabah gave other instances proving efficacy of Birzan blood if drunk in time by bitten persons. 164 757 826

3. A Birzani retainer who was called up by Shaikh Sabah made the following statement.

   (*a*) I am pure bred on my father's and mother's side since 1,500 years ago. I am in demand when a case of rabies occurs among the Badu.

   (*b*) When I am called in to give my blood, I cut a small artery in my wrist. The charge for this is 1 Rial. Afterwards the patient who has drunk my blood waits forty days. If all is well then he pays me Rs. 300 or a she-camel costing that amount. For not till then does he know if he has been cured or not.

   (*c*) It is very necessary to drink a Birzani's blood within twenty days of being bitten. After that it may be too late, although in rare cases a longer time has been known to elapse and no harm has come to the bitten person.

   (*d*) To know if a wolf, dog, fox has rabies, the heart should be cut open and if inside are found white maggots, then undoubtedly the animal has got rabies. If there are no maggots then it is not mad.

   (*e*) I have given over three hundred coffee cups of my blood to persons bitten by mad dogs or wolves.

   (*f*) A human developing rabies, hates the sight of water, barks and whines. His brain remains fairly clear. Some of those affected cry out "I'm going to bark" or "I'm going to bite", but not all.

   (*g*) No one ever recovers if he develops rabies. He is put out of his misery by being taken away behind the tents and a handful of ashes are placed on his head. This causes immediate collapse and death. Why is not known.

   (*h*) The Prophet Muhammad who had a great kindness done him by a Birzani, said to him, "I ask God to grant that to you and your descendants be given the power of curing a person bitten by a mad dog, wolf, etc., by drinking your blood". Since that day this power of effecting a cure has been divinely granted. But the blood must be drunk within twenty days, and the donor must be of absolute pure descent on both sides.

The above story proves, among other things, that rabies was known to exist in the Prophet's time.

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mena were common to the Al Rimal or Al Ramla (Rub'al Kháli) 823
and were always the work of Jinns (spirits).

(*d*) Individual Murra, he said, themselves often came out of the 828
great desert "mad", which made them sing and laugh in strange manner. This was undoubtedly due to Jinn influence.

(*e*) The word Rub' al Kháli, he said, was a *hadhar* or townsman's 369
expression, and Badawin did not know the name, and he himself had 103
only once or twice heard it.

(*f*) Ráshid knew seven of Philby's guides personally when he made his great trans-desert journey; one of them, Falah abu Ja'sha, was his cousin. (See page 10 of Philby's book; also first part of this chapter.)

THE DEAD WOMAN WHO NURSED HER CHILD

(Recounted by Dhuwaihi bin Kharmit of the 'Awazim on 21st 539
April, 1935, in camp at Malah, Kuwait.)

A man of the 'Awazim was once travelling near Hail with his young wife. The latter was with child, and in a gorge between some high rocky hills she suddenly gave birth to a baby boy, but in the process died. Her husband did all he could for her, but as he was alone, he could not save her. He buried her by putting her body in a small cave nearby, and filled up the entrance with stones. Loth to remove the child, and knowing it would shortly die for lack of milk, he laid it on its mother's breast with her left arm round it, and put the mother's left breast to the baby's mouth. He then rode away.

Nine months later a party of Badawin of the same tribe happened to wander by and camp close to the spot where the woman and child had been buried. Knowing the story they went to the cave's mouth to see if the wall was intact. To their surprise they found a few stones removed and a hole in the wall; outside on the sand they found the tracks of a child's feet running all over the ground. In great fear and filled with superstition they quickly rode away from the haunted place. In course of time the Badawin told the father, who hastened to the spot, and found the hole in the wall and the small footmarks. Looking inside the cave, he found a live boy-child sitting and prattling beside the mummified form of his dead wife. The mother's body was all dried up, except her left eye and the left side of her face, her left

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CHAPTER XXVII

Desert Guides and Trackers

622 On 27th November, 1935, I visited and had a long talk with Shaikh
619 Mutluq al Musailim, the paramount chief of the Rashaida, in his camp. Among other things he admitted that his tribe was related to the great Hutaim group lying east of Madina. This is the powerful group whose paramount shaikhs are Ibn Barák and Ibn Naumas, and which as a whole is an "inferior" tribe.

485 He maintained that his people, the Rashaida, possessed without exception the finest guides throughout Arabia. He had men, he said, who could guide a stranger without any preparation from Kuwait to

(*a*) Damascus
(*b*) Amman
(*c*) Wejh
(*d*) Madina
(*e*) Mecca
(*f*) Ebha
(*g*) Najran
(*h*) Wadi Dawasir
(*i*) Riyadh and its environs
(*j*) Hasa and Qatar

485 The best guide in all Arabia was, in his opinion, Ibn Hadhabba of
828 his tribe, now employed by Bin Sa'ud on his permanent staff. Ibn
151 Hadhabba was one of a family of that name, all of whom, even the women, seemed to be endowed with the same skill. The gift was born in these men, he said, not acquired in any way, and was akin to the sort of fifth sense an animal possessed. It mattered not if the sun shone or not by day, or if the sky was overcast at night, the Rashaidi could find his way anywhere. He never forgot a desert feature once seen, however small and insignificant.

On the other hand, Shaikh Mutluq admitted freely that his own tribe were not trackers. The palm in this science went easily to the Al Murra tribe of South Hasa and Jabrin. Tracking, or *ma'arifat al jarra* as it was called, was entirely different from the science of guiding or *ma'arifat al dalála*. The latter implied perfect knowledge of ground with a perfect eye for country, stars, etc., the former was more un-

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canny, and consisted in an almost animal faculty for following up the 485
tracks of man, camel, horse or sheep, and describing from the tracks 828
the exact type of person or animal that had left its spoor. For instance, 151
it was easy for a Murri, he said, to say whether the tracks of a simple single camel were those of a white camel (*wadha*), or a brown camel (*humra*), or a black camel (*sauda*), and still easier to say if it was male or female, in calf or not.

The Murra skill was so great, contended Shaikh Mutluq, that in 485
following the tracks of a human female a tracker could say whether 151
the person was married or single, and whether she was pregnant or not.

I have myself observed some very remarkable examples of Murra skill, and have been told numberless others by men like H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, who would have no reason to exaggerate. The Murra tribe are related to the 'Ajman, and both claim descent from Yam, the ancestor of the Bani Yam of Najran in North-East Yaman. Possibly their origin is Himyaritic. All three tribes are considered *sharif* tribes, and in appearance are all more or less alike. They have broad foreheads, eyes set wide apart, and chin running into a sharp small point. This is especially the case with the women. The apparently weak chin is, in the case of the man, usually hidden by a finer beard than is common among other Badawin.

The following is a personal experience. In February 1920 I was 153
riding from Hufuf to Ojair in Hasa by a rather more circuitous and southern route than that usually used, as I wanted to examine the nature of certain ground. I had been the guest of Bin Sa'ud in Hufuf for some seventeen days. My escort consisted of twelve of Bin Sa'ud's braves under a youth called Bání. This fine young lad told me that he had just arrived in Hufuf from Riyadh for the first time in his life, and therefore had to depend on others' knowledge of the country. Half way to the coast we met an enormous herd of Murra camels with numerous baby camels slowly grazing in a northerly direction. The country was dune country and we did not see a soul, though no doubt all our movements were being watched by a hundred eyes.

Presently Bání suggested a drink of camel's milk all round. No sooner said than done. A she-camel was easily caught, milked into a panikin of wood (*jidda*), and we all had a delightful drink. Coffee followed and we sat down for a twenty minutes' rest. Presently a

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meet the tip of the centre finger of the other hand. If this happens, 787
the undertaking will be attended with good luck. If exact contact does not take place, then on no account must the undertaking be carried out. This test is usually made three times.

Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 11 August, 1932.

NOTE.—Friday journeys or undertakings are quite legitimate but 777
only after noonday prayer has been performed. Never before.

TO BRING LUCK

When a Badawin eats dates, he throws the stones over his shoulder, believing that each stone so thrown means a camel acquired in a raid

Shaikh of Kuwait, 28th May, 1935.

TO BECOME A GOOD SHOT

If a Badawin wants to become a good shot, the common method 789
is to light a piece of cloth (cotton or wool) made up into a small ball. This as it smoulders is held very close to the right forearm, four inches behind the wrist knuckle bone. The ball should not be alight, but only smouldering, nor must the actual cloth ball be applied to the flesh. The heat of the burning piece of cloth soon raises a large blister about the size of a small matchbox. When this happens the operation is complete and the burning cloth is removed. Later the blister bursts and leaves an oblong raw spot, which in turn when it heals, leaves a scar to the man's dying day. This painful ordeal is considered among the Badawin to insure that the patient becomes a good shot with the rifle.

The present Shaikh of Kuwait had the operation done to him as a young man, and certainly he is a remarkable shot.

TO ACQUIRE COURAGE

Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah told me on 12th November, 1938, that 828
among certain Badawin it was not uncommon for a man to eat the liver of a wolf to make him brave.

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not done. He must approach her through her father. He can and 584
does, however, propose in person to a widow or a divorced [587]
woman.

After marriage the Badawin takes his bride to the tent he has pre- 585
viously pitched for her, close to that of her father, and consummation takes place. Many are the curious eyes and ears which are concentrated on the bridal tent.

As with us, those chiefly interested in the marriage ceremony are the other women of the camp.

Slaves marrying go through the same ceremonies as the freeborn [567]
the master and mistress of the slave acting the part of the parents of the bridegroom: and as much interest is evinced in the marriage of one of their slaves as in that of one of the family.

The Badawin's love for cohabitation is well known, and as I have 831
said elsewhere, sex is to him the supreme joy of life. Both bride and bridegroom indulge riotously in this honeymoon period. So wildly passionate is their love-making that I have known of a man breaking two of his wife's ribs on the first night of their marriage. As soon as 842
the wife finds herself with child, she lets the other women know about it, and it becomes the occasion for much rejoicing. She continues cohabiting with her husband as a matter of course till just before the baby's birth.

DIVORCE

Divorce procedure is simplicity itself. The man need only say to 586
his wife before witnesses that he does not want her any more. He has to make the statement *three times* for it to be valid: *Ma arid ich, ma arid ich, ma arid ich.* No disgrace attaches to the woman, who takes the matter quite philosophically, and proceeds to look for another husband.

If the man divorces the woman, she keeps the *jehaz* he has given her, which is sufficient provision for her for a considerable time, or till she gets a second husband. It must not be forgotten that she has nearly always invested her *jehaz* in buying a camel or some sheep and has thus become an owner of livestock.

The point to emphasise is that no disgrace whatsoever clings to 587
divorce, and if the girl is fair, or was the wife of a big shaikh, there is

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837 Again, as in the desert, immorality is practically unknown among
684 unmarried girls. Married women on the contrary often indulge in clandestine intrigue. The penalty for immorality is death to the woman if she is found out. The woman's brothers and cousins always appear more concerned about their sister's honour than the father is, and if vengeance is to be carried out it is usually the brothers and cousins who track the woman down. As excuse they plead that they could not hold their heads up in tribal *majlis* if they had a sister living in dishonour. Marriage with the man who has led her astray is the only method that will save the girl's life. Even then the seducer must pay *hashm* or honour-money to satisfy the girl's relatives. A strange man sometimes takes the place of the seducer and can get the girl off punishment by marrying her, but this is not common. *Fasl* or *'idiyah* is the term given to blood money. Among the Iraq *Ma'adán* (marsh) tribes a girl-relative of a murderer is nearly always given to the brother or son of the murdered person, the idea being that a child from the union of two enemy houses allays any hatred that might remain.

585 Among the Arab tribes of Iraq, as opposed to the *Ma'adán* (marsh-men), a man sets up a special tent or mat shelter called a *hawfa* for his wife to be taken to immediately after marriage. This is close to his house or tent as the case may be, and corresponds to a honeymoon tent. After the bride is taken to this *hawfa* by her women, the husband, arrayed in his best garments, is conveyed there by his men friends and consummates the marriage. The woman remains a prisoner in the *hawfa* for seven days. The man, on the contrary, may come out and receive visitors in his *mudhif* or nearby guest-tent. On the eighth day the woman comes out of her *hawfa*, goes into her new home and takes charge of the household duties. The custom of setting up the *hawfa* tent applies only if the girl has never been married before. If she be a widow she goes straight to her husband's tent.

LOVE

831 I have often been asked if love, as we know it, exists among the
595 Badawin. I have unhesitatingly replied that it does. The fact that a man is permitted to take more than a single wife has nothing to do with the matter. Indeed, it is rare to see a Badawin with more than

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one wife. He simply cannot afford such luxury. The majority marry, 851
of course, two or three times in their lives, either because the wife 675
has a temper, is lazy, is unreasonable, cannot have children, or gets sick and dies; but I have known a large number who have been faithful to one woman all their lives and regard the woman of their choice with affection and trust, even when she is old and decrepit. This proves constancy at any rate, which is not far removed from love.

In spite of their religion permitting men to take more than one wife, and in spite of easy and sensible divorce laws, the standard of morality among the dwellers in hair tents is one of the highest in the world: this naturally tends towards a high standard in family life, and [693]
results in mutual admiration, companionship and trust between man and wife.

A Badawin marries primarily because he wants a helpmeet: some- 681
one to cook for him, to look after, mend and renew his tent. He must have someone to prepare his *laben*, to collect his firewood and to draw water for him and his camels. Above all, he must have children, and is only half a man until he has. Nevertheless, though he looks to the woman to be useful before everything else, there is always room for love and affection. Many cases of youths and maidens falling in love, and almost going crazed about each other, have come under my notice. It would take too long to relate them all. I shall confine myself to two. Both are stories of love gone wrong, of everything eventually coming right, and the parties living happily ever afterwards. From these examples my readers must form their own conclusions, and decide whether the desert man differs greatly from his Western brother. In both cases I knew the young actors intimately.

(*a*) *The love-story of Mutlug ibn Majid al A'ajo of the Al Shuqair section of the Mutair.*

Young Mutlug was a shaikh's son of eighteen, well bred, good-looking, debonair, wiry and with a pair of long plaits (*gawa*) hanging down along both cheeks, that might have been the envy of any woman. He was an extraordinarily bright and happy lad, and on the last occasion when he came up to Kuwait, he had asked to be shown all over my house. His remark when he saw my wife's and my bedroom was characteristic, "*Wallah*" (*by God*) he said, "this sleeping

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CHAPTER XIII

Morality

There is no immorality, as we know it, among the desert tribes. There is, of course, plenty of marrying and giving in marriage, and as I have said, divorce is so easy that a woman often has six or seven husbands in her lifetime, and a man always as many wives as he can afford, provided he confines himself to four at a time. Prostitutes are unknown among the Badawin, and adultery is punishable with death.

Friendships between men and women, on the other hand, exist, and are recognised, especially if the parties are of the same tribe and are related, for example my friend Shaikh Thuwairan Abu Sifra of the Mu'aba section of the Mutair, was a friend of Muthi, wife of Falah bin 'A'amir, also of the Mu'aba. Every Badawin, of course, is aware that immorality exists in the big towns, and this is one of the main reasons why he despises the townsman.

Unfortunately a Badawin man up from the distant desert sometimes finds his way to the prostitute quarters when he visits towns such as Mecca and Madina, Jiddah, and Kuwait. This has resulted in the spread of syphilis and venereal disease among the tribes.

In Wahhabi-land proper (i.e. Sa'udi Arabia, excluding the Hijaz), no prostitute is tolerated even in the towns, let alone among the tribes, but I am told that there is nevertheless a good deal of clandestine immorality.

It is curious but true that if you discuss the question of morals with well-informed Najd Badawin, they will always tell you that certain great shaikhly families of the desert, especially in the north, have always had rather loose morals, while certain others stand out for their good morals and generally high tone. For instance, the well-known shaikhly house of Al Sha'alan (Ruwala) as well as that of the Hawaitat, Bani Sakhr (both Trans-Jordan), and Shammar Jarba (Iraq), are all said to be pretty lax where women are concerned, and conversely Al Hadhal (Amarat), the Dushan (Mutair) and the Hamidda ('Utaiba)

further east and south, very strict. The whole desert world will certainly agree that the shaikhs of the tribes of Najd proper are far superior in moral behaviour to their brothers of Iraq and Syria, and for that matter of the north generally, and they never cease to deplore and at the same time boast of the fact. This is of course all good propaganda for the Ruler of Sa'udi Arabia and for Wahhabi-ism, and justifies up to the hilt His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz's policy of keeping strangers as far as possible out of his country, and in particular out of Central Arabia.

Undoubtedly the proximity to Damascus and Baghdad of the Northern 'Anizah and Shammar is slowly but surely demoralising the leaders, though not yet the rank and file. The coming of the motor car is also hastening the process. To their great credit Al Hadhal (Amarat) and notably their great chief Shaikh Mahruth have and are still keeping themselves free from the poison of the towns, but how long they will keep themselves and their people uncontaminated by the great cities is a question.

MORALITY IN THE TOWNS

Mecca is recognised as one of the most immoral towns in Arabia. If one can believe the Badawin, every form of foul vice prevails there.

In Kuwait for a woman to lapse and be found out, usually means death. Her brothers or cousins are her executioners. The husband is more tolerant.

If an unmarried girl goes astray, her lapse is punishable with stoning or "walling up" in a small room, where only one coffee-cup of water and a few dates are given her through a hole in the ceiling per day. If she survives this starvation treatment for forty days, God is supposed to have intervened and she is set free.

A man may without much disgrace indulge in strange women, provided they are public ones, and work for hire. The condition is that he behave so discreetly as not to let the world know. This is most important.

Nice Arab women have on occasion suggested to me that in the absence of my family in England it would be permissible if I occasionally patronised a gay lady's establishment of good standing,

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will follow to the death in his efforts to effect a rescue, and will kill the stealer if he can, even if he has to wait years to do so.

(*d*) If in a raid a freed slave (*ma'atiq*), male or female, be carried off in error, it is the duty of the raiders to return him or her as soon as the mistake is found out.

(*e*) No true Arab may lawfully marry a freed slave woman. His *ahl* will kill him if he so disgraces the tribal honour and blood.

The recognition of these rules, and several others, was confirmed on 11th August, 1936, by Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the Al Hadi tribe of the 'Ajman, and also by Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutraqqa al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, both of whom added the following interesting bit of information, which was new to me. They emphasised that the *'asil*, or pure-bred Arab, will never demean himself by having sexual connection with any of his bought female slaves. It is considered very *'aib* (disgraceful) to do so.

Unfortunately this excellent rule has been abused among certain noble and princely semi-Badawin families such as the Al Sa'adun, and others, who argue that because a slave-girl is your property entirely, she is yours to do with as you like, without sin. The Badawin proper, to his honour, refuses utterly to accept this method of arguing and calls it town sophistry. It is one of the things that causes him to despise the *hadhari*, or town dweller, and take proportionate pride in himself.

[331]

Footnote.—(*a*) There is a curious and widely accepted belief, among Arab townsmen especially, that to have connection with a negress makes a man sexually strong once more (*'iqwi dhakru*), if he happens to be suffering from debility.

(*b*) Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutraqqa al Harri boasts that it is the immemorial right of his house to take over all slaves and mares captured in war or raid by any of his Diyahin villagers. This is a right rarely found among Badawin tribes. Its existence was confirmed by Shaikh Hillel al Munairi, of the same tribe.

(*c*) I have purposely not discussed the Georgian, Armenian and Circassian slave-girl, as a separate chapter would be required to deal with this class. Suffice to say that many beautiful women of this class exist among the ruling and rich classes of Arabia, Iraq and neighbouring Muslim countries. Their lot is not an unhappy one either, for as a rule they are bought very young and are treated with great consideration.

Belief in Witchcraft

to Hail. The above story is to-day widely believed among all Badawin 754
of Arabia, especially among the 'Ajman.

H.E. the Shaikh of Kuwait on 28th March, 1935, described how, 754
among the Badawin, women, more especially when there were two 832
wives, often tried to buy spells to keep their husbands' love. Such spells often succeeded so well as eventually to kill the man by the violence of their action. It was necessary for a successful spell that the wife should get a hair from her husband's head or beard when he was asleep, and give it to the spell-weaver. The latter put it in a concoction to be drunk by the man.

'Ali al Shuwairibat, famous Shaikh of the Birzan section of the Braih, Mutair (Wasil), had a spell put on him by his adoring wife somewhere in February 1935. The spell made him love her so greatly that it slowly killed him, it is said. He was brought into Kuwait on 21st March, 1935, in a dying condition. Shaikh Ja'alan, his cousin, and the man who brought him in, came and saw me and told me the whole story. 'Ali al Shuwairibat died on 14th April, 1935, after having tried in vain to get a local woman spell-breaker to cure him. He had refused to take my advice at first and see Dr. Mylrea of the American Mission, though actual symptoms suggested that he was suffering from galloping consumption. He later did see Mylrea, who confirmed that the man had advanced phthisis, but refused to be treated properly. He preferred the spell-breaker. 'Ali's wife was later killed by his brother, in spite of her having taken refuge in the tent of Bin Sa'ud's Commandant of Sariya at Hafar al Batin. The accusation against her was that she had cast a spell on her husband and caused his death.

A very grave but curious case of *sahar* came under my personal 754
notice at Kuwait on 26th March, 1936, and was all the more remarkable because the chief actor was Mr. A, one of the most enlightened and well-read persons, who had always shown himself to be a most educated, fair and responsible man and, to my certain knowledge, had always been against all forms of witchcraft, tyranny and slavery, and had often told me of the number of slaves he had freed, and of his steady efforts to put down even domestic slavery.

Apparently in this case the superstition which is always deeply inherent in every Arab mind, and the belief that he had got hold of a

Sex Indulgence

834 removes the *burqa* or mask from his bride's face on the first night.
291 She invariably tries to keep it on for about ten days or so out of modesty. His Majesty Bin Sa'ud, however, told the writer that he had had, he supposed, some four hundred wives during his life, but had never seen the face of any one of them. He presumably referred to his many Badawin brides, whom he married usually for a night or two, and then divorced them. This is a custom common among important shaikhs, and involves no disgrace at all to the girl or to the
586 man. Should a child result from these one-or-two-night marriages, the shaikh or big man gives the mother a salary till the child is four or five years old, and then the child is taken away from the mother and placed in the father's house. During this nursing period the mother must not marry. If she does, the child is at once taken away and given to a wet nurse. The Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, Al Khalifah princes regularly go in for such alliances among their Badawin subjects, but usually take away at an early age any children that may be born.

515 Both man and woman must have a complete bath after sexual
833 intercourse. This is a precept of religion, and the wildest Badawin must conform to this rule. Even though only a small bowl of water may be available, the whole body must be washed all over.*

841 During her monthly periods a woman is forbidden to have inter-
515 course with her husband for full seven days. When the menstrual period is over, a woman is unclean until she washes all over; this is called "washing her hair" (*ghussal al ras*).†

833 During Ramadhan (the annual thirty-day fast) sexual intercourse is forbidden by day, but not by night.

It is no exaggeration to say that sexual intercourse is loved by the ordinary Arab above all pleasures in the world. It is the one pleasure common to rich and poor alike, and the one moment of forgetfulness in his daily round of troubles and hardships that Badawin or townsman can enjoy. Men and women equally love the act, which is said to keep man young, "just like riding a mare".

The Arab seems to possess strength above the average for sexual

* Prayer of a woman after sexual intercourse when performing ablutions: *A ashi ala Muhammad wa ali Muhammad nawaid aghsil an il janabi fi hadha al ma al juri lurbit 'Illah ta'ala.*

† When a girl reaches womanhood, she is said to be "Now washing her head".

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purposes, as can be seen from the large number of men of eighty years 833
and over who still continue to marry and produce children. Haji Hillal bin Faja'an al Mutairi, the famous Kuwait pearl merchant, married the last of his thirty-two wives at eighty-five, and got two boys and three girls by her. His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud told Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim al Subah (according to the latter's statement to me), that the most wonderful experience of his life and that above all things worth living for had always been "To put his lips to the woman's lips, his body on her body and his feet on her feet".

A Badawin bride will show great modesty on "the first night", 834
and will make no effort to uncover her face, head or body. The husband must not ask her to do this, for such an act would be most immodest, and might lay her open to the suspicion in her husband's eyes of previous immoral leanings.

The man's role is to plead with her first, and when she refuses, gives a negative shake of her head, or hangs her head in silence, he is entitled to use force, and himself to remove her *burqa* and various parts of her clothes. She does not resent her husband's doing this but she must show proper modesty by pretending to resist with all her might.

A woman who suckles two children of opposite sexes, one her 608
own and the other the child of another, makes those children blood 853
brother and sister. They can never marry each other, and the boy throughout his life can look upon the face of the girl so nursed with him. They have become foster brother and sister. For example, 'Abdullah al Mubarak al Subah is foster brother of the daughter of a Rashaida woman, the wife of one of the shaikh's *fidawis*, by name Abu Hadida. I know both personally, and though 'Abdullah is the son of the late Ruler of Kuwait, he treats the Rashaida girl in true foster-brother fashion, quite charming to see, and often goes in spring to camp with her father and mother, and is on the friendliest of terms with his foster sister.

A woman's breast is known as *daid* (plu. *dadd*, dual *daidain*).

A maiden's breast is *nuhaid* (two breasts are *nuhaidain*).

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The Virgin Bride

Chap. XIII

Seven days before her marriage the unmarried girl is taken in hand by a special woman who is told off to wash her, clean her, attend to her hair, garments, anointing and the like. This friend's principal duty is to remove all superfluous hair from the prospective bride before the wedding night. k 583 302

When the husband "goes in into his wife" (*yudkhul'alaiha*) it is considered good form among the Badawin for the young girl to struggle with her husband and try and save her virginity. She screams and cries out and fights him, sometimes for several hours. It is also considered quite the thing and not indelicate, for the female relations to listen to such struggles and screams from outside the tent (or door, in the case of townsfolk). In Basra and other big towns this custom has gone out of fashion, but it is practically universal elsewhere. B 585 833

Among the middle and poor classes in Kuwait so great is the pride felt by a young wife in having preserved her virginity till the day of her marriage, that it is the custom for the husband after cohabitation to take out the bedsheet to the bride's male and female relations, and display it to them, calling out in pride and pleasure *bayath Allah wejhkum, hafathtu bintkum tammam* or "God whiten your faces, you have indeed kept your daughter pure". k 585

If a young wife should have already lost her virginity, whether innocently and naturally, or by artificial means, there is great trouble for her at marriage. It means that she can show no bloodstained sheet. Her husband is filled with deep suspicion and jealousy and may hand her back to her parents, saying "I do not want your daughter, she is no virgin. Look at the white sheet". This rather gruesome test of a girl's innocence leads, of course, to many subterfuges, such as her cutting herself, or smearing a little chicken's blood on the sheet to satisfy the husband. The danger of such a trick is obvious, however, as husbands are on the look out. An unfortunate girl who fails to pass the test is often taken away and killed by her male relatives to vindicate the honour of the family. Sometimes a young husband who has decent feelings and a good heart will himself save his bride even though he has been deceived, and will devise some stratagem. This is especially the case when the girl pleads the law of *dakhâla*: *Dakhilak hafathni ya fulan*. I have known personally of one such case, the man k 585 684

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

752 splints on he packs the broken limb with a concoction of barley flower, salt and eggs. After the expiration of some twenty-five days the bandage is loosened and the splints removed. Whilst the bone is setting the patient feeds on *leben* (sour milk) or camel's milk only. He must not eat dates or sweet things. He must also plug up both nostrils.

Wounds.—A small wound is known as a *nawdh*.
A bad or large one is known as a *jarah*.
A wounded man is known as a *sawib*.

As related above, certain scents (*rika*) or smells harm the wound, and open it up again. A man, therefore, who is suffering from a wound or broken bone is always placed on the windward side of the tent, and he must keep his nostrils plugged up. As with fractures, sweet dishes and food must be avoided, otherwise the wound will fester. Particularly harmful is the close approach of a man who has had [841] sexual intercourse and has not as yet had time to wash himself. [838] Similarly, a menstruous woman is a danger. Both are unclean, *najis*, and so are harmful.

Certain smells are not considered harmful, such are:

(*a*) Smoke from burning camel manure (*jalla*), used universally when making coffee.
(*b*) Tobacco smoke.
(*c*) Smell of the tar concoction they put on camels for mange (*jarab*).
(*d*) The smell of roasting coffee and food generally.

In peaceful times the urine of small children is sometimes applied to wounds, as a sort of antiseptic wash. On a *ghazzu* or raid, the companions of a wounded man will wash his wounds with their own urine for the same reason. But to gain the best results it must be urine of young heroes, not of elderly men.

[876] The wounded man is greeted with such expressions as, *Allah i ad'adak*—*Allah yiba'ad a sharr an ak*—*Allah yanik al a'afiak*, etc.

Snake Bites.—When a person is bitten by a snake which is known to be poisonous the following precautions must be immediately taken:

(1) The spot bitten must be deeply cut with a knife and blood made to flow.
(2) Two tourniquets must be applied to the limb (arm or leg) above where the snake has bitten the person.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

593 a family to each other, the way that old and feeble members of a previous generation are cared for without question or complaint, the unquenchable cheerfulness that no misfortune or discomfort can dampen, are a pleasure to recall. The same poverty that makes polygamy impossible forces the women to be partners in all the activities of the household. There are no secluded women in this community, and the result is a comradeship and mutual helpfulness and unashamed love between a man and his wife that are beautiful to see. They share the same poverty and the same hardships. Together they watch probably two-thirds of the children that come into the home sicken and die. Bedouin families are not large, but that is not because the number of children born is small. Bedouin women also follow their husbands in war and manage the commissary department. In times of necessity they take up weapons themselves and fight.

593
562

834 As might be expected, the standards of morals are far higher than in other parts of Arabia. An unaccompanied girl caring for her sheep out in the desert is safe in that country of poverty and equality, of freedom and simplicity. We came from Abu Jifan once, a whole caravan of us, to Hasa, a distance of three days' journey, and from among the Bedouins that were congregated in the neighborhood of the wells of Abu Jifan a girl came along to Hasa for treatment. She rode at a distance of half a mile from our caravan all the distance to Hasa and encamped by herself each of the three nights that we were out. Not all of the men of our caravan were Bedouins. Some were townsmen, and camel-men at that, with talk as foul as might be expected from birds of passage of that variety. The first night there was some remark about the girl off there by herself, the exact import of

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

which I was glad not to understand, but one of the 834
Bedouin youngsters who were with us flared back at the townsman with remarks that reduced him immediately to unconditional surrender. Every noon and every night the boy took her some of our rice and bread, and she accompanied this men's caravan, entirely alone, till we arrived in the city. I remember that same boy's earnest and simple cordiality as he congratulated one of his warm friends on her recent marriage. "May God increase your prosperity, your camels and your children."

It is interesting to observe the fundamental economic 577
conceptions in a community as primitive as that of the 675
desert. Contracts are sacred in Arabia, as in the West. The guest and his host are bound by a contract the terms of which are perfectly understood by both parties and are practically never violated. Many of these Bedouins enter into contracts to dive at the opening of the diving season in Bahrein, and one never hears of such a contract being broken. There is little occasion for the making of contracts in the desert, but even at the price of personal loss, a contract entered into in good faith must be carried out.

The Bedouin's conception of property, however, differs 421
from ours considerably. To say that it is communistic is to exaggerate, but there is certainly a stronge tinge of communism about it. Property, that is to say what the [556]
earth affords in the way of food, shelter and clothes, is of value because it sustains human life. The food, the clothes and the houses that the Bedouin's world can produce, are never enough to go around. He considers them valuable simply as they minister to human need. In the cases property comes to be regarded as sacred, much as it is in the West. Beautiful houses are admired and

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

The Welcome

in front of my tent, everything is ready to give me welcome. Salim stands alone in front of the tent, and answers my *salám 'alaikum*, for it would not do for his womenfolk to appear in the presence of my hired driver and the shaikh's *fidáwi*, Sa'ud. They can, however, be seen discreetly peeping from their tent.

My goods and chattels are next unpacked, and I proceed to get things shipshape. Whilst Jawad is putting together my camp bed, and opening up my bedding, coffee is brought and served.

As soon as the coast is clear, and the menfolk are safely ensconced in their tent, in creeps the gentle-eyed and sweet-voiced Amsha to bid me welcome in the reception portion of my black goat-hair tent. She walks in gracefully, and in her low contralto voice bids me, "Al guwa ya Abu Sa'ud" (Strength to you, O father of Sa'ud), the usual salutation among the womenfolk. "'Allah i gauichi ya Um Hussa" (God give you strength, O mother of Hussa) I reply, and then follows a host of welcoming sentences, such as, "How are you? How is Um Sa'ud? What news of the Khatuna (the wife)? and Sa'ud and Zahra (my children) how are they? Well, well, I hope. What is doing in Kuwait, and what news of rain?" etc. Amsha is followed by Maneira, the Mutairiyah, helper in the house, and Hussa, Amsha's daughter of fifteen (recently veiled to show she is now a woman and of marriageable age). Then the daughters of Dhurwaihi the herdsman, and of Maziad, the Dhafiri, and last of all comes coal-black little Mubarak, the negro slave's little boy—Barruk they call him in terms of endearment. The other little curly-headed boy, Marzuk or Mzairik, his brother, is still with the lambs a quarter of a mile away, and so is Hamud, Maneira's small son.

The women, led by Amsha, sit round me in a circle, all asking after me and all wanting to know something. Little Hussa, whom I have known since she was seven years old, encouraged by her mother, comes and sits by my side after holding up her *burga* a moment for me to kiss her dimpled mouth. She has mother's permission to do this, even though she is now fifteen and a grown woman, for have I not known her since she was a little child? After this preliminary, she retires again and sits by her mother's side, keeping that silence which all well-behaved Badawin children maintain when their elders are present. Only shy little Barruk comes up

The Badawin's Code

Chap. III 577

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his tent neighbour (*qasir*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*dhiafa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafiq*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wejh* and *dakhala*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*chassib*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, [721] and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyah*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all 157 charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of [855] teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yurgud wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male 562 society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate 834 families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most 521 dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked 558

1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

834 removes the *burqa* or mask from his bride's face on the first night.
291 She invariably tries to keep it on for about ten days or so out of modesty. His Majesty Bin Sa'ud, however, told the writer that he had had, he supposed, some four hundred wives during his life, but had never seen the face of any one of them. He presumably referred to his many Badawin brides, whom he married usually for a night or two, and then divorced them. This is a custom common among important shaikhs, and involves no disgrace at all to the girl or to the
586 man. Should a child result from these one-or-two-night marriages, the shaikh or big man gives the mother a salary till the child is four or five years old, and then the child is taken away from the mother and placed in the father's house. During this nursing period the mother must not marry. If she does, the child is at once taken away and given to a wet nurse. The Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, Al Khalifah princes regularly go in for such alliances among their Badawin subjects, but usually take away at an early age any children that may be born.

515 Both man and woman must have a complete bath after sexual
833 intercourse. This is a precept of religion, and the wildest Badawin must conform to this rule. Even though only a small bowl of water may be available, the whole body must be washed all over.*

844 During her monthly periods a woman is forbidden to have inter-
515 course with her husband for full seven days. When the menstrual period is over, a woman is unclean until she washes all over; this is called "washing her hair" (*ghussal al ras*).†

833 During Ramadhan (the annual thirty-day fast) sexual intercourse is forbidden by day, but not by night.

It is no exaggeration to say that sexual intercourse is loved by the ordinary Arab above all pleasures in the world. It is the one great pleasure common to rich and poor alike, and the one moment of forgetfulness in his daily round of troubles and hardships that Badawin or townsman can enjoy. Men and women equally love the act, which is said to keep man young, "just like riding a mare".

The Arab seems to possess strength above the average for sexual

* Prayer of a woman after sexual intercourse when performing ablutions: *A sali ala Mohammad wa ali Mohammad rawaid aghsil an il janabi fi hadha al ma al fari barkat 'Illah ta'ali.*

† When a girl reaches womanhood, she is said to be "Now washing her head".

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Exclamations

Chap. IX

PRETTY CUSTOMS AND EXPRESSIONS AMONG WOMEN

B 192

(*a*) *Expressions of astonishment* (at seeing or hearing something startling).

Ya kabdi kabda—Oh! my liver. (Especially 'Ajman women.)
Ya galbi galba—My heart of hearts. ('Ajman women.)
Yummah!—Oh Mother!
Ybbah!—Oh Father!

Men have one very common expression, "'Alláh" pronounced with a long drawl on the final "a". This when they have seen or heard something really surprising or wonderful.

(*b*) *Expressions of affection.*

Ba'ad aini aini—Oh my eyes, my eyes.
Ba'ad galbi galbi—My heart, my heart.
Ba'ad ruhi ruhi—My soul, my soul.

(*c*) *Woman's expression of impatience.*

Ya waili waila—E.g. "Come here Nura, the English lady wants to speak to you, why don't you hurry you foolish one, *ya waili waila*, what is the matter with you!"

(*d*) When the head of the house, or a son, returns from a long journey or from the pearl-banks, the woman of the house hangs up on a pole, with a cross-piece to it, one of her best and most brilliantly coloured *thaubs*. Among townswomen, this is hung up on the roof of the house, for the world to see. In the case of Badawin women in the desert the pole is placed in front of the tent. This custom is almost similar to that observed when an important shaikh or personage is expected to arrive at or pass a camp, and the Badawin ladies desire to show him welcome.

K 201 B 201

The custom is known as *raiyat*.

(*e*) Another pretty custom is to show to a guest at a tent, or big man passing by and staying for coffee, a baby that is just born, when for luck he gives into its little hand a rupee or riyal.

B 574

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The statement often made that a bride never shows her face to her Arab husband is not exactly correct. As often as not the husband forcibly

B 834 291

Virile Greybeards

purposes, as can be seen from the large number of men of eighty years 833
and over who still continue to marry and produce children. Haji Hillal bin Faja'an al Mutairi, the famous Kuwait pearl merchant, married the last of his thirty-two wives at eighty-five, and got two boys and three girls by her. His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud told Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim al Subah (according to the latter's statement to me), that the most wonderful experience of his life and that above all things worth living for had always been "To put his lips to the woman's lips, his body on her body and his feet on her feet".

A Badawin bride will show great modesty on "the first night", 834
and will make no effort to uncover her face, head or body. The husband must not ask her to do this, for such an act would be most immodest, and might lay her open to the suspicion in her husband's eyes of previous immoral leanings.

The man's role is to plead with her first, and when she refuses, gives a negative shake of her head, or hangs her head in silence, he is entitled to use force, and himself to remove her *burqa* and various parts of her clothes. She does not resent her husband's doing this but she must show proper modesty by pretending to resist with all her might.

A woman who suckles [illegible] children of opposite sexes, one her 608
own and the other the [illegible]ter, makes those children blood 853
brother and sister. Th[illegible] never marry each other, and the boy throughout his life [illegible] took upon the face of the girl so nursed with him. They have become foster brother and sister. For example, 'Abdullah al Mubarak al Subah is foster brother of the daughter of a Rashaida woman, the wife of one of the shaikh's *fidawia*, by name Abu Hadida. I know both personally, and though 'Abdullah is the son of the late Ruler of Kuwait, he treats the Rashaida girl in true foster-brother fashion, quite charming to see, and often goes in spring to camp with her father and mother, and is on the friendliest of terms with his foster sister.

A woman's breast is known as *daid* (plu. *dida*, dual *daidain*).

A maiden's breast is *nahaid* (two breasts are *nahaidain*).

The Hukra Make Themselves Welcome

434 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
361 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
253 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[122] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

221 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about
233 the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, *therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a* joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

651 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi
648 Arabia, the Hukra pay *khuthkah wa mandhal*, consisting of gifts of
451 young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *qabb* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *qabb*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

736 Kuwait is definitely the pivot for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of those daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah-Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MS I Kuwait
Reference MS
Monitoring

seeks to passers-by. Their moral code, however, is high, and quite different in this respect from some of their Iraq riverain neighbours, the settled Ma'adan or marsh tribes.

HISTORY OF THE MUNTAFIQ*

The tribal league, which may be said roughly to occupy the Euphrates from Chabaish to Darraji and the Shatt al Gharraf as far north as Kut al Hai, is known as the Muntafiq. The link between the units of which it is composed is of the loosest kind, being no more than a common recognition of the paramount authority of the Sa'adun. This family, which claims descent from the Prophet and is therefore related to the Sharif of Mecca, emigrated from the Hijaz to Mesopotamia in the early part of the sixteenth century. According to local tradition, the southern borders of the 'Iraq were held towards the close of the 'Abbasid period by two large tribal groups, the Bani Malik (in the dialect pronunciation Bani Malich) in the Shamiyah, under Ibn Khumaibah and the 'Ajwad further north on the Gharraf, under the Al Wadhal. The name of the first ancestor of the Sa'adun who approached their territories is generally given as Shabib. It is said that his son, Mani, took to wife a daughter of the ruling house of the Bani Malik and was presently involved in a feud between that tribe and the 'Ajwad. The scale turned in favour of the latter. The Bani Malik were defeated with considerable loss in a battle in which Mani was himself killed, and forced to make their escape into Najd, taking with them Mani's son, Shabib, who was the grandson of their own shaikh. After three years of exile, they were reinforced by some sections of the 'Uneiba, one of the more powerful tribes of Central Arabia, and felt themselves strong enough to take revenge upon their rivals. Legend relates that Shabib ibn Mani came up to spy upon the camping grounds of the 'Ajwad, whom he found at the wells of Safwan, a well-known watering-place on the borders of what is now Kuwait territory. On his way back he took note of the stages of his journey and returned to Najd with a careful report of every halting-place, Wird, 'Arib, Fallahah, Qirb al Ma (water; waterless, stony land, near

* The word is correctly written with a *qaf*, Muntafiq (not Mantafiq), from 'intifaq, agreement. Pronounced Mintafik.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

521 about. Yet gossips they are, and expert in tearing others' reputations.
658 Many a desert tragedy has resulted from too glib a tongue. Ordinary sexual matters are discussed before small children with a frankness
864 and simplicity which modern educationists might approve, but which an English person may find at times embarrassing. The bearing of their young by camels, mares and ewes is not only an everyday topic, but mothers will take their children to watch the progress of such events, alongside their menfolk.

837 On the whole, Badawin women are extremely moral, though they might readily succumb to temptation were it to come their way. Fortunately it does not.

They go in for love affairs, of course, and married women are not above falling desperately in love with other men than their husbands. A woman's only hope in such a case (unless her man happens to be her first cousin) is to tell her husband the whole truth, and beg him to divorce her. This happens fairly often among the rank and file, though not among the senior ladies of the tribe or the shaikh's wives. Sir Richard Burton has said somewhere that among Badawin women who were separated from their menfolk during long absences in the desert when at war, abnormal and unnatural living was not uncommon. This I think a libel, or at least a grave exaggeration.

THE DAILY ROUND OF A BADAWIN FAMILY—"AN AUTUMN STUDY"

132 Time, Early November; Place, Wafra, 30 miles from the sea in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.

[342] The tent is pitched on a slight rise in the ground, so that if rain
512 comes the water will not flood the interior. Everyone is busy from earliest dawn to nightfall, especially the women and girls. A little rain has fallen, the first for eight months, and grass has just started sprouting in the hollows. Both camels and sheep are thin and scarcely able to walk any distance. The summer has been a terribly severe one. More rain is urgently needed, else the grass that has come up will wither again. The head of the family has ridden off on his mare the previous evening to see if better grazing exists 10 miles away. He will not be back till sunset to-day.

000 At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the *'adhan* (call to prayer),

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins 1324

837 Again, as in the desert, immorality is practically unknown among
684 unmarried girls. Married women on the contrary often indulge in clandestine intrigue. The penalty for immorality is death to the woman if she is found out. The woman's brothers and cousins always appear more concerned about their sister's honour than the father is, and if vengeance is to be carried out it is usually the brothers and cousins who track the woman down. As excuse they plead that they could not hold their heads up in tribal *majlis* if they had a sister living in dishonour. Marriage with the man who has led her astray is the only method that will save the girl's life. Even then the seducer must pay *hashm* or honour-money to satisfy the girl's relatives. A strange man sometimes takes the place of the seducer and can get the girl off punishment by marrying her, but this is not common. *Fasl* or *'idiyah* is the term given to blood money. Among the Iraq *Ma'adán* (marsh) tribes a girl-relative of a murderer is nearly always given to the brother or son of the murdered person, the idea being that a child from the union of two enemy houses allays any hatred that might remain.

595 Among the Arab tribes of Iraq, as opposed to the *Ma'adán* (marsh-men), a man sets up a special tent or mat shelter called a *hanfa* for his wife to be taken to immediately after marriage. This is close to his house or tent as the case may be, and corresponds to a honeymoon tent. After the bride is taken to this *hanfa* by her women, the husband, arrayed in his best garments, is conveyed there by his men friends and consummates the marriage. The woman remains a prisoner in the *hanfa* for seven days. The man, on the contrary, may come out and receive visitors in his *madhif* or nearby guest-tent. On the eighth day the woman comes out of her *hanfa*, goes into her new home and takes charge of the household duties. The custom of setting up the *hanfa* tent applies only if the girl has never been married before. If she be a widow she goes straight to her husband's tent.

LOVE

831 I have often been asked if love, as we know it, exists among the
595 Badawin. I have unhesitatingly replied that it does. The fact that a man is permitted to take more than a single wife has nothing to do with the matter. Indeed, it is rare to see a Badawin with more than

CHAPTER XIII

Morality

There is no immorality, as we know it, among the desert tribes. There is, of course, plenty of marrying and giving in marriage, and as I have said, divorce is so easy that a woman often has six or seven husbands in her lifetime, and a man always as many wives as he can afford, provided he confines himself to four at a time. Prostitutes are unknown among the Badawin, and adultery is punishable with death.

Friendships between men and women, on the other hand, exist, and are recognised, especially if the parties are of the same tribe and are related, for example my friend Shaikh Thuwainan Abu Sifra of the Mu'aba section of the Mutair, was a friend of Muthi, wife of Falah bin 'A'amir, also of the Mu'aba. Every Badawin, of course, is aware that immorality exists in the big towns, and this is one of the main reasons why he despises the townsman.

Unfortunately a Badawin man up from the distant desert sometimes finds his way to the prostitute quarters when he visits towns such as Mecca and Madina, Jiddah, and Kuwait. This has resulted in the spread of syphilis and venereal disease among the tribes.

In Wahhabi-land proper (i.e. Sa'udi Arabia, excluding the Hijaz), no prostitute is tolerated even in the towns, let alone among the tribes, but I am told that there is nevertheless a good deal of clandestine immorality.

It is curious but true that if you discuss the question of morals with well-informed Najd Badawin, they will always tell you that certain great shaikhly families of the desert, especially in the north, have always had rather loose morals, while certain others stand out for their good morals and generally high tone. For instance, the well-known shaikhly house of Al Sha'alan (Rowala) as well as that of the Hawaitat, Beni Sakhr (both Trans-Jordan), and Shammar Jarba (Iraq), are all said to be pretty lax where women are concerned, and conversely Al Hadhal (Amarat), the Dushan (Mutair) and the Hamidda ('Utaiba)

29: Glubb--3 G-3 (ca.1936) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

651 Until about 1930, the Sulubba paid regular
724 tribute to all the Beduin sheikhs for pro-
643 tection. This did not, however, safeguard them
187 from continual petty pilfering, beatings and insults. Beduin travelers or raiders invariably called at Sulubba tents if they could find them, and demanded food and hospitality. The Beduin, who is normally a model of sedateness and reserved decorum among strangers, exhibited the worst aspects of his character in a Sulubba camp. He shouted, bullied, cursed, and swaggered in a manner sometimes shameful. He demanded the best food, cursed his host, complained of everything, ate all he could and then demanded more food to take with him as supplies for his journey. The Sulubba cowered and whined. Long oppression has indeed made them very low class. The ingratiating whine in which they address the Beduin as "Ya Amaimi," "Oh my little uncle," makes one ashamed of human nature!

*637 Prostitution is reputed to be widespread among
644 the women. Whether or not this statement is too sweeping, there can be little doubt that most of them have a very low standard of morals, and are frequently sought by Beduins for immoral purposes. This traffic can scarcely be unknown to their husbands and brothers, but they seem too debased to protest. While there is a good deal of immorality among the Beduins themselves, such offences are kept strictly secret, and any woman creating a scandal is likely to be murdered. Only the Sulubba seem to be shameless in this respect.

324 The Sulubba are par excellence the children of
[illegible] the desert. Every Sulubbi is nicknamed by the Beduins "Abu al Khala" or "Father of the empty spaces." If the Beduin, compared to the townsmen, is a hardy traveler at home in the great desert, he is but a pampered tenderfoot compared to the Sulubba. Often in summer, when the great Beduin

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B 515 K 515 effect by turning the lips saffron-red. This is more commonly used by townswomen than by their Badawin sisters.

DRESS FOR THE HAJ

K 785 B 786 Just as the man wears the *'izār*, a white loin cloth and white 292 292 shoulder wrap when performing the pilgrimage, all Arab women must wear a special costume* when they enter the precincts of Mecca on pilgrimage. This consists of

(a) Green *sirwāl* (pantaloons).
(b) Green *shaul* (muslin over-dress).
(c) Green *dishdāsha* (frock).
(d) Black *'abba*.
(e) *Milfa* (veil).

K 785 When a woman, especially a townswoman, is in mourning she also wears green clothes.

HENNA AND ITS USES

B 302 K 302 The use of black henna (*sawwar*) for the soles of the feet and hands, and red henna (*hinna*) for the tips of the fingers and toes is universal among *hadhar* townswomen. The Badawin girls use only red henna and then only to decorate their hands, finger nails and toe nails. They do not decorate the rest of their feet. Usually the henna is applied three times, so as to get the right shade. The henna is powdered and mixed with water till a fairly liquid paste is made. It is then applied very thickly and carefully, with a wooden stick, on the hands or feet in accordance with the pattern desired. It is then allowed to dry quickly in front of a fire until the paste cracks and falls or is picked off. This is done three times, or four if a very dark colour is required.

Some women prefer that the henna markings should be black, especially for the feet. To arrange this, another paste is made from powdered lime (*nūra*) and powdered crystal ammonia (*shamūda*) and is applied over the orange henna markings. At once the orange mark-

K 841 B 841 * If a woman has her period when she enters the sacred precinct of Mecca to perform the Haj, then her pilgrimage is null and void, as she is considered unclean. Several Arab ladies of Kuwait have enquired from the lady doctor when about to go on the Haj, if she could give them medicine to delay periods when due.

Sex Indulgence

834 removes the *burqe* or mask from his bride's face on the first night.
291 She invariably tries to keep it on for about ten days or so out of modesty. His Majesty Bin Sa'ud, however, told the writer that he had had, he supposed, some four hundred wives during his life, but had never seen the face of any one of them. He presumably referred to his many Badawin brides, whom he married usually for a night or two, and then divorced them. This is a custom common among important shaikhs, and involves no disgrace at all to the girl or to the
514 man. Should a child result from these one-or-two-night marriages, the shaikh or big man gives the mother a salary till the child is four or five years old, and then the child is taken away from the mother and placed in the father's house. During this nursing period the mother must not marry. If she does, the child is at once taken away and given to a wet nurse. The Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, Al Khalifah princes regularly go in for such alliances among their Badawin subjects, but usually take away at an early age any children that may be born.

515 Both man and woman must have a complete bath after sexual
833 intercourse. This is a precept of religion, and the wildest Badawin must conform to this rule. Even though only a small bowl of water may be available, the whole body must be washed all over.*

841 During her monthly periods a woman is forbidden to have inter-
515 course with her husband for full seven days. When the menstrual period is over, a woman is unclean until she washes all over; this is called "washing her hair" (*ghassal al ras*).†

833 During Ramadhan (the annual thirty-day fast) sexual intercourse is forbidden by day, but not by night.

It is no exaggeration to say that sexual intercourse is loved by the ordinary Arab above all pleasures in the world. It is the one gross pleasure common to rich and poor alike, and the one moment of forgetfulness in his daily round of troubles and hardships that Badawin or townsman can enjoy. Men and women equally love the act, which is said to keep man young, "just like riding a mare".

The Arab seems to possess strength above the average for sexual

* Prayer of a woman after sexual intercourse when performing ablutions: *Ashhadu an la ilaha illa Allah wa ash Muhammad rasulu-llah, allahumma-ghfir li ma qaddamtu wa ma akhkhartu.*

† When a girl reaches womanhood, she is said to be "Now washing her head".

Wounds

782 splints on he packs the broken limb with a concoction of barley flower, salt and eggs. After the expiration of some twenty-five days the bandage is loosened and the splints removed. Whilst the bone is setting the patient feeds on *leben* (sour milk) or camel's milk only. He must not eat dates or sweet things. He must also plug up both nostrils.

Wounds.—A small wound is known as a *mwdh*.
A bad or large one is known as a *jerah*.
A wounded man is known as a *rewih*.

As related above, certain scents (*riha*) or smells harm the wound, and open it up again. A man, therefore, who is suffering from a wound or broken bone is always placed on the windward side of the tent, and he must keep his nostrils plugged up. As with fractures, sweet dishes and food must be avoided, otherwise the wound will fester. Particularly harmful is the close approach of a man who has had [141] [332] sexual intercourse and has not as yet had time to wash himself. Similarly, a menstruous woman is a danger. Both are unclean, *najis*, and so are harmful.

Certain smells are not considered harmful, such are:

(*a*) Smoke from burning camel manure (*jelle*), used universally when making coffee.
(*b*) Tobacco smoke.
(*c*) Smell of the tar concoction they put on camels for mange (*jerad*).
(*d*) The smell of roasting coffee and food generally.

In peaceful times the urine of small children is sometimes applied to wounds, as a sort of antiseptic wash. On a *ghazzu* or raid, the companions of a wounded man will wash his wounds with their own urine for the same reason. But to gain the best results it must be urine of young heroes, not of elderly men.

[676] The wounded man is greeted with such expressions as, *Allah i al'alah—Allah yibe'ad a sherr an ak—Allah yanik al a'ghah*, etc.

Snake Bites.—When a person is bitten by a snake which is known to be poisonous the following precautions must be immediately taken:

(*a*) The spot bitten must be deeply cut with a knife and blood made to flow.
(*b*) Two tourniquets must be applied to the limb (arm or leg) above where the snake has bitten the person.

not done. He must approach her through her father. He can and 584
does, however, propose in person to a widow or a divorced [587]
woman.

After marriage the Badawin takes his bride to the tent he has pre- 585
viously pitched for her, close to that of her father, and consummation takes place. Many are the curious eyes and ears which are concentrated on the bridal tent.

As with us, those chiefly interested in the marriage ceremony are the other women of the camp.

Slaves marrying go through the same ceremonies as the freeborn [586]
the master and mistress of the slave acting the part of the parents of the bridegroom: and as much interest is evinced in the marriage of one of their slaves as in that of one of the family.

The Badawin's love for cohabitation is well known, and as I have 73
said elsewhere, sex is to him the supreme joy of life. Both bride and bridegroom indulge riotously in this honeymoon period. So wildly passionate is their love-making that I have known of a man breaking two of his wife's ribs on the first night of their marriage. As soon as 592
the wife finds herself with child, she lets the other women know about it, and it becomes the occasion for much rejoicing. She continues cohabiting with her husband as a matter of course till just before the baby's birth.

DIVORCE

Divorce procedure is simplicity itself. The man need only say to 588
his wife before witnesses that he does not want her any more. He has to make the statement *three times* for it to be valid: *Ma arid ik, ma arid ik, ma arid ik*. No disgrace attaches to the woman, who takes the matter quite philosophically, and proceeds to look for another husband.

If the man divorces the woman, she keeps the *jahaz* he has given her, which is sufficient provision for her for a considerable time, or till she gets a second husband. It must not be forgotten that she has usually always invested her *jahaz* in buying a camel or some sheep and has thus become an owner of livestock.

The point to emphasise is that no disgrace whatsoever clings to 587
divorce, and if the girl is fair, or was the wife of a big shaikh, there is

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over the four feet, etc. Only at dawn do these women "spoil-sports" withdraw to the outer room, after locking the bride and bridegroom up in one sitting room together. Later, when the bridegroom craves to come out, they open the door and go in and wash the bride all over, change her clothes, and redress her for a fresh visit of the bridegroom. This takes place a couple of hours after (see Hamda's sister's marriage in Kuwait on 4th July, 1935).

Amaba, the pretty married daughter of Ibrahim al Muzaiyin of Riyadh, told me on 12th July, 1935, that the Arabs had a saying that: "A woman was like a *jirba* (leather bag) of dates; when full, she was useful in more ways than one, when empty she was of no further use and could be thrown away", referring to the uselessness of a woman who could no longer bear children. In throwing her away the husband casually said, *kafakki wa nafakki*, i.e. "You can go, but I keep my children you have had".*

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG IRAQ TRIBES

A bride's trousseau consists entirely of household effects: cooking utensils, pillows, cushions, blankets, *iqwa*, *lahaf*, bridal-bed and, of course, new clothing for herself. The bride never brings such things as a horse or mare to her husband, though I have heard Europeans say she does. Her purchase money is usually sent to her father by the prospective bridegroom a fortnight or month before the marriage. Among the Iraq tribes this money is almost invariably handed over to the daughter, with an additional sum from the father himself. Aided, of course, by her mother and female relatives, the daughter then converts the money into jewellery. The cost of an Iraq tribal girl is usually in the vicinity of Rs.200; the price of a shaikh's daughter varies, but does not as a rule run to more than Rs.1,000. As in the desert, a man if he possibly can always marries his cousin. She is supposed to be his from the day she is born. The Su'adun Shaikhs of the Muntafiq (Euphrates) often keep their female cousins single till the day of their death, in order to keep property in the family. It is an unpleasant habit, and is widely condemned by other Arabs.

* A woman who has been divorced may not re-marry till after three lunar months —so, as the Bedawin put it, *Min ba'd shahrik hamrar wa shahrik gamrar*. This is to ensure that she is not with child by the man who divorces her.

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CHAPTER X

Children

BIRTH

842 Every Arab woman's greatest desire in life is to have a child. She is brought up with this idea from childhood. The natural desire to become a mother is reinforced by the reproach attached to childlessness and by a woman's knowledge that she will be divorced if she does not produce a son and heir for her husband.

842 791 If she does not conceive soon after marriage, she often resorts to various herb concoctions made from the grasses of the field, and drinks these: frequently with ill result. The "wise" old women of every tribe are adepts in compounding draughts to stimulate fertility and also in preparing of "love philtres", for those who need them. They also claim to be able to interpret dreams. Most old women go in for this form of helping their younger sisters.

791 Fortune-telling is not uncommonly also practised by these old cronies, though in Wahhabi land it is considered sinful and is not openly pursued.

844 The average girl's strength at the birth of her first and subsequent children is quite phenomenal. I knew of a Mutairi girl, for instance, who came into hospital at Kuwait one evening to have her baby. The child was born at 2 a.m. and two hours later the girl wrapped up her child, slung it over her back, and in the momentary absence of the lady doctor, departed on foot to her people camped twenty miles away.

Among the shepherd tribes of Iraq women produce children while the tribe is on the march. Migration, of course, cannot stop. The woman drops behind, has her baby, at times with only one woman to assist her, and after washing it herself in clean sand, picks it up and follows the tribe. She knows she will be left behind, perhaps to die, unless she keeps up with the others. The recognised birth congratulation formula is *mubrukkin fi hal mawlud al Sa'ud*.

Birth of a Baby

Chap. X

A man cohabits with his wife until close on the birth of their child. 543
As soon as the baby is born, however, the mother becomes "unclean" 546
(*nagis* or *najis*) and the husband cannot go near her for forty days. This rule is carefully observed among all classes.

After a child is born, a very common method of treating the womb 546
is to pack it with common salt. This is a very painful operation, and results in great suffering later, for a thickening of certain tissues supervenes, with disastrous consequences. The Mission hospital authorities in Kuwait and Bahrain are never tired of preaching the evil of the practice, but with little result.

After the birth of a child Badawin women, and more especially Arab townswomen, resort to various drugs, etc., to reduce the size of the vagina to normal, or less than normal. This "pleases the husband", they say. Alum is the basic principal of the drugs employed. Zahwa, Shammari wife of 'Abdullah bin Mu'ad of the Abda,* told me this in April 1931 on one of my wife's and my many visits.

Many women, having had two or three children, dread to have 542
more, and my wife has frequently been asked both in the town and in the desert of Kuwait how they can prevent further conception. It is universally believed among them that European women know many methods of contraception, but are unwilling to divulge their secrets. Among Badawin generally, if a woman has difficulty in bearing 545
her child, a mare is brought in to her apartment or the portion of tent set apart for her; barley is then placed in her lap, and the mare is induced to eat. If the animal whinnies and eats, all is well, two or three rifle shots are fired at the same time, and the woman is thus given strength to bring forth.

It sometimes happens that immediately after birth the mother 544
becomes what the Badawin call *maddhabbal* (mad), and unable to speak.† This is considered a very dangerous state, and according to them will result in death unless she can be induced to speak. In such situations also, a mare is hastily sent for and brought to the woman's side and offered barley from her lap. If the mare eats, the woman's tongue is loosed and her reason returns. If not, according to the common belief, the woman is sure to die.

On 20th February, 1933, in Kuwait, my own mare was borrowed

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Averting Evil Eye

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At the birth of a child to a Badawin mother, a dagger, piece of steel, or even a needle or bodkin, must be placed in the cot or attached to the clothes of the baby. The mother cannot move the child without this piece of metal going with it. Iron or steel, is the thing that counts. Gold, etc., will not do. The idea is that it wards off the Evil Eye. The custom is universal among the Mutair, Dhafir, Shammar, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, and probably will be found to exist among all the desert tribes. B 844 763

A woman is said to be *hdmila* or *hdila* when she is pregnant. She is said to have *wuldar* or *shiref'ar* when the child is born. The term *shiraf* is always used for the unborn child. B 843

CIRCUMCISION

Among the Badawin circumcision is performed when the boy is between three and a half and seven years. B 304 762

The operation is usually done by one who has had previous practice. The day is looked upon as a family holiday, and according to a man's means, guests and neighbours are invited to a meal, best clothes are donned, and the women folk dance among themselves till a late hour, except the mother, who runs away (*tkhsal*) and hides herself. The boy is now a "proper Muslim".

The season for the circumcision ceremony is nearly always June (*al Sifari*) when the *kaus* or dry north-west wind is blowing. The wound is supposed to heal quickly then. If the sea is near by, the boy is encouraged to bathe, the salty nature of the water acting as an antiseptic.

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CHAPTER X

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This rule is carefully observed among all classes.

After a child is born, a very common method of treating the womb 5115
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After the birth of a child Badawin women, and more especially Arab townswomen, resort to various drugs, etc., to reduce the size of the vagina to normal, or less than normal. This "pleases the husband", they say. Alum is the basic principal of the drugs employed. Zahwa, Shammari wife of 'Abdullah bin Mu'ad of the Abda,* told me this in April 1931 on one of my wife's and my many visits.

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for the purpose. The mother lived, and her father personally thanked me for lending the mare and saving his daughter. In the absence of my mare a similar request for the loan of my horse was made (15th August, 1937). Unfortunately in this case the patient died.

The rights of a Badawin father over his children are absolute; the mother has practically no rights. Should a man divorce his wife, the sons usually go with the father and the girls with the mother. Should the children be infants, the mother keeps them until they can fend for themselves, and then the father comes and takes them away. (The age in the case of boys is eight.) This removal of a son by his father is the cause of much heartrending grief at times, but is universally practised.

The children thus taken away from their mother live with their father and are brought up by their stepmother. They have the right of visiting their own mother's tent at stated intervals, usually once a week. In a tribe camped together the hardship is not great, but when a man has married a woman from another tribe, the rule causes much unhappiness, as the woman usually goes back to her people, who may be several hundreds of miles away; and she rarely sees her children again.

Among the Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, etc., it is a common custom to have as wives two or three Badawin lasses at a time, who always remain camped with their own people. When a child is born to one of these desert-dwelling wives it is usually taken right away and brought up in the shaikh's household in Kuwait or Riyadh. It is not considered fitting that the offspring of one of the ruling family, even if the mother is of noble tribal birth, should be left to grow up in tribal surroundings. This feeling is particularly strong if the child is a boy.* As a matter of fact, in such alliances the wife is early divorced and pensioned off with a handsome pension. This marrying of tribal girls in addition to the "Queen", who is always a lady of the ruling family, is a normal and accepted practice among the ruling classes in Arabia. It is a method of showing honour to a tribe, and brings useful alliances in its train. Tribal shaikhs, on the other hand, usually content themselves with one wife.

* This does not run counter to the age-long custom among the nobility of Arabia of sending their sons into the desert to be brought up by the Badawin in order that they may acquire hardihood.

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Chap. X

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becomes what the Badawin call *mukhabbal* (mad), and unable to speak.† This is considered a very dangerous state, and according to them will result in death unless she can be induced to speak. In such situations also, a mare is hastily sent for and brought to the woman's side and offered barley from her lap. If the mare eats, the woman's tongue is loosed and her reason returns. If not, according to the common belief, the woman is sure to die.

On 20th February, 1933, in Kuwait, my own mare was borrowed

* Shammar tribe. † This epidemic is probably a form of hysteria.

Birth of a Baby

Chap. X

A man cohabits with his wife until close on the birth of their child. As soon as the baby is born, however, the mother becomes "unclean" (*najis* or *najis*) and the husband cannot go near her for forty days. This rule is carefully observed among all classes.

After a child is born, a very common method of treating the womb is to pack it with common salt. This is a very painful operation, and results in great suffering later, for a thickening of certain tissues supervenes, with disastrous consequences. The Mission hospital authorities in Kuwait and Bahrain are never tired of preaching the evil of the practice, but with little result.

After the birth of a child Badawin women, and more especially Arab townswomen, resort to various drugs, etc., to reduce the size of the vagina to normal, or less than normal. This "pleases the husband", they say. Alum is the basic principal of the drugs employed. Zahwa, Shammari wife of 'Abdullah bin Mu'ad of the Abda,* told me this in April 1931 on one of my wife's and my many visits.

Many women, having had two or three children, dread to have more, and my wife has frequently been asked both in the town and in the desert of Kuwait how they can prevent further conception. It is universally believed among them that European women know many methods of contraception, but are unwilling to divulge their secrets. Among Badawin generally, if a woman has difficulty in bearing her child, a mare is brought in to her apartment or the portion of tent set apart for her; barley is then placed in her lap, and the mare is induced to eat. If the animal whinnies and eats, all is well, two or three rifle shots are fired at the same time, and the woman is thus given strength to bring forth.

It sometimes happens that immediately after birth the mother becomes what the Badawin call *mukhabbal* (mad), and unable to speak.† This is considered a very dangerous state, and according to them will result in death unless she can be induced to speak. In such situations also, a mare is hastily sent for and brought to the woman's side and offered barley from her lap. If the mare eats, the woman's tongue is loosed and her reason returns. If not, according to the common belief, the woman is sure to die.

On 20th February, 1933, in Kuwait, my own mare was borrowed

* Shammar tribe. † This epithet is probably a form of hysteria.

Infant Care

Chap. X

Lattik	Sa'ada
Lebra	Sahibba
Mahara	Sarwa
Mandiya	Shaghra—('Ajwan) [mother's grandfather]
Marrawa	Shaikha
Mazkuna	Sidha
Midfal	Sifra
Mizwi	Sita—('Ajwan)
Nazzara	Sukra
Nidda	Tufaila
Nijada	Ubaida
Nijrana	Wadha
Nisra	Wassiyah
Nuzayah	Zahwa—(Shawwar)
Radifa	

OPERATIONS OF BIRTH

The birth of a Badawin baby is attended with as little fuss as the birth of a baby-camel. The infant is first and foremost bathed in a female camel's urine. As soon as possible afterwards, its eyes are rubbed over with antimony, to make them strong. All day long the baby is kept wrapped up in swaddling clothes, the arms being folded across the chest and bound there, and the legs tied close together at the knees and ankles. Before being swaddled the baby is laid flat on a square piece of black cloth covered with dry, powdered camel dung (formed into a dust). The baby is then wrapped up, and a little piece of black cloth is wound round its head to be replaced when it is about a month old by a cap which comes right down over both ears.

When the baby is being moved, it is invariably placed on a circular piece of leather (*nawal*).

When the mother moves about on her various duties, or if cutting brushwood, she carries her baby slung across her back in a leather hammock (*mijbidi*)*, the end-thongs of which are either passed round her forehead, or more often over one shoulder, the baby hanging down under her arm for warmth. On the march, the baby and hammock are placed with the mother in the *mahmar* (or woman's litter).

When the child is a few months old it is often slung in one of the

* Only 'Ajwan, Beni Hajir, Beni Khalid, 'Awazim, Zaab, Murra, Mawali, Mawali (Ajwad) do this. Other tribes do not carry babies in leather hammocks.

Averting Evil Eye

Chap. X

Tribal shaikhs, on the other hand, usually contract thousands with one wife. In Kuwait, for instance, the ruler's Queen is a lady of the Al Sabah. She is never divorced—such a thing would be a disgrace to the family as a whole. She remains the Shaikhah always. She magnanimously, however, allows the Shaikh Ibn Sabah to take three other tribal wives, to amuse himself with, and to change them as often as he likes, provided he does not bring them into the town of Kuwait itself. They must remain in the desert. In this way her pride is satisfied. She remains the Queen. Here is an object lesson to the West.

At the birth of a child to a Badawin mother, a dagger, piece of steel, or even a needle or boffkin, must be placed in the cot or attached to the clothes of the baby. The mother cannot move the child without this piece of metal going with it. Iron or steel, is the thing that counts. Gold, etc., will not do. The idea is that it wards off the Evil Eye. The custom is universal among the Mutair, Dhafir, Shawmar, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, and probably will be found to exist among all the desert tribes.

A woman is said to be *hdmila* or *hubla* when she is pregnant. She is said to have *wuldar* or *ahal'ar* when the child is born. The term *ahaw* is always used for the unborn child.

CIRCUMCISION

Among the Badawin circumcision is performed when the boy is between three and a half and seven years.

The operation is usually done by one who has had previous practice. The day is looked upon as a family holiday, and according to a man's means, guests and neighbours are invited to a meal, best clothes are donned, and the womenfolk dance among themselves till a late hour, except the mother, who runs away (*tinhash*) and hides herself. The boy is now a "proper Muslim".

The season for the circumcision ceremony is nearly always June (*al Sifari*) when the *bdrih* or dry north-west wind is blowing. The wound is supposed to heal quickly then. If the sea is near by, the boy is encouraged to bathe, the salty nature of the water acting as an antiseptic.

Among some Badawin the feasting of guests and neighbours goes on for the number of days that the boy has years, i.e. if he is six years

Circumcision Feasts

6 304 852 old, feasting goes on for six days, if three years then three days, and so on.

k 304 852 679 Among Najd town-dwellers and in Kuwait city the ceremony[1] is gone through with much more elaboration. Feasting and festivity continue for a full seven days before the actual ceremony. Women and girls seem to look upon the occasion as their particular feast. Every evening about 4 p.m. the women and children of the neighbourhood are invited by the mother and relatives of the boy to their house. Here refreshments, sherbet, coffee and sweetmeats are handed round, whilst singing, dancing and ululating go on. There are no men present, and any woman may dance as the spirit moves her. In Kuwait a band of some twenty-five negress minstrels, young and old, usually offer their services free, the entertainment being looked upon as a religious duty which brings luck in its train.

k 678 304 852 It is also not uncommon for half a dozen professional prostitutes to band together and come to the party unasked, to sing and dance and entertain the guests. Here again no fees are charged. The prostitutes believe that on such occasions they gain merit and favour from the Almighty by entertaining free of charge. The negress band and the gaily dressed prostitutes certainly give a dash of colour and gaiety to the proceedings and on these occasions no one, not even the most modest maiden, is shocked by the presence of her fallen sisters.

k 852 304 For seven days the entertainment and rejoicing continue, as a rule from about 4 p.m. to about 8 p.m. Then on the eighth day in the presence of the family circle only, the operator (in Kuwait he is known as *al Hindi*) arrives on the scene and with an ordinary razor cuts off the child's foreskin. His assistants are of course males, the father and one or two members of the family being the actual helpers. These assistants encourage the small boy to be brave and be "a man", and try to keep him cheerful to the end.

The mother as a rule goes off to a neighbour's house, as she cannot bear to see her son suffer. Apart from the mother, sisters, aunts and female slaves can be present, and one woman in particular acts as the child's comforter, as soon as the operation is over.

In 1933, whilst I was living in Kuwait, I was allowed to visit the house of our Muhammadan serving girl, on two occasions when the preliminary rejoicing and dancing were in full swing. It was very

[1] [The circumcision of a young boy -- Analyst]

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black tents, moving about by the aid of donkeys which seem to form their only visible means of support. These Iraq Kaliyahs are thieves, bad characters, fortune-tellers, are versed in the art of palmistry of sorts, and last but not least their women are in demand for performing the operation of "circumcision of female babies", a rite which is widely practised in Southern Iraq, and among the Muntafiq tribes of the Euphrates and Bani Tamim Arabs.

DESCRIPTION OF A SULUBBA DANCE

(seen on 3rd June, 1934, at Kuwait)

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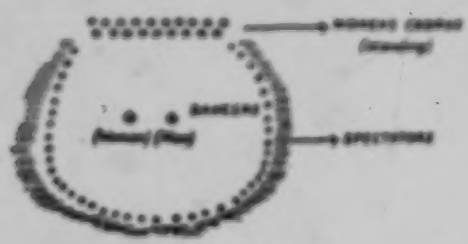
The dance took place in the Sulubba Encampment near Qasr Nasf just inside the Nasf Gate. The occasion was the three days' feasting preceding the circumcision of a male child. For two days dancing had taken place, but the third day was reserved for the best and biggest show.

The usual cross with half a woman's *shaul* hanging to it or draped over it was in its place over the tent which was rejoicing, a sign to all and everyone that a dance was to take place.

The chief performer and master of ceremonies combined was an elderly man whose child had just been circumcised. He entered the arena formed by Sulubbas male and female and other onlookers, waving a sword round his head and inviting the Sulubbi maidens and Sulubbi braves to come and join him. Presently, after marching round the human circle several times, there was a stir and from a



neighbouring tent a pretty young lass decked out in her festal garments (saffron, violet or green covered with her voile *shaul*), dashed into the circle, bare-headed and bare-faced with her tresses all undone

Come and Dance!

and blowing in the breeze. A pretty sight she was, for her hair was long and rich, and her face comely, and chin and neck tattooed all over in pretty patterns. The girl's appearance was the sign for her brother or husband to run into the circle and embrace her, lightly kissing her on the lips (a sort of sign of encouragement no doubt). The girl was then given a cane and the man, with several shrill war-whoops, started dancing before and away from her, all the time facing her, however. As the dance started, the choir consisting of a dozen Sulubbi women started a staccato shout, clapping their hands the while.

The dance was continued by other young men and maidens entering the ring and carrying on as above described. At times several men and women were in the ring together. There was nothing indecent about the behaviour of the dancers, except when the old man with the sword once or twice danced behind his partner in rather suggestive manner. He was the one exception to a perfectly decorous performance. Of the eight or nine maidens who danced, several were distinctly comely—two in particular had remarkably fine hair shining a golden red in the sun from constant treatment with henna. *Ye awajyil, ye awajyil* ("Come and dance"), was often repeated between dances by the tough old Master of Ceremonies.

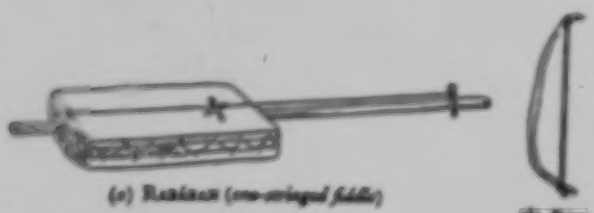
During the dance the girl appeared to act the following: She was pursuing her male dancing partner opposite, and trying to make him come to her. He from retiring in the first place, and acting the part of a shy lover, would eventually succumb to his lady's charms, and would start advancing and showing his admiration by his every movement. Next his girl would start retiring, having won her point, but should the admirer come too near or try and touch her, she would strike him lightly with her cane and force him to beat a retreat.

The man with the sword danced sometimes on one foot and sometimes on the other, but would suddenly start dancing up and down on both feet in rubber-like fashion. The girl danced as most Badawin women do, on the flat of both feet, jumping up and down with stiff legs, and advancing and retiring before her man. As she danced, she nodded her head vigorously, keeping time with her feet, in the direction of the man, but every now and then she varied it by swinging her tresses round and round her head by sideways and circular movements of her head. Throughout the dancing the girl never smiled, but

632 keps her lips tightly shut, and occasionally placed her hand over her
633 nose and mouth. If the male dancer approached her, as he did on several occasions in rather "loud" fashion, the girl struck him lightly with her cane as if to drive him back. A feature was the girl's rouged lips, and a bright saffron-coloured streak half an inch broad down the centre parting of her hair. They all had this, and it looked like saffron paint (probably strong solution of henna). The dance ended by the girl's brother rushing into the ring and covering his sister's head and face with a portion of her voile garment, and taking her away.

THE RABÁBAH

634 The *rabábah*, or Badawin guitar, was once universally used among the Badawin tribes of Arabia. The minstrels were men of an inferior tribe, or of the servant class, such as Sanas and the like. With the spread of Wahhabism and the rise of the fanatical 'Ikhwan in 1919, the decree went forth that the *rabábah* was a sign of sin, and it was



(a) Rabábah (one-stringed fiddle) (b) Bow

banned entirely. The Northern Shammar, Dhafir and 'Anizah tribes, who were scarcely affected by the puritan revival, still continued to use the *rabábah* freely, getting the servants and retainers to play for them, and with the collapse of 'Ikhwanism after the rebellion and defeat of Faisal al Duwish in 1930, listening to the *rabábah* and the singing of war and love songs by the Sana sections of the tribes, appears to be once again slowly taking hold. To-day, 1937, some of the Rashaida, Hirshan and 'Awazim are definitely taking to it again. The Sukhbha and Kauliyah (Gipsies of Iraq) have always used it, even in the days of ultra-Wahhabism, and perhaps this is why it was
634 considered the instrument of the low-born.
635 To accompany women and girls dancing, only a chorus of women
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purposes, as can be seen from the large number of men of eighty years 733
and over who still continue to marry and produce children. Haji Hilal bin Faja'an al Mutairi, the famous Kuwait pearl merchant, married the last of his thirty-two wives at eighty-five, and got two boys and three girls by her. His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud told Shaikh 'Abdullah al Salim al Subah (according to the latter's statement to me), that the most wonderful experience of his life and that above all things worth living for had always been "To put his lips to the woman's lips, his body on her body and his feet on her feet".

A Badawin bride will show great modesty on "the first night", 739
and will make no effort to uncover her face, head or body. The husband must not ask her to do this, for such an act would be most immodest, and might lay her open to the suspicion in her husband's eyes of previous immoral leanings.

The man's role is to plead with her first, and when she refuses, gives a negative shake of her head, or hangs her head in silence, he is entitled to use force, and himself to remove her *burqa* and various parts of her clothes. She does not resent her husband's doing this but she must show proper modesty by pretending to resist with all her might.

A woman who suckles two children of opposite sexes, one her 408
own and the other the child of another, makes those children blood 863
brother and sister. They can never marry each other, and the boy throughout his life can look upon the face of the girl so nursed with him. They have become foster brother and sister. For example, 'Abdullah al Mubarak al Subah is foster brother of the daughter of a Rashaida woman, the wife of one of the shaikh's *fidawis*, by name Abu Hadida. I know both personally, and though 'Abdullah is the son of the late Ruler of Kuwait, he treats the Rashaida girl in true foster-brother fashion, quite charming to see, and often goes in spring to camp with her father and mother, and is on the friendliest of terms with his foster sister.

A woman's breast is known as *daid* (plu. *didd*, dual *daidain*).
A maiden's breast is *nahaid* (two breasts are *nahaidain*).

Reference [illegible]

Infant Care

Latifa	Sa'ada
Lulua	Sahkha
Mahera	Sawra
Mariyha	Shaqha—('Ajman) Jemaiha's grand-daughter
Marzoua	
Mariyam	Shaikha
Mathi	Sidha
Mozal	Sitta
Nazzara	Sita—('Ajman)
Nasda	Sakwet
Najda	Tufaha
Najma	Ubaida
Nura	Wadha
Nazhyah	Wazzaiyah
Radiha	Zahwa—(Shawawra)

OVERHEARING OF NAMES

The birth of a Badawin baby is attended with as little fuss as the birth of a baby-camel. The infant is first and foremost bathed in a female camel's urine. As soon as possible afterwards, its eyes are rubbed over with antimony, to make them strong. All day long the baby is kept wrapped up in swaddling clothes, the arms being folded across the chest and bound there, and the legs tied close together at the knees and ankles. Before being swaddled the baby is laid flat on a square piece of black cloth covered with dry, powdered camel dung (formed into a dust). The baby is then wrapped up, and a little piece of black cloth is wound round its head to be replaced when it is about a month old by a cap which comes right down over both ears.

When the baby is being nursed, it is invariably placed on a circular piece of leather (*sawal*).

When the mother moves about on her various duties, or if cutting brushwood, she carries her baby slung across her back in a leather hammock (*mikhdi*)*, the end-thongs of which are either passed round her forehead, or more often over one shoulder, the baby hanging down under her arm for warmth. On the march, the baby and hammock are placed with the mother in the *mahmar* (or woman's litter).

When the child is a few months old it is often slung in one of the

* Only 'Ajman, Beni Hajir, Beni Khalid, 'Awazim, Enzi, Murra, Mawali, Mawaliq ('Ajwal) do this. Other tribes do not carry babies in leather hammocks.

swaddle bags with its head out. After this age the baby is practically never washed; and it is taken out of its swaddling clothes only at night and then for only short periods.

The idea underlying the swaddling clothes is firstly, to keep the baby quiet, and secondly, to make it grow strong and straight.

The baby is fed at any hour of the day and night, or whenever it cries. It is not immodest for a Badawin woman to feed her baby in

Plumb.

the presence of her mankind, or even of strange men; and I have often seen women to whom I have been talking, open their front garment and bring out a breast to suckle their infant.

BADAWIN NAMES

The Badawin frequently name men and places after parts of the human body. Some of the best-known examples are given below.

Places.

Al Sirra—"The Navel"; a hill near Kuwait.

Al Dibil—"The woman's breasts"; a hill in the Neutral Zone south of Kuwait.

Al Nubaibain—" he maiden's breasts"; two small twin hills in Kuwait.

Kaden al Afri—"The gazelle's nose"; a hill 40 miles north-west of Kuwait.

Dhala'at al Dhabe—"The Hyena's Mounds"; a group of low hills 25 miles south-west of Kuwait.

Men.

Zib Salman—"Dog's penis"; cognomen of Khalid al Hithlain, present Shaikh of the 'Ajman.

Ab 'al Kilab—"Father of Dogs"; cognomen given to Naif al Hithlain, late Shaikh of the 'Ajman.

Only the little Barrak comes up
to Amsha's side and cuddles up in her arms. She loves him almost more than her own daughter. She kisses him and fondles him, and allows him to put his head on her shoulder and gaze up at me with wide eyes. Amsha is pathetically fond of her two slave children. They are only five and three respectively. Such love and such tenderness would make the brains of those busybodies whirl, who talk so glibly of the cruelty and horrors of the slave problem. How is it done? The answer is simple. These babies, the sons of her stalwart slave, 'Abdullah* (brought originally from Rumia and married to a freed 'Ajman slave woman), call out every womanly instinct in Amsha. They are the offspring of her own property. They are born to prize and cherish. She even opens up her gown† and offers her breast to little Barrak who is fidgeting somewhat. "There, keep quiet, *ya hadaila* (little sweet one), will you," she says, "and let us hear news from Abu Sa'ud."

Presently Salim comes back again with the coffee-pot, and the special cups which he has brought back from Riyadh, little white and yellow-ochre ones, unknown among the people of Kuwait. With pride he once again offers me coffee. "The cups? Oh yes, they are from Riyadh. I brought them back for Um Sa'ud (my wife), when she returns from England." "The year has been a good one, *Al hamdu 'l Illah*," he proceeds. "The camels are fat and their humps are so round you wouldn't recognise them." "Nay, Abu Sa'ud", chimes in Amsha, "you would not know Farha except for her nose ring. She has such a big hump now that a saddle cannot be put on her. And congratulate us, thirty-six lambs have been born in the last ten days, and Zahra's (my daughter's) brown ewe which was a baby two years ago has had her first lamb also, her first-born, so sweet and soft. Run and fetch it, ya Hussa." The lamb is produced and much admired. Its wee tail is duly weighed in my hand to see if it has got any fat on it. "And now you must come and see our baby camel", and away I am taken by the womenfolk to the back of the tent where a dozen she-camels are standing. They have just come in from water, and are waiting to be milked and bedded down for the night. The baby-camel is next caught and brought to me. It is wonderfully tame, and holds

* He died the following year (1935) after returning sick from Mecca.

† If an Arab woman suckles her little slave child, that child can never be sold as a slave. It is henceforth free and her own.

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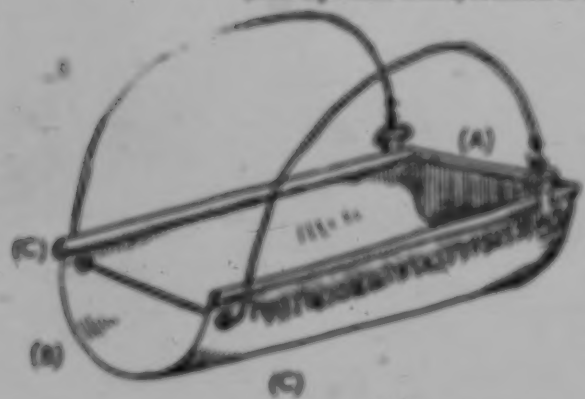
HAUDH

HARÁBA (child's hammock slung inside tent)

(child's portable cradle, common to the tribes)



a. Head, with decoration on outside.

b. Foot.

c. The holes through which passes a running rope that closes the cradle at foot when it is lifted.

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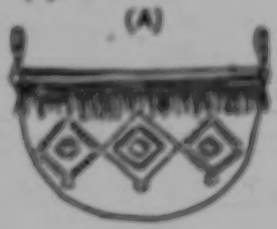

Outside decoration at A

492. treasures, her baby, etc., in a sort of comfortable cot. On the saddle itself is placed the woman's bedding, and hanging down on either side are her saddle-bags (*mizdwal*). The *mukur* is always made of pomegranate wood, as this can be bent into the necessary hoop shapes. Various patterns and variations of the *mukur* are used by different tribes.

[415] *Sakéro*—the woman's treasure box, containing her coffee, cardamom, saffron, tea, sugar, dyes, jewellery, trinkets, etc., etc.

Aibak (plural: *'aiyab*)—leather saddle-bags for storing dates.

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Women's Treasures

Chap. V

Miṭdwal—coloured saddle-bags for storing women's clothes, spare garments, coloured wools, etc. These are separate and hang on hooks on either side of the *maksar*, whereas men's saddle-bags are joined together and hang over the top of the saddle. The *miṭdwal*'s bag-tassels are half as long as those adorning men's saddle-bags. 415 492

'Adúl—large woollen saddle-bags for carrying rice, flour, sugar, etc.

Lahâf—cotton quilts, usually red.

Fihr—a volcanic stone resembling an ox-tongue in shape. Hard and black, used as a hammer for knocking in tent pegs.

Mirjahah—wooden tripod 4 ft. high, on which the skin is slung when making *leben*, or the carcase of a sheep which is to be skinned.

Samll (plural: *samlan*)—special skin for making *leben*, always a sheepskin.

Mukrash—bladder for storing butter, known as *masrab* by the 'Awazim.

Jirba (plural: *garab*)—Goatskin for carrying water.

Ráwi (plural: *ruwi*)—Camelskin for carrying water. (Known as *miṭáda* among the 'Ajman.)

Mahjan—wooden funnel for putting milk into skins

Jerâb—Bag made from skin of baby gazelle with a pattern on it in coloured dyes, used for carrying coffee in on the march.

Mattárih—hand loom (also *nattu*).

Misha—shuttle.

Natha—flat wooden piece for tightening threads.

Middrah—gazelle's horn for pulling down threads.

Maghṭal or *Mubbrah*—spindle.

Sarâr—The pair of sticks 8 inches long used to tie up the udders of a she-camel, e.g. *saru al naja* (an order indicating that the camel's teats should be tied up). Each stick is laid alongside two udders, and each udder is tied separately with a piece of woollen thread. This is to prevent calves drinking. Calves are only allowed to drink morning and evening. The camel has four udders. 233

Biriṭ (pronounced *brich*) and *Maghassal*—jug and basin (used only among *hadhar* or townsmen).

Al Haudh—a leather basin for watering sheep and camels. Three bent pieces of wood form the stand.

Al Dallu—small leather bucket (two kinds) used for drawing water from wells.

Miṭbah—Child's portable cradle, common to the tribes of Hasa. It is carried on the mother's back supported by thongs across her forehead, or else carried under her arm supported by thongs over the shoulder, according to which tribe she belongs to. The *miṭbah* is made out of one piece of leather. As the cradle is lifted the end where the child's feet lie is automatically closed by the running rope which passes through two holes one at each side (see diagram). The *miṭbah* is not 864

Skin Containers

854 used by the northern Badawin of Arabia, who carry their children on their shoulders or, when travelling, on their hips. The *miẓbah* is not to be confused with the *habába*.

Habába—Baby's hammock for use inside tent. It is slung between two tent poles. Especially favoured in the north.

262 *Hail*—cardamum seeds for putting in coffee.

Masmár—cloves, for putting in coffee.

Záfáran—saffron, for putting in tea and coffee.

492 *Shinkar*—hooks on each side of the *maksar* to hang women's saddle-bags on.

THE LOOM—MATTÁRIH, NATTU OR SADI

286 The loom gear consists of seven pieces which altogether are known as *mattárih*.

(1) Piece of wood known as *ga'ah*.
(2) Shuttle known as *misha*.
(3) Tightener known as *mishizza*.
(4) Piece of wood holding up threads known as *minyar*.
(5) Circular wooden supports of *minyar*, known as *marakib*.
(6) Piece of wood holding ends of threads known as *al ras*.
(7) Gazelle horn for pulling down threads known as *middrah*.

SKIN CONTAINERS

415 These consist of:

(*a*) Water skins.
(*b*) Skin bags for storing *dehen*, coffee beans, dates, etc.

Under (*a*) we get the *ráwi*, the *thilaithi*, *minún* and common *qirba* (*jirba*).

Ráwi is the generic term for a water receptacle made out of a camel's skin.

Thilaithi is the name given to a water receptacle made out of one half of a camel skin doubled over and sewn together.

Minún is a gigantic water receptacle made out of the two side skins of a camel sewn together. They are always very water-tight.

Qirba is an ordinary water skin made out of a whole sheep's or goat's skin which is peeled off the animal. The best and most lasting are made from goats' skins (males) and cost in the rough about Rs.2/8 each. Sheepskins do not last.

Infant Care

Latífa
Lulua
Mahara
Maneira
Mastura
Maziuna
Múdhi
Mumni
Nassara
Naufa
Nejela
Nejma
Núra
Nurfyah
Radífa
Sa'ada
Sabícha
Sanwa
Shagha—['Ajman] Janaifer's granddaughter
Shaikha
Sidha
Síta—('Ajman)
Sukort
Tufala
Ubdida
Wadha
Wasmíyah
Zahwa—[Shammar]

UPBRINGING OF BABIES

The birth of a Badawin baby is attended with as little fuss as the birth of a baby-camel. The infant is first and foremost bathed in a female camel's urine. As soon as possible afterwards, its eyes are rubbed over with antimony, to make them strong. All day long the baby is kept wrapped up in swaddling clothes, the arms being folded across the chest and bound there, and the legs tied close together at the knees and ankles. Before being swaddled the baby is laid flat on a square piece of black cloth covered with dry, powdered camel dung (formed into a dust). The baby is then wrapped up, and a little piece of black cloth is wound round its head to be replaced when it is about a month old by a cap which comes right down over both ears. 846

When the baby is being nursed, it is invariably placed on a circular piece of leather (*nattah*). 853

When the mother moves about on her various duties, or if cutting brushwood, she carries her baby slung across her back in a leather hammock (*miṛbdh*)*, the end-thongs of which are either passed round her forehead, or more often over one shoulder, the baby hanging down under her arm for warmth. On the march, the baby and hammock are placed with the mother in the *maksar* (or woman's litter). 864

When the child is a few months old it is often slung in one of the

* Only 'Ajman, Bani Hajir, Bani Khalid, 'Awazim, Zaab, Murra, Manasir, Muntafiq ('Ajwad) do this. Other tribes do not carry babies in leather hammocks.

k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

851 saddle bags with its head out. After this age the baby is practically never washed; and it is taken out of its swaddling clothes only at night and then for only short periods.

The idea underlying the swaddling clothes is firstly, to keep the baby quiet, and secondly, to make it grow strong and straight.

853 The baby is fed at any hour of the day and night, or whenever it cries. It is not immodest for a Badawin woman to feed her baby in

Nattah.

the presence of her menfolk, or even of strange men; and I have often seen women to whom I have been talking, open their front garment and bring out a breast to suckle their infant.

BADAWIN NAMES

103 552 The Badawin frequently name men and places after parts of the human body. Some of the best-known examples are given below.

Places.

Al Sirra—"The Navel"; a hill near Kuwait.

Al Diúd—"The woman's breasts"; a hill in the Neutral Zone south of Kuwait.

Al Nuhaidain—"The maiden's breasts"; two small twin hills in Kuwait.

Kashm al Afri—"The gazelle's nose"; a hill 40 miles north-west of Kuwait.

Dhala'at al Dhaba—"The Hyena's Mounds"; a group of low hills 25 miles south-west of Kuwait.

561 *Men.*

Zib Sahman—"Dog's penis"; cognomen of Khalid al Hithlain, present Shaikh of the 'Ajman.

Ab 'al Kilab—"Father of Dogs"; cognomen given to Naif al Hithlain, late Shaikh of the 'Ajman.

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Muntafiq

tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq 721
al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough 713
breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October 221
of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the 233
southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole 462
of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of 484
the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys [432]
laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in [291]
contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the [854]
march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

565 but rather an unaffected equality among all members of the community and a good fellowship and free association on that basis which is one of the most beautiful 562 things in the world. The women share this freedom, and are engaged with the men in practically every activity that is useful in keeping the wolf from the door. Men and women fight side by side for a naked existence, and there is no submission to anything or anybody, except to God above.

562 It is a hard life, but the desert is a maker of men. 157 Women may express their feelings, their joys and their griefs, but men are expected to remain silent and self-controlled, and magnificent Stoics some of them are. An 759 old patriarch came to the Bahrein Hospital bringing for 855 treatment his only son, the pride of his life and the joy of his heart. They had come a long distance, two weeks' journey. The old man had the light of a father's pride in his eye and the shadow of a father's anxiety was there, too.

"My boy has been sick for some time. I have brought him here for you to cure."

My heart sank at the boy's appearance. "Does he cough?"

"Yes, he coughs a great deal. That is the trouble."

"Does he cough up any blood?"

"Yes, he has done that several times."

It gave me almost the sensation of physical faintness that one feels when in an elevator that is shot down rapidly, to see that fine old man standing there and to know what we would have to tell him, but we examined the boy carefully first. There were large cavities in both lungs. He was far beyond all hope. The whole faculty of Johns Hopkins could not have helped him. "My

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin MJ4

758 father," I said, "I have no medicine that will do the boy
865 any good."

It was easy to see that the reply was not entirely unexpected, but already I talked to a different man. "Is there perhaps some operation you can perform for him?" asked the old man slowly and gravely. "We have heard that you do many marvelous things by means of the knife."

"My father, it is quite true that we operate here on many people and use the knife a great deal, but there is no operation that will do him any good either."

"Then," said the father, "will he die?"

"Yes, he will die. He has only a few days or months at the outside. No doctor can do him any good. He is in the hands of God."

"Yes," said the old man quietly. "Praise the Lord anyway," and he turned to leave, a bent and pitiful old man. The light had died out of his eyes, and the spring had gone from his steps; he was the picture of broken grief, but there was not a tear nor a complaint, nor did his steady eyes waver as he looked straight into my own. We tried to get him to stay for a few days and rest before starting on the return journey, but his reply was simple and final. "No," he said, "we appreciate your hospitality, but the boy would rather die in his own country with his mother."

593 By far the most beautiful family life in Arabia is found
[596] among the Bedouins. Poverty enforces a monogamy which their religion does not require, and as might be expected, divorce is less common and the whole atmosphere of society infinitely cleaner than in other Arab communities. Often a family life is found that is very beautiful. The loyalty of the various members of such

k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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577

A man's first duty is towards God.
His second, the protection of his tent neighbour (*qasir*).
His third, attention to the laws of Hospitality (*áhiáfa*).
His fourth, his duty towards a traveller under his conduct (*rafiq*).
His fifth, attention to the laws of Personal Protection and Sanctuary (*wejh* and *dakhála*.)
His sixth and last is to himself: to raid when he can and keep what he has captured (*chessib*).

It is noteworthy that in fulfilling this last duty he thinks of it as a sort of reward for what has gone before. Raiding is no sin, but a virtue, [721] and to kill your enemy a still greater virtue. Therefore, to steal your enemy's cattle is not robbery but an exploit to be proud of. Your enemy will do the same to you to-morrow if he gets the chance. (See Chapter VII.)

THE BADAWIN WOMAN (*Badawiyah*)

Taking the good with the bad, the Badawin woman is nearly all 157 charm, the natural charm of an unspoiled daughter of Eve, who knows nothing of the world, and little of town life except from hearsay.

She has very much of the child about her; all the delightfulness and all the unreasonableness of a child.

She is prone to sudden storms of rage, and will sulk without apparent reason. She is full of jealousy, and will love and hate with passion and ferocity, yet she can be the gentlest of beings and is capable of great sacrifice. She adores her children, though she has no idea of [855] teaching them discipline or self-control; she will fly at her husband, if he attempts to punish their child, and will go off the deep end if her husband does not sleep close by her side (*ma yargud wiyha*) every night.

Badawin unmarried girls are, of course, debarred from any male 562 society or male friendships outside the circle of their own immediate 834 families, but married women have far more freedom than their town sisters, and can be on delightfully friendly terms with males of their own *taifa* or *hamula*. They have strong ideas of propriety, and are sensitive to a degree about their reputation. The most 521 dreadful thing in the world that can happen to them is to be talked 558

A Father's Rights

844 for the purpose. The mother lived, and her father personally thanked me for lending the mare and saving his daughter. In the absence of my mare a similar request for the loan of my horse was made (25th August, 1937). Unfortunately in this case the patient died.

855 The rights of a Badawin father over his children are absolute; the
586 mother has practically no rights. Should a man divorce his wife, the sons usually go with the father and the girls with the mother. Should the children be infants, the mother keeps them until they can fend for themselves, and then the father comes and takes them away. (The age in the case of boys is eight.) This removal of a son by his father is the cause of much heartrending grief at times, but is universally practised.

The children thus taken away from their mother live with their father and are brought up by their stepmother. They have the right of visiting their own mother's tent at stated intervals, usually once a week. In a tribe camped together the hardship is not great, but when a man has married a woman from another tribe, the rule causes much unhappiness, as the woman usually goes back to her people, who may be several hundreds of miles away; and she rarely sees her children again.

855 Among the Al Sa'ud, Al Subah, etc., it is a common custom to have
643 as wives two or three Badawin lasses at a time, who always remain camped with their own people. When a child is born to one of these desert-dwelling wives it is usually taken right away and brought up in the shaikh's household in Kuwait or Riyadh. It is not considered fitting that the offspring of one of the ruling family, even if the mother is of noble tribal birth, should be left to grow up in tribal surroundings.

587 This feeling is particularly strong if the child is a boy.* As a matter of fact, in such alliances the wife is early divorced and pensioned off with a handsome present. This marrying of tribal girls in addition to the "Queen", who is always a lady of the ruling family, is a normal and accepted practice among the ruling classes in Arabia. It is a method of showing honour to a tribe, and brings useful alliances in its train. Tribal shaikhs, on the other hand, usually content themselves with one wife.

* This does not run counter to the age-long custom among the nobility of Arabia of sending their sons into the desert to be brought up by the Badawin in order that they may acquire hardihood.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 54

224 called a meeting of his sub-chiefs, and made known to them that he desired a great wolf drive organized for two days hence. Every tribesman with a horse was to join in the hunt, so as to provide a chain of beaters. Sheykh Tai' himself, his lieutenants, and I, armed only with lances, were to ride down the wolves and spear them. This was not the usual method of hunting wolves, but is certainly more romantic and exciting than shooting them with long-range rifles from automobiles.

224 411 When Sheykh Tai' asked me if I knew how to handle a *rumh* (the Bedouin lance) I had to own my ignorance; but it was not long before I learnt how to handle it under the tuition of my good friend.

These spears are from fifteen to eighteen feet long. They are of light bamboo, which the Bedouins cut in the swamps of the lower Euphrates. Below the triangular steel head they are decorated with tufts of the black and grey down-feathers of the ostrich, a few fluttering red ribbons, and tinkling coils of very thin silver chains. The butt is sheathed in a painted iron ferrule.

224 When at the appointed hour beaters and followers had lined up at the *sheykh's* tent, and all was ready, Sheykh Tai' rammed the butt of his lance into the ground and, using it as a vaulting-pole, leaped on his horse's back.

Besides Sheykh Tai' and myself, only the sub-chiefs carried lances. The rest of the men took their rifles with them, but merely to start the game and for defense in case of unexpected meeting with enemies.

224 857 Sheykh Tai's nine-year old son, Farhan, with a heavy Mauser pistol in his belt, accompanied us. His short, bare legs clung to the sides of an unsaddled mare, which he

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 54

cleverly guided with his thighs and hands, and by his voice making her walk or gallop. 224 857

An hour before sunrise we rode into the steppe, waking to a glorious morning. I was mounted on a spirited mare, very fast and of great endurance. Over three hundred armed beaters from the widely scattered tents of the Tai' Bedouins had ridden out the previous day to the foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, there to cut off the retreat of the wolves into the northern mountains. Bands of gazelles and many bustards and other fowl fled before us. But we left them untouched, as we were after other game. 224 [136]

Only when the left wing of our riders roused two wolves did we give chase.

Wolves do not break cover and "go away" as foxes do, but there were other things to which one had to give attention in this hunt. Moles and burrowing mice had undermined the ground and more than half of our horses "took a toss" as they stepped into the hidden holes.

We galloped about twelve miles, and four or five wolves had been put up by the beaters. Our horsemen followed them tirelessly. I came so close to one animal that I could almost have touched his fur with my outstretched lance. My horse followed the runaway with the ardour of a bloodhound. I had therefore to give my undivided attention to the dangerous ground and repeatedly turned the mare aside, sometimes in the very nick of time, to prevent her floundering into one of the sandy burrows.

The slender lance rested perfectly balanced in my hand. My wolf slackened speed somewhat and my mare

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

512 way, riding monkey-like on the hindquarters of one of the better-
233 conditioned animals, and looking as if every minute he would slide
462 off over the animal's tail. The herdsman's song is wild and weird,
[633] rising and falling in semitones. As often as not he starts off with a description of the beautiful grazing that his charges are going to find ahead of them. He pleads with his camels and says they are to trust him, their guide and helper. He it is who is leading them to pastures fair, and grass that is green and succulent. The camels seem to understand, for with sundry groans and moans, they slowly follow him in single file. As they disappear into the early morning mist, the last you see or hear of the party is the distant singing of the camelherd. Then all are swallowed up in the morning fog. Like the sheep, the camels will not go far. Five to eight miles is their limit just now. Grazing has been so pitifully scarce in their long summer camp they must be allowed to get fit slowly; presently they will go further afield. The camelherd does not sleep by day. His is a much more valuable herd. He watches, with rifle ready, even though there is not the slightest rumour of danger or trouble in the air. To while away the long day, he may look for truffles on the hilltops or occasionally try and catch a jerboa. In the main, however, he watches and watches till the time comes to go home.

512 The camels and sheep having gone out to graze and the sun being
264 up, the tent family will have a meagre breakfast consisting of a little tea without milk, and some dates. If the housewife is in funds she may issue a small ration of bread to all; more often than not they go without.

512 The daughter of the house with her small sister, or her girl friend
462 from the neighbour's tent, now starts off to collect brushwood for
313 the day's needs. '*Arfaj* is what they seek, and as this has a tough root, they arm themselves with a small axe and several yards of goat's hair
[857] rope to carry home the firewood on their heads. Other children of from five to ten years old often accompany the girls to see if they can find an early flower or a truffle. It is their one way of enjoying themselves, they have few other amusements. The girls move off with strong healthy stride, their long sleeves bound behind their necks to free their arms, and their skirts hitched up at the waist to give freedom of movement. How straight and supple they are! Daily this fetching

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
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Saudi Arabia MI1

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turned into a dhub by the Prophet. The true reason for the sanctity of the dhub is obscure.

AL KHASWI

Al Khaswi is a small lizard delicately built; when full grown does not exceed 7 inches in length. It is commonly met everywhere in the desert of North-East Arabia, and is very fast. It may be seen rushing about at lightning speed from one *'arfaj* bush to another, switching its long thin tail from side to side. It has a fine skin, spotted on the back, and is greyish white in colour.

K 136 SA 136

Another variety of this lizard has lines along its back, and is pale salmon pink in colour under the tail. Among the Shammar Badawin the same lizard is known under the name of *Al Sulaimanîyah.*

[B 104]

ROLLER BEETLE

The desert is full of roller beetles, especially where Badawin camps exist. This beetle is locally known as *Abu Jalla* (Father of camel manure) or Abu Ja'al.*

It usually appears in spring, and is to be seen everywhere, rolling fresh bits of manure (camel, horse, donkey or even goat) into a perfect ball, and carting it off backwards at an amazing and feverish pace. When the beetle comes to a nice soft spot, it starts digging a sloping hole in mad fashion, sufficiently large to take its manure ball. When the hole is ready it rolls the ball down the slope of the hole, where it comes to rest 8 to 10 inches from the entrance. The digging is done with the beetle's strong fore-feet, and to get earth out it turns round and shovels out earth with head and snout. It is extremely fussy, and works as if life depended on getting the hole dug in a minimum of time. When rolling the ball along, the beetle's hind quarters and legs are cocked up against the ball and guide the latter in the proper direction, the beetle's strong head and claws which are on the ground do the pushing. The roller beetle always moves backwards at an amazing pace if ground is smooth.

It usually has several small fly-parasites on its back, which appear to have their abode in the join between head and body.

* Roller beetle appeared in 1937 on February 19th and just after good rain. Clearly they come out of the ground where they hibernate for six months.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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521 about. Yet gossips they are, and expert in tearing others' reputations.
558 Many a desert tragedy has resulted from too glib a tongue. Ordinary sexual matters are discussed before small children with a frankness
864 and simplicity which modern educationists might approve, but which an English person may find at times embarrassing. The bearing of their young by camels, mares and ewes is not only an everyday topic, but mothers will take their children to watch the progress of such events, alongside their menfolk.

837 On the whole, Badawin women are extremely moral, though they might readily succumb to temptation were it to come their way. Fortunately it does not.

They go in for love affairs, of course, and married women are not above falling desperately in love with other men than their husbands. A woman's only hope in such a case (unless her man happens to be her first cousin) is to tell her husband the whole truth, and beg him to divorce her. This happens fairly often among the rank and file, though not among the senior ladies of the tribe or the shaikh's wives. Sir Richard Burton has said somewhere that among Badawin women who were separated from their menfolk during long absences in the desert when at war, abnormal and unnatural living was not uncommon. This I think a libel, or at least a grave exaggeration.

THE DAILY ROUND OF A BADAWIN FAMILY—"AN AUTUMN STUDY"

132 Time, Early November; Place, Wafra, 30 miles from the sea in the Kuwait Neutral Zone.

[342] The tent is pitched on a slight rise in the ground, so that if rain
512 comes the water will not flood the interior. Everyone is busy from earliest dawn to nightfall, especially the women and girls. A little rain has fallen, the first for eight months, and grass has just started sprouting in the hollows. Both camels and sheep are thin and scarcely able to walk any distance. The summer has been a terribly severe one. More rain is urgently needed, else the grass that has come up will wither again. The head of the family has ridden off on his mare the previous evening to see if better grazing exists 10 miles away. He will not be back till sunset to-day.

000 At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the *'adhan* (call to prayer),

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members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he imposes and collects his own levies.[1] 566 622

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Bedouin tribe Abu Kishk that owned 20 000 dunams of land in the Sharon.[2] The sheikh's family in whose name the land was registered, sold 10 000 dunams to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunam orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh.

622 566 423 425 425 311 871

CHAPTER XI

Attitude of the Tribesmen Towards Settlers.

The Bedouin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Transjordan Bedouin was desperate; 1946/47 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen

241 731

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1. Himadeh, 1950, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted to sheep and goats — 40%, cattle — 45%, camels — 50%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1949, p. 10

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
Bedouin MJ4

CHAPTER VI

HUMAN SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

WRITING in the thirteenth century A.D. the Arab geographer Ibn Battuta was greatly impressed by the contrasts in ways of life and social organisation shown by various communities of the Middle East. In particular, he devoted special attention to the differences between nomadic peoples, known collectively by the Arabic term of Badawin (singular : *Bedu*), and settled cultivators, or *Hadhar*. Such contrasts are still as characteristic of the peoples of the Middle East now at the present day as they were in the time of Ibn Battuta, and in examining the problems of human relationships in the region, it is useful at the outset to outline some of the chief features of social organisation. Attention will first be given to two relatively small groups—nomads and townspeople : conditions amongst the Hadhar, who form the majority of the population of the Middle East, will be dealt with at more length in succeeding chapters.

The Badawin.—The main feature of this group is of course regular movement in search of pasture for animals. For the greater part, this movement is from one district to another—i.e. true nomadism ; but in mountain regions different levels in the same district are occupied successively, and this is termed transhumance.[1] The Badawin of Arabia may be cited as true nomads whilst the Kurds of Anatolia and the western Zagros tend rather to practice transhumance.

With rainfall, and therefore pasture, both scanty in amount and liable to much variation from one year to another, the nomads have found that experience provides the best means of survival. Thus to the oldest members of the group is given the task of making decisions which guide the activities of the entire community—accent is, so to speak, on age, not youth. Frequently too, in the face of sudden crisis —failure of wells, or attack by outsiders—rapid decision is called for, and one man alone rather than a group, is looked to as supreme leader— in warfare particularly more confidence is felt in a single man than in a committee. This type of social organisation, termed patriarchal, places the life of a community under the control of a chosen man, and

[1] True nomadism is in effect, horizontal movement, transhumance is more a change in altitude.